

Bust Union-Buster Reagan: Shut Down the Airports!

Unchain Labor!

The shackles in which PATCO local leaders were hauled off to jail are meant for all U.S. labor. The air controllers' fight is no ordinary strike over dollars and cents: we're facing a savage attack on all public employees unions, an attempt (so far successful) to terrorize the entire labor movement. It's either them or us, and under Reagan's guns union officialdom is finally getting worried. On September 19, the AFL-CIO has called a "Solidarity Day" in Washington, D.C., the first national labor protest in years. It could be a hundred thousand or half a million: auto workers from Detroit's River Rouge, steel workers from Chicago's Southworks, miners from Appalachian coal fields, municipal workers from New York. These are not random individuals strolling down the street. There will be raw power in Washington September 19, enough to shut down the country if necessary to defend workers and minorities. But what kind of "solidarity" are the union brass offering? Simply petitioning the Reagan Congress, some phony Democratic "friends of labor" on the platform, not a single concrete demand! *If they really wanted to fight the Reaganite labor haters, they*

would use their muscle to win the PATCO strike. Shut down the airports! And where will the Teddy Kennedys stand then? We need a workers party, to smash the war on labor and blacks through militant class struggle!

Ronald Reagan has decreed that anyone who gets in his way will get the PATCO treatment: an entire national workforce of 12,000 striking air controllers fired, their union declared null and void. (That's in addition to the more usual strikebreaking tactics: multi-million dollar fines, jailing union officials, using the military as scabs.) It's the most massive union-busting attack since before the CIO was founded in the 1930s. Yet if there had been solidarity walkouts and boycotts by key unions, the air controllers' strike could have been won by now. It still can be. Teamsters, probably the most powerful single union in the U.S., deliver the fuel. The Machinists (IAM), who organize ground crews, even have an official "socialist" as president. They're bringing four jumbo jet loads from the West Coast to Washington for September 19. But "Wimpy" Winpisinger certainly earned his nickname in this strike by

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For Solidarity Strikes with PATCO!

Trying to rub it in labor's face, Ronald Reagan reaffirmed his firing of the entire air controllers' union in a September 3 speech to the convention of the carpenters union in Chicago. The U.S. president wants to make an example of PATCO and cow the rest of the labor movement—and he doesn't care if he kills a couple of planeloads of people to do it. Never before has the entire membership of a national union been fired, and it must not be allowed to happen now! Yet for five weeks, the

PATCO strikers have essentially had to go it alone. In all that time, American labor leaders have mustered no significant union action to defend this strike. Instead they have bombarded the labor-hating president with...hot air. The *California AFL-CIO News* called Reagan's action "a whiff of fascism." New York Central Labor Council president Harry Van Arsdale said it reminded him of Adolf Hitler. Their answer? To wait for the election of a Democratic administration.

The attempt to destroy PATCO is a mortal threat to public employees unions, all of which strike more or less in violation of the law. Already teachers strikes in Philadelphia and Boston are threatened with similar union busting. Yet aside from the Canadian air traffic controllers' action, which temporarily halted flights between Europe and the U.S., the amount of aid from other unions would not fill an eye-dropper. French controllers originally boycotted U.S.-bound flights, but were ordered by

their "Socialist" government, in the person of "Communist" transport minister Charles Fiterman, to call off their support action. It's shameful that air controllers in Portugal did more to oppose Reagan's efforts to bust PATCO than the entire American labor officialdom! U.S. union tops—conservative, liberal and reformist alike—are caught between a rock and a hard place. They had hoped to duck the Reagan barrage, but the PATCO strike dramatically ups the heat. Do nothing and the administration's war on labor threatens their existence; mobilize the ranks and things could get "out of hand."

Air controllers have become increasingly militant as the strike wears on. TV news programs daily interview picketers appealing for help from other unions. The International Association of Machinists (IAM), in particular, could win the PATCO strike in short order by pulling out airline mechanics. But IAM president Winpisinger, a leader of the reformist Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, refuses to take this

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Under Reagan's Guns

NYC Labor Day 1981

It was the first time in 13 years the labor bureaucracy held a Labor Day march in New York City. Some 150,000 to 200,000 unionists marched up Fifth Avenue—contingents from the construction trades, garment workers, hospital workers, telephone workers, teachers and others. The NYC Central Labor Council (CLC) had advertised it as a big parade, complete with floats, clowns and bands. But attention was



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focused on 3,000 striking air controllers and their families who mobilized from all over the East Coast and marched with fists in the air, chanting "Strike! Strike! Strike!" PATCO chief Robert Poli was in the front line, along with a Virginia PATCO local president, Steve Wallaert, who marched in chains symbolizing the shackles in which he was dragged off to jail last month.

There was plenty of red-white-and-blue flag waving. AFL-CIO president

Lane Kirkland, decked out in a Masonic-style "Grand Marshal" sash, saluted the floats from a reviewing stand on the Public Library steps. Cheers went up for the contingent of Radio City Rockettes (who fought a bitter strike some years ago) while CLC head, 78-year-old Harry Van Arsdale was playing for the limelight. A big construction trades turnout included some 10,000-plus members from IBEW locals sporting "I'm just wild about Harry" placards.

Despite the hoopla, Reagan's all-out union-busting attacks sparked anger among the union ranks. PATCO T-shirts and buttons were everywhere. Postal workers chanted, "Go, PATCO!" as they passed the reviewing stand. Construction worker contingents lumbering past aboard their towering cranes and giant wreckers were an impressive display of labor's industrial power. An ILGWU banner stretching across Fifth Avenue demanded "Amnesty for Undocumented Workers." In the TWU contingent, militant subway workers carried signs reading "America Can't Run Without NYC Subways" and chanted "Smash the Taylor Law!" (NYC's no-strike law used to bust the 1980 transit strike).

On the reviewing stand, Kirkland pointedly refused to criticize Ronald Reagan by name. To reporters' questions about what real support the AFL-CIO would give PATCO, he replied that labor was already doing "everything that can be done." Van Arsdale was worse, implying PATCO should be punished for breaking the law: "When your children do something wrong, you want to punish them. Do you want to destroy them?" In fact, the AFL-CIO has done nothing for PATCO save a little hollow speech-making. What if 150,000 unionists had been marching up Fifth Avenue on a work day! A strike by airport unions to shut down the airports would bring Reagan to his knees!

NYC Mayor Koch showed up and got



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"Strike! Strike! Strike! Strike!" PATCO leads NYC Labor Day demo, but AFL-CIO tops refuse to take strike action to defeat Reagan.

roundly booed all along the line of march. The bureaucracy was pushing votes for dissident Democrat Frank Barbaro for mayor. (As state assemblyman, Barbaro voted for the establishment of the EFCB, a state watchdog committee which oversaw the job-slashing assault on the unions in the 1974-76 NYC "fiscal crisis.") But Koch's main mission was to host Ronald Reagan at Gracie Mansion. In a deliberate attempt to undercut the labor march, Reagan flew into New York to hand Koch an \$85 million check for the Westway superhighway.

Not since 1968, when rising labor militancy (teachers strikes, sanitation strikes, etc.) in the context of the Vietnam War caused problems with Mayor Lindsay and various Democratic "friends of labor," had the city's union tops dared to stage such a demonstration of union strength. Labor Day itself is a holiday popularized by the capitalist

government as a substitute for the real day of workers solidarity, May Day. The internationally celebrated labor holiday, May 1, commemorates the vicious cop massacre of protesting workers at Chicago's Haymarket Square in 1886. But in 1894 strikebreaking Grover Cleveland proclaimed Labor Day, and in the 1920s Gompersite labor fakers joined with the Hoover administration to promote the first Tuesday in September as an alternative to the Communist-celebrated May Day.

At Gracie Mansion about 500 demonstrators gave Reagan a hostile reception. There was a motley collection of eco-freaks and "small is better" Greenwich Village liberal Democrats on hand to boo the Westway, and a "Coalition to Defend the Air Controllers and Stop Reagan's Union Busting." The Coalition's handout supporting PATCO consists of slogans adapted from close

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Canadian Postal Workers Demand:

Solidarity Strikes for Air Controllers!

TORONTO—One of the few genuine acts of labor solidarity with the striking American air controllers, quite effective as long as it lasted, was the boycott of flights to and from the U.S. by the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association (CATCA). Following the refusal of individual CATCA members in Vancouver, Toronto, Calgary and other centers to handle U.S. flights, on August 9 the union announced a total boycott. For over 24 hours the Canadian controllers defied government threats of firings, fines and imprisonment, completely shutting down the vital transatlantic corridor from Gander and stopping virtually all U.S. flights to Europe.

The boycott was sold out by a deal between the CATCA leadership and the government. Meanwhile, the government has been going after CATCA with a vengeance for its solidarity action. Transport Minister Jean-Luc Pépin has initiated legal action against

union members; suspensions without pay were handed out, and the threat of further discipline hangs over the heads of more than 100 controllers. CATCA itself has been working without a contract since December. While a no-strike injunction was slapped on the union last October after wildcats over working conditions and bonus pay, in recent court action the government has been trying to take away the right to strike for 1,782 operational controllers for good. What's needed is a nationwide strike of Canadian air controllers now! This is the opportunity for a real boycott of U.S. air space in solidarity with PATCO—a CATCA strike would be a double blow against Reagan's union busting and the Trudeau government's strikebreaking attacks.

