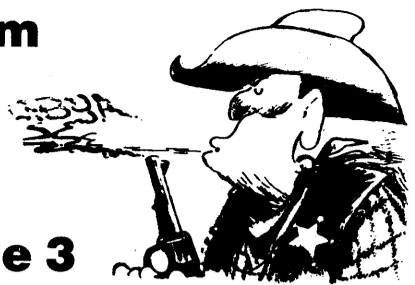


A Socialist ACTION

Terrorism
threat?



See page 3

May 1986 Vol. 4, No. 5 50 cents

U.S. terror strikes Libya, escalates war on Nicaragua

The U.S. government is engaged in a carefully orchestrated campaign to prepare the American public for war.

Using lies and provocations to justify its actions, the Reagan administration—with the full support of the Democratic Party—has twice bombed Libya. Now President Reagan, speaking to the Heritage Foundation on April 22, has referred to Nicaragua as a "Libya on our doorstep." Such language is meant to pave the way for a direct U.S. military strike against Nicaragua.

In mid-January, *Newsweek* magazine disclosed a confidential government white paper on Libya that revealed the Reagan administration's intent to "goad" Libyan

Editorial

leader Muammar Qaddafi into a situation that would "give the administration exactly the opportunity it needs to stage a military attack."

In the last week of March, shortly after the House of Representatives vote on military and economic aid to the Nicaraguan contras, the U.S. government staged a military provocation that had been in the planning for three months. By the time the two-day "war games" were over, the U.S. Navy claimed it had sunk three Libyan patrol boats and destroyed a Libyan missile base.

The Reagan administration asserted that it was simply exercising its legal right to move through international waters, defying Libya's claim to a 200-mile protected area off the Gulf of Sidra.

However, Alfred Rubin, professor of international law at Tufts University, told the *Boston Globe* (March 25, 1986) that by sending aircraft into the Gulf of Sidra, the United States was, in fact, violating international law and thus provoking the Libyan government.

"The United States itself claims 200 miles of airspace bordering on its territory as an 'Air Defense Identification Zone,' and claims the right to exercise self-defense



against any enemy aircraft entering that zone," Rubin said. "Thus Libya claimed the same legal rights, in the air, as the United States would have done under reversed circumstances. The United States took this as a sanction to attack Libyan shipping."

Moreover, U.S. planes clearly violated

Libyan soil before being fired upon, as radar observations by a British engineer in Libya confirmed, according to the *London Sunday Times*.

Administration officials initially

(continued on page 2)

S.F. antiwar march draws 25,000

By JOE RYAN

Over 25,000 people marched in San Francisco on April 19 against the U.S. government's foreign and domestic policies. The demonstration, organized by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, represented a powerful show of opposition to the U.S. war moves in Libya and Central America.

The Bay Area Mobilization is a coalition of labor, peace, anti-apartheid, church, nuclear freeze, and anti-intervention groups organized around four basic demands: End U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; Jobs and Justice; Freeze and Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race; and No U.S. Support to South African Apartheid.

Although opposition to the U.S. attack on Libya was not one of the issues raised by the coalition, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted that "it was on everybody's mind." This is an understatement. Signs such as "Stop the Lies, Hands Off Libya!" could be seen throughout the march. And most speakers at the rally at the Civic Center condemned President Reagan for the U.S. bombing raid against Libya earlier in the week.

As the marchers wound their way through the Castro District and down Market Street they were greeted with support and encouragement by many, and questions and curiosity by others.

Leading the march was a contingent of striking TWA flight attendants who drew applause from onlookers. Thousands of marchers carried signs reflecting the demands of the demonstration: "No Aid to the Contras," "Jobs, Not Bombs," "Stop Nuclear Testing," "Embargo South Africa,

(continued on page 8)

More attacks on Hormel strikers, national boycott campaign urged

By NAT WEINSTEIN

AUSTIN, Minn.—Over 5000 Local P-9 strikers and supporters marched down Main Street here on Saturday, April 12. The march was the culmination of a three-day national solidarity action called by the striking packinghouse workers of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9.

Contingents from dozens of unions from

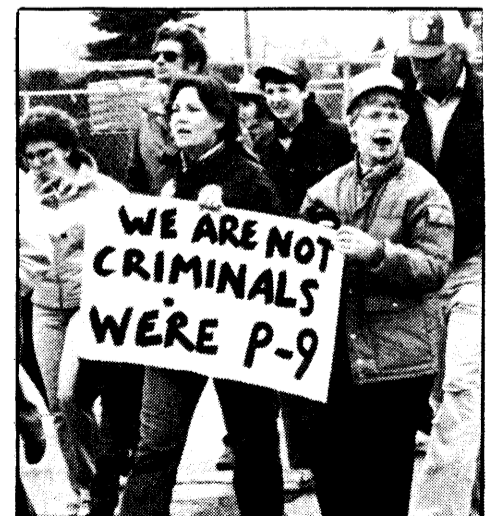
over 30 states filed into the Austin skating rink, which was converted into a mass meeting hall. The spirited rally heard leaders of unions, farmer organizations, and Native American and other community groups pledge support to P-9's struggle against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. and the strikebreaking government, courts, and cops.

A letter from the P-9 leadership had been sent out inviting workers to "show support

for our members on the picketlines" on Thursday, April 10, and Friday, April 11. But emphasis was placed on the march and rally of April 12.

Accordingly, only about 50 out-of-town supporters were in Austin for the 4 a.m. picketline mobilization on April 10. And even with a couple of hundred more supporters on Friday, there were still too

(continued on page 5)



Soviet policy yesterday and today, pp.10-13

Terror takes many forms in U.S. war on Nicaragua

Socialist ACTION

Closing date: April 25, 1986

By ALAN BENJAMIN

The Reagan administration appears to be concerned these days with international law. Reagan has cynically referred to a series of legal statutes to justify the U.S. government's terrorist attacks against the Libyan people.

But Reagan's sudden concern for such matters rings a particularly hollow note when one considers the fact that the administration has totally disregarded the World Court's condemnation of the U.S.-sponsored contra war against Nicaragua.

The U.S. war against Nicaragua has already killed 12,000 Nicaraguan citizens and resulted in the injuries or mutilations of many thousands more. Forty-five thousand children have been left orphans. The savage character of the contra terror has been widely documented.

The new schools and health care units built by the Sandinista government have also been a prime target for the contras. From 1980 to 1984, eight schools were destroyed and 149 teachers killed in the border region alone. Over 200 other schools had to be closed down

because of the threat of contra attacks. This has left over 50,000 students without classrooms and education. Fifty health units, including one major hospital, have also been destroyed by the contras.

The Nicaraguan economy, initially weak and largely

devastated by the Somoza dynasty, has been another target of U.S. state terrorism. The U.S. government and its contra clients have sought to destabilize the Nicaraguan economy, thereby hoping to undermine popular support for the revolution.

From 1980 to 1984, an estimated \$380 million was lost due to material damages or production losses caused by contra attacks. These losses are equivalent to the total export earnings during the same five-year period.

Another factor that has wreaked havoc on the economy is the loss of foreign credits from international lending agencies due to U.S. pressure. From 1980 to 1984, an estimated \$345 million in development loans were blocked or cancelled.

U.S. trade embargo

The trade embargo decreed by the U.S. government in May 1985 has also had major repercussions on the economy. Nicaragua's main productive sector is the agro-export industry. The United States has traditionally been the main supplier of agricultural materials to Nicaragua. The materials that have been embargoed include desperately needed fertilizer, pesticides, and

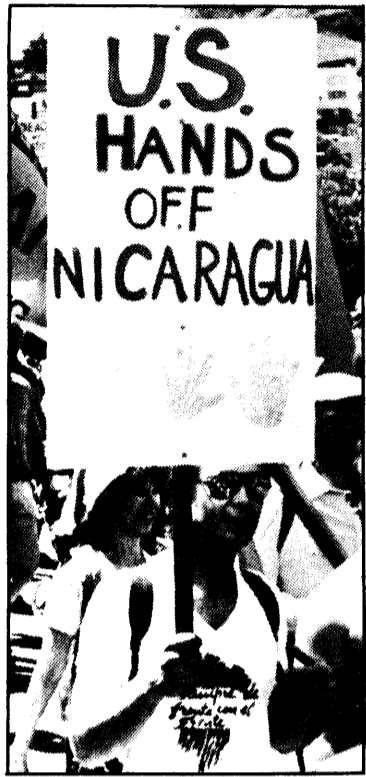
machine parts.

Moreover, to counter the contra aggression, the Sandinista government has been forced to divert precious financial and human resources toward military defense. In 1982-83, military spending increased from 13 percent to 25 percent of total state expenditures. By 1985, over 50 percent of the national budget was devoted to defense, with 20 percent of the labor force shifted to defense-related activities.

The economic and military war

of aggression by the United States has fueled a severe economic crisis and the reduction in the standard of living of the average Nicaraguan.

Reagan's terrorist war against Nicaragua involves more than the torture, assassination, and rape inflicted by the contras on the civilian population. It includes the economic sabotage of a nation whose only crime was to say it wished to determine its own destiny—free from U.S. domination. ■



Socialist Action/May Gong

... Libya

(continued from page 1)

pretended that the Libyan firing at U.S. planes was "totally unprovoked," as White House spokesman Larry Speakes said. Yet within a week of this confrontation, a top U.S. official bluntly admitted to the *Los Angeles Times* (March, 28, 1986): "We would have been disappointed if Qaddafi had sent nobody up to challenge us...It was a provocation, if you want to use that word."

In mid-April, the semiofficial Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram* reported that U.S. strategists had been trying for eight months to enlist the Egyptian Army as shock troops for a joint strike against Libya. Soon after, the *Washington Post* reported that the Reagan administration had not abandoned this plan, even though the Egyptian forces were reticent to move against Libya.

A few days later, citing "irrefutable evidence" that Libya had masterminded the Berlin nightclub bombing, the U.S. government carried out the military attack it had planned many months before.

This criminal, terrorist act left some 100 Libyan civilians dead, including Col. Qaddafi's infant daughter, as well as causing untold damage to the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi.

The Reagan administration, however, did not feel it necessary to disclose its actual evidence against Libya, which has denied involvement in the Berlin bombing. As Alexander Cockburn wrote in the April 17 issue of *The Wall Street Journal*, "The administration's idea of 'irrefutable evidence' is anything CIA Director William Casey chooses to put under plain brown wrappers."

Further, if the alleged evidence contained in decoded Libyan cables is so irrefutable, why is it that as late as April 14, U.S. and West German officials spoke only of "suspected" Libyan involvement? It was only later that they claimed proof that Libya's role was known as early as April 5.

Twisted justification

The legal justification for this second attack was not much better than the first. Using the Berlin nightclub bombing as evidence of a Libyan plan to attack

Americans, President Reagan cited Article 51 of the United Nations Charter as grounds for the air strikes.

Article 51 provides the right of self-defense to any nation under actual attack. But Libya was not attacking the United States, so the administration simply stretched the letter of the law and justified its aggression on the basis of a possible future attack.

By this logic, as Cockburn observed in his *Journal* article, "the Nicaraguan government, very reasonably determining that the United States is planning an attack on its territory, has the right to bomb Washington."

The latest reports from Washington indicate that the U.S. bombing attack was meant to coincide with an internal army uprising against Qaddafi by officers linked to the CIA. One administration insider also admitted that the United States had hoped to kill Qaddafi in the bombing attack.

In light of the fact that the attacks against Libya were part of a calculated, step-by-step U.S. provocation, a question could be raised: Did the CIA, which has a well-documented history of engaging in covert dirty tricks, plant the bomb in Berlin to provide the pretext to attack Libya? Some long-time CIA observers have

suggested that this question is worth investigating.

In any case, what is known is that the Reagan administration and Congress, aided by a servile media, are purposely deceiving the American people. The "Libyan threat" is a concoction designed to deal some sharp blows to the "Vietnam syndrome," which continues to endure in the public consciousness.

This is the real intent of U.S. aggression against Libya—to clear a path for greater U.S. intervention against the so-called terrorist threat in Central America. "From now on, military force will be more readily used to further U.S. foreign policy than at any time since the Vietnam War," explains *Business Week* in its April 28 edition. "Libya may have been the literal target, but the message was intended to be understood in places as disparate as Nicaragua and North Korea."

War against Nicaragua

Just as with Libya, the administration uses lies and slanders in its attacks against Nicaragua, which is portrayed as an "outlaw state." One such fabricated story was the so-called Nicaraguan invasion of Honduras last month.

But the Honduran government has now

confessed that the United States pressured it into falsely claiming that it had been "invaded" by Nicaragua. And for the first time, the Honduran government has openly acknowledged that the contras are operating out of its territory, in violation of its sovereignty.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government continues to feed a cooperative media every imaginable fabrication concerning Sandinista "atrocities" and contra "respect for human rights and democracy." These "freedom-fighter" contras are notorious for raping, torturing, and killing civilians.

But while military and economic aid to the contras has been stalled in the House of Representatives for some time—and will not be taken up again until mid or late May—it is no secret that the Democrats will give Reagan part, if not most, of what he has requested.

As Omar Cabezas, a leading Sandinista commander, noted, concerning the congressional debate over contra aid: "Some want to kill us one way, others want to kill us another way. They only differ on how or when to give the aid."

On April 19, an estimated 25,000 people marched in San Francisco against the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government. [See story pp. 8-9.] A major focus of the demonstration was opposition to U.S. aid to the contras, but numerous speakers also blasted the U.S. bombing attacks on Libya.

The San Francisco demonstration is a clear indication that broad layers of the American population oppose the increased U.S. bipartisan drive toward war. But this antiwar sentiment must be organized into a powerful and independent national protest movement in the streets. A national coalition and leadership committed to this task is sorely lacking.

Reliance on Democratic Party politicians, or fall campaigns to elect "anti-Reagan" Democrats, will do nothing to halt the increasing use of U.S. state terrorism. The Democrats supported the invasion of Grenada and the bombing of Libya. Mondale was the first to suggest an embargo of Nicaragua.

The San Francisco Bay Area Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice has shown the way forward for the antiwar movement. It is more urgent today than ever before to forge a national coalition on the basis of this example.—The Editors

CIA "Freedom Fighters Manual"



Hysteria and hypocrisy mount in U.S. war against "terrorism"

By MARK HARRIS

As hysteria over the "terrorist threat" mounts in the wake of the U.S. assault on Libya, so too does the hypocrisy. The specific targets may have been Tripoli and Benghazi, but the aim of the bombing attack—which had nothing to do with curtailing "terrorism"—goes well beyond the borders of Libya.

The military strikes against Libya are designed to elevate the "terrorist threat" into a catch-all rationale that will justify the increased use of U.S. military force in Central America, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

That was the intent of the attack on Libya—not the Reagan administration's contrived and fraudulent concern for the victims of terrorist assaults.

Did anyone in the Reagan administration suggest, for example, that the United States carry out a "surgical" air strike against Paris after French agents were found guilty of exploding a bomb on the *Rainbow Warrior* ship in New Zealand last year? The blast killed one man and violated the sovereignty of a U.S. ally, yet the United States refused even to condemn this act of terror.

Two foreign policies

This hypocritical deception is nothing new in the annals of American politics. Miles Copeland, a former chief of the CIA's Political Action Staff, recently told *Rolling Stone* (Jan. 16, 1986) how U.S. administrations have deceived the public time and again.

"We have a *domestic* foreign policy and a *foreign* foreign policy," Copeland explained. "The domestic foreign policy, which is the more important one, is what he [the president] has to do to make the American public think he's doing the right thing."

Lyndon Johnson understood this well. He won the presidential election in 1964 with a promise never to send American troops to Vietnam. Privately, of course, he was planning to do exactly the opposite, as the Pentagon Papers later proved. All that was needed was a pretext, and that came with the infamous Gulf of Tonkin incident, where the United States deliberately provoked North Vietnam into firing at U.S. warships.

The official government justification for sending in ever-greater numbers of troops, once the stage was set for a massive escalation, was to defend South Vietnam from an invasion by North Vietnam. That, as Miles Copeland might say, was the *domestic* foreign policy at work.

But U.S. strategists were keenly aware, as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (April 30, 1975) noted in its summary of the Pentagon Papers, that "aggression was something of a cover story and the real enemy was seen as popular revolution."

Once again, in 1986, the real enemy is popular revolution—particularly in Central America—while the "terrorist threat" has become the cover story.

Some figures to dwell on

White House spokesman Larry Speakes, when asked about the numerous casualties resulting from the U.S. attack on Libya, responded: "We're more concerned with the 938 persons who were killed by terrorist acts last year. Those are the figures to dwell on."

Speakes, of course, overlooks a few minor details,



Some 400 people at Minneapolis Federal Bldg. on April 15 protest Libya bombing.



such as the 50,000 people killed in El Salvador since 1980 by right-wing death squads and a pro-U.S. government. Or the 12,000 people killed and 200,000 people driven from their homes by the U.S.-run contra war against Nicaragua.

A few other facts are also conveniently ignored. Alexander Cockburn notes in *The Wall Street Journal* (April 17, 1986) that 282 Israelis were killed by Palestinian violence between 1967 and 1982. Yet by comparison, the Israeli military—with U.S. backing—killed 20,000 Palestinians when it invaded Lebanon in the summer of 1982.

The White House and the big-business media were full of venom for the "fanatics" who drove a "suicide truck" into the U.S. Marine compound in Beirut in October 1983, killing 241 American servicemen. Yet where was a similar sense of outrage when 34 days earlier the battleship USS *New Jersey* and the nuclear-powered USS *Virginia* lobbed deadly shells on the Moslem residents of Beirut?

While Libya and Nicaragua face destructive aggression, the apartheid regime in South Africa earns Washington's praise and "constructive engagement." Yet, the police force in South Africa constructively engaged in killing more than 200 Black children last year and uses "frequent and widespread" torture against children as young as 10 years old, according to a study released on April 17 by the New York-based Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights.