We reprint below a motion passed at the August 20 general meeting of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 in Toronto calling on the LCUC and the Canadian Labour

Congress (CLC) to come to the defense of the victimized air controllers. The same meeting called for raising the solidarity resolution at an upcoming Ontario Federation of Labour convention, and the LCUC Local 1 motion was reprinted as "letter of the day" in the 31 August Toronto Sun:

"Whereas: U.S. President Reagan's firing of striking air traffic controllers is a declaration of war against the entire U.S. labor movement; and

"Whereas: the Trudeau government has stated its intention to discipline and fire air traffic controllers who, in a dramatic act of international working-class solidarity, boycotted U.S. air space and for 24 hours shut down all north Atlantic flights; and

"Whereas: CATCA has been working without a contract since December and no contract, no work is a basic trade-union principle; and

"Whereas: CATCA is under a no-strike injunction which is part of a government campaign to take away not only CATCA's right to strike but that of postal workers and all public sectors.

"Therefore, be it resolved: that LCUC Local 1 stands in solidarity with PATCO (U.S. air traffic

controllers) and demands that the National Office actively defend victimized CATCA members up to and including through strike action; and that we call on the CLC to organize such action nationwide by all of labor; and

"Further be it resolved: that we urge CATCA to take further militant action in solidarity with the U.S. controllers and in defense of their own union and right to strike, and that we call on the National Office and the CLC to support CATCA in these actions including by strike action; and

"Further be it resolved: that we send copies of this motion to PATCO, CATCA, the CLC and the press."

Canadian postal workers have firsthand experience with the Trudeau government's union busting. The Liberal prime minister brought down the fist of the capitalist state on the striking Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) in 1978. And this summer a six-week CUPW postal strike provoked demands from the bourgeois press for the Canadian government to "live like Reagan." The LCUC motion points the way to defeating this union-busting drive on both sides of the border.

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refusing to order solidarity *strike action* with PATCO. Betrayal is the only name for this backstabbing! The same goes for all the other labor misleaders whose only "support" has been to call for an impotent consumer boycott—when their unions could ground the planes in hours. A union is being hacked to bits before their eyes and they do nothing to stop it. *Labor has the power to bust the union-busters: Use it!*

PATCO isn't by any means the only victim. In fact, air controllers are an elite professional group, who used to be pro-Reagan. If they can do it to these people, what chance does a black welfare mother have? Or a Salvadoran peasant? Black America knows Ronald Reagan best, for it is first in his line of fire on the domestic front. Thousands of angry black people are coming to the capital September 19, organized in contingents by their unions or by black organizations, because they know their economic and social survival is at stake. The Reagan budget hasn't even hit yet: it could be a long, hot winter after cuts in unemployment benefits, welfare, food stamps, etc. take hold in October. And with the KKK's preferred Kandidate in the White House, the race terrorists in white sheets are riding in broad daylight. But just when a sharp fight is most needed, the black masses are leaderless as never before. *The NAACP and ghetto politicians remain loyal to the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism*, offering only a parade in Washington, one more time. What's needed is to mobilize blacks and labor in a common class struggle against racial oppression and class exploitation.

Labor and blacks are the domestic targets of Reagan's crusade to rearm American capitalism to reconquer unchallenged hegemony as imperialist policeman of the world. This means a straight-line drive toward a nuclear World War III against the Soviet Union. At home it's war on the "welfare state": he'll see to it that the rich get richer, and the poor will damn well get poorer. The Reaganites' methods aren't exactly rational: at the same time they're cutting taxes they want to spend hundreds of billions on super-sophisticated weapons, to be operated by a volunteer army of high school dropouts. First they went after leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, then shook up their imperialist NATO allies with the neutron bomb, and now it's provocations against megalomaniac Qaddafi and support for racist South Africa's invasion of Angola. Obviously they want some "enemy" blood to lubricate the cogs of the "wild, wonderful war" they're cooking up. Somehow Hollywood cowboy Reagan and White House



PATCO marches at September 1 NYC solidarity rally.

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general Haig have talked themselves into the idea that they can wipe out the "aberration" of Communism with no white middle-class and upper-class Americans getting hurt. It's a fantasy, but the nuts acting it out control the most murderous war machine ever. In its drive to wipe out every last remaining social gain of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, Reagan's Cold Warriors are willing to set off nuclear holocaust.

Reagan Hates Everybody

Last year we had the largest reduction in the living standard of the American people since records have been kept. Yet in Reagan's Washington, luxury is "in." As the "self-made" millionaires parade around the Capitol Mall at black-tie banquets with silver candelabras, the head of the inauguration committee proclaimed this would be a "fun administration." Fun for who? Every day the Reaganite budget ax murderers go after another group of poor and working people. Medicare, CETA, they even want to cut minimum payments on Social Security, the thin lifeline for millions of elderly who worked all their lives. Federal pay increases to be kept below 5 percent while inflation soars to 15 percent. Cutting off unemployment benefits after 26 weeks when there are no jobs, not even in Houston. Last November, 44 percent of unionized voters pulled the lever for the Republican presidential candidate, repudiating Democrat Carter whose economic policies were a disaster for workers. Maybe they figured cuts would fall only on "welfare bums." Now they are finding out differently. A coal miner demonstrating against the administration's cut-off of black lung benefits in March expressed a widespread feeling with his sign, "America, I'm Sorry I Voted for Reagan."

Blacks and other minorities are the first to get it in Reagan's racist America. After all, he was elected on a platform which (according to Imperial Wizard and long-time FBI informer Bill Wilkinson) could have been written by the KKK. Suddenly black youth unemployment has shot above 50 percent, the highest level ever; administration spokesmen had "no clear explanation" for this chilling statistic of misery. Now busing has been canceled in Chicago, L.A. and Houston, and the U.S. just announced a new model plan of "separate but equal" black and white colleges to reinstitutionalize segregated higher education across the South. They are even threatening to repeal the 1965 Voting Rights Act, so that "one man, one vote" will once more be sacrificed on the altar of "states' rights." Foreign workers, roughly ten million "illegal aliens" who have some of the worst jobs in the country, face pre-dawn raids and mass deportations under Reagan's immigration policies.

There doesn't seem to be anything his pocket-calculator killers won't do. To

reduce welfare rolls, house-to-house searches will now be reinstated in Harlem to find TV sets and total up the cost of clothes in the closet. And they're minutely measuring out how much food will be removed from school lunches for ghetto kids: hamburgers will now weigh 1.5 ounces (instead of 2 oz.), milk containers no more than 4 oz.! Reagan dismisses all opposition to his "soak the poor" budget as due to "greed and envy." And the Democrats speed it through Congress with only perfunctory handwashing. No wonder national polls show that blacks see no hope in this racist system.

Defend Picket Lines!

A couple of years ago, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland accused big business of waging "one-sided class war" against labor. That's a pretty good description of what's happening right now as the government goes all out to

employee strikes as "unthinkable and intolerable." Some "friend of labor"! Democrat Harry Truman seized the steel mills and railroads in order to break strikes; Democrat Jimmy Carter invoked Taft-Hartley against the miners. And in 1980 the bankruptcy of New Deal liberal economics, unable to do away with double-digit inflation and mass unemployment, was largely responsible for the election of Ronald Reagan. The present anti-labor offensive, moreover, like the anti-Soviet war drive, did not begin with Reagan. Fundamentally it represents the effort by all sectors of American capitalism to recover from its massive defeat in Vietnam and the erosion of international economic competitiveness. Reagan wants to restore the short-lived "American century" and American working people are supposed to pay for it.

The counterpart of support to the capitalist Democrats is refusal of working-class solidarity. The ultra-

Feiffer



break PATCO. But whose fault is it that the battle is "one-sided"? Democrats and Republicans join hands to reverse the major gains of minorities and labor in this country, from busing to the right to strike. And they're waging a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive whose aim is to "roll back" revolutions from Havana to Hanoi and ultimately Moscow. What else can you expect from capitalist politicians but capitalist policies? By their standard ploys about a supposed "lesser evil" among bourgeois politicians, politically shackling the power of labor while refusing to wield the unions' power in strike action, the labor misleaders tie the workers to their class enemy: FDR, JFK, LBJ and the last straw, JC. *To bring down strike-breaker, anti-Soviet warmaker Reagan we need hard class struggle, not treacherous class collaboration!*

The main line of the September 19 march in Washington, and of the union tops generally, is to re-cement the alliance of labor and the Democratic Party. This is a *program for defeat*, as history demonstrates over and over. Speaking to the Carpenters' convention recently, Reagan was able to quote Franklin Roosevelt denouncing public

conservative London *Economist* headlined its story on the PATCO strike, "Solidarity is not a word America's unions know." Virtually every TV station in the country notices the same thing as they repeatedly ask U.S. labor leaders what they are going to *do* to aid the air controllers, like strike action. This is nothing new. In the bitter 1977-78 coal miners strike, the most important American union struggle since the immediate postwar years, militant ranks held out alone for 110 days in a showdown that affected all labor. Even when Carter imposed court injunctions, the rest of the union movement did nothing, but the miners' picket lines and determination prevented a major defeat.

The union bureaucrats are firmly wedded to the capitalist system; indeed, the "reformer" bureaucrats are sometimes even more consciously so than conservative union bigwigs who just want to skim off some graft. The reform leaders of the United Mine Workers (UMW) under Arnold Miller, elected in 1972 with the aid of the U.S. Department of Labor, three times tried to shove a sell-out contract down the throats of the membership in 1978. This

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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was Miller's payoff to Uncle Sam. His counterpart in the Steelworkers, the Sadlowski/Balanoff leadership of the Chicago/Gary district, refused to fight the no-strike ENA deal foisted on the union by the conservative McBride International. The "dissidents" even voted for the 1979 contract. Not surprisingly, after they proved no better in action than McBride & Co., the Sadlowski liberals were dumped by the disillusioned ranks. Now reform slates are regularly going down to defeat in union elections, the latest being Masocochi in OCAW.

Meanwhile, the former "reformers" who make the big time act as company agents in the most blatant ways. Perhaps the worst example is the once-proud UAW under Doug Fraser. Fraser, who built a reputation as a social-democratic "progressive" under Reuther, distinguished himself in the 1973 Detroit wildcat sitdowns by organizing a 1,000-man goon squad to break the strikes for the management. Since taking over the UAW in 1979, he has continued to play essentially the role of a cop against the union membership. When Chrysler bosses pleaded bankruptcy after systematically looting the company, instead of leading strike action to save jobs or preserve the uniform national contract he (and the rest of the Solidarity House gang) gave away hundreds of millions in wages and benefits. In exchange, Fraser bought himself a seat on the Chrysler board of directors where he regularly approves company takeaway demands on the union! And now he denounces PATCO for striking against Reagan.

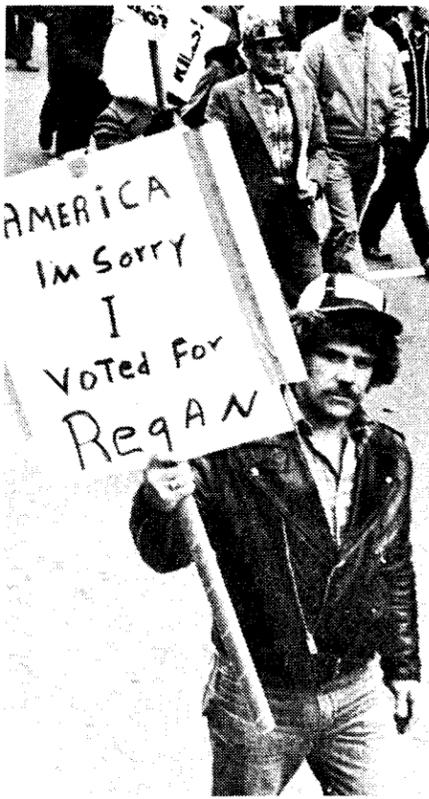
What about the "socialist" and "communist" groups which claim to speak in the name of the working class? Virtually the entire left supports one or another wing of the union bureaucracy, what Daniel De Leon in his classic phrase called the "labor lieutenants of capital." In the pages of the Communist Party's *Daily World* and the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* you will find only the mildest criticisms of liberals like Fraser and nothing but praise for

the Miller/Sadlowski "reformers." So when in the middle of the '78 miners strike the UMW chief was being burned in effigy throughout the coal fields, these reformist rags had nothing to say. Again today, because they are not willing to break with the labor fakers, these pseudo-socialists turn their back on the air controllers, just like the Kirklands and Frasers. And the CP, ever ready to serve the labor tops, simply dismissed all criticism of the September 19 parade as a divisive "disease of sterile, counterproductive criticism." Typical is the recipe of the Workers World Party/People's Antiwar Mobilization: "The first step by the AFL-CIO is to redouble its own efforts for the Sept. 19 demonstration.... This is how PATCO can win." No, it will take militant labor action, not pressure tactics, to win this crucial fight.

The Spartacist League is just about the only group on the American left that refuses to support slick-talking out-office bureaucrats who betray with the best of them as soon as they get elected. Any candidate for union office worthy of a vote, says the SL, must break with the pro-capitalist bureaucracy by raising some key elements of a class-struggle program. When other self-proclaimed "socialists" were supporting the UMW's Arnold Miller, *Workers Vanguard* called for keeping the bosses' government out of the labor movement. In the 1978 coal strike WV urged joint strike action of steel and auto workers with the miners, and political solidarity strikes against the union-busting Taft-Hartley injunction. For the Marxist SL, and for militant mine workers (but not opportunist leftists), picket lines mean don't cross. Today WV alone demands, "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" while reformists and centrists cover for the criminal inaction of the Kirklands and Winpisingers. And it is the Trotskyists who call for a break with the Democrats—dump the bureaucrats, build a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

Fight Klan Terror!

The September 19 "Solidarity Day" march is being widely compared to the big Washington civil rights march of 1963, which the NAACP and la-



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Coal miner in Washington. Reagan reaction targets unions—Democrats no "friends of labor"—Build a workers party!

bor liberals played a major role in building. Certainly there are similarities: the aim then was pressure politics, and it's the same today. The liberal civil rights movement of the '60s was based on influencing the Democrats and the courts. But in the '70s backlash, it was the same Democratic Congress and liberal courts that repealed the minimal gains of the previous decade. Moreover, since the beginning of the 1970s there has been essentially no black leadership whatever. Rock bottom came with the 1980 elections, when the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks sang "We Shall Overcome" hand-in-hand with Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter and the SCLC's Ralph Abernathy was giving bear hugs to Kandidate Ronald Reagan.

Today the established black organizations have no answer to rising Klan terror. The most they could muster in the last year was the empty gesture of liberal "concern" of wearing green ribbons for the children of Atlanta. But what about the four black women shot

by KKK race killers at a bus stop in Chattanooga, the crosses burned on lawns of minority union members in Contra Costa County? Nothing. And when in November 1979, five socialist, labor and black organizers were murdered by the Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina the response of the "establishment" black organizations was to launch an anti-red witchhunt! The answer to Greensboro was given in Detroit at a 500-strong black/labor mobilization, built by the SL, which proclaimed: "The Klan won't ride in the Motor City!" Five months later an SL-initiated labor rally of 1,200 in San Francisco prevented Nazi-fascists from staging a race-hate provocation on Hitler's birthday. The program of labor/black defense against Klan terror is an expression of the Spartacist League's proletarian program of *revolutionary integrationism*.

"Black people are not only segregated at the bottom of U.S. society; they are also integrated into strategic sections of the industrial proletariat in whose hands lies the economic power to shatter this racist, capitalist system" (from the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [revised], "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"). That's why the role of the labor bureaucracy is doubly criminal. At best indifferent to the needs of minorities, with their job-trusting and reactionary policies the labor misleaders have often driven black militants into hostility toward the unions. Their only active intervention into black struggles has been to tie protests to the Democratic Party, as with the 1963 March on Washington. The Marxists fight for a new, multi-racial class-struggle leadership of labor which can transform the unions into key weapons in the battle against race oppression. Black workers, the most combative elements of the class, will win emancipation for all the oppressed by fighting in the front ranks of the proletarian revolution and its vanguard party.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Reformism always compartmentalizes struggles, trying to set various groups of the exploited and oppressed at each others' throats in a mad scramble for crumbs from the capitalist table while leaving the system intact. Reagan reaction doesn't compartmentalize. The fanatic in the White House is determined to destroy every obstacle in the path of reviving American imperialism, from blacks and labor at home to the bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. He's about as interested in negotiating a settlement with PATCO as he is in a "political solution" with leftists in El Salvador—his aim is a "final solution" to communism and the labor movement. Hitler got like this, but only in the last six months of a losing war on two fronts. Reagan has declared war on all fronts, and it's up to us to make sure he loses. He can be stopped: the Johnson administration was brought down by the Viet Cong's Tet offensive. But right now the Dow Jones average is showing more resistance to the Reaganites than the labor movement. The Kirklands and Frasers only want to bring back the Democrats. It's the job of the Marxists to mobilize the working class to smash Reaganism for keeps.

For the war party in Washington, talk of "containment" and "Cold War" is only a compromise. Already some elements are reportedly dreaming that this will be the administration that "takes back" Cuba. And Reagan is consistent. A PATCO picket sign in Boston showed a picture of the two union leaders in chains under the headline, "Collective Bargaining: Poland or the U.S.?" When CBS canceled Lane Kirkland's Labor Day message because it criticized Reagan, his response was, what about Poland? The reformists think it's contradictory to be

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for striking against the government in Warsaw and oppose striking against the U.S. Not at all—Reagan would love to see blood flow in the streets of “Communist” Warsaw, and he wants to continue his conscious class war on U.S. workers unopposed by the union misleaders. The government is trying to break union resistance and scuttle every social program that serves blacks and minorities in order to jack up profits and free money for the war budget which they see as the motor of recovery for American capitalism. And the Democrats began it: plans to break the air controllers’ strike and militarize the airports were first drawn up a year and a half ago under Carter.