White House spokesmen are also not inclined to target Chile in their "anti-terrorist" crusade, despite well-documented evidence of countless atrocities committed by the U.S.-backed Pinochet government. They would rather not remind the American public that thousands of people were slaughtered by the military after the CIA-provoked coup in 1973.

Remember when 54 U.S. Embassy personnel were held hostage in Iran in 1979-1980? Both Democrats and Republicans scrambled to outdo each other in denouncing Iran. Yet where were the protests when the people of Iran were suffering under the regime of the shah, which Amnesty International cited as having the "worst human rights record of any country in the world?" Needless to say, the shah's decades-long terror was made possible not only by American money, but by "advice" of the most gruesome kind.

The chief CIA analyst on Iran from 1968 to 1973, Jesse Leaf, admitted that a senior CIA official instructed the shah's secret police, SAVAK, in torture techniques based on Nazi methods used in World War II. Yet the shah remained an ally of the United States to the very end, lauded by President Carter as his regime crumbled in the face of a nationwide rebellion.

The "anti-terrorists" in Washington are also not likely to refer to the CIA's Phoenix program, which led to the assassination of an estimated 25,000 people in Vietnam from 1968 to 1971, as Congressional hearings on

William Colby's confirmation as CIA chief revealed in 1974. Today, in fact, the administration openly acknowledges that it hopes to put a Phoenix-type program into operation in El Salvador.

Even more, wasn't the U.S. war in Vietnam terrorism on a national scale? Consider the results: Over one million Vietnamese dead, 50,000 U.S. soldiers dead, a countryside destroyed by saturation bombing.

To go a step further, aren't the 30,000 U.S. nuclear warheads the ultimate terrorist threat to the world's survival—a threat intensified by the U.S. refusal to disavow the policy of a first strike?

Some commentators in the American media like to explain acts of terrorism by Palestinians and others with statements to the effect that "they don't value human life the way we do" and other equally self-serving justifications of U.S. policy. Strategists in the Pentagon and CIA, however, know better.

Straight from horse's mouth

Former CIA agent Miles Copeland, who is critical of the agency because it "isn't overthrowing enough anti-American governments or assassinating enough anti-American leaders," had this to say about the causes of terrorism in his interview with *Rolling Stone*.

"The Israelis went in to Lebanon and killed tens of thousands of people. They say, 'That's exaggerating, we didn't kill but 5000 people.' Okay, let's say they killed only 2000 people, which is a very modest estimate, but they destroyed Lebanon...We, the United States, gave a billion dollars to the Israelis. One billion because it costs a lot of money to destroy someone else's country.

"These guys [Palestinians] are terrorists...because their orange groves have been destroyed and they've got nothing to do. They can't even get to their farms because the Israelis have declared them out of bounds and destroyed a lot of them.

"In fact, I'll tell you quite frankly, if people came into Alabama, my home state, and destroyed my farms and kicked me around and kicked my children around, I'm going to become a terrorist, just as the French became terrorists under the Germans in World War II. It's understandable.

"I've known this one family for the past 40 years. The guy has polio, he's crippled. He has some teenage kids who are nice kids, nice family. The Israelis showed up at six o'clock in the evening and said: 'Everybody out! Everybody out!' They all got out, and the Israelis razed his house. He says: 'I haven't done a damn thing! I'm just looking after my orange groves!' They said, 'You had a terrorist in your house six months ago.' First place, he said he hadn't, and I believe he was telling the truth. But the Israelis had no good reason to believe he wasn't—no name, no information at all.

"Now this is information that our embassy reported. This is official, not something I heard from the PLO information office. Now those two teenage kids stood there and watched their family being destroyed and their mother kicked downstairs when she refused to leave the house.

"Can you imagine their *not* becoming terrorists? They don't have an air force or artillery. I had a Shi'ite ask me: 'You say we shouldn't use terrorism. What should we use?' Well, you shouldn't use anything, we might say. You should make peace with Israel. 'Make peace with Israel? They've just destroyed my land! I have nothing! My house is flattened! The whole village is destroyed! This isn't just the Shi'ites talking. Our *own* embassy says this.'

It is those who destroy orange groves and raze houses who inspire acts of individual terrorism. It is those who cite "national interest" to justify assassinations, coups, invasions, covert operations, and air raids who fuel desperate acts of terror.

It is those who define the "free world" to include every brutal dictator and military government that gives free rein to foreign investors to siphon off the wealth of underdeveloped nations—this is what motivates terrorism by oppressed people.

Still, individual terrorism as a strategy to fight injustice is not only misguided, it is counterproductive. That is why the Reagan administration has grabbed onto this issue to justify and win support for its own brand of state-sponsored terrorism.

The way to put an end to the most insidious form of terrorism threatening the world—the kind fortified by a "defense" budget exceeding \$300 billion—is to mobilize the power of millions of working people against the system of injustice and exploitation promoted by the state terrorists in Washington and Tel Aviv. ■

By NAT WEINSTEIN

Daily World repeats slanders against P-9

The Communist Party is up to its old tricks. In its newspaper, the *Daily World* (Feb. 6, 1986), writer Bill Dennison parrots United Food and Commercial Workers Union President William Wynn's slander campaign against the striking packinghouse workers of Local P-9 in Austin, Minn.

The *Daily World* reporter repeats Wynn's lie that "Local P-9 opted out of chain bargaining, arguing it could do better on its own." Local P-9 President Jim Guyette refuted this false charge in a mid-January reply to Wynn, as Lynn Henderson reported in the March 1986 issue of *Socialist Action*.

"As you well know, from conversations held as recently as October, Local P-9 never withdrew from the Hormel chain negotiations," Guyette stated. "We were simply never invited by the international union. As our contract expired at a different date from those at some other plants, Hormel never sent our local a notice of contract termination.

"P-9's executive board sought to discover what rights we had to support the locals whose contracts were expiring," Guyette goes on to say, "such as attempting to discover whether or not we have the right to strike prior to the expiration of our contract. We did not withdraw—rather, we were convinced by the international union to stand aside and let the other unions negotiate, and we were commended by the international and the locals for standing aside."

It would have been a simple matter of fair play, not to mention the elementary requirements of responsible reporting—particularly of a paper that claims to be socialist—to check the truthfulness of statements so harmful to a union on strike.

Several other cheap shots being circulated by the UFCW International bureaucracy are repeated by Dennison. Most important is the *Daily World's* echo of Wynn's slander that Local P-9 has been against united action in coordination with the other locals in the Hormel chain and has, as Wynn said in his "fact book" on the strike, "waged an unceasing hate campaign" against the heads



Socialist Action/Baer

of the UFCW International.

Dennison writes: "The local leadership's attacks on the leadership of the UFCW has

played into the hands of the corporations' union-busting strategy and will be used to split and divide other locals and used as

ammunition against the union in organizing drives."

Thus, in the context of a widely publicized and unprovoked attack on the striking Hormel workers by the UFCW bureaucracy, the *Daily World* portrays the Austin local as the culprit violating union solidarity, thereby diverting attention from the ruthless attack by Hormel against all of its workers.

Moreover, reporter Dennison covers up Wynn's sabotage of the Hormel workers' fight to defend their livelihood. Dennison portrays Wynn's campaign to reduce wages and working conditions as really part of a "long-term strategy to raise the industry average to \$10 per hour."

Reflecting his upside-down portrayal of the victim as the criminal, the *Daily World* reporter disingenuously calls for "unity" between "Local P-9, the international union, the state and national AFL-CIO and Gov. Perpich." Dennison shamelessly includes the strikebreaking governor, who called out the National Guard to clear a path for scabs through the picket line, as if he was a part of labor's family because he represents the state's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party.

The *Daily World* article is never once critical of Gov. Perpich for strikebreaking, or of the state AFL-CIO bureaucrats for treating Perpich as an honored guest at their political action conference. The article never criticizes the UFCW International or the national AFL-CIO officialdom for their treacherous campaign against Local P-9.

The *Daily World* is critical *only* of the Local P-9 leadership, which has earned Wynn's wrath because they are unwilling to accept concessions and have shown their readiness to wage a courageous and militant rank-and-file fight to win their demands.

The Communist Party, for its part, is in traditional form. They remain committed to the Stalinist Popular Front policy of tying labor to the coattails of phony "friends of labor," such as Gov. Perpich. And also true to form, the Communist Party can be counted on to come up with leftist-sounding rationalizations for the betrayals of its bureaucratic brothers under the skin—William Wynn and the top AFL-CIO leadership. ■

P-9 workers explain issues in Hormel strike

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

CLEVELAND—I accompanied three striking UFCW P-9 members, Carl Benson, Clarke Dehler, and Al Petersen, on their recent Northeast Ohio tour. Several points they made had a big impact on their audiences.

The whopping 200-percent annual injury rate at the Austin plant is well known. But even more astounding is the annual lost-time injury rate of 33 percent.

Although it only employs 1500 people in Minnesota, Hormel pays the highest workers' compensation premiums in the state because of its excessive injury rates. Even such elementary safety features as showers are missing from this three-year-old "modern" plant.

The company's contract proposal totally eliminates seniority in job selections. Management can remove a worker from a job he or she has performed for years, assigning the worker to a less desirable job and giv-

ing the better job to a more favored employee. In fact, one of the scabs complained to local union officials that he was assured of his old job back if he returned to work. However, after working his old job for a few hours, he was forced onto a less desirable one.

The arbitration procedures proposed by the company would allow them to fire any one they chose. All an arbitrator could rule on in a discharge case is whether the grievant was involved in the incident—not whether the incident merited discharge or whether there were mitigating circumstances.

The proposed agreement also contains a direct attack on workers' First Amendment rights. In addition to the no-strike clause which appears in most labor agreements, it

states, "An employee may be immediately suspended or discharged for strike, slow-down, refusal to work, sympathy strike, picketing, boycotts, handbilling, or to coerce or restrain any business or person from using, selling, handling, transporting, or otherwise dealing in products of the company."

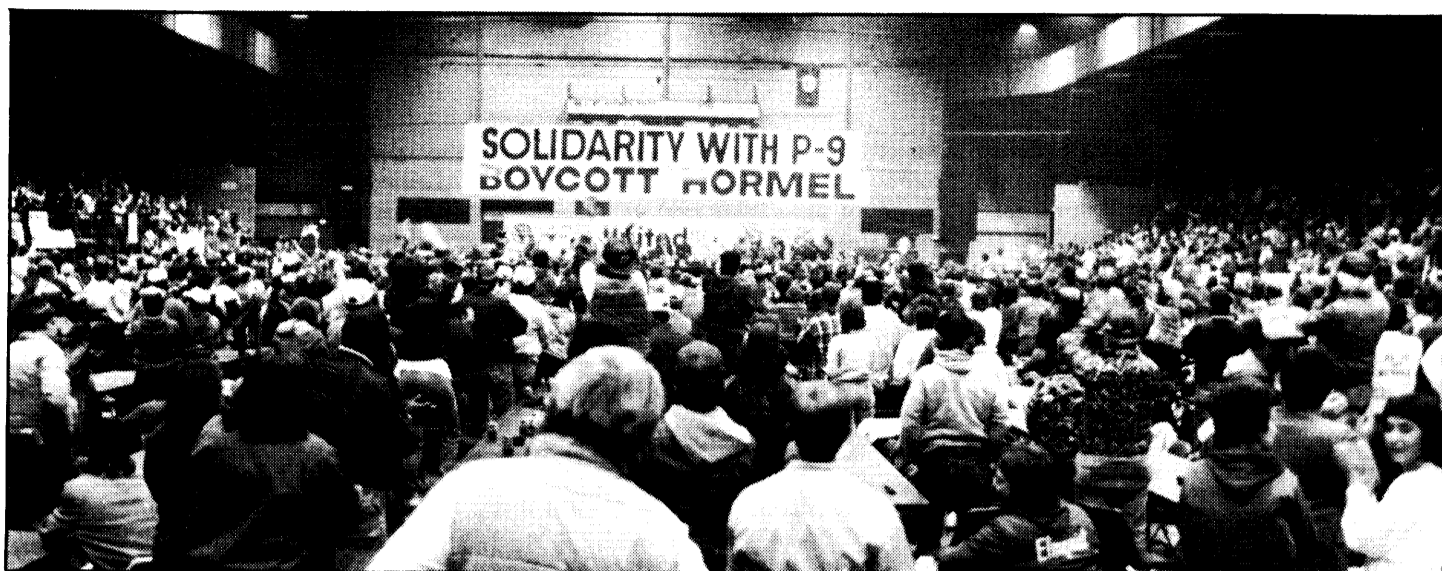
A dangerous concession P-9 offered the company was to guarantee it a \$30-million annual profit. If the company's profits fell below \$30 million, the workers at the Austin plant would make up the difference on a dollar-for-dollar basis. If the company's profits exceeded \$30 million, the Austin workers would receive a 4-cent-per-hour raise. The P-9 members explained that the company's immediate rejection of this offer made its union-busting intentions clear. ■



Socialist Action/Baer

Police confront picketline of hundreds of strikers and supporters outside Hormel plant in Austin, Minn. on April 11.

... Hormel strikers defy attacks



Over 5000 P-9 strikers and supporters rally in Austin, Minn., on April 12. "We can, must, and will win this struggle," P-9 President Jim Guyette told the crowd. Other speakers included leaders of unions, farmer organizations, and Native American and other community groups.

(continued from page 1)

few pickets to close down Hormel in the face of local cops, sheriffs, and state police from the surrounding area. The police reinforcements were armed to the teeth—including tear gas.

The organizers of Thursday's picketline therefore decided not to put their plan to close down the plant into operation, thereby challenging a local judge's unconstitutional injunction against the right to peaceful assembly.

At the Thursday-evening strike meeting, the organizer, a local strike supporter and wife of a Local P-9 member, urged a big turnout for the Friday action. She said the plan to close down the plant would be put into effect the next morning if enough pickets showed up. She also appealed for volunteers to serve as picket captains for the next day's action.

The captains met Friday at 3:30 a.m. to hear the details of the previously undisclosed strategy and to help organize the picketing.

A half-hour later, the plan of action was outlined to some 700 pickets. Four teams were then organized and advised to exercise the highest degree of discipline.

Carried out with precision

There are only four access roads into the plant area. This is where the vehicles and pickets were to concentrate. The largest number of pickets was assigned to the main access road from the freeway.

This time, unlike previous mobilizations, the strikers decided they would not stand by and allow the cops to violate their constitutional rights to carry out an effective picketline.

Instead of willingly accepting arrests "to fill the jails," pickets were advised to "peacefully intervene to prevent arrests." Organizers said that pickets should vigorously protest any unconstitutional—and therefore illegal—arrests. This fundamental right to free speech is guaranteed by the constitution's Bill of Rights.

The pickets enthusiastically, and without debate, carried out the plan with amazing precision. Less than an hour later, the four access roads to the Hormel plant were blocked by a circle of stalled and locked ve-

hicles and a designated number of pickets.

Although scabs had been arriving for work as early as 1 a.m., the plant was shut down tight. It remained shut until about two hours after the 7 a.m. shift was scheduled to come to work. Cars carrying scabs were rerouted to a parking lot holding area until the cops could break up the picketline.

When daylight broke, the cops began an elaborate series of maneuvers based on the latest "crowd control" (strikebreaking) theories. Police squads, in helmets with face-guards and carrying three-foot-long clubs, moved menacingly from position to position. They were armed with handguns, and some also had rifles and tear-gas guns.

Tear gas proves decisive

The 400 to 500 pickets locked arms in front of the circled vehicles at the main gate. They stood their ground. But soon the cops moved in and began to pull the pickets from the line, beating them as they dragged them into waiting police vans.

The tug of war went on in waves for close to two hours. Even though the cops

punched and clawed at the pickets in the front ranks, they only succeeded in arresting four or five pickets in their repeated forays up until the tear-gas attack.

But it was the use of tear gas that proved decisive. There were too few pickets to rebuild the picketline after the tear gas had subsided.

By the end of the confrontation, 17 strikers and supporters had been arrested. They face felony charges involving five-year jail sentences and up to \$10,000 fines. In the past, all those arrested faced misdemeanor charges. This time, the police chief said there was a "riot." Hence the felony charges.

Still, the use of brute force by the cops was relatively limited. The strikebreakers feared that excessive brutality could boomerang, inspiring a more massive action by outraged supporters scheduled to arrive by the thousands for the next day's activities.

Boycott urged

After Saturday's march and rally, several hundred supporters met with Local P-9

Who provokes violence - cops or strikers?

By FRANK FLANARY

MINNEAPOLIS—These are hard times for the P-9 strikers. Six P-9ers and 11 supporters were arrested on April 11 and face up to five years in jail for attempting to keep the scabs from crossing the picketline.

On April 24, P-9 President Jim Guyette and Ray Rogers were arraigned on charges stemming from the same strike action. Police Chief Donald Hoffman said that eight additional pickets face charges based on police videotapes of the demonstration.

On April 14, the UFCW International also stepped up its attacks on P-9, with the opening of a three-day hearing against the local. The only thing the union officials were willing to consider was whether or not P-9 had violated the International's order to end the strike. If found guilty, P-9 will be placed in receivership, and new local elections will be called.

The UFCW hearings were a sham. Only 48 people could fit into the small room at the downtown public library. And P-9 members were not allowed to testify; only executive board members. Jim Guyette told the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* that he would physically not allow the International trustees to take over the Austin union hall.

Now, Jesse Jackson has come into the picture. On April 13, Jackson spoke at a rally and press conference in Austin.

Jackson was warmly greeted by the striking workers. People felt that Jackson was helping out by keeping national attention focused on the strike. But many

P-9 members and supporters were disappointed that Jackson chose to come to Austin the day *after* the three-day solidarity actions. If he really wanted to support P-9, they asked, why wasn't he at the support rally or the picketline?