Capitalism is a decaying system—you only have to look at Detroit, New York or any other Midwestern or Eastern U.S. city to see the ravages. The liberals complain that Reagan’s runaway “defense” budget—a planned \$1.5 trillion increase in arms expenditures over 1981-85, more than triple the entire cost of the Vietnam War—will wreak economic havoc. That’s for sure. But unlike his liberal critics, Reagan is not thinking about the arms build-up mainly in terms of its long-term economic effects. He actually intends to use these weapons. The MX missile is clearly a first-strike weapon to destroy the Soviets’ nuclear defense capacity. And the neutron bomb is designed for a “limited nuclear war” in the European “theater.” The Kennedys are worried about the buck; Reagan wants the big bang, and he’s got his finger on the button.

The reformists, following the liberals, want “butter instead of guns”—as if it were a question of priorities, like “people before profits.” Under capitalism, nothing comes before profits, and the guns are meant to protect the rule of the bourgeoisie. But they can’t buy nuclear first-strike capability against the Russians just by starving poor black women and their children. They could throw everyone in the country off welfare and scarcely save enough money



WV Photo

PATCO striker at Logan Airport, Boston.

to build half a dozen B-1 bombers. Despite the savage cuts in social programs, Reagan’s war budget spells massive inflation. This is worrying the bankers who are demanding that the president stop paying for his N-bombs and cruise missiles by running the printing presses. Wall Street is demanding more cuts, now. Where are they to come from? Reagan has already indicated that he intends to ax Social Security benefits, the only social program anywhere near large enough to offset the arms build-up. The government’s anti-Soviet war drive means dismantling the minimal economic security programs that the American working class won

Bureaucrats and Boycotts

Retired ILWU president Harry Bridges recently declined an invitation to spend his 80th birthday in the Soviet Union out of supposed respect for the picket lines of the striking air traffic controllers. Columnist Herb Caen writing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 August) captured the hypocrisy of the gesture: in 1975 the longtime Stalinist fellow traveler scabbed on a clerical workers strike at his own union headquarters! “Bridges not only crossed the line, he was heard to growl, ‘You ladies are embarrassing me.’” That’s how much “respect” he has for picket lines!

Communist Party chairman Gus Hall has similarly decided to “support”

the strike by declaring that “flying is scabbing.” Machinists’ union president Winpisinger ostentatiously traveled to Washington by rented car, while Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, took a plane to his Cape Cod summer home only after seeking “permission” from a PATCO picket captain. On the other hand, Communications Workers of America Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel in San Francisco boasts that he flies only in planes operating on Visual Flight Rules (VFR), so as not to be directed by scab controllers!

The bourgeois media can ridicule such two-faced gestures because it’s



Harry Bridges driving through ILWU office workers’ picket lines in 1975.

SF Chronicle

through the mass struggles of the 1930s.

Facing increasing foreign competition Reagan has resorted to economic protectionism, for example, by slapping quotas on Japanese autos and steel. These kinds of beggar-my-neighbor trade policies, as they were called in the 1930s, are an attempt to export unemployment to Japanese workers. U.S. workers must oppose national economic protectionism, which the Kirkland/Fraser bureaucracy presents as the “solution” to unemployment. Remember, trade wars lead to imperialist war!

The American ruling class is going on war footing, and they demand of the labor movement that it regiment its ranks. Kirkland, who was chief aide to George Meany when the former AFL-CIO chief backed the Vietnam War, has had plenty of practice for that. Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, wrote:

“The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.”

—“Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay,” August 1940

Today, for all wings of the labor bureaucracy, solidarity is an unnatural act. Just look at how they let PATCO face Reagan alone. It wasn’t always that way. Up to World War II a sizable section of the union movement as a matter of principle refused to handle struck goods. But by the time the Stalinist and anti-Stalinist supporters of FDR’s imperialist war effort were finished (no-strike pledge, slandering striking miners as pro-fascist “fifth columnists”), these practices had been abandoned in favor of one or another variety of “business unionism.” As the memory of the proletariat, the Marxists have to struggle to recreate traditions which are deeply in the logic of the working-class situation.

And that includes defense of the

obvious to everyone that these labor fakers are doing *nothing* to back PATCO! Their posturing has only helped demoralize the labor movement.

“Wimpy” Winpisinger and his brethren refuse to do the one thing that would shut down the airports and win the strike in a hurry: call the airport mechanics, ground crews, fuel truckers and other air transport workers out on strike. Any union president worth his salt would have taken the first plane home to pull his union out the day the strike began.

PATCO strikers know the strike must spread to other unions to win. But, afraid to confront anti-labor laws against “secondary boycotts” and the treachery of the labor fakers, PATCO has not openly demanded that all airport workers refuse to cross their picket lines, asking instead that the picket lines be “respected.” But to any union militant working at the airports the meaning should be clear: don’t cross.

PATCO has not called for any boycott by the flying public; they only warn that air travel is unsafe. A consumer boycott—in this case directed mainly at businessmen and other petty bourgeois—would be an admission of defeat. Labor misleaders like Bridges suggest an impotent consumer boycott as a substitute for spreading the strike, especially—god forbid!—to their own unions. They fear a massive political confrontation with Reagan, in which union bureaucrats would stand to be swept away as American workers discover they don’t need sellouts but a militant new leadership unafraid to take on this fight and win.

sellout leadership that must be ousted by workers political revolution in order to open the road to socialism.

The Reagan reactionaries have big contradictions—they can be brought down. They want a third world war in which Russia will be destroyed, the unions shackled, blacks starved...and every middle American will get two color TVs. Reagan’s promising guns *and* butter in a particularly grotesque way. But it won’t work. Just as there’s no free lunch, Ronald Reagan can’t go to war for free. If the American working class fights hard economically, if blacks mobilize against the threats to their survival, if working people reject the counterrevolutionary political aims of new imperialist military adventures, it will throw a giant monkey wrench into the government’s plans. What’s key is to build a class-struggle leadership capable of fighting for socialist revolution even more consistently than Reagan fights for capitalist counterrevolution. This is the goal of the Trotskyists, who fight for real solidarity—with PATCO, with the ghetto, with Salvadoran leftists, with Cuban and Russian workers. ■

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We reprint below Part I of the edited version of a speech given by Spartacist League Central Committee member George Foster at an SL educational weekend in New York City, June 6.

We're going back in time quite a distance to another place that is probably pretty strange to people today and that is the tsarist empire—Russia 1905. In 1905 the whole year, from January through December, tsarist Russia was rocked by an outbreak of strikes, peasant uprisings and mutinies in the armed forces. Soviets sprang up and the year was capped with an armed insurrection in Moscow in December. These upheavals did not break the autocracy, but did constitute the dress rehearsal for the revolution of 1917. And all the various classes and parties associated with them in a sense “self-determined” themselves under the impact of these events. That is to say they were tested and their relations with one another were made clear.

PART ONE OF TWO

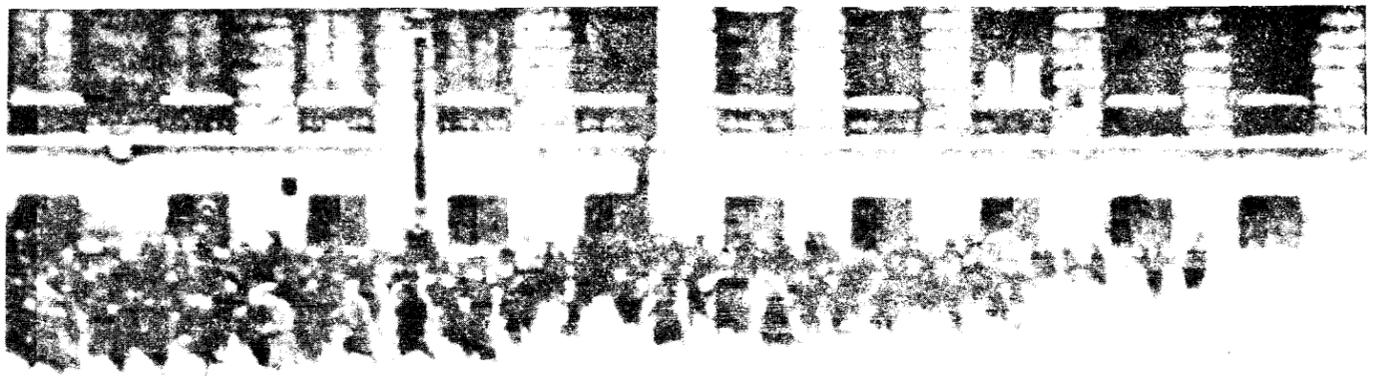
So that all the participants of 1917, in a sense, knew one another very well from the experience of 1905. For the Bolsheviks, it was an especially important and shaping experience. The implications of the 1903 split in the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party began to manifest themselves, yet it took several more years to work these out. That is to say, although events of 1905 made clear what Menshevism was, there was also a very strong impulse growing out of the experience of 1905 toward unity, especially at the base of the party.