And many P-9ers were also disappointed with Jackson's speech to the April 13 rally. Jackson never mentioned the arrests on April 11. Nor did he denounce the company or strikebreaking Gov. Rudy Perpich. All he could say was, "We don't need people fighting each other."

Jackson also strongly implied throughout his speech that the strikers were to blame for the confrontation on the picketline. "Don't lose the moral authority of your struggle," he said. "This struggle is not about tear gas, violence, and jails. It's about wages and benefits and protection and family stability."

Jackson's warnings against violence, however, were totally misdirected. The company and the cops were responsible for the confrontation and the tear gas—not the strikers, who were simply seeking to defend their jobs, wages, and working conditions by exercising their First Amendment right to assemble and picket.

After the rally, Jackson told the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* that his trip to Austin had "lifted the spirits of the people on both the side of labor and the side of management." Jackson also said he hoped to gain the confidence of the Hormel company so that he could be a "facilitator" in the strike.

What the P-9 strikers need, however, is not rhetoric and misdirected warnings. A

leaders to hear an outline of nationwide support activities in which they were urged to participate. P-9 President Jim Guyette reported on plans for a nationally organized system of local support committees.

The stated purpose of the national P-9 organization is to gain support nationally for the victory of the strike and to build a foundation for a nationwide "union strike support network." A central task projected for the national support committees, in addition to mobilizing political and material support, is to organize an effective boycott of Hormel products to help bring this company to terms.

This perspective is a useful and effective plan of action that can contribute significantly to the strike effort and enable Local P-9 to hold out until reinforcements can be mobilized.

Such reinforcements can result from an extension of the struggle to other unions. P-9 leaders expect that coming negotiations in the next months between other UFCW locals and Hormel could result in a strike—given the relentless anti-union drive of this meatpacking giant. Other developments, such as the rail strike that has erupted in New England, would also open up new possibilities for striking Austin workers.

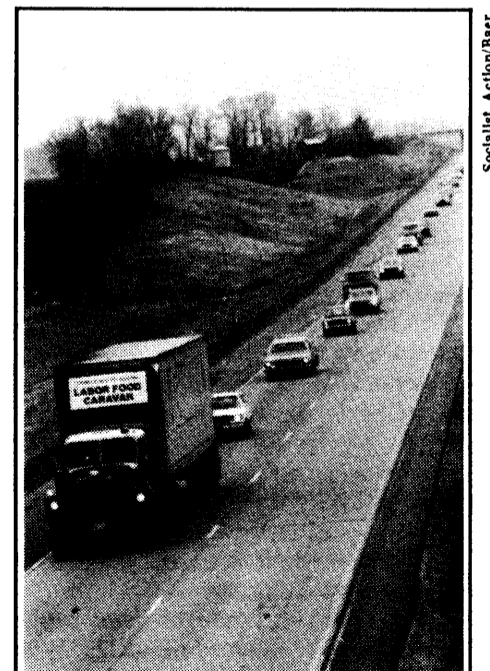
But, in the final analysis, a boycott alone cannot win this strike. Ultimately the strike must be won on the picketline. Still, the national campaign outlined by P-9 leader Jim Guyette can serve to gain time and prepare the ground for organizing picketline reinforcements for the beleaguered P-9 strikers.

Class-struggle union fighters should enlist in the national support organization, including making the boycott of Hormel products as effective as possible.

Roland Sheppard, a member of San Francisco Painter's Local 4, speaking at the April 12 Austin mass rally, described the developing fighting mood that is showing up in response to P-9's valiant struggle. He reported: "Our union held a news conference yesterday, and declared that when Local P-9 leaders again call for volunteers, we will help organize Bay Area unionists in trains, planes, and buses to go to Austin to protest the police-state tactics that were carried out yesterday." ■

large-scale campaign to defend the 25 arrested P-9 strikers and their supporters is necessary. Increased material aid to the P-9 Adopt a Family Fund is also crucial.

Money should be sent to United Support Group, P-9 Emergency Hardship Fund, 316 Fourth Ave., NE, Austin MN 55912. And support for P-9's Hormel boycott must be organized on a national scale by the entire labor movement. ■



Car caravan delivering 24 tons of food to striking Local P-9 workers makes its way to Austin, Minn., on April 5. This was the third and most successful caravan organized by the Twin Cities P-9 Strike Support Committee, with three tractor trailers arriving from Wisconsin. One of the Twin Cities auto workers' unions brought their own caravan several days later with another 4 tons of food for the P-9 workers.—JAKE COOPER

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By MARIE WEIGAND

On April 4, slightly over 60 percent of steelworkers in LTV local unions voted to approve a new 40-month concessionary agreement between the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and LTV Steel Corporation. The official vote count was 13,162 in favor; 8474 opposed.

The majority of steelworkers in 30 local unions voted in favor of the agreement while those in eight local unions turned it down. Strongest support came in those locals whose plants were largely shut down, with the largest "yes" vote coming from locals in Aliquippa, Pittsburgh, and Youngstown. Local 1211, at LTV's Aliquippa works, voted 2707 to 137 to approve the new agreement.

LTV's two most modern facilities, Cleveland and Indiana Harbor, have been working near full capacity for some time. Workers at three of the five large Cleveland locals were among those rejecting the new contract.

The new agreement contains serious concessions estimated to average \$3.15 per hour in wages and benefits. These givebacks include the following: loss of the 45-cent-per-hour "raise" due Feb. 1, which would have returned wages to their 1983 level; an additional average \$1.14-per-hour direct wage cut; lower Sunday premium and shift differential pay and accident benefits; elimination of three paid holidays; loss of one week vacation by all workers entitled to two or more weeks; and changes in insurance coverage, including elimination of vision care and doubling of major-medical deductibles.

Throughout the negotiations, LTV Steel

LTV Steel forces big union concessions

pointed a gun at the union's head, threatening not to return to the negotiating table if the membership turned down this offer—even though the old agreement didn't expire until Aug. 1. Instead, LTV threatened to file Chapter 11 bankruptcy the following week.

Rather than stand up to this blackmail, the USWA International went on an all-out campaign to convince steelworkers that the gun was loaded and that calling the company's bluff would result in disastrous consequences.

Jim Smith, special assistant to USWA President Lynn Williams, typified this hard-sell campaign when he told a Cleveland contract explanation meeting, "Very frankly, this company is in serious trouble. With this agreement, I think there's a good chance of saving the company. The best interests of the average employee and the average retiree are served by staying out of the bankruptcy courts."

The union's entire negotiating approach was based on the assumption that what's best for the company is best for steelworkers. A letter sent to all LTV workers signed by Tony Rainaldi, head of the USWA negotiating team, explained that unlike previous negotiations where the union had negotiated for better wages and benefits, this time the union was negotiating for the survival of the company.

The International organized a series of contract explanation meetings around the country. These meetings showed the widespread discontent with the new contract. In Cleveland, both the morning and afternoon meetings drew 800 to 900 workers. An impromptu picket line urging a "no" vote greeted those arriving for the morning meeting. Some brought signs urging a "no" vote into the meeting.

At the afternoon session, District Director Frank Valenta introduced chief negotiator Tony Rainaldi and asked that "we all give him a warm Cleveland welcome." A few polite claps were quickly drowned out by an overwhelming chorus of boos.

Shouts of "vote no," "send it back for more negotiations," and "shut 'em down" were periodically heard. When the International representatives described the profit-sharing/stock-option plans, derisive

cries of "if, if, if" rang from the hall as the conditions were listed.

Some of the ballots also expressed the frustration and anger felt by many steelworkers. These included messages explaining why they'd voted no. However, even some of the "yes" votes included such messages as "yes, but this is the last time" and "yes, but you'd better not ask for any more."

The agreement passed because the company and the union were able to convince the majority of LTV workers that the company was serious in its game of Russian roulette. The contract includes improved language on contracting out, grievance procedure, and seniority rights for workers from closed departments. These positive features were enough to assure a "yes" vote from those who believed the gun was loaded.

Improved language

Finally, to assure passage of the agreement, special early retirement and separation-pay allowances were offered to those workers whose plants or departments are indefinitely shut down. It was estimated that 7000 to 10,000 workers would benefit from these provisions. This accounts for

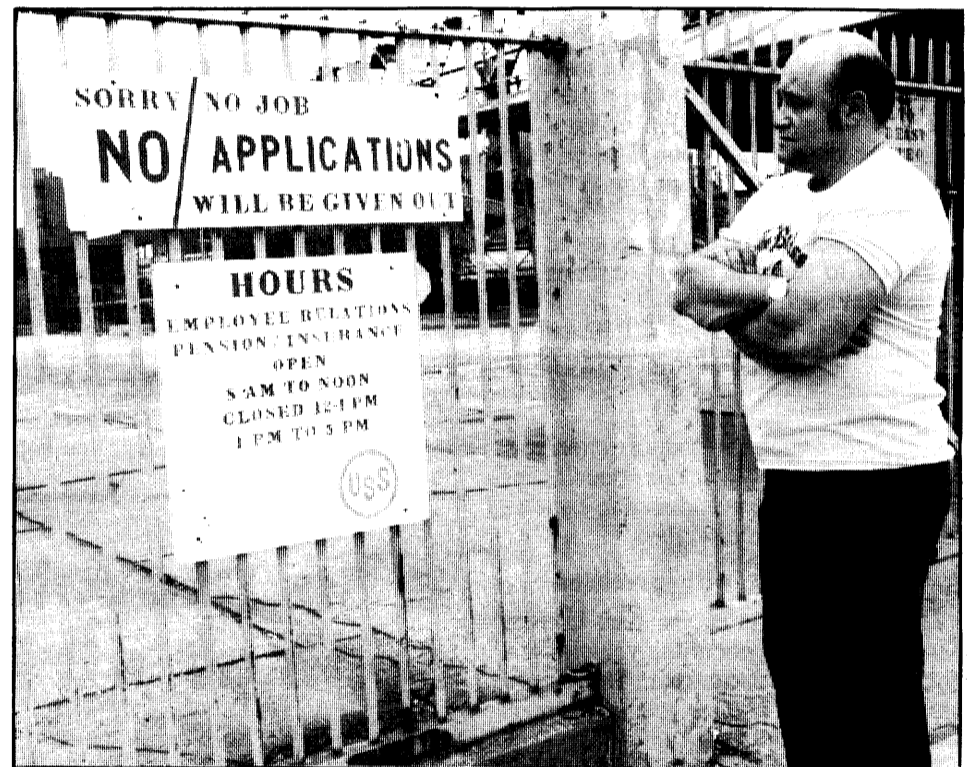
the overwhelming "yes" votes from Aliquippa, Pittsburgh, and Youngstown.

Rainaldi told the press he was pleased with the vote and said the victory margin was much higher than he expected. But this vote does not reflect agreement with the union's concessionary approach.

Although an organized opposition to the International leadership's policies does not exist, the anger and frustration expressed at the contract explanation meetings around the country show it is only a matter of time until a movement develops to make the union once more fight in the interests of its members.

As we go to press, the USWA has reached a tentative agreement with National Steel Corporation calling for wage and benefit concessions averaging \$1.51 per hour, including a 31-cent-per-hour wage cut and elimination of cost-of-living increases. Results of a vote on this concessions package will be announced April 28.

Still ahead are negotiations with Bethlehem (where the company is also claiming near bankruptcy and attempting to force the union to negotiate separate agreements for the smaller plants), Inland, and US Steel.



Alice Peurala speaks: 'Concessions don't stop plant closings'

The following is an interview with Alice Peurala, president of USWA Local 65, which represents workers at US Steel South Works. She also ran for district director of District 31 (Chicago-Gary) last fall, losing to incumbent Jack Parton, a strong supporter of the USWA International leadership. The interview was conducted by Shirley Pasholk.

Socialist Action: Why did you decide to run for district director?

Alice Peurala: I thought there was a need for an issue-oriented campaign. With the basic steel negotiations coming up, I felt it was important to address the question of concessions. We need a strong leadership that will take a strong stand.

I also pointed to the need for stronger contracting-out language in the basic steel contract. Over the last few years, we've seen more and more steelworker jobs lost to outside contractors. This is a union-busting tactic by corporations who bring in non-union workers to do our work for less wages.

S.A.: What do you think your campaign accomplished?

Peurala: I think it stimulated some thinking in the district. The 5000 votes I received are very significant. It shows that many steelworkers feel they need a strong union leadership who will fight to protect their interests. They feel the union needs to speak for steelworkers rather than seek ways of accommodating the companies. They're searching for protection they don't feel they have with the current leadership.

S.A.: Lynn Williams and his slate were elected unanimously last fall and very few district director races were really contested. Dave Patterson lost his bid for re-election in District 6. What do you think this says for the possibilities of building opposition to the "official family" at this time?

Peurala: I think there's a lot of discontent, but it's not organized. It's out there. We just have to keep plugging away. I think there is a segment of the union which wants to go in another direction. This sentiment is frequently expressed by the secondary union leadership. All is

definitely not lost.

S.A.: Most steelworkers viewed the Wheeling-Pittsburgh settlement as a forerunner for this year's basic steel negotiations. Now a concessionary agreement has been approved at LTV. What do you foresee for the remainder of this year's basic steel negotiations?

Peurala: I don't think LTV set any patterns. We'll have to see how it goes with US Steel, Bethlehem, and Inland. We'll see how much fight there is against concessions.

S.A.: What possibilities do you see for reversing the concession bargaining trend?

Peurala: I went to a couple of basic steel conferences [periodic meetings of the presidents of basic steel locals] and ran into a lot of people opposed to concessions. We'll have to wait and see how this opposition takes shape.

The companies are using the same old arguments to sell concessions. They make workers feel their job is at stake and it's better to have some job than no job at all. However, it's been proven time and time again that concessions don't save jobs or stop plant closings.

The labor movement will have to decide in what direction it's going. Do we call the shots or do we continue to let the companies call them?

S.A.: How do you view the state of the industry and the union?

Peurala: The industry is having some

problems, but they're of their own making. They've failed to invest in modernization. Instead, they've invested in other industries and other countries.

We need to rebuild the infrastructure of this country. If the federal government had its priorities in order, there'd be a demand for steel which would create jobs. But, instead of rebuilding decaying roads and bridges, they're spending money on the Pentagon and aid to the contras.

I'm in favor of eminent domain actions to prevent steel mills from closing. If necessary, the steel companies should be nationalized to meet the real needs of the American people.

I think the union really has to make some decisions about what kind of union it's going to be. It has to seriously look at the direction it's heading in or we won't be a union. We'll just be a dues-collection agency. We need to seriously protect workers' rights and jobs.

I'm not sure the International leadership is on the right track politically when they talk about Congress and foreign imports. They're putting all their eggs in one basket, using the Reagan administration as a handy excuse for all their problems.

We need to take a stand that workers won't take any cuts in the benefits they've struggled 50 years to win. Now, the union's stand is to compromise. It's been proven this won't save jobs and prevent shutdowns. We need to turn this around.

A review of the roots of rebellion in Haiti

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

In recent weeks, thousands of Haitians have taken to the streets demanding an end to the military government of Lieut. Gen. Henri Namphy. In late March, troops opened fire upon a series of demonstrations, but the killings have only strengthened the popular struggle for democracy.

The Haitian people have been fighting oppression for over 500 years. They have overthrown dictators, slaveholders, and foreign troops alike. It is important to study Haiti's history in order to understand why the people fight on so valiantly today. With that purpose in mind, I would recommend the books listed below, which are available in many public and university libraries.

- "The Black Jacobins," by C.L.R. James, Vintage Publishers, Random House, New York.

This book analyzes, from a Marxist perspective, the complex class, racial, and national rivalries that existed in 17th and 18th century St. Domingue (renamed Haiti after independence), Europe, and the Caribbean.

C.L.R. James, an Afro-Caribbean historian, highlights the career of Toussaint L'Overture, a former slave whose military, political, and economic genius was manifested in his leadership of the slave insurrection that culminated in Haitian independence.

- "Written in Blood," by Robert Debs Heinl, Jr. and Nancy Gordon Heinl, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1978.

This is an account of the violent events that transpired throughout Haitian history from 1492 to 1971. Included is a chronology, glossary, maps, and many excellent photographs—plus a special section on Voodoo. The authors correctly state: "To read the history of Haiti while ignoring Voodoo would be comparable to studying the Middle East with no prior knowledge of Judaism, Christianity, or Islam."

- "The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," by Hans Schmidt, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1971.

With the advent of World War I, the United States feared that Germany might try to establish a military

base in Haiti. That, plus the desire to achieve economic hegemony, led to the 19-year occupation of Haiti by U.S. Marines in which thousands of people were brutally exterminated.

Dr. Schmidt chronicles the development of "Negritude," an international movement that sought an identity in Black and African origins. The movement found a response especially among young mulatto intellectuals in Haiti who were shocked by the racism of the U.S. occupation forces.

- "The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891," by Rayford W. Logan, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1941.

The U.S. government, which was dominated by Southern slaveholders, refused to recognize the Haitian government until 1862, when Lincoln grudgingly extended recognition without full diplomatic status. Author Rayford Logan was a prominent Black historian.

- "From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti," David Nicholls, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Before independence, the slave population was virtually all Black, whereas the slave owners were predominantly white and light-skinned. Nicholls shows how racial and color differences have continued up to the present day to play a major role in determining class and social status in Haiti. ■

S. African trade unionist speaks:

'We are using new tactics: Occupying the factory'

Alexandra, a Black township adjoining Johannesburg, South Africa, was in the headlines last February while police and army troops battled its residents.

Once again, Alexandra is in the news. Last month, workers and students in the township went on strike against the continued police occupation of their community. A consumer boycott was enforced against white businesses in the area.