The 1905 Revolution had a peculiar feature. Trotsky refers to it in his book on the revolution, and I'd like to quote it. He says:

“So far as its direct and indirect tasks are concerned, the Russian revolution is a ‘bourgeois’ revolution because it sets out to liberate bourgeois society from the chains and fetters of absolutism and feudal ownership. But the principal driving force of the Russian revolution is the proletariat, and that is why, so far as its method is concerned, it is a proletarian revolution.”

And indeed, it was Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution that addressed this contradiction and the way out of it, and I'd like to talk a bit about that today. I'd like to concentrate mainly on the two ends of 1905—the events leading up to January 1905 and particularly the events in December of 1905 in Moscow.

Now my two favorite quotes regarding 1905 are, first, one by the then-minister of finance, Count Witte. This was written in 1895, and he said, “In Russia, fortunately, there is no working class in a Western sense;



Prelude to the Bolshevik October

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905



Novosti

therefore, there is no labor problem.” Then there was Peter Struve, who started out as a “legal Marxist” and became a liberal reformist. He wrote on 7 January 1905, two days before Bloody Sunday, that “there is not yet a revolutionary people in Russia.”

It's rather difficult for comrades living in 1981, in the U.S., to grasp what the tsarist autocracy was like. As a system, it made that of the shah of Iran seem something like a regime of liberalism. Nicolas II was the tsar from 1894 until he was overthrown in 1917. Three months after his succession to the throne he had a celebration in which all the representatives from various small towns and villages throughout Russia converged in Petersburg. This included representatives from the local assemblies, the *zemstvos*, who expressed some timid hopes that they might have some say in the government. Tsar Nicholas told them that he was glad to hear their sentiments of loyal allegiance, but:

“It has come to my knowledge that voices have been heard of late in some *zemstvo* assemblies of persons carried away by senseless dreams about their representatives participating in the administration of the internal affairs of the state. Let every man know that while devoting all my strength to the well-being of my people, I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and undeviatingly as did my late father.”

His late father was Alexander III, who on a similar occasion expressed his views by saying:

“In the midst of our great grief, God's voice commands us to stand courageously at the helm of the government relying on divine providence with faith in the power of truth and the autocracy which for the benefit of the people we are called upon to strengthen and protect from any encroachment.”

These characters very much believed in the divine right of kings. In fact, the tsar's real title, if you ever look it up, probably fills about a page and a half. With every new acquisition of the empire he became the prince of this, or

duke of that, or took on one or another obscure feudal title.

Development of Capitalism

In a sense one might say that the story of 1905 begins in 1861 with the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II, who was the “great reforming tsar.” The reason he instituted this reform was that the tsarist empire got badly beaten in the Crimean War. It became very clear to the autocracy that it had to develop modern industry if it was to survive military challenges from capitalist Europe. This had been a theme throughout the history of the Romanov empire, that they had to import European methods of production and military techniques in order to defend themselves against their European enemies. And so the serfs were liberated as part of a program of building up capitalist relations.

Now, the last several decades of the 19th century saw enormous growth of the proletariat in the tsarist empire. And it was a peculiar process. It wasn't an organic one. That is to say, if you look around New York or Chicago, you can see very old plants and very small plants reflecting an organic growth of capital. Likewise with any of the other Western capitalist countries. But here we had whole new sections of modern industry imported: textiles, metal work, armament factories, some of the most modern in Europe, were simply transplanted. And so the proletariat was concentrated in very, very large, very modern factories for the times. Petersburg was the center of this process and was the main center of the war industries.

And conditions were terrible. It was not simply that the social-democratic parties or revolutionaries were outlawed. The liberals were too. Except the most timid. And unions were completely illegal. No unions were permitted—strikes were outlawed. If you were late for work by ten minutes, you'd get fined a day's pay. There was a whole system of police spies set up in the factories. In fact, the Russian word for strike—



Burton Holmes

Japanese officers watch scuttling of tsarist fleet after fall of Port Arthur, 1904.

stachka—derives from an older colloquial term, which essentially meant to conspire for a criminal act.

So it was very difficult to strike. But if you look at the figures in the last part of the 19th century going over into the 20th, with the growth of the proletariat you also see a growth of strikes. If you look at 1895, there were 68 strikes. 1896—it went up to 118. 1897—over 145. 1898—215. 1899—it went back down to 189. There was a lull in strikes in the period 1900-1902, mainly because of a decline due to recession. 1903—there were 550 strikes. And in the first month of 1905, there were more strikes than in the whole previous decade. That gives you some sense of the explosion that took place in January.

Of course the authorities had a response: they used troops to break them. Troops were used in the period from 1891 to 1895 to break 67 strikes. Over the next five years up to 1900, they were used 226 times. In the period from 1900 to the beginning of 1905, 651 times. And if one would take the rather small proletariat—relatively, numerically—that existed and conceive of something on a larger scale for the U.S., you can get a sense of the level of repression and the difficult conditions in which proletarian revolutionaries had to operate.

Zubatov's "Police Socialism"

There were other measures, of course, available to the authorities. I'd like to talk a little bit about them, because it leads into the whole question of how Bloody Sunday came about. And that is to say the Okhrana—these were the tsarist secret police—in general began to look for other ways, other than directly using the troops or police repression to keep the workers in line. As early as 1901, the interior minister at the time (one Sipyagin) began to advocate schemes such as profit sharing, permitting the more skilled workers to buy homes and so on, in an attempt to create a bribed, stable, conservative proletarian layer in the workforce. In particular, there was an experiment engaged in by the Interior Ministry known as "police socialism" or Zubatovism, after one Sergei B. Zubatov, who began his career as some sort of populist revolutionary. He became a police informer and then became a cop in Moscow and went on to become the chief of the Moscow secret police. He was a very ardent monarchist and quite sophisticated. In fact, he was so ardent a monarchist that in 1917 in February, on hearing of the fall of the tsar, he leaped up from the dinner table where he was eating with his family and ran into the next room and blew his brains out.

What he tried to do was to create "unions," which in effect were a circumvention of existing laws. These "unions" operated under the guise of being mutual aid societies. And they were basically designed to direct the workers



Father Gapon (with chief of police of St. Petersburg) led workers' delegation in audience with the tsar.

away from political struggle and into a philosophy of "social-tsarism," if you will. Lenin basically thought the Zubatov societies were bribery and perversion and described them as (in their intent) offering minuscule reforms in exchange for no political struggle. There was a lot of faction fighting within the tsarist bureaucracy, especially between the Ministry of Interior, which had the job of holding the workers down and wanted to play around with little phony reforms like this, and the Finance Ministry, which was the voice of the capitalists, both the native ones and the various imperialists who were heavily investing in the tsarist empire, who simply pushed ahead with capitalist economic development.

The officials of the Finance Ministry had the advantage of a certain continuity—Count Witte was the finance minister for a very long time—whereas the job of interior minister was insecure. These top cops tended to be assassinated with fair frequency by the Social Revolutionaries. It seemed on the average about two years was the term. So Goremykin was blown away, and then he was replaced by Sipyagin, who was also shot. And in 1902 a guy named Plehve, who was an ultrareactionary, assumed the reins of the Ministry of the Interior.

This Zubatovism, or "police socialism," had to backfire. Because insofar as the Okhrana had to make their police "unions" look like real unions and occasionally lead a strike or do something, it gave openings for the revolutionaries. If you go to *What Is To Be Done?*, you can read Lenin, who said:

"Keep at it, gentlemen, do your best! Whenever you place a trap in the path of the workers (either by way of direct provocation, or by the 'honest' demoralisation of the workers with the aid of 'Struve-ism'), we will see to it that you are exposed. But whenever you take a

real step forward, though it be the most 'timid zig-zag,' we will say: Please continue! And the only step that can be a real step forward is a real, if small, extension of the workers' field of action. Every such extension will be to our advantage and will help to hasten the advent of legal societies of the kind in which it will not be *agents provocateurs* who are detecting socialists, but socialists who are gaining adherents."

What the Bolsheviks attempted to do, when these Zubatov societies did lead strikes, was to aim to take them over and lead them in a socialist direction.

Zubatov had some success in gaining adherents because these were the only legal workers' organizations permitted. But his enterprise right away ran into the bourgeoisie. In 1903 in Moscow one of his unions tried to run a strike against a Russian textile manufacturer of French origin. And the guy simply got up on his hind legs and said: look, what you're doing is illegal, fuck you. So Zubatov being a head cop tried to get this guy deported back to France, at which point Count Witte, the minister of finance, and the French ambassador intervened. And Zubatov was "promoted" upstairs and sent to Petersburg.

Here he tried to work the same angle. But he met with much less success. It was in his attempts to create "police socialism" in Petersburg that he ran into Father Gapon, who was a very interesting character. Although ephemeral in the events of 1905, his acts created the ignition for the revolutionary explosion. And he deserves some mention, if only because our opponents have tried to draw an utterly false analogy between Khomeini and Gapon.

Father Gapon's "Social-Tsarism"

Several years prior to 1905 Gapon was attending theological seminary in Petersburg and ran a few parishes. He developed quite a reputation as a social

worker: running orphanages, self-help societies, charities for the poor and so on. He had some entrée into the tsarist court as a consequence of these activities. And as he told his fellow students at the seminary, "I will end up famous or in prison." Well, he ended up famous and dead. That's another story.

Eventually Gapon got sick of going to seminary and left. At the time of his departure he was running the Blue Cross Orphanage in Petersburg, but he just chucked it all and ran off to the Ukraine with one of his female charges. Now, this didn't stand him in good stead with his teachers in the seminary when he came back to town and sought readmission to theology school. But with the recommendation of a prominent ex-Okhrana agent, he got back into the seminary and was able to complete his studies. And he became a priest in the transit prison in Petersburg. He was hired officially by the state for about 2,000 rubles a year, a lot of money for the time.

Now, when Zubatov ran into Gapon, he talked him into setting up a sort of variant of a police-socialist union, that is, an independent "union" under church guidance. This was in 1903. Zubatov, though, was getting into trouble because in pursuing his activities in Petersburg, he had to clear them with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Interior's arch rival in the tsarist bureaucracy. Further, also in 1903, his Zubatov unions in the south of Russia (where they'd been most successful, particularly among the Jewish workers in Minsk) launched a big strike. The strike, basically, was the end of Zubatov. The experiment of "police socialism" didn't work, it backfired. So he got the ax.

Gapon saw him off at the railway station, but nonetheless went ahead with his work to found what became the Assembly of Russian Factory and Mill Workers of the City of Petersburg. And in a memoir to the Okhrana, explaining what his assembly was to be, Gapon says:

"Essentially the basic idea is to build a nest among the factory and mill workers where Rus', a truly Russian spirit, would prevail. From thence healthy and self-sacrificing fledglings could fly forth to defend their tsar and country and aid their fellow workers."

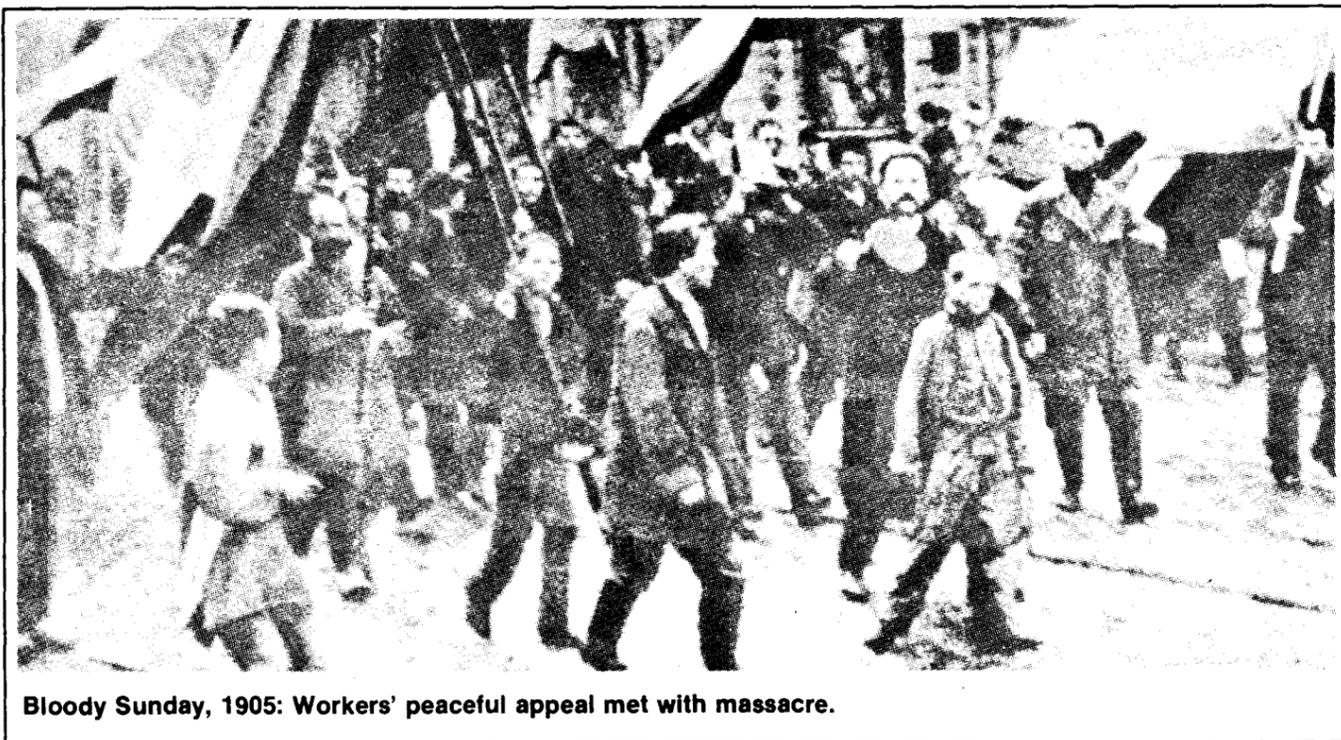
What Gapon was attempting to set up was less than what Zubatov had attempted to set up in Moscow: not even phony unions, but sort of tea houses where the workers could get reactionary culture. You know, hear sermons, listen to reactionary publicists lecture on the benefits of tsarism and so on and so forth.

Now, Father Gapon was a very funny character. In a sense he believed in "social-tsarism." He had very reactionary elements in his outlook and at the same time was flirting with all sorts of liberal notions. Gapon's associates were interesting. He pulled around him a small circle of people who'd formerly been around the Social Democracy, workers that were no longer in the party. And by about March of 1904 they and he had come up with a secret "Program of Five," which they were going to push in their society. This platform was almost identical to the Social Democracy's minimum program.

War with Japan

In February 1904 Gapon's assembly was approved. It didn't grow very rapidly at all when it was started, but something intervened which was the immediate impulse for the events of 1905. On 27 January 1904, Japan—coming into collision with a very aggressive tsarist imperial drive into China—attacked Port Arthur. The Japanese staged a very effective military attack. They either bottled up or destroyed a large portion of the tsarist Pacific fleet and rapidly laid siege to Port Arthur. The tsar went into this war under some illusions. In fact Witte

continued on page 8



Bloody Sunday, 1905: Workers' peaceful appeal met with massacre.

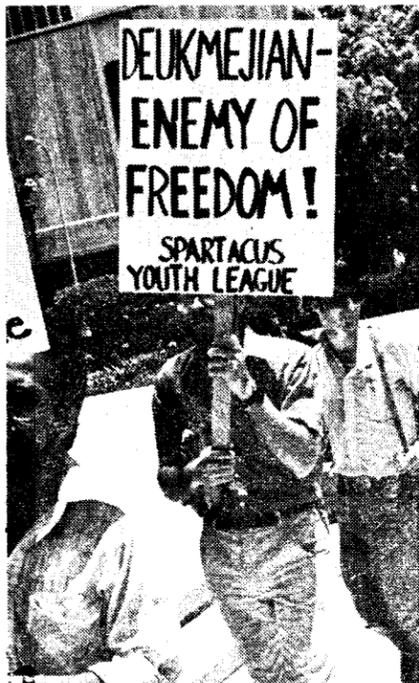
Stop Deukmejian Witchhunt!

SL California Court Suit Needs \$\$\$

The Spartacist League urgently needs financial help to support its lawsuit against California Attorney General George Deukmejian. The suit demands that Deukmejian retract the inclusion of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League in the 1979 report on "Organized Crime in California—Part 2, Terrorism." The report brands us "yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal"—a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals.

Deukmejian—a new Joe McCarthy who is running for governor on a right-wing "law-and-order" platform—has smeared our good name and set us up for attacks by police and right-wingers. We do not intend to meet the fate of the Black Panther Party! We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can be blown away with impunity in the night. We will fight Deukmejian's sinister effort to set us up for government persecution and violence with all our political, legal and moral resources. To press our suit, we need your support in the form of generous financial contributions.

A workers party has the right to organize! Deukmejian willfully brands



Young Spartacus

SL protests California witchhunt.

as "terrorism" Marxist education and our efforts to organize a workers party to fight for the interests of the working class and all the oppressed. While

smearing the SL/SYL, the report whitewashes the Nazis and Klan, saying the real danger from the fascists is not their racist terrorist actions but "their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left." In 1980, several months before Deukmejian's report for 1979 was issued, the SL initiated the April 19th Committee Against Nazis, which prevented the Nazis from "celebrating Hitler's birthday" in the San Francisco Civic Center by a mass mobilization of labor unions, community organizations and socialists. As a result, the real perpetrators of terrorist violence, the Nazis, have not shown their faces in San Francisco since April 1980. But for Deukmejian, those who seek to mobilize the working class to stop racist terror are "terrorists."