The last remaining officials of the township council fled Alexandra, leaving the administration in the hands of the people's committees.

Moses Mayekiso is the chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee and is the Transvaal secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). The following interview with Mayekiso first appeared in the April 5, 1986, issue of Socialist Worker, a newspaper published in Great Britain. We have abridged the interview for reasons of space.

Question: Please tell us the background to the February 1986 uprising in Alexandra.

Answer: Apartheid, which is the whip of the capitalist state, faces people with problems both inside and outside of the factories. There was no serious body that was organized in Alex, so the people decided to organize themselves.

We decided to form street committees to organize people from the ground up, from the grass roots.

Then one of the comrades was killed by the police, and people put me in charge of preparations for the funeral. By organizing through the street committees, the attend-

ance at the all-night vigil was very big.

At the vigil, the police antagonized people by throwing tear gas at the mourners. When the mourners tried to ask what was happening, some were shot dead. And then the fighting started.

That lasted for over five days. People managed to chase away the police and then, when the police saw that they couldn't handle the situation, they asked for reinforcements. They sent the troops in by helicopters, and about 44 people were killed and more than 70 injured.

The people are no longer taking their problems to the SAP [South African Police]. They are taking their problems to the Alexandra Action Committee.

We created the action committee because of the divisions that existed. When there was a big action, say if the decision was taken by the unions, some organizations would say, "No, that's just something for the workers." If it was AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization], then people would say, "No, it's just Black Consciousness, we don't have to support them."

We wanted to bridge that gap, so there was an umbrella organization that directs the struggle properly and puts all those organizations together. You find that in the executive of the action committee there are people belonging to the youth, the unions, and unorganized people. It's a mixture.

Question: What sort of relationship is there between the unions and the United Democratic Front (UDF)?

Answer: In COSATU [the Confederation of South African Trade Unions, formed in November 1985] we passed a resolution that we should be independent of

any political organization, but that we should work together with other political forces, all those that are progressive and fighting the system.

The UDF is supported widely by many people. Say in the unions we decided we are going to have a stay-away over this and that, then we communicate with UDF structures and other progressive bodies and discuss the matter—like the May Day now approaching.

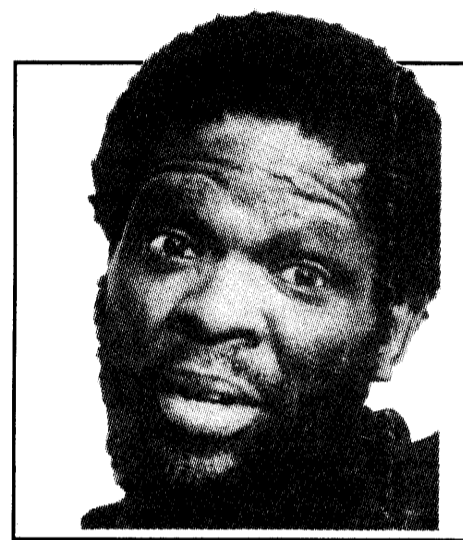
We have been negotiating with the employers to get a holiday on May Day. But that was rejected, so we resolved that we will just have to take that day.

Question: The level of industrial struggle doesn't seem to have matched that in the townships.

Answer: I think that the figure of industrial disputes depends on the reporting. In the metal industry we had more strikes last year than any other year.

This year there is going to be a big battle, because straight from the beginning we were involved in a lot of strikes. Just this year there have been about 10 strikes. And when I left South Africa, there were six metal factories on strike.

Also, the workers are using a new tactic now to occupy the factory, the sit-in, demanding that no one should take over our job—these are our machines and no one else will use them.



Moses Mayekiso

Question: What about a workers' party formed directly out of the trade unions?

Answer: There has been a big discussion for three years now, where some people have said, "Let's have a workers' party." But they felt that because of what's happening now in the country, with a mass movement pushing for change, if now we put forward the workers' party it might be divisive.

Therefore, what we can do at the present moment is to form a program for the organized working class, which will be socialist.

Question: Would the program demand that workers get control of the factories?

Answer: That would be my feeling, because if you just say "nationalization of industry" it does not answer how. There are industries that are nationalized in South Africa already—like the railways and Eastco—but the profits are not benefiting the nation. The people that are benefiting are a few bosses and the apartheid state. ■

Hit apartheid, boycott Shell themes of Cleve. rally

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

CLEVELAND—Despite cold, rainy weather, 350 to 400 people participated in a march and rally against apartheid April 5 sponsored by the Northeast Ohio Anti-Apartheid Committee. The lead banners urged "End All U.S. Ties to Apartheid" and "End Apartheid in South Africa: Boycott Shell."

Approximately half the demonstrators marched in trade-union contingents organized by AFSCME, SEIU, UAW, and UFCW. UAW Local 1112 in Lordstown, Ohio, chartered a bus.

Youth United to Oppose Apartheid, a Cleveland high-school group, brought 50 students to the march. Other contingents included the Unemployed Crisis Center of Lorain County and the Peace Council of Youngstown.

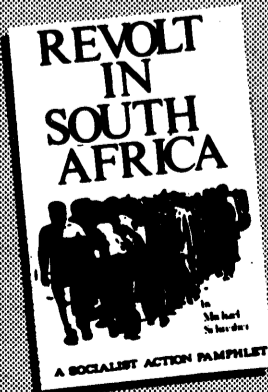
Bill Lucy, AFSCME International secretary-treasurer and president of the

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, urged support for the Shell Oil boycott, pointing to the big role multinational corporations play in propping up the South African government.

Stating that "organized labor is in solidarity with the trade unionists in South Africa in their struggle for social and economic justice," William Stodghill, SEIU International vice president, explained the effect apartheid has on U.S. workers.

Shuping Coapoge, member of the African National Congress observer mission to the United Nations, described the current situation in South Africa. Other speakers included Kathleen Geathers, Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, Cleveland affiliate of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Joanna Cagan, Youth United to Oppose Apartheid; and Kathy Barbour, Amnesty International. ■

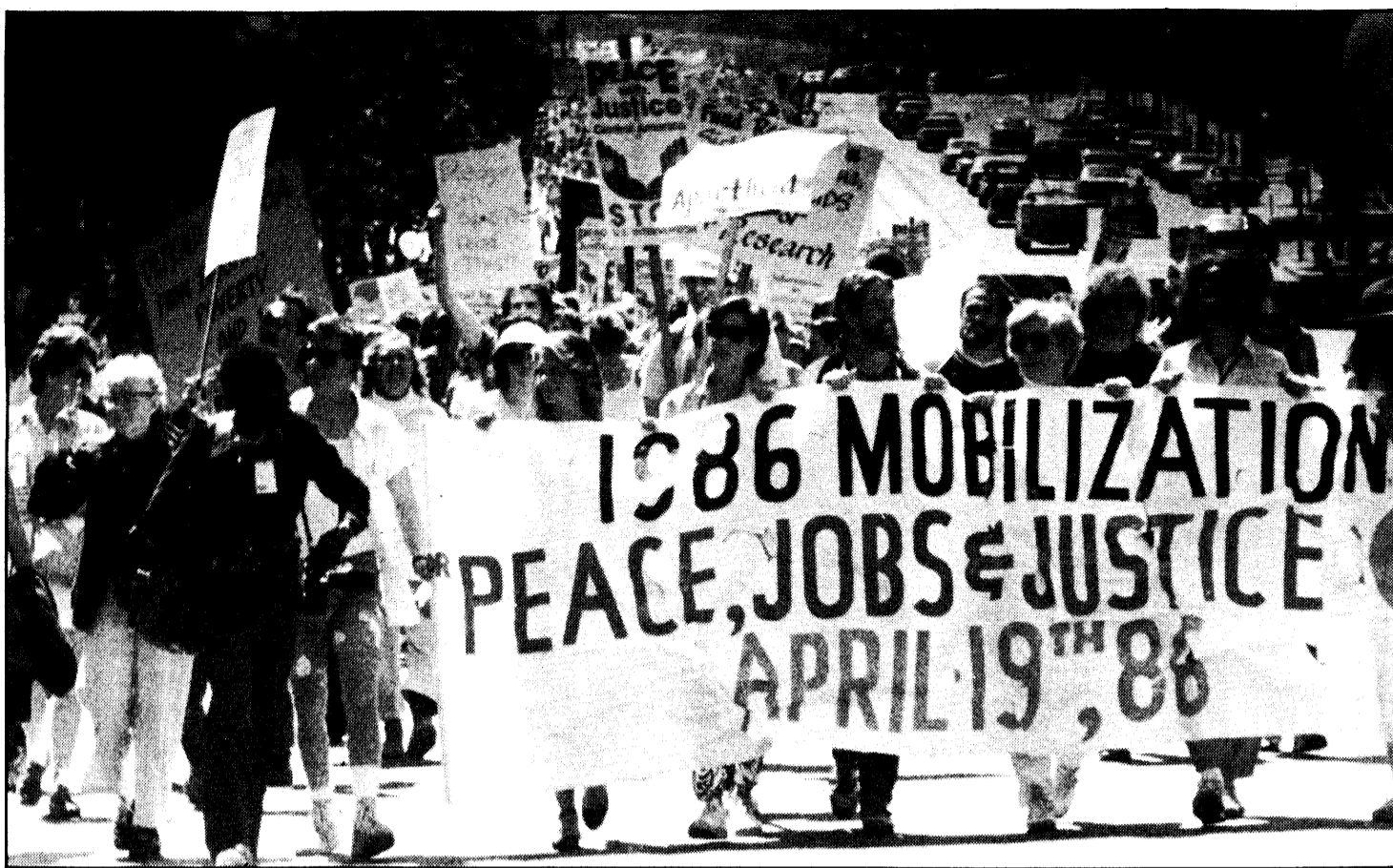
A must for anti-apartheid activists!



This timely pamphlet discusses the on-going struggle in South Africa from a revolutionary Marxist perspective. The program of the South African Communist Party and other political organizations, the role of rural workers, and the recent development of COSATU, the new union federation, are analyzed in detail.

By Michael Schreiber and Carole Seligman, 75 cents (\$1.10 includes postage).

To order write Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., Rm 308, San Francisco, CA 94110



Socialist Action/ Joe Ryan

... 25,000 hit U.S. war drive

(continued from page 1)

Not Nicaragua," and "Money for AIDS, Not War."

On the heels of the anti-apartheid contingent, which contained hundreds of young people from Bay Area campuses, the labor complement marched, carrying union banners and signs from the six local central labor councils that endorsed the demonstration. Many demonstrators and onlookers gave a special cheer to the striking cannery workers from Watsonville, Calif., and to the members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, whose strike against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minn., has inspired national support among working people.

Later in the day, demonstrators would learn that 6000 miles away in Europe, tens of thousands were protesting Reagan's air raid on Libya.

That evening the local TV and press gave extensive coverage to the protests in Europe but downplayed the largest protest of all—the one in San Francisco. Local TV stations said there were only 6000 in the march, and there was no coverage at all on national news.

Police along the march route reported to the organizers that the march was over 30,000. That evening, however, the official police estimate was drastically lowered to 6000. With the exception of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which reported a turnout of 20,000, it was clear that the police and media were consciously down-

playing the size of the crowd. They wanted to hide the fact that a significant demonstration against the government's foreign policy—including the U.S. bombing of Libya—had taken place.

"We must be truth-tellers"

At the conclusion of the spirited two-and-a-half-mile march, demonstrators put down their signs and made themselves comfortable at the rally site to listen to speakers from various components of the coalition.

Most of the speakers addressed the events of the previous week: the U.S. attack on Libya, the contra vote in Congress, and the resumption of underground nuclear weapons tests by the United States.

Abdeen Jabara, vice chairman of the Arab Anti-Discrimination League, was one of the first to speak.

"I join here today the families of the American hostages held in Lebanon in condemning the Reagan administration's bombing attack on Libya," Jabara said. "The policy of the Reagan administration is to bolster and protect a foreign policy in the Middle East not unlike that which it bolsters and protects in Central America and Southern Africa."

Jabara continued, "We must not remain silent on the Middle East and on the struggle for human and civil rights for the Palestinians....It does not take a great deal of thought to recognize the risk to the United States and the American people from an unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict at whose base is the Palestine conflict."

Jane Gruenebaum, executive director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, spoke on "the need to redefine our notion of national security."

"We must be truth-tellers," Gruenebaum told the crowd. "Our bombing of Libya was an aggressive act of war. It did not lessen the threat of terrorism." She continued, "Our support to the contras in Nicaragua does not advance freedom. It undermines the right of self-determination. And our refusal to join the Soviet Union in stopping underground nuclear testing says that this nation bears the ignominy of being the superpower that refuses to end the nuclear arms race."

Pat Norman, director of San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Health Services, directed her remarks at Reagan: "Our message is loud and clear. Stop the killing. Stop the bombing. Stop the contras and the death squads. End the outrageous terrorism that this country is involved in...We protest a man who feels as comfortable busting the unions and ending workers' rights as he is comfortable making sure that lesbians and gays are discriminated against in jobs and housing."

Al Lannon, president of International Longshore and Warehouse union Local 6

and a Mobilization coordinator, was the next to speak. "These are hard times for unions," Lannon said. "And that is why the Mobilization is endorsed and supported by every Bay Area labor council, by the ILWU, and by dozens of local unions."

Lannon continued, "Millions are coming more and more to understand that the government policy that busted PATCO is the same policy that is trying to bust the government of Nicaragua."

Carmen Olivares, a Nicaraguan supporter of the Sandinista government, gave a moving speech opposing U.S. policy toward her country. "We are the real freedom fighters," she said, "because we have brought freedom to our country...The [U.S.] government gives money to what it calls freedom fighters, but they are nothing but assassins and killers—nothing but the old Somoza guard."

"We are fighting and we will go down fighting," Olivares said referring to the Sandinista Army's defense of the revolution. "And they will have to kill each and everyone of us, because we won't give it up."

Right to self-determination

Gustavo Acosta, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, explained the issues in Central America: "There is an ongoing and deepening U.S. aggression against our national sovereignty in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras."

"What we want," Acosta said, "is to determine our own destiny and to organize ourselves in our own way to resolve the poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease—problems the Reagan administration has not and will not resolve with its

intervention."

Marta Alicia Rivera of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES), hailed the formation of the new union federation in El Salvador, the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), and urged support for the U.S. anti-intervention movement: "In the name of 60,000 working people who have died in El Salvador, we are asking you to work hard to stop the U.S. economic and military intervention in our country."

Pedro Noguera, president of Associated Students [the student government] at the University of California, Berkeley, spoke about the role of students in the fight against U.S. support to apartheid in South Africa.

"Throughout the nation," Noguera said, "students are taking action for divestment, action against apartheid. They are becoming aware of the need to be part of a broad-based movement that is going to bring about change; that will make it no longer possible for our government to make war against Nicaragua or the people of Libya."

One of the featured speakers was John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, which represents 1.7 million AFL-CIO members in the state.

Henning started out by referring to the demonstration of 50,000 people organized on April 20, 1985, by essentially the same coalition. "One year ago we met here in protest over the domestic and foreign policy positions of the Reagan administration. There has been nothing within the past year to encourage optimism in either respect."

"On the domestic front," Henning said, "we still suffer from 32 million Americans living in poverty. Thousands of homeless live in the streets of America. In foreign affairs, we see the reflections of the militarized foreign policy. We see it in the situation where we deplore terrorism in the Middle East and yet foster and sponsor it in Latin America...Just this week we have seen the reflection of that policy in the bombing of Libya."

Henning concluded: "We are honored to share your protests on this day...Work for peace, jobs and justice. We have the membership. All we need is the mobilization."

A tremendous show of support was given to Elaine Dwyer, representing the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, which is on strike against concessions demanded by TWA.

"We've been out on strike now for 43 days," Dwyer said. "We have many good friends who have helped us both emotionally and financially. And we have some special friends," she said, pointing to a table near the stage. "And that's Local P-9."

Other speakers at the two-hour-long rally included Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley; Alex Foreman of the Northern California Nuclear Freeze Campaign; Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers of America; Dennis Jennings, representing the American Indian Movement and the International Indian Treaty Council; James Merdoff Phillips of the African National Congress; John George of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors; Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine



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Socialist Action/Mary Gong

TWA strikers at head of San Francisco march on April 19.

Workers of America [see speech in this section]; and many others.

Lessons and controversies

Organizers of the demonstration said the event was an unqualified success. Still, the demonstration was only half the size of the one organized a year earlier. Why the difference?

The sizeable turnout on April 19 proved irrefutably that it is possible to organize mass independent actions against U.S. government policies. Yet many of the organizations that actively supported and built the 1985 demonstration in San Francisco did not make the same commitment this time.

Furthermore, the 1985 protest was one component of nationwide demonstrations in different cities, with the biggest (65,000) in Washington, D.C., organized by the April Actions Coalition. Unfortunately, as we reported in earlier issues of *Socialist Action*, the April Actions Coalition voted in the fall *not* to have demonstrations this spring. Instead, their priority was to get "progressives" (that is, Democrats) elected in the upcoming 1986 congressional elections.

In essence, with the exception of San Francisco, the movement was largely demobilized on a national scale at a time when threats of war have grown ever more ominous. The impact of the San Francisco demonstration was therefore mitigated by the fact that it was a local response—as opposed to a national response—to Reagan's domestic and foreign policies.

Even in the San Francisco coalition, the pressure of the elections was felt.

One thing, however, is certain. Despite the differences in strategy among members and organizations of the peace, jobs and justice movement, the most compelling pressure for mass independent political action will come from the U.S. government, which in the period ahead will intensify its attacks on working people here and abroad.

The April 19 demonstration proved that mass antiwar sentiment can be mobilized. This is an example that should be followed by the movement nationally. ■

'Blood and oil don't mix-Boycott Shell'

The following is the speech to the April 19 rally by Richard Trumka, International president of the United Mine Workers of America.