Deukmejian and his right-wing coterie have sinister plans for labor and its allies. Unless they are stopped, their attacks on the right of the working class to organize will be incorporated in new repressive legislation. The climate of McCarthyite witchhunting will be turned against the entire left, the labor movement and minority organizations. The time to

fight back is now!

Protest demonstrations have been held across the state of California against this smear. The suit has already received wide publicity. Reportage on the just-released 1980 report featured the fact that this time the SL and SYL were not included. While our absence from the 1980 report is a shame-faced admission that we are not "terrorists" or "criminals," a spokesman for the attorney general's office said it stands by its 1979 report. Our organizations remain in grave danger from its lies!

Law suits against the state are costly. The SL/SYL suit faces the resources of the state government of California and the right-wing agribusiness tycoons who call the tune for the new McCarthyites. If you defend the right of a workers party to organize, you have a stake in this suit. The Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—is collecting funds to support the suit. Make checks payable/send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

1905...

(continued from page 7)

remarked that the tsar didn't know the difference between Chinese and Japanese. He soon found out.

With the war heating up, discontent was rising very rapidly. You have to understand that in this period Plehve, who was an ultrareactionary, was still minister of the interior. He was rubbed out in July of 1904 by the Social Revolutionaries. His passing from the scene was the occasion for a change of policy by the tsar. In order to prosecute the war, to keep the discontent within what they hoped would be reasonable bounds, and probably on the advice of his cousin, Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, the tsar appointed a new minister of the interior, Svyatopolk-Mirsky, and a so-called spring began. The autocracy eased up particularly on the opposition of the liberal nobility and landlords. And there was a certain flowering of liberal opposition. *Zemstvo* congresses were beginning to meet, even daring to say that they wanted to petition the tsar.

You have to understand that in the way the fundamental laws of the tsarist empire were laid down, the only people who could petition the tsar were the nobility, through their various so-called marshals. Anything else was considered a crime.

But with this upsurge in discontent and this attempt to loosen a little bit the reins of repression, the Zubatov societies began to grow very quickly, particularly the Gapon assembly in Petersburg. A lot of workers streamed into it. By early January of 1905 a strike exploded in the Putilov plant in Petersburg. This was the plant of metal workers, the biggest plant in Petersburg. It started over a "small thing," the arbitrary dismissal of four workers. The Gapon assembly intervened but failed to reverse the firings. And Gapon, who originally had set his society up not to be a union, went along with the workers and found himself conducting a strike, which very rapidly spread to include a large number of the workers of Petersburg.

Now about this time Port Arthur fell. The other fighting taking place in the war in Manchuria was of a very bloody sort, and it continued throughout the next six months of 1905. In fact in its main features it was a prelude to the type of warfare that took place in World War I. After the fall of Port Arthur, the Japanese were able to turn a lot of their armies to the north, and there was a lot of fighting in Manchuria in very hilly country, with defended positions. So, you'd have battles where 90,000 people would be killed or wounded. There were the same sort of attempts to take these defended positions by mass frontal assaults of the troops, with the Russians doing most of the assaults and getting very bloodily beaten.

There was another military debacle for tsarism in 1905, and that was the battle of Tsushima Straits. It had a big military impact and it brought the tsarist autocracy to sue for peace with the Japanese. Now once the Russian Pacific fleet had been rendered ineffective by the initial Japanese attack, the tsar and his advisers decided to move the Russian Baltic fleet 18,000 miles all the way from Petersburg down round the Horn of Africa, past India, up through the South China Sea and into the Straits. They arrived about May of 1905, which was a little late. In bad weather they managed to get quite close to the Japanese fleet before they were discovered. A battle ensued and the upshot of it was that the Russians lost eight battleships (two captured), seven cruisers (three interned, one captured), five destroyers, a couple of torpedo boats and bunch of coastal ships. They

lost about 150,000 tons and had about 60,000 tons either captured or interned. In the battle of Jutland, which was another very big naval battle of the time, there were 171,000 tons lost.

Now the Japanese casualties during this engagement were minimal. They lost a couple of destroyers. The Japanese were, by the way, equipped with ships purchased in Italy. The Japanese achieved victory through superior gunnery. They just stood off and, having longer range guns, just cut the Baltic fleet to pieces.

Bloody Sunday

Okay, so back to Petersburg in 1905. The strike growing out of the dismissal of the Putilov workers was threatening to dissipate. It was at this point that Gapon came up with the idea of petitioning the tsar. The petition he was eventually to try to submit was a combination of the most groveling beseeching of his imperial majesty by his humble servants and a demand that the tsar set things right. The petition contained a program which the tsar was asked to adopt. If you go and read this program they presented, it was basically the Program of the Five, with a few modifications added, like a demand for a constituent assembly. One of the demands was the strict separation of church and state—very unlike the ayatollah Khomeini. Gapon was a very popular charismatic figure in this period and his following among the workers reflected the mixed consciousness and the illusions of a lot of the Petersburg proletariat of the time.

The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party [RSDRP] in January of 1905 was, of course, split into its Bolshevik and Menshevik wings, and the events in January in Petersburg almost bypassed them. Both wings, but especially the Bolsheviks, were very weak numerically. It's interesting to look at the reports at the time by the Bolsheviks—they were very frustrated by the whole set of developments over which Gapon presided. For one thing, they didn't know about Gapon's plans till very late. In fact, the Mensheviks, who had a nose for this type of thing, didn't find out what Gapon intended until December 26. Both wings of the RSDRP tended to simply dismiss the Gapon societies as Zubatov societies and basically kept away from them.

In the period immediately preceding

Bloody Sunday, whenever the Social Democrats tried to go to the mass meetings of the Gaponovites and intervene, they'd get beaten up, driven off or have their leaflets torn up. The Bolsheviks, when they heard about Gapon's ploy to go and petition the tsar, expected a bloodbath. They tried to warn the workers against what seemed to them to be a Zubatov provocation. But they were standing outside of events and this movement was snowballing. Gapon had behind him a large number of the Petersburg proletariat. And so the Bolsheviks decided to march in the demonstration, but warn against it. Those were the tactics they followed. And when the trouble started, they hoped to be able to intervene and direct the outrage of the masses against the autocracy.

On January 9, 1905 Petersburg saw this peculiar spectacle of thousands and thousands of workers with their families all marching in various routes to converge on the Winter Palace. And the Gapon societies had been permitted to do this. It smacked of a provocation in that the cops knew what was going on and didn't in the least try to stop it. The fact that the processions were widely publicized and that there were no prior police measures to crush them gave a lot of workers the illusion that this was a permissible demonstration. So on Sunday, January 9, as I said, there were thousands and thousands of workers in these religious processions singing "God Save the Tsar," carrying icons and Russian flags. These columns of marching workers were met at key points in the city by concentrations of troops who simply massacred them, fired into the crowds to break them up. In that sense, the last words of Gapon's petition, that "we have no place else to go... we will die here if you want us to," took place.

If the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had been somewhat outside this situation prior to January 9, afterwards they began to be listened to. Because in one day that incident rocked the proletariat of Petersburg. The news of it spread across the country and as it did, it broke the illusions in the tsarist autocracy of large sections of this Russian proletariat, many of whom were peasants recently in from the countryside, in a way that years of propaganda had not been able to do. And a wave of strikes rolled across the tsarist empire.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
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New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Justice for Japanese American Concentration Camp Survivors!

The bitter story of the four-year agony of Japanese Americans in American concentration camps during World War II is coming out at hearings of the U.S. "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians." But to remember is not enough! The Commission is "considering"—some 40 years after the fact—whether some compensation might be due the 120,000 Japanese Americans who were rounded up behind barbed wire in barren deserts, their property stolen, then dumped out in 1946 and told to "go home" after World War II.

Responding to West Coast hearings of the Commission, California's notorious Republican senator S.I. Hayakawa added vile insult to the injury already suffered by these citizens. Hayakawa, who spent World War II in Canada, wasn't sent to the camps—although most of the Japanese there were. In a monstrous apology for imperialist racism, Hayakawa said the camps were for their own protection, "just part of the normal insanities of wartime," adding that Japanese American groups' efforts to claim reparations made his "flesh crawl with shame and embarrassment" (*Oakland Tribune*, 5 August).

Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1980, testified before the "National Committee for Japanese Reparations/Redress" community meeting on August 11:

"You don't have to be Japanese American to be angry about what happened in the concentration camps. I went to school here and I heard these lies



Wilson/SF Tribune

To remember is not enough! Spartacist supporters condemn America's imperialist war, atomic bombing and concentration camps for Japanese Americans at the Hiroshima Day memorial rally August 6 in San Francisco.

about the war for democracy, but I never heard one word in California schools about the concentration camps. I never heard one word about the land stolen from the Japanese Americans; I never heard one word about these loyalty oaths, one word about those who were forced to give up their citizenship, one word about the scars they'd left on people. As far as I'm concerned, no amount would be enough for what has been done to the Japanese Americans.