On behalf of all 700,000 men, women and children of the UMW family, I want to offer a very special thanks to all of those among you here in the Bay Area who came to our assistance in 1977 and 1978 during our 111-day strike. To all of you I say that your support in our time of need will never, never be forgotten.

Now, eight years later, the United Mine Workers has an opportunity—as do all of us—to assist 24 million human beings who suffer grievously under the barbaric apartheid system of South Africa. Now, as national co-chairman of the National Labor Committee to Boycott Shell, I am here to urge all of you to commit yourselves and your organizations to help implement the Shell boycott.

Royal Dutch Shell is the world's largest single conglomeration of capital. Forcing them out of South Africa means that small-

er corporations, by necessity, will follow. Since Jan. 9, when we announced our boycott, Bell and Howell and AT&T have announced their divestment from South Africa.

Unfortunately, apartheid can survive in South Africa without Bell and Howell and without AT&T. But it can't survive without the oil supplied by Royal Dutch Shell and other multinational oil companies. Without imported oil, the apartheid economy collapses. Without imported oil, the South African police and military can't move into the Black townships. They can't invade Mozambique or Angola or occupy Namibia.

Because of its military and strategic importance, oil under South African law is defined as a munition of war. Perhaps Congressman Perry Mitchell put it best when he said the following: "The laws of chemistry would say that blood and oil don't mix. But indeed under Shell's operation blood and oil are mixing."

For every Black man or woman shot down in South Africa, that blood goes into



UMW Pres. Richard Trumka

the dollars that go into Shell's profits. For every Black man or woman beaten, until the blood comes out of them in a South African prison, that blood goes on the dollars that go into Shell.

I am here to urge you to educate the vast majority of Californians opposed to apartheid. By that simple act of boycotting Shell they strike a small blow against oppression. Collectively, those small blows become a mighty hammer that will force Shell out of South Africa.

An old labor song goes, "Drops of water, turn the wheel, singly none, singly none." Shell, no, freedom yes, Shell no, freedom yes! Thank you. ■

Athletes for peace at antiwar fundraiser

By JOE RYAN

SAN FRANCISCO—On the eve of the April 19 march and rally for peace, jobs and justice in San Francisco, some 250 activists, leaders, and supporters of the antiwar and peace movements attended a fundraising dinner/reception cosponsored by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice and Athletes United for Peace.

Some 25 top athletes, past and present, attended and expressed their commitment to the Mobilization's program. The event raised \$500.

Co-chaired by Jeff Mackler of the Mobilization and Guy Benjamin, former San Francisco 49er quarterback and executive director of Athletes United for Peace, the event also featured musician/social activist Holly Near, comedian Bob Sarlatte, and United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka.

This was the first time a number of top professional and amateur athletes publicly joined with the antiwar movement to express their commitment and concern.

Speaking at the event were Randy Cross, current All-Pro San Francisco 49er; R. C. Owens, former All-Pro 49er; Gene Upshaw, Oakland Raider veteran and currently executive director of the National Football League Players Association and a member of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council; Tom Waddell, founder of the Gay Games and decathlon competitor on the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team; Marilyn King, U.S. Olympic Team, pentathlon; and Ron Davis, former All-American track athlete

and track coach for Nigeria, Tanzania, and Mozambique.

Stanford University's current quarterback, John Paye, and former St. Louis Cardinal David Meggyesy also attended. Meggyesy is the Western director of the NFL Players Association.

Jemma Turner, the U.S. representative of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers of Nicaragua (UNAG), spoke and introduced Jay Feldman, executive director of Baseball for Peace. Feldman, a writer for "Sports Illustrated," recently organized a team of U.S. baseball players to compete in Nicaragua.

Sports attorney Leigh Steinberg spoke about the importance of athletes joining in the cause of the antiwar movement.



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

A note of controversy

One question that was raised during the course of organizing the demonstration on April 19 was whether a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 should speak at the rally.

Local P-9 is waging a struggle that has national implications for the American labor movement. Its heroic struggle against concessions and union busting by the Hormel company, however, has not been supported by the International UFCW or the AFL-CIO.

Coordinators of the Mobilization realized that having a P-9 speaker would be seen by the local AFL-CIO affiliates, which are a key component of the coalition, as a provocation.

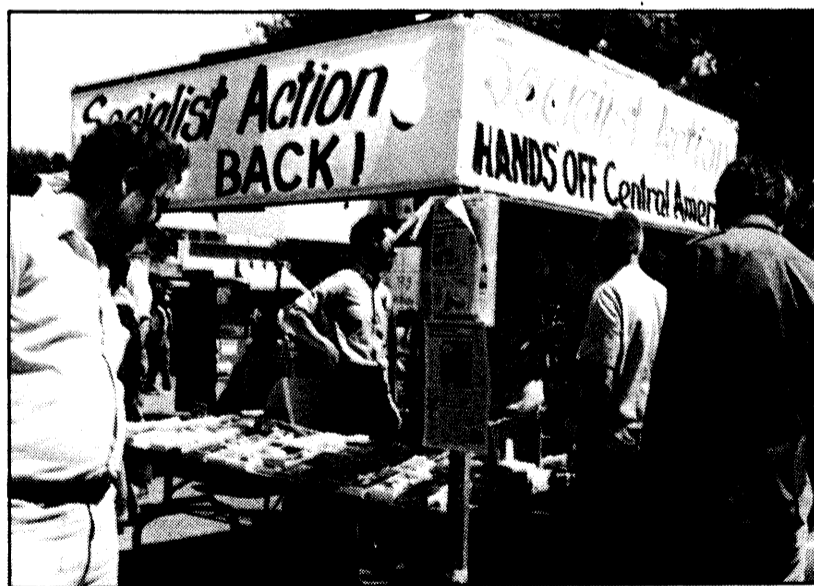
The fight of P-9 is a reflection of a tragic split in the labor movement. Undoubtedly, the majority of members of the Mo-

bilization support the fight of P-9. Some members of the Mobilization, through their unions, helped organize a support rally of over 600 people for P-9 in San Francisco on March 12. This was one of the most successful support rallies anywhere in the country.

Undoubtedly, it would have added to the April 19 rally to have a P-9 speaker. Yet the overriding need to maintain the strong *unity in action* of the coalition necessitated a tactical decision to not push the issue. It would not have helped the coalition nor the P-9 strike to have made the Mobilization a battleground for this dispute.

It will be workers in their unions who will settle labor's crisis of leadership and transform the unions into fighting instruments against the employers. This is what the P-9 struggle is all about. —J.R.

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By ALAN BENJAMIN

Last February, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held its 27th Congress in Moscow.

Much attention was paid in the media to Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev's proposals for a reduction in the arms race with the United States and to his "strategy for economic modernization." Far less attention, however, was placed on what is clearly a major focus of the Soviet bureaucracy's international policy—its commitment to "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.

The draft of the CPSU's political program, which was approved by the Congress, spells out this policy clearly: "The only sensible and acceptable way out in the present-day world, which is riddled with acute contradictions and which faces impending catastrophe, is a peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems."

"Peaceful coexistence," which looks to détente and not the world socialist revolution as the solution to the crisis of humanity, has historically meant counterrevolutionary cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States against the world's toiling masses.

This is the case today—despite the increased tensions between the two countries.

Last October, President Reagan, in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly, appealed to the Soviet Union to contribute to "solving regional conflicts throughout the Third World." Reagan was specifically soliciting the Soviet bureaucracy's help in holding back the Nicaraguan Revolution and in defusing the powder keg in the Middle East.

The *Los Angeles Times* (March 24, 1985) reports that the Soviet Union is sending out strong signals indicating its willingness to respond positively to Reagan's appeal. According to the *Times*, Kremlinologists who have studied all the documents approved by the 27th Congress "have found strong indications that Gorbachev wants to reduce Soviet involvement in the Third World and to focus on relations with the United States."

Among the evidence provided, the *Times* notes "the absence [in Gorbachev's speech to the Congress] of traditional Kremlin support for 'wars of national

Gorbachev's foreign policy: The new face of 'peaceful coexistence'

liberation' and 'national liberation struggles.'"

A *New York Times* article (March 22, 1985) made the same point: "The muted response [to Reagan's declaration that Nicaragua was a "cancer"] was in keeping with the cautious stance Moscow has long adopted toward the Sandinistas.... This [approach] was apparent at the 27th Communist Party Congress, [where] Nicaragua was ignored in the long speech by Mikhail S. Gorbachev."

Beyond words and omissions

But the commitment of the Soviet Union to "peaceful coexistence" goes far beyond the wording of keynote speeches by party leaders.

In the few months following the Geneva summit meeting, there have been many concrete examples of the new face of U.S.-Soviet "cooperation."

The Middle East is one example. In December 1985, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution condemning "terrorism." After 10 years of opposing this resolution, the Soviet delegate indicated that in the spirit of the Geneva Summit his government now "fully supported" it.

The U.N. resolution, however, had nothing to say about U.S.-sponsored state terrorism—the main source of terrorism throughout the world. The Cuban delegate to the United Nations put it this way: "It is shameful that the United Nations does not have the courage to get at the roots of terrorism. It refuses to condemn U.S. aggression against Nicaragua, the assassination attempts by the CIA against Cuban leaders, and the Israeli crimes in the occupied territories."

Soon after the adoption of this resolution, the Soviet Union loudly praised the United States' act of international piracy in which it intercepted an Egyptian airliner and forced it to land in Italy in the aftermath of the *Achille Lauro* affair.

And after the recent bombing of a nightclub in Berlin, the Soviet ambassador to Libya held a press conference where he announced that the Soviet Union had no mutual defense agreements with Qaddafi and that it was pulling its ships out of the Gulf of Sidra. This gave Reagan the green light to attack Libya.

Support to Marcos

One of the best indications of what "peaceful coexistence" means today is the total support the Soviet Union gave to the Reagan administration's policy in the Philippines.

Until the very last moment, the United States was committed to backing Ferdinand Marcos. It feared that the removal of the dictator would unleash an uncon-

tainable revolutionary situation in this strategic area of the world.

These were also the views of the Soviet bureaucrats. Last October, as the Filipino masses marched in the streets of Manila by the millions to demand the ouster of the tyrant, Imelda Marcos was warmly received in Moscow by Gorbachev himself. Mrs. Marcos was told that "relations [between the Soviet Union] and the Philippines are very good."

In February 1986, Marcos held fraudulent elections and scandalously proclaimed himself the winner; something even the U.S. fact-finding delegation could not swallow.

As strange as it may seem, the only government in the world to recognize these elections and to congratulate Marcos was the Soviet Union. The message of congratulations was delivered on Feb. 19 to Marcos by Soviet Ambassador Vadim I. Shabalin.

Two days later, an article appeared in the Soviet official daily *Tass* which explained that Marcos was still "capable of stabilizing the situation in the country." By this time even the Reagan administration had given up on Marcos.

Origins of betrayals

In 1917, the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky led the Russian workers to power and charted a strategy for socialism on a world scale. Only the socialist revolution could lead humanity out of the deadlock created by imperialism and imperialist wars, the party's program affirmed.

In 1919, the Bolsheviks founded the Communist International (or Third International) with the goal of advancing the world socialist revolution. They saw the Soviet Union as the advanced outpost in this struggle.

Within a decade after the victorious Russian Revolution, however, the Soviet Union broke with the proletarian internationalism of the Bolshevik Party.

Under the conditions of a long civil war and the intervention of 14 imperialist nations, the leadership team assembled by Lenin and Trotsky was severely weakened and finally defeated by a rising bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin. The democratic institutions of workers' rule were destroyed and replaced by the dictatorial rule of a monolithic party.

Before long, the Soviet Union was embarked on a course of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. From a force for progress, the Stalinized Communist parties became a force for international counterrevolution.

How did this betrayal of the original ideas and policies of the Russian Revolution come about? The answer to this leads to an examination of Stalinism, its origins, and history. See article by Tom Kerry below.

The twists and turns of Stalinist policy

The following is an abridged transcription of a series of lectures by Tom Kerry in 1966. In these lectures, which are published here for the first time, Kerry follows the history of Stalinism's pernicious impact on the workers' movement from the late 1920s till the end of World War II.

Kerry was a leader of the labor and socialist movements for more than 40 years until his death in 1983. He was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

As an SWP leader, he served as the party's national organizational secretary and as editor of *The Militant* newspaper and the *International Socialist Review*.

A few years before his death, Kerry became an outspoken oppositionist inside the SWP to the leadership's abandonment of the party's historic program. The tendency to which he belonged was bureaucratically expelled from the SWP after his death, coming together with other expelled opposition currents to form *Socialist Action* in October 1983.

By TOM KERRY

We attach great importance to studying the lessons of the past, both the victories and defeats of the working-class movement on a world scale. In this we differ from the spokesmen of the New Left [radical current in the 1960s], whose tendency is to deny that we have any lessons to learn from the past and who reject past experience as irrelevant.

You find an impatience on the part of the New Left, especially toward the Trotskyists, who insist upon studying history and Marxism, not just for an abstract study, but who try to derive from such a study lessons that are applicable today.

The revolutionary party, our party, and our International—the Fourth International—is, in this sense, the memory of the working class. And the parties of reformism, you can say, and of Stalinist revisionism, are notoriously the parties of poor memory.

Not only would the Social Democrats and Stalinists like to forget, they would like everybody else to forget their history, their development, and the source of their current policies, which are rooted in the past. They are policies that have led to a whole series of defeats.

At the time of the October Revolution in Russia in



Joseph Stalin

1917, the Bolshevik Party in its entire leadership, and in this there were no exceptions, considered that the revolution in Russia was the beginning, not the end, of the world revolution.

From the very moment of the establishment of Soviet power, the leaders of the revolution looked to the working class of the West, to the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, to come to the assistance of the more backward country of Russia. And there was no lack of revolutionary developments in Europe—in Germany, Hungary, Italy.

But the revolutionary wave began to recede after 1919-1920. The revolutions were defeated primarily because in no country in Europe did the left wing of the Second International, which all the socialist tendencies were affiliated with, succeed in building the kind of a party which was necessary to lead a successful revolution.

This was Lenin's unique contribution to the art of revolutionary struggle—the concept of a strongly disciplined combat party to lead the workers to power.

Trotsky became a Leninist on this question. He wasn't always a supporter of Lenin's views on the party. In fact,

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they were in opposing factions for a great part of their adult political lives. It was only at the time of the revolution in 1917 that Trotsky acknowledged Lenin's priority on this question and accepted his leadership. He became, as he called it, one of Lenin's pupils.

The defeats in Europe in 1919-1920, due to the lack of a Bolshevik party, inevitably led to a spread of ultra-leftism among the young left-wing formations drawn to the Russian Revolution. Those of you who have read Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, will remember how he polemicized against these attempts to substitute the party for the working class.

The Third International

The First Congress of the Third International met in 1919 to begin the task of organizing Bolshevik-type parties that could lead a struggle for power. These were the pioneers who set out at that time to overthrow world capitalism. That was their object and that was their aim in establishing the Third International.

The original proclamation calling for the First Congress of the Third International was signed by Lenin and Trotsky, who were the most authoritative and best-known leaders of the Bolshevik Party.

This First Congress, however, was attended by very few authentic representatives of organizations in Europe since it was difficult to get into Russia. Remember, in 1919, Russia was then under blockade. The armies of imperialism had troops on Russian soil. Civil war raged on 21 fronts.

But the Bolsheviks felt it was absolutely essential that they proceed with not only the proclamation, but the actual organization of the Third International.

For one thing, the representatives of the Second International had moved to reconstitute their International after the war, calling for unity in the Social-Democratic movement. The Third International sought to indicate that unity of the type practiced by the right-wing Social Democrats meant unity with the capitalist class.

The Second World Congress, which met in 1920, had as its goal the drawing of a clear demarcation line in the world socialist movement. It was at this congress that the 21 conditions for affiliation were proposed. The



Lenin (speaking) and Trotsky (right, lower step) saw the Russian Revolution as the advanced outpost in the struggle for world socialism.

learn primarily through action, through their own experience in struggle. It was this particular problem that the tactic of the united front was devised to solve.

After the Third World Congress Lenin was taken ill, and from that time we can date the beginning of the development of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union.

The defeats in Europe and the tiredness of the Soviet masses, who had gone through several years of civil war, along with the destruction of the economy, fostered a loss of faith or hope in the immediacy of an extension of the revolution to the advanced countries. This was the basis upon which a struggle developed over the division of the products of Soviet industry and agriculture.

After 1923 the process of bureaucratization became accelerated. Out of this development arose for the first time the theory of building socialism in a single country, which was promulgated by Joseph Stalin. In response to this, Trotsky organized the Left Opposition. Thus began a struggle over the whole question of strategy, tactics, and program for the world revolution and for the Soviet Union.

"Socialism in one country"

In the ideological sphere, the attack against Trotsky by the triumvirate of Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, who were in the leadership of the Russian Communist Party, took the form of an attack upon his theory of permanent revolution.

There was a worldwide campaign against Trotskyism and the theory of the permanent revolution, without the Left Opposition being permitted to have its views circulated in the sections of the Communist International.

There was one qualification that Stalin attached to his theory of building socialism in a single country. Socialism could be built in one country *if* there was no foreign intervention, and *if* there was no war. Thus, the policy of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was directed at preventing the outbreak of war and of subordinating actual revolutionary developments in other countries that threatened the status quo.

Stalin and Bukharin argued that as long as there was a monopoly of foreign trade and the nationalization of industry and of land, then the question of time was of no importance whatsoever. They believed that they could proceed very gradually, at a snail's pace, to complete the building of socialism in the USSR.

This fantasy, this utopia, was rudely exploded when the rich and middle peasants, who had been encouraged to "enrich themselves," began a grain strike against the cities. The lack of industrial products that could be exchanged for grain had created a great disparity in the prices for industrial products, to the disadvantage of the peasants.

The kulaks, the rich and middle peasants, began to exert pressure to trade with the world market, where they could get more for their grain. This immediately threatened the overthrow of the state, because the only thing that prevented the restoration of capitalism, especially at that time, was the monopoly of foreign trade. It prevented cheaper capitalist commodities from being brought into the Soviet Union in exchange for agricultural products.

The Trotskyist opposition was the first to raise the necessity for a planned industrialization. They were stigmatized then as ultraleftists for even proposing this perspective, which was the only way to prevent the

increasing disparity between the cost of industrial and agricultural products.

The conflict in the Soviet countryside became acute just prior to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, which convened in 1928. After the Sixth World Congress, Stalin broke with Bukharin and opened up a war against the kulaks, imposing forced collectivization. The country was brought to the verge of famine, as rich and middle peasants slaughtered their cattle and destroyed crops.

Trotsky criticizes program

It was at the Sixth World Congress that Trotsky introduced his criticism of Stalin's draft political program. This program, which codified the concept of socialism in a single country, was an extremely eclectic one, covering over the recent defeat suffered by the working class in China.

In the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Communist Party was sent into Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, which was leading a war to unify China, and subordinated to its discipline. According to Stalin, the Kuomintang and its program embodied, misusing Lenin's old formula, the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

When Chiang Kai-shek returned from his expedition to the north, he opened up an attack on the Communist Party, slaughtered the workers of Shanghai and the other cities, and established the rule of the Chinese capitalists and landlords, which prevailed until 1949.

At the Sixth World Congress, James P. Cannon, a leader of the American Communist Party, and Maurice Spector, a leader of the Canadian Communist Party, got hold of Trotsky's criticism of the draft program. This marked the origin of the organized Trotskyist movement on a world scale.

A fierce factional struggle broke out in the International not long after the Sixth Congress. Not only the Russian Party but the whole International was purged by Stalin. Trotsky was sent into internal exile at Alma Ata. Bukharin was labeled a "bourgeois restorationist." Hundreds of thousands were sent to concentration camps in Siberia.

This extreme "left" swing by Stalin coincided with the beginning of a worldwide economic depression, and what came to be known as the "Third Period."

Third Period Stalinism

What were the policy, tactics, and strategy of Third Period Stalinism?

The Third Period was supposed to be the last period, the period of the final conflict, in which capitalism would be overthrown on a world scale. The Stalinists said that the main enemy was not the impending rise of fascism, but the "social-fascist" Social Democrats.

Lenin had characterized the Social Democrats as "social imperialists" or "social chauvinists," but then these terms had had some meaning. He meant that they were socialists in word and supporters of their own imperialist governments in deed. But "social fascism" was absolutely meaningless and nonsensical because the Social Democracy was as much threatened by fascism as was the Communist Party. Fascism aimed to destroy the independence of *all* working-class organizations.

The Stalinists jettisoned the united-front concept as it had been worked out by the Third World Congress. In its place was adopted what they called the "united front from below," which was supposed to exclude the top Social-



Congress of Third International in Moscow. Lenin and Bolsheviks welcome delegates.

leaders of the Third International set such conditions as to make it impossible for the opportunists who remained in the parties of the Second International to affiliate to the Third International.

There was the big Italian Socialist Party, for example, with its extreme right wing led by Turati, which coexisted with the left wing in one party. Lenin had to point out that this was an error. You could never build a homogenous, combat party designed for the specific purpose of leading a struggle for the conquest of power with that kind of a heterogeneous and antagonistic composition.

United-front tactic

After 1920 the revolutionary wave began to recede. Lenin and Trotsky realistically appraised the situation in Europe—the Communist parties were in most cases a minority among the working-class parties—and concluded that the main task was to win over the masses before engaging in the direct struggle for workers' power.

In line with this perspective, the Third World Congress elaborated the tactic of the united front. The tactic was designed specifically to cope with the problem of a working class divided between the Social Democrats, on the one hand, the Communist parties, on the other, and the centrists in between.

Lenin and Trotsky pointed out that it wasn't enough to publish articles in magazines, newspapers, and books. The workers don't learn primarily from reading. They

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...Stalinist twists and turns

(continued from page 11)

Democratic leaders but include the ranks of Social-Democratic workers. In fact, this was no united front at all.

The Stalinists were against working within the existing trade-union organizations. Instead, they established their own "revolutionary trade unions," which in most instances were 100-percent revolutionary and 100-percent impotent.

In Germany the strategy of the Third Period allowed Hitler to march to power without a struggle. It was the most disastrous kind of defeat. Remember, in 1933 the German Communist Party was the biggest Communist party outside of the Soviet Union. The German Social-Democratic Party was the biggest party in the Second International. Just prior to the time Hitler came to power, these two parties received some 13 million votes in the elections.

Trotsky gave as a cause for the seizure of power by Hitler the fact that the Communist Party of Germany had not formed a united front with the Social-Democratic Party on a platform for the defense of parliamentary government and the mass trade unions.

Hitler's victory was a terrible catastrophe, not only for the German working class, but for the world working class, because as Trotsky warned, the victory of Hitler in Germany meant war. Regardless of how the war began, at one stage or another of its development it would be aimed at the Soviet Union.

Third International dead

With the debacle in Germany, Trotsky concluded that the Third International was no longer a viable instrument for revolutionary change, and called for the formation of the Fourth International.

The defeat in Germany led to a reversal of Third Period ultraleftism by the Stalinists, signaled by the inauguration in 1935 of the Popular Front policy at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. The central slogan became the defense of imperialist "democracy" against fascism, to unite all "progressives" against the fascist menace.

What that meant, of course, was that the struggle for socialism was taken off the agenda, lest it obstruct programmatic unity with capitalist forces opposed to fascism. In Spain, those who tried to go beyond the limits imposed by the policy of the popular or people's front were subjected to the most ferocious and savage persecution by a Spanish version of the GPU, the Stalinist political police. This policy in fact paved the way for the fascist onslaught.

You can well imagine what a shock it was for people weaned on popular frontism for four or five years when it was suddenly announced that Hitler and Stalin had concluded a non-aggression pact in 1939. A non-aggression pact which meant the beginning of World War II. The Popular Front policy was quickly jettisoned. Hitler, who had been the devil incarnate, was transformed into a peace-loving vegetarian. The main aggressors became France and Great Britain.

In the United States, this shift in policy was manifested by certain organizational changes. During the Popular Front period the American Communist Party's main vehicle for conducting the antiwar struggle was an organization called the League Against War and Fascism. With the Hitler-Stalin pact, however, the name was quickly changed from the League Against War and Fascism to the League for Peace and Democracy.

One of the American Communist Party's major slogans in this period became, "the Yanks are not coming," which was meant to indicate its opposition to U.S. imperialism becoming involved in the war on the side of British and French imperialism.

Price of Stalin's policy

The Socialist Workers Party pointed to Trotsky's earlier warning, after Hitler's victory in 1933, that however the war started, ultimately it must in the course of its development be directed against the Soviet Union. Trotsky said that the differences that existed between capitalism in its fascist form and capitalism in its bourgeois-democratic form were not decisive.

Trotsky explained that the fundamental division in the world was between the nationalized property and the monopoly of foreign trade established by the October Revolution, and the capitalist world system of private property. Using this fundamental Marxist analysis as the point of departure, he concluded that the war would eventually be directed against the Soviet Union.

This pact between Hitler and Stalin ended, of course, with Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Despite warnings by British and French intelligence services, despite the obvious fact that Hitler was mobilizing his hordes on the border of the Soviet Union, Stalin refused to believe, even after the invasion had occurred, that Hitler's army had marched across the borders of the Soviet Union with the object of destroying

the Soviet regime. The result was that the Nazi army advanced very rapidly.

It is now estimated that over 20 million Russians were killed in the war. That was the price of Stalin's policy in Europe, which led to the defeat of both the German and Spanish revolutions, and set the stage for World War II.

In the Soviet Union, Stalin proclaimed the war to be the Great Patriotic War. The main slogans were pure nationalist, patriotic propaganda—"Kill Germans," "Destroy Germany"—directed against the entire German population.

No attempt was made to undermine Hitler's control over the German masses and over the German working class by revolutionary propaganda calling for the overthrow of Hitler. Not at all. Inevitably, that led the German working class to conclude that it had no alternative but to support Hitler to the very bitter end.

In the United States, the Stalinists dropped their "Yanks are not coming" slogan, and began clamoring for the United States to get in the war now, and to open up a second front to take the pressure off the Soviet Union.

With the attack on Pearl Harbor, and the entry of the United States into the war, the Communist Party pulled out all the stops for the war effort. It became the most



Spanish Republicans: Betrayed by Stalin in the interests of preserving capitalism.

ardent defender of the policy of class collaboration and national unity.

The Stalinists backed the no-strike pledge, which was established in industry on the fraudulent basis that there would be price controls to prevent a decline in the standard of living, that unions would be recognized, and that there would be a maintenance-of-membership clause in the union contract.

One of the Communist Party's main trade-union spokesmen, Harry Bridges, who was a founder and president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast, proclaimed at that time that unions must become the instruments of speed-up in industry. For the Communist Party this became the main function of the unions during the war period—not to engage in struggles for better wages, hours, and working conditions—but to increase labor productivity.

Workers who went on strike were called finks. Those who broke strikes were called good patriots and good trade-union men and women. Bridges himself attempted to break a strike of the warehousemen at Montgomery Ward in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, where his union had organized a section. He rejected the workers' request for support and called them strikebreakers. Everything was turned upside down.

Roosevelt proposes slave labor

In the course of the war, President Roosevelt proposed the enactment of what he called the National Service Act. This was intended to empower the government to draft workers for assignment to work in any industry in any part of the country, under conditions imposed by the government, and to subject them to virtual martial law in the case of any disobedience. It was a proposal to extend military control over the American labor force.

Now this was so raw that even the most conservative leaders of the AFL and the CIO fought against it. They said this was slave labor. We were supposed to be fighting a war for freedom. This was contrary to the aims of the war, they said, and was a blow directed at the very existence of the trade-union movement. They succeeded in defeating the National Service Act.

The only tendency that supported Roosevelt's National Service Act was the Communist Party. They were the only ones that came out openly, advocating support to Roosevelt's slave-labor law.

The Trotskyists, by contrast, opposed the war, defended the independence of the unions, organized to overthrow the no-strike pledge, and fought for the continuation of the class struggle. The employers were enriching themselves, we argued, at the expense of the workers, who were asked to make all the sacrifices, as is

usual in any war conducted by the capitalist state.

Against the Trotskyists, of course, there were no lengths to which the government wouldn't go. Eighteen of our comrades, some of whom were leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934, were convicted under the Smith Act, which made it a crime to advocate socialism.

We found that our greatest opposition within the trade-union movement to fighting the Smith Act came from the Communist Party. It carried on a campaign in its press stigmatizing the Trotskyists as treasonous, subversive, and getting what they deserved.

We warned the Communist Party at the time that it was going to pay for its support for the Smith Act. We said that this love fest they were having with the capitalist imperialists was not going to last forever. And sure enough, it did pay in 1948-49, when leaders of the Communist Party were charged with violating the Smith Act and sentenced to prison.

CP advises FBI

Here is just one indication of how far the Stalinists went in their attacks upon the Trotskyists in the SWP. We were running a mayoralty candidate in Los Angeles in 1945 and the *People's World*, (March 1, 1945) which was the West-Coast organ of the Communist Party, published an editorial that explained why it opposed our candidate in favor of the capitalist candidate against whom we were running.

The editorial was headed, "Trotskyites spread seditious program," and it reads: "The true character of the Trotskyites as a subversive and disloyal movement is revealed in the so-called election platform....The platform contains not a single sentence or word in support of national unity or the war effort."

Isn't that a hideous crime? Of course it didn't. The Socialist Workers Party was opposed to the concept of "national unity" and did not support the so-called war effort. We supported the concept of the class struggle against the war.

Let's continue the quote: "Instead it tries to incite class strikes, disgust of government, and opposition to the war effort. It is a document that could well have been written by Nazi or Japanese spies. For instance, it charges that President Roosevelt is trying to Hitlerize America by asking for a National Service Act...We maintain that this stuff, under the guise of electioneering, is propaganda made in Berlin."

And then comes the bloody shirt. "With our soldiers and sailors at death grips with the German and Japanese enemy, the Trotskyites are attempting to foment treason on the home front. This should not be tolerated. The FBI and the U.S. District Attorney should act at once to clamp down on the Trotskyite saboteurs of our war effort."

This is just an indication, but not the worst by any means, of the kind of propaganda the Communist Party conducted during this period.

Stalin buries International

As a token of his good will toward his wartime allies, Stalin announced in 1943 the dissolution of the Communist International. There was no congress, no discussion. Not a single objection or criticism from any section of the International was raised.

Trotsky had already declared the Communist International dead in 1933, after the victory of Hitler. Stalin's decision was thus an attempt to give the International an official, if indecent, court burial.

Prior to the end of the war, the grand alliance of Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt, along with Chiang Kai-shek, met to draw up a number of pacts designed to parcel out "spheres of influence" for the imperialist powers following the war.

There was the Yalta Pact, the Teheran Pact, a whole series of pacts that were supposed to establish by treaty a common, permanent peace upon this earth. Tragically, in deference to these agreements, the Stalinists deliberately sabotaged the revolutionary prospects of the workers in France and Italy following the war.

In France, the Vichy regime had been in an alliance with Hitler. General De Gaulle was in exile and didn't have too much influence inside France. The resistance movement in its majority was controlled by the Communist Party, which was the only armed force, outside of the armies of the imperialist powers which had invaded France.

There was a power vacuum in the country. Nothing could have stopped the Communist Party from taking power and establishing a workers' state in France.

In Italy, Mussolini had been in power since 1921. There were no opposition parties, and the bourgeoisie in its overwhelming majority was part of the Mussolini outfit. So when Mussolini was finally strung up by the Italian workers there also existed a complete power vacuum. The Communist Party grew by leaps and bounds. Almost overnight it had millions and millions of members.

But the Communist parties of France and Italy, in conjunction with Stalin's agreement with Roosevelt and Churchill, set up coalition capitalist governments.

(continued on page 13)

Documents of anti-Stalinist Polish opposition

In 1980, millions of Polish workers, farmers, students, and intellectuals came together in one of the most dynamic mass working-class movements in history—Solidarnosc.

Challenging the bureaucratic caste at the helm of the Polish state, they demanded an end to the monopoly of political power by the ruling Stalinist party and the establishment of genuine forms of workers' self-management and workers' control over production.

Various political traditions came together in this gigantic workers' upsurge. Most of them were strongly nationalistic and antibureaucratic—though not pro-capitalist. There were also various currents in Solidarnosc that were openly pro-socialist.

In previous issues of *Socialist Action* we have reprinted articles from Polish *Inprecor*, a magazine published by Fourth Internationalists in Poland.

In this issue, we are reproducing statements from two other pro-socialist currents in the Polish antibureaucratic opposition. The excerpts of the trial statement by Edmund Baluka reflect the important influence of the views of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International on a wing of the Polish workers' movement.

The excerpts from the draft platform of the newly formed Workers Opposition reflect a current associated with the "state capitalist" political tradition. This current holds the view, which in our analysis is incorrect, that Poland is a capitalist society, with the Polish state acting as the prime capitalist force.

In Poland, as Baluka says in his trial statement below, capitalism was abolished soon after World War II. A workers' state—albeit bureaucratically deformed from the outset—was established on the basis of nationalized property and a planned economy. This represented a big step forward for the workers' movement.

Whatever their shortcomings, these currents represent an important development in the struggle for socialist democracy and workers' self-management in Poland.—The Editors

Edmund Baluka is a worker at the Warski Ship Works in Szczecin. In 1972, two years after the massive strike wave that swept the Baltic ports, he was fired from his job for having been the president of the Szczecin Strike Committee. Further persecution forced him to flee Poland.

In 1980, Baluka returned to Poland and was a delegate to the founding regional and national congresses of Solidarnosc, quickly becoming one of the country's best-known antibureaucratic fighters.

In September 1981, Baluka founded the Polish Socialist Workers Party (PSWP), a party "dedicated to the struggle for socialism and democracy."

On June 3, 1982, Baluka was arrested and sent to the internment camp at Wierzchowo. After a prolonged hunger strike, he was transferred to the Koronowo prison.

On April 11, 1983, Baluka's trial opened in Bydgoszcz. He was accused—and sentenced—for violating Article 123 of the Penal Code, which prohibits the "use of violence to overthrow the system of the Polish People's Republic."

Baluka was freed in the summer of 1984 along with most of the other Solidarnosc leaders under the government's amnesty decree. He was later reimprisoned and again freed after numerous hunger strikes and a large-scale international campaign for his release.

The following are excerpts from Baluka's statement to his trial in April 1983.

Gentlemen,

The use of the charge of "violence" in the case against me is absurd. To publish what one thinks and to say what one believes deeply to be true is not the same as using violence.

I am accused of slandering and offending the Polish people, the Polish People's Republic, and its system and governing bodies. This is equally unfounded.

I have always been proud, am still proud, and will always be proud to be Polish. I am proud of the values and history of the Polish people.

But I am not proud of the government and the state authorities. Nor am I proud of the way the word socialism is being used today, even though socialism has been my entire life's goal.

I refuse to submit a loyalty oath to the current state powers. But I declare that I will always remain loyal to a government that works to advance the "interests and will of the working masses," as stated in Article 8 of the Polish Constitution.

I declare that I am a socialist and that I never carried out any action—nor will I ever—that could do harm to the socialist system, either in Poland or in any other country.

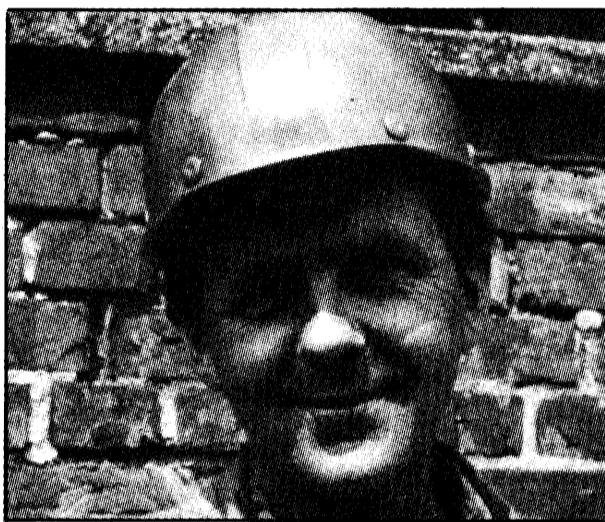
There is not—nor will there ever be—in my political program any formulation calling for the use of violence to overthrow the socialist system.

My goal is to destroy the system of structures of the state political apparatus, which, in my opinion, are antisocialist structures.

The governmental structures of political authority are based on the doctrine of Stalinism. They are based on the repression of the Polish workers, as was made clear in Poznan in 1956, in the Baltic Coast cities in December 1970, and on Dec. 13, 1981 [date that martial law was instituted].

Today we are told by the official party propagandists that the "violence" in 1956 and 1970 was the result of "deviations" and "errors" in the exercise of political power. I disagree.

I believe that the official violence against the millions of Polish people is proof of the continuity of the



Edmund Baluka

Stalinist regime. It is not the result of deviations or errors in an otherwise properly functioning apparatus.

The declaration of martial law in December 1981 shows how far the ruling powers are willing to go against an entire people which is clamoring for changes in the way power is exercised in Poland.

Socialism can be reformed, yes, but not Stalinism—not the bureaucratic system of government.

Gentlemen: The Polish Socialist Workers Party (PSWP) is fighting for the word socialism to regain the credibility and respect it deserves. This is a difficult task given what Stalinism has done to the name of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In our country there are no longer any capitalists. This has been the case for over 40 years. And yet there is a dictatorship; a dictatorship over the proletariat. The PSWP will struggle to destroy the monopoly of political power of the ruling Polish Unified Workers Party [the ruling party of General Jaruzelski] and thereby destroy the dictatorship it exerts over Polish society.

Our party advocates the creation of workers' councils

...Stalinist twists and turns

(continued from page 12)

Charles De Gaulle was pushed into the head of the government in France. Maurice Thorez, who was the head of the French Communist Party, became a minister in the French cabinet. The same thing happened in Italy, where the Italian Communist Party accepted the role of a subordinate part in a coalition government.

'Reading, writing, and no striking'

Here in the United States, of course, the Communist Party always reduced every one of these turns to a caricature. It drew the logical conclusion from Stalin's perspective of permanent post-war peace. If Stalin's post-war pacts with imperialism nullify the law of the class struggle, then what use is there of unions retaining the strike weapon? And therefore, the American Stalinists proclaimed the era of the permanent no-strike pledge.

One of their supporters in the National Maritime Union even published an article in *Collier's Magazine* called "Reading, Writing, and No Striking." He was going to convert the National Maritime Union into an educational institution to teach the workers how to read and write. That was going to be the function of the union.

The Stalinists made themselves a laughing stock in the whole labor movement, because, in fact, one of the

in the factories. These councils should have a decisive influence in the financial and economic affairs of the factory. And on the basis of these factory councils, there should be a national workers' council to administer and control the economic and political affairs of the state.

This is the socialism we are fighting for. Socialism cannot be decreed or imposed by laws or violence. ■

The following are excerpts from the draft platform of the Workers Opposition, a coordinating committee of the editorial boards of four underground journals involved in the antibureaucratic struggle in Poland.

The political struggle that has been going on in Poland since 1980, which has been generally termed a fight between the society and the regime, is primarily a class struggle.

It is essentially a struggle between the working class, which is subjected to economic exploitation and deprived of all political or economic power, and the bureaucratic state power, which is based on the Polish Unified Workers Party [the ruling party], as well as on the military and police machine and the economic and administrative apparatus.

Only the working class has the capacity to overthrow the bureaucracy, and it is only thanks to it that the social groups can liberate themselves from the yoke of the bureaucracy.

The fundamental aim of our struggle is to get the working class to transform itself from an object into a subject. This will only be possible through a system of generalized self-management. Such a system would involve self-management councils in the enterprises, linked together on the regional and national scale. Self-management, a form of direct political and economic democracy, will thus become the principal factor in organizing social and political life.

The transformation of the working class from an object into a subject is only possible through revolutionary changes. The belief in the possibility of a compromise with the bureaucracy is a dangerous illusion that could prove fatal. In fact, there is no way to reconcile the introduction of a system of self-management, that is, the realization of the interests of the working class, with the domination of the bureaucracy.

Pluralism is necessary within the workers movement in order for it to be able to develop politically. The right of the workers to organize freely in clubs, groups, currents, and political organizations has to be defended.

The Polish working class is not isolated in the struggle. It has friends and allies abroad. They are the workers of the entire world. The Polish workers' movement can and must draw on the strength of international workers' solidarity. The differences between East and West cannot hide the fact that the workers of both camps are linked by common interests, by a common struggle for a common end—the transformation of the working class from object to subject—against common enemies.

The indispensable precondition for the liberation of the working class is for it to lay the economic foundations of its liberty, that is, socialization, outside of the state and in the framework of a system of workers' self-management, of the means of production that are today stitized.

The aim of the revolutionary workers movement, flowing from the essence of the social relations against which it rebels, is not the reprivatization of state property or giving it autonomy, but to genuinely socialize it. ■

biggest strike movements that this country has ever seen broke out in 1945-46.

The biggest unions, in steel, auto, rubber, electrical, one after another, went on strike. In response, this led to the enactment of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law by Congress in 1947.

Also in 1946, Winston Churchill delivered his well-known Fulton, Mo., speech which initiated the Cold War with the Soviet Union. In a panic, the Soviet bureaucracy executed another pseudo-left turn. It was now convinced that a war was imminent. So much for the period of permanent class peace envisioned by the Stalinists.

As part of this "left" turn, the coalition governments that the Soviet bureaucracy had established in Eastern Europe were summarily ended. It didn't take more than a wave of a hand to put an end to these bourgeois figures that the Stalinists had dredged up from the gutter somewhere, resuscitated, and put in office, pretending that they represented something.

The real power was in the hands of the Red Army, and the Communist Party exiles who had returned from the Soviet Union to reestablish the Communist Party in these countries. That was the real power. And so out went the bourgeois coalitionists, and what we later came to designate as deformed workers' states were established.

Much more could be said about the betrayals of the Stalinists since the end of World War II. But for the sake of this lecture, we will conclude here. ■

George Breitman: Veteran Marxist

George Breitman, lifelong member and leader of the American Trotskyist movement, died April 19 in New York City as a result of a heart attack. He was 70 years old and had been in poor health for many years.

Breitman was the editor of the English-language edition of Trotsky's writings and the author of a book and numerous articles about Malcolm X and the Afro-American struggle.

In 1935, when he was 19, Breitman joined the revolutionary movement in Newark, N.J. In 1938 he was a delegate to the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party and he remained a member of that organization until January 1984, when he was expelled because of political differences with the present party leadership.

The last two years of his life, Breitman helped organize the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and edited

its journal, the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*. He repeatedly appealed for readmission to the Socialist Workers Party.

Starting in 1941, he served as editor of *The Militant*, a newspaper which reflects the views of the SWP. He held this post a number of times. Later he took primary responsibility for the editing and publication of an extensive collection of Leon Trotsky's writings from 1929 to 1940, the Russian revolutionary's last exile.

Breitman was a noted authority on the U.S. Black struggle and on Malcolm X. He wrote "The Last Year of Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary," published by Merit Publishers in 1967 and also edited, in whole or in part, many of Malcolm's writings for publication. These include the books "Malcolm X Speaks" and "By Any Means Necessary," as well as the pamphlets "Malcolm X on Afro-American History."

Breitman ran for public office 10 times on the SWP ticket. The offices sought ranged from the State Assembly in New Jersey to the U.S. Senate. He was a member of the party's National Committee from 1939 to 1981 and served on its Political Committee. He is survived by his companion of 46 years, Dottie, and a brother, Sam, of New Jersey.

A memorial meeting will be held in New York City on June 7 at 7:30 p.m. at the Machinists Hall, 7 E. 15th St. For further information call (718) 972-8070.

Socialist Action is saddened by the death of this respected leader of the American Trotskyist movement. We join the Fourth Internationalist Tendency in honoring one who was our friend and comrade.

In our next issue of *Socialist Action* we will publish an expanded tribute to Breitman's work and his contributions to the revolutionary movement.—The Editors

By MILTON ALVIN

Arne Swabeck, a founding member of the American Communist Party in 1919 and of American Trotskyism about 10 years later, died in Los Angeles on March 13, 1986, of a stroke. He was 95 and had been ill for several years.

Born in Denmark, he migrated to the United States in 1916. Here he joined the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. He was active in both and identified with the left wing of the Socialist Party led by Eugene V. Debs. He worked his way from the East Coast to Seattle, where he settled for a time.

Swabeck was active in his union, Painters Local 300, from which he was elected a delegate to the Seattle Central Labor Union. In 1919 a strike of 35,000 shipyard workers broadened out to become a general strike of 65,000 workers. Swabeck was a member of the General Strike Committee, which led the action that defeated government and employers' attempts to smash the unions.

In the same year, the Seattle branch of the Socialist Party sent him as a delegate to the party's convention in Chicago. At this gathering a split occurred between the left wing, which supported the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the right wing, which did not. Swabeck was in the left wing. The result of the split was that two Communist parties emerged. Later, they were united.

He was transferred to Chicago in 1920 where he served as Illinois district organizer and as an editor for the new Communist movement. A few years later he was elected to the Communist Party's central executive committee.

In 1928 Swabeck was placed in charge of the party's work in the United Mineworkers Union.

In 1922 Swabeck was a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow. He remained in the Soviet Union for six months doing work for the International.

In 1928 Swabeck attended the Sixth Congress of the Communist International,

Some of the details in this article have been taken from Arne Swabeck's unpublished political autobiography, which was made available to Milton Alvin.

Arne Swabeck: CP, SWP founder

where James P. Cannon, leader of the faction which Swabeck supported, inadvertently received a copy of Trotsky's suppressed criticism of the Stalin-Bukharin draft program. Maurice Spector, representing Canadian Communists, also received a copy. [For more information on this topic, see the speech by Tom Kerry in this issue of *Socialist Action*.]

After studying Trotsky's document, both Cannon and Spector found that they agreed with it. They arranged to smuggle copies of the critique out of the country and organize a struggle for its ideas after they got home.

They did this, and Cannon and his supporters, including Swabeck, were soon expelled from the party as "Trotskyists." Thus the American Trotskyist movement was born.

In its early days the new organization was called the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). Swabeck came to New York and became national secretary for a time. He was also editor of the newspaper, *The Militant*, during this period. He remained in New York from 1930 to 1937, after which he returned to Chicago.

In 1933 Swabeck visited Trotsky in Prinkipo, where he stayed for two months.



Arne Swabeck (left) with James P. Cannon in 1949.

In 1934 American Trotskyists and the American Workers Party, led by A.J. Muste, merged to form the Workers Party. In 1936, the members of this party entered the Socialist Party as individuals.

This move won many new recruits, especially youth, to the ideas of the Trotskyists. The Trotskyists were expelled from the Socialist Party in 1937 when they defied a ban on discussion. On Jan. 1, 1938, the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party was held.

From the time that the SWP was founded, Swabeck played a leading part in it as a member of its national committee.

Swabeck continued his party activity until the late 1950s when internal discussion in the party showed that he had altered his views on the 1949 Chinese Revolution and on the nature of Maoism and the Chinese Communist Party.

Intermittent debate, centered in the branch in Los Angeles where Swabeck had moved from Chicago when he retired in the 1950s, was carried on for almost 10 years. Step by step, the discussion revealed that Swabeck was becoming a Maoist. This was more definitely confirmed when several years later, after his views had been firmly rejected in the party, the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was launched in China. Swabeck supported this development.

In the mid-1960s, Swabeck sent a letter to the British Socialist Labor League, which had split from the world Trotskyist movement, praising the League for publishing an article that complimented the Chinese Communist Party. The letter appeared in the League's newspaper without any prior notice by Swabeck to the SWP leadership and was looked upon as a violation of discipline.

Swabeck was suspended by vote of the SWP national committee, and in 1967, at the party's convention, he was expelled. By then his few remaining supporters had already resigned from the party.

Thereafter, Swabeck's political activity was largely confined to lengthy explanations of his version of the Chinese Revolution and the nature of Maoism. He remained a supporter of Maoism. ■

Lawsuit against socialists takes aim at Bill of Rights

The Political Committee of Socialist Action sent a letter to the Freedom Socialist Party on April 7, 1986, asking the FSP to add Socialist Action to the amicus brief of the National Lawyers Guild in the case of Snedigar vs. Hoddersen et al.

The letter asked that Socialist Action be included as a supporter of the fundamental democratic rights of the Freedom Socialist Party in this case. Major excerpts from the letter are reprinted below.—The Editors

Socialist Action views with great alarm any and all efforts of the government to interfere in the internal functioning of political organizations. The attempt to force the FSP to submit its minutes to government scrutiny is a violation of the elementary rights of privacy protected by the Bill of Rights.

Democratic rights in the United States are the product of the struggles of past and present generations for human dignity and freedom.

The ruling rich in this country have never acceded to the principle that all people must enjoy the rights of association, privacy, freedom of speech and of the press, and all other democratic rights. These democratic acquisitions were wrested from those who sought to suppress the majority in order to protect their privileges and power.

It is the responsibility of all who seek to build a society where human freedom is cherished to defend the rights of the Freedom Socialist Party. The loss of these rights in this case will open the way to further erosions in the future. Most affected will be the broad organizations of the workers themselves—the trade unions.

Socialist Action was formed in 1983 to continue the struggle for revolutionary socialism in the United States. Our political roots and traditions are in the American Trotskyist movement founded by James P.

Cannon. We seek to educate and organize the working class and its allies in the United States on the need to establish a socialist government and society.

As an organization in fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International, the world-wide revolutionary party founded by Leon Trotsky, we see our struggle as directly related to the struggle for socialism in every country of the world.

As revolutionary socialists, we join and solidarize with all workers and their allies who struggle for their freedom and dignity.

The full and free exercise of democratic rights is a prerequisite to the socialist society we seek to build. The struggle for these rights today, for everyone, is essential. The FSP deserves the support of all who uphold democratic principles. ■

CALENDAR

San Francisco:
Solidarnosc and the Workers Struggle in Poland. Speaker: Göran Jacobsson, member, Swedish Section of the Fourth International. Friday, May 9, 8 p.m. 3435 Army St. Rm. 308.

Boston:
Bar-B-Que in honor of "Gustie" Traynor: 50 years in the Socialist Movement.

Sat. May 10, 5 p.m. For more information call (617) 332-9016.

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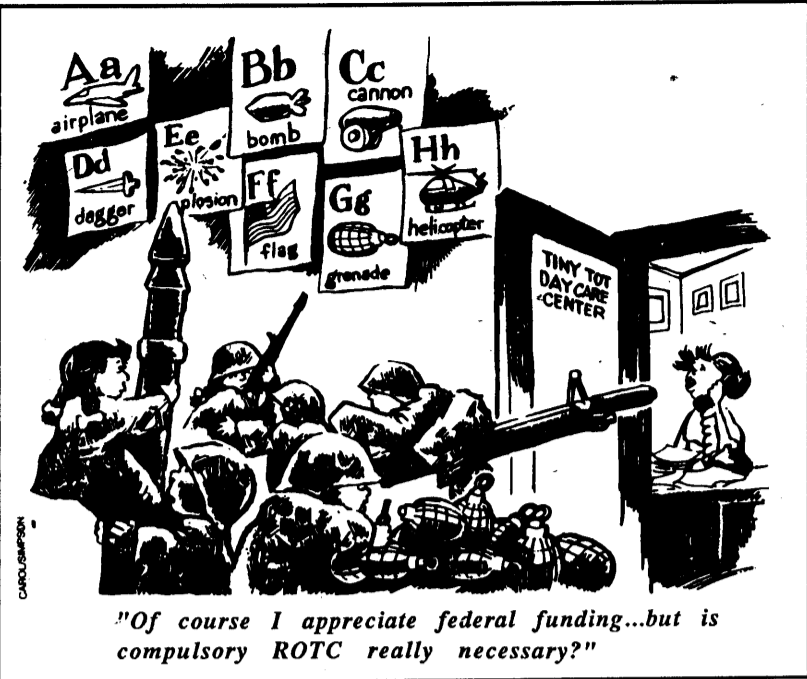
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Does child care belong in schools?

Dear editor,

I usually agree with Sylvia Weinstein's positions but I find I must take exception to her whole-hearted endorsement of the AFT's "solution" for better child-care services (April 1986 *Socialist Action*).

I, for one, abhor the authoritarian social structure of our schools while recognizing that it reflects society's demands for status-quo compliance—the emphasis on docility and obedience, the respect for authority, the lack of freedoms for even the older students, the prohibitions against discussions or analysis of a controversial nature within the classrooms.

The few innovative teachers the schools of education inadvertently let slip through the net soon discover, once they begin teaching, that their own principal is rigidly obstructionist.

The principal, of course, walks in fear of the over-paid superintendent who, in turn fears the axe of the school board. The board members are made up, for the most part, of the community's ruling elite—the doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and their wives. More and more, the right-wing yahoos are vying for their slice of the public school pie.

Changes in this cumbersome, antiquated educational giant will not come from the school hierarchy. The changes the right so shrilly advocate are even more antediluvian in nature and make the system more authoritarian and less tolerant of diversity.

I agree there is a desperate need for child-care services that are safe and stimulating, but I question the assumption that working parents are best served by entrusting their babes to the public school system in its present arbitrary, stultifying and anti-democratic form.

Dorothy Hardin,
McMinnville, Ore.

Dorothy Hardin's criticisms of public education are correct. But what are the solutions? It is important not to let the government, which is responsible for the poor quality of education, off the hook.

It is common for teachers, parents, and administrators to blame one another for the ills of the school system. Few, however, go to the source of the disease.

The educational system is designed to prevent teachers from teaching and students from learning. The budget for education for working-class children, for example, has been cut to the bone, as have other human needs such as health and welfare. Most classroom sizes have been increased and teachers' aides have been cut. Teachers are now facing classroom sizes of 25 to 35 students.

The government wants to blame the teachers or the parents for the rotten education the children are receiving. But to blame the teachers under these conditions is tantamount to giving a brain surgeon a pick ax for an operation and then blaming the surgeon for doing a messy job.

Actually what must be done is to increase funds for education by massive amounts. Early childhood education must be universal and free to all who want it, regardless of income. We should be lowering the class size to not more than 12 students per teacher with remedial classes and classroom helpers.

The right-wing "yahoos" have a solution. They want to do away with public schools altogether and use a voucher system to fund private schools. "Let the free enterprise system handle it," they say. Their prescription would give us nothing but Kentucky Fried schools.

It is not a question of demolishing public education—or setting up private family day-care centers. Rather what is needed is a massive movement of parents, teachers—the entire working class and its allies—to fight to improve and transform our schools. It will require a movement like the one that won the eight-hour day or the right to form unions on an industrywide basis.

When we see the figures on the homeless, or people lined up for blocks for free meals, we don't advocate ending social services, old-age pensions, and unemployment benefits—even though these services are obviously not working. No, we must place our demands on the government and their bosses, the capitalist class. Take the billions that are spent on the military and fund public education! Human needs before profits!—Sylvia Weinstein

Demo

Dear editor,

Brother Atwood's article in the last issue of *Socialist Action* [April 1986] on the New York City anti-contra aid and anti-aid to UNITA demonstration was fine as far as it went, but unfortunately left out the two most significant aspects of this historic demonstration.

First, this demonstration was the first held in New York City that was cosponsored by the Central America Week forces and the South African Weeks forces. (And, it was the single largest event of the combined three weeks of activities by the two groups.)

Second, the rally was *not* merely sponsored by the three groups that brother Atwood mentioned in his article. In fact, it was "sponsored" by the Central America Week and South Africa Weeks coalitions. And, it was endorsed by over 100 groups representing the full spectrum of movement groups in and around New York City.

Virtually every Central American group, as well as the principal South African groups, together with dozens and dozens of other political groups, endorsed this demonstration.

Finally, let me take this occasion to wish every success to the upcoming demonstration in San Francisco on April 19.

James Lafferty,
Executive Committee,
Emergency National Council
Against U.S. Intervention in
Central America/The Caribbean

Robin Hood?

Dear editor,

The Geo. A. Hormel & Co. is no Robin Hood. They have become Robin Hood in reverse. They take from the poor and give to themselves, the rich.

As Richard Knowlton, Hormel's chairman, told *Business Week* magazine, "If I get the concessions from the Hormel workers, it will give us \$25 million more to play with."

For having such thoughts, Mr. Knowlton pays himself a 62-percent raise to \$570,000, and this is guaranteed to him, no matter what happens, till 1993. They call this a "golden parachute." Two percent of Knowlton's and other Hormel executives' wages and retirement benefits would be enough to pay back what they've taken away from the workers.

Hormel Senior Vice President Charles Nyberg calls P-9 members bandits. We ask: "Who is the bandit, us or the Hormel executives who want their money no matter what the cost to others?"

In January 1983, Hormel hired the union-busting law firm of Mr. Thomas Krukowski. At about the same time, the company erected the fence around the Austin plant and corporate office. It reminds me of the concentration camp I went to at Nagasaki, Japan, during World War II. The addition of the National Guard around the plant completes the picture. What's next? Who's being protected?

In early 1985, P-9 hired Ray Rogers and Corporate Campaign to combat Mr. Krukowski, to match power with power. I understand the Krukowski firm is getting paid several million

dollars to break the union and destroy the community.

Mr. Knowlton, Mr. Nyberg, and other Hormel spokespersons: How can you go to church, while doing what you do to your fellow man? With each lie, another becomes necessary to protect yourself. Whatever you try to do P-9 stands proud. You cannot destroy the will of the people.

Kermit Thomas,
Austin, Minn.

P-9 coverage

Dear editor,

I appreciate the articles written on the Hormel strike and the support your paper has given to the members of Local P-9.

Just recently I had the opportunity to hear a spokesman for P-9 and just could not believe all they have been through.

I just cannot understand how the unions and their members can just sit back and not take any major action against the union-busting policies that the major corporations and our government have enforced. In my opinion, the major unions have grown lazy and fat off our dues.

I am a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers. Recently we allowed a new Postmaster General to be appointed by our Board of Governors. Already policies such as paycuts have been referred to without so much as a rebuttle by our own union.

It would seem to me that if our own major union does not do anything about this, it is time to start looking for stronger unity through other union affiliations and organizations that would help in the fight against these injustices.

Bob Mitts,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Libya attack

Dear editor,

On April 14, the Libyan capital was hit by U.S. air strikes. One of the sites struck was Muammar Qaddafi's house, wounding his two sons—a brilliant and courageous military tactic!

Reagan disrupted prime-time television to explain that his decision to commit an overt act of war against a developing nation was based on the fact that a bomb had killed U.S. Sgt. Kenneth Ford at a nightclub in West Berlin. Reagan labeled this a "monstrous act of brutality."

Wait? Is this action being

placed in the proper perspective? When a band of contra rebels, crossing over from Honduras into Nicaragua, encounters a truckload of Nicaraguan peasant women and then decides to rape the young ones, I consider that an act of monstrous brutality.

And when the U.S. president calls the contra rebels "freedom fighters" and asks Congress to allocate \$100 million to their "noble cause," I consider that the most monstrous of all brutalities.

Today, all remnants of rationality have been supplanted with cries of retaliation and of "seeing justice done." The war machine has been firmly planted in the press. Now it appears that we as a nation could be following this pattern of irrationality to the point of investing our sons sometime in the near future.

S.M.,
Kingston, N.Y.

'Color Purple'

Dear editor,

Once again on "The Color Purple." The title given by the editors to my review in the March issue, "Moving, but considerably flawed," did not accurately reflect the major thrust of the review.

Even though the film was not a totally accurate depiction of Alice Walker's book, it was highly interesting and had many progressive features. The article entitled "Controversy shades 'The Color Purple'" by Millie Gonzalez (April *Socialist Action*) incorrectly interpreted what was clearly stated in my article.

I do not join the harsh critics of the African-American or feminist community. I am a supportive critic.

As an African-American woman, I fully appreciate Alice Walker's sensitivity and her portrayal of the internal life of oppression faced by the Black community—especially Black women.

Walker deserves praise for her knowledge of the era and her masterful portrayal of the lives and experiences of her characters. All of them are caught in the trap of white domination—American and European style. The onus for their actions is not on them, but on the society that oppresses them.

The controversy surrounding this film and book is healthy. A dialogue of this kind in the African-American community is long overdue.

Zakiya Somburu,
Oakland, Calif.

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Black workers in S. Africa demand more than 'reform'

Bending to pressure from the international anti-apartheid movement, the South African government has announced the end of several key laws that restrict where Black people can live and work.

The "reforms" were announced only a week before the May 1 deadline set by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). At its founding convention last November, COSATU had called for mass strike action and civil disobedience if the government refused to abolish its hated pass restrictions.

Under the new ruling, the green reference books that Black people have had to carry under penalty of arrest will be replaced by identity cards similar to those carried by whites. The new passes will continue to indicate the bearer's race, however.

The Population Registration Act, under which the population is divided into categories of Black, Indian, coloured, or white will remain on the books. Segregation will still be maintained in housing and education; Black people must reside in officially designated Black townships. And the government has said nothing about giving Black people the vote.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), the country's largest anti-apartheid coalition, denounced the government's new "reforms" as merely cosmetic. "Our position is that apartheid cannot be reformed," said Patrick Lephunya, a UDF spokesperson. "It must be eradicated."

It is helpful to look at the background of the South African struggle to see why the regime has now been compelled to offer "reforms." To this purpose, we reprint the following contribution by Charlie Van Gelderen, a long-standing activist in the South African freedom struggle. The article is abridged from the March/April 1986 issue of *International*, a magazine published in Great Britain.

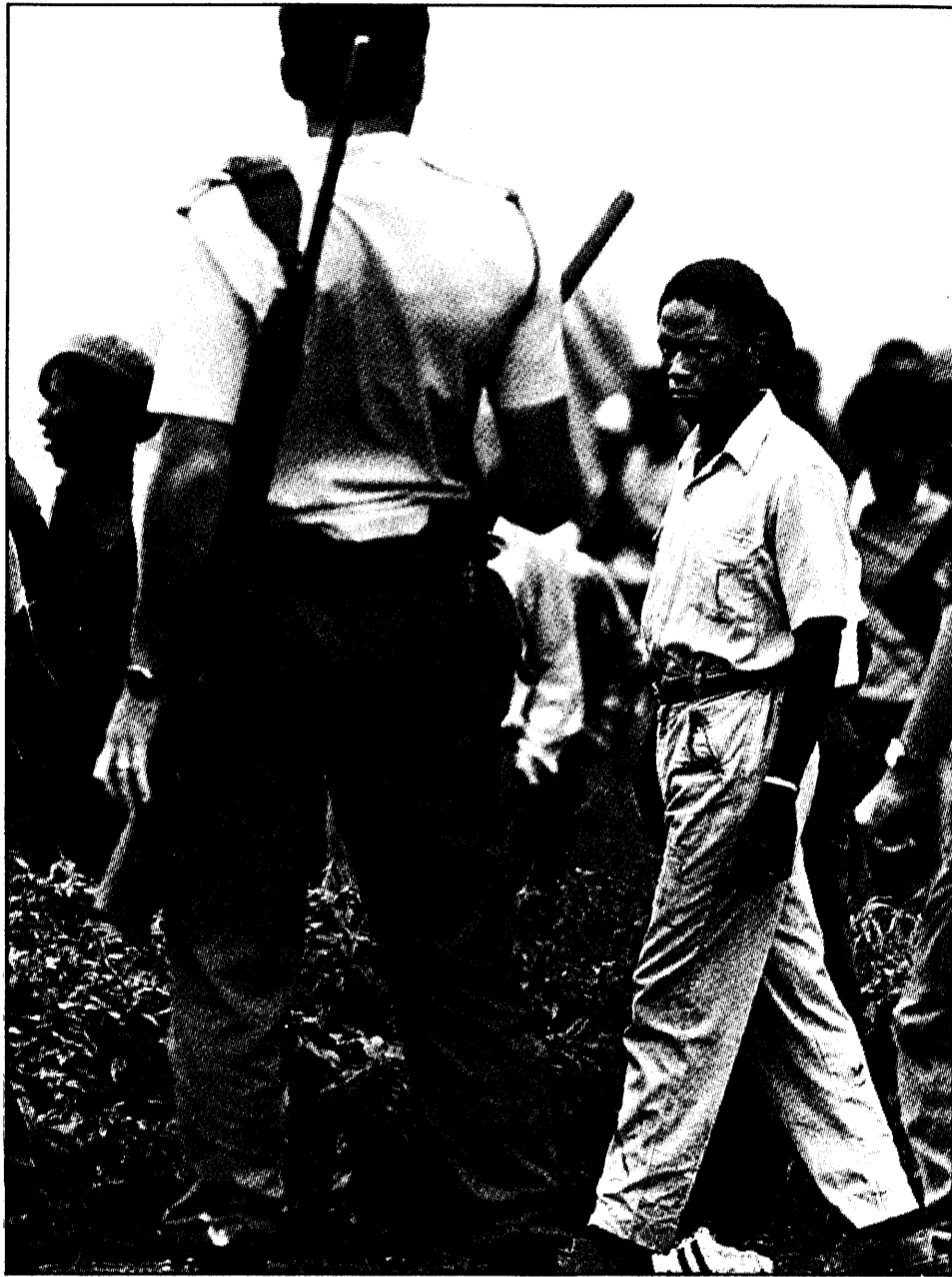
By CHARLIE VAN GELDEREN

The picture emerging from South Africa is a contradictory one. On the one hand, the regime has been doling out the minimum of reforms. On the other, it has strengthened the apparatus of repression.

While the media headlines have concentrated on the battles in the townships and the growing influence of the African National Congress (ANC) and the UDF, the real source of the developing struggle has to be sought elsewhere.

With the suppression of the national liberation movement after 1963 and the economic boom of the years 1963-73, the regime had a decade of relative political tranquility...All this was to change in the decade that followed. The initiative passed from the ruling class to the masses.

The victory of Frelimo in Mozambique, the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola,



Boston Globe/Journe Parthe

and the successes of Mugabe's guerrillas in Rhodesia [Zimbabwe] gave a tremendous boost to the self-confidence of the masses in South Africa. The whites were not invincible.

South Africa's capitalism was stronger and its armed forces more powerful than its neighbors' to the north. But the very growth of South African capitalism, its rapid expansion during the boom years, had produced its gravedigger—the Black proletariat.

The wave of strikes that began in Durban at the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973 marked the rebirth of the Black independent trade-union movement in South Africa. Starting spontaneously as strikes for higher wages to meet the sharp rise in prices caused by the world economic crisis of the late 1960s, it was not long before the need for organization began to emerge.

Born in combat, the fledgling unions overcame the restrictions of government

legislation. Firmly rooted on the shop floor, the unionized workers were also able to give cohesion and leadership to the struggles of students and the petty bourgeoisie. These struggles began to wrack the townships and culminated in the great Soweto uprising of 1976.

Workers in the lead

This explosion of working-class power, culminating in the unification of most of the major union federations and some unaffiliated unions (in COSATU in November 1985), has inevitably made its mark on the political organizations engaged in struggle against the apartheid state.

The ANC, UDF, and AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization) all refer to the "leading role of the working class," although in the case of the ANC and the South African Communist Party this appears to be merely a recognition of workers' numerical weight in the population.

But once the working class enters the political scene, it adds its own imprint—specific working-class, anti-capitalist demands. And it does this while supporting the struggle for national liberation and for elementary democratic rights as incorporated in the Freedom Charter [a program first put forward by the ANC and other organizations in 1955] and in the manifestoes of the National Forum, AZAPO, and others.

One of the factors that has prohibited the majority of trade unionists organized in the major unions from affiliating to the UDF is the fear of losing one of their greatest gains—workers' control.

Most of the unions are organized with effective shop-floor control over the leadership. The constitution of the UDF—in which every affiliated organization has one vote whether it be a small community group or one with a mass base—seems to workers to counteract this

principle.

Hence, Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary of the powerful National Union of Miners, in his keynote address to the opening of COSATU's founding conference, stressed that while COSATU must contribute to the liberation struggle it must not be "at the expense of building up support in the factories." He went on to say that it was "vital to ensure that whatever alliances are struck with political movements are made on terms favorable to workers."

The unions have in many cases gone beyond the immediate program of the Freedom Charter and put forward transitional demands that challenge the hegemony of capitalism in the workplace. Thus, in the dispute between OK Bazaars and CCAWSA (Commercial, Catering, and Allied Workers Union of South Africa) and that between Foshini and the same union in 1985, the workers forced the employers to open the books to disclose financial information.

Management has also been challenged successfully on the right to hire and fire at will. Thus, Coca Cola was forced to reduce the number of planned layoffs from 203 to 63.

Independent political action

At the first meeting of the Central Executive Committee of COSATU, held in February, the new confederation once again distanced itself from any of the existing political movements. It resolved that "COSATU would not affiliate itself to any political organization so that it can maintain an independent political position."

This is not, of course, a repudiation of politics or a retreat into economism or syndicalism—as some critics of the independent trade union have maintained. It is a reiteration of the deeply held conviction that none of the existing organizations—UDF, ANC, AZAPO, National Forum—give adequate expression to aspirations of the workers as a class.

This view, perhaps, was most clearly expressed in an interview with Moses Mayekiso, secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) in the Transvaal, in the *Socialist Worker Review* last year.

"At present the FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions, a predecessor of COSATU) shop stewards councils, and also MAWU, are discussing the political set-up. We are looking at the crisis and the solutions to the crisis. The general feeling is that the workers must have their own party and their own freedom charter. [For more information on this topic, see the interview with Mayekiso on page 7.]

"The Charter (the Freedom Charter) is a capitalist document. We need a workers' charter that will say clearly who will control the farms—presently owned by the capitalists—who will control the factories, the mines, and so on. There must be a change of the whole society.

"Through the shop stewards councils people are opposed to the idea that there will be two stages toward liberation. That we must clean up capitalism first, then socialism. It's a waste of time, a waste of energy, and a waste of people's blood."

It is precisely this issue of workers' control—on the nature of the class that will take power in South Africa when the hated apartheid regime is finally overthrown—that is the subject of debate in the working class and liberation movements today.

Nothing short of a system of government in which the people have not only the right to elect their representatives but the right to recall them if they should prove unsatisfactory will satisfy the workers of South Africa. This has been learned from building their own organizations; the working class will not accept less from the state that they help to bring into being. ■