"I want justice done, and not only for the victims—the people here in this room and the others that they know. What about those who are guilty? What about the U.S. government which put people in those camps in the first place? What about the U.S. government which is the only government which has dropped the A-bomb on human beings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki? And not even because it was a military objective, which it wasn't, but because it was the opening shot in the Cold War against

the Soviet Union.

"So, brothers and sisters, I think it's going to be a hard struggle to get money out of the Reagan government. This government is not giving money to people these days—maybe you've noticed that. But all of us had better learn some things from this struggle, and one is the roll call of those who are guilty—the liberals in the Democratic Party, like Franklin Roosevelt, Earl Warren. All these are supposed to be friends of the minority people in this country. Well, they were the ones that put people in the concentration camps in the first place. And as well, so-called progressive groups, like the Communist Party, which expelled all their Japanese American members and let them go to the camps without a protest. I come from a different tradition. I'm a supporter of the Spartacist League, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, and it was the Trotskyists who were one of the few groups at the time to speak out against people being put into concentration camps, even though they themselves at that time were being very heavily persecuted.

"I believe that justice will only come with a socialist revolution. That's the only thing that's going to rid this world of racist atrocities and imperialist wars. Those camps are still out there—they still have Manzanar, they still have Tule Lake, and they are waiting for a new war and new victims. I want to stop those camps from being reopened again. And I want to stop the madmen who run this country from unleashing a new nuclear war and bringing out the bombs again in an anti-Soviet war drive." ■

Labor Day...

(continued from page 2)

reading of *Workers Vanguard* ("Defense of the Unions Begins with Defense of the Air Traffic Controllers"). Their plea for sympathy strikes, however, is couched in endless "ifs" and "buts" so as not to offend the labor bureaucracy. They do *not* call for solidarity strikes now to shut down the airports, nor for labor to break with the capitalist Democratic Party. Moreover, most of the Coalition groups oppose the Westway, but they didn't raise their objection up at Gracie Mansion in order to softsoap the labor fakers.

Along the line of the Labor Day march a Spartacist League banner was raised calling to "Fight for Workers Rights! Build a Workers Party! Smash Reagan!" And at Gracie Mansion our banner proclaimed, "Reagan: Strikebreaker, Anti-Soviet Warmaker! Labor: Shut Down the Airports! Break with the Bosses Parties—Fight for a Workers Party!" In contrast to the petty-bourgeois opportunists, SL signs demanded "Land the Concorde on the Westway!" Altogether, 1,336 copies of *WV* with the headline "Shut Down the Airports!" were sold on Labor Day. ■

Picket Line/Rally Against CIA Recruiters

- CIA Spies Off Campus!
- Protest CIA's Murder Inc. Terror in El Salvador and Latin America!
- Abolish the CIA/NSA/FBI!

12 Noon, Wed. 23 Sept.
Science Hall
University of Wisconsin/Madison
For more info. (608) 255-2342

MADISON

Company and Cops Gas Illinois Miners

CHICAGO—Some 15,000 Illinois coal miners walked off their jobs and shut down mines throughout the state on August 18. The strike was a response to a vicious assault by state police and National Guardsmen against union coal miners demonstrating at a non-union site in Galatia, Illinois earlier that day. The cops, firing tear gas from National Guard helicopters made available by Governor Thompson, finally dispersed the demonstrators, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). But it took a three-hour battle to do it, during which the miners ripped down a two-mile chain link fence enclosing the mine site. Construction equipment and trucks owned by the scab outfit were also reportedly set ablaze.

The attempt by the Kerr-McGee Company to erect a non-union mine in the middle of the UMWA stronghold in southern Illinois is a deliberate provocation. Only one other mine in the entire state is non-union. Coal miners in this area are as determined to defend their union today as their grandfathers were 50 years ago, when bloody pitched battles were fought between the UMWA and scabs. The county bordering on Galatia is still called "Bloody Williamson" in memory of a clash which left 20 strikebreakers dead in 1922. As a 30-year UMWA veteran told the press recently, "If they come bringing in a bunch of people, setting up non-union, they'll be setting up in ashes. Every one of their homes



UPI

will get burned to the ground. You can count on it, as sure as I'm talking" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 August).

An official from UMWA District 12 told *WV* that one miner was arrested on August 18 and subsequently warrants have been issued for eight additional demonstrators. Meanwhile, the courts have banned demonstrations and mass pickets at the mine site, and Kerr-McGee has resumed construction work with non-union labor. But the struggle to stop the union-busters is far from over, the official emphasized.

Kerr-McGee, emboldened by Reagan's union-busting assault on PATCO, hope that the UMWA will let

itself be tied up in extended court deliberations. Militant mine workers must have no illusions in the capitalist courts and bosses' government. Miners have demonstrated time and again their willingness to tear up Taft-Hartley and court injunctions to fight for what they need. And in southern Illinois they easily have the forces to teach the union-busters a lesson they will not soon forget. What is necessary is a solid mass mobilization of the ranks to put an immediate halt to all scab activities and insure that all mine work is union. Such action can help pave the way for a much-needed labor counteroffensive by the UMWA and the rest of the unions.



WV Photo

Transit worker militants in NYC Labor Day parade demand: "Shut Down the Train to the Plane!"

PATCO...

(continued from page 1)

elementary action. A few militant exceptions have pierced this wall of treachery. In Northern California, Oakland city bus drivers stop short of the airports, forcing riders to walk the rest of the way. (The Amalgamated Transit Union in the Bay Area has threatened to fine any member \$500 who crosses a PATCO picket line.) In New York City militant transit workers in the Transport Workers Union have been fighting to shut down the "Train to the Plane," an express subway to JFK Airport, as an expression of solidarity.

If U.S. labor has miserably abdicated its responsibilities in the PATCO strike, the capitulation is even more blatant in the case of reformist and centrist leftists who call themselves socialists. In the Bay Area a left-dominated strike support committee—including supporters of the Communist Party, Communist Workers Party, Communist Labor Party and the small Revolutionary Workers League/Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (RWL) helped pro-capitalist union bureaucracies prevent a one-day airport shutdown in August. Spartacist League supporters and class-struggle union militants had demanded a commitment from unionists to fight in their organizations for an immediate airport shutdown to back the air controllers strike. The fake-revolutionaries, in contrast, only wanted a sandbox in which they could act as the "left" tail of do-nothing union bureaucrats.

This was revealed at the very first meeting that established the support

committee on August 14 in Oakland. Assorted Stalinists (Albanian and ex-Peking varieties) pushed through a proposal for an airport rally on Saturday, August 22, which would explicitly *not* seek a work stoppage of any sort. After backing this proposal, a supporter of the RWL presented a five-part motion vaguely calling for a one-day airport shutdown (when?) and the formation of a labor party "with clear policies of defending the labor movement"! (At May 3 El Salvador rallies these fake-Trotskyist centrists had imitated the Spartacist League with a leaflet calling for dumping the bureaucrats, breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party. Now it seems that "clear policies"—whatever that means—are enough.) When an SL trade-union supporter demanded, "Set a date for the airport shutdown," the RWLer replied: "Oh, no! We are only for the *idea* of a strike."

Longshore and warehouse militants from the ILWU called for setting a date, pointing out that twice in the past year their union had shut down a harbor in solidarity with other unions. A militant phone worker raised a motion (supported by the Spartacist League) calling on trade unionists to "go back to their unions with a proposal that their unions strike in sympathy with PATCO for one day, Friday, August 21, and hold a mass picket/labor rally to shut down the San Francisco and Oakland airports." RWLers opposed this call to set the date as "strange." On the contrary, it's the only way to put the union misleaders on the spot. The Stalinists and RWL were greatly chagrined the next day when the local AFL-CIO selected the 21st for an airport picket. No doubt the opportunists thought it was some kind of Spartacist plot. When PATCO officials

NYC Transit Militants: "Stop the Train to the Plane!"

New York City subway and bus system workers have a vital and immediate stake in beating back Reagan's all-out assault on public workers' right to strike. However, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president John Lawe responded to Reagan's union busting by offering to *surrender* his union's essential "no contract, no work" tradition in exchange for binding arbitration. Such a "deal" would leave NYC transit workers utterly defenseless, which is why strike-

breaker Mayor Koch rushed to endorse the plan.

The TWU has a tremendous amount of power—although latent—the potential is there. New York is the center of commerce and high finance capital—the American bourgeoisie *needs* the New York subways.

In answer to Lawe's program of cowardice, Local 100 militants have been circulating the following leaflet calling for labor solidarity to defend PATCO and the right to strike:

Reagan's vicious drive to bust the PATCO union has served notice on organized labor: strikes will not be tolerated. He's showing the big city mayors how to smash public workers' strikes once and for all. Labor leaders like Van Arsdale are muttering about Adolf Hitler.

The right to strike for all public workers is at stake here. Reagan means to intimidate labor by attempting to destroy those unions that dare to fight. And John Lawe got the message—we are disgusted at his cowardly submission before the racist strikebreaking Koch—offering to give up "no contract, no work" to show his compliance.

It is elementary and urgently necessary that labor defend PATCO with solidarity *actions now!* Shut down the airports! All unions must

stop crossing PATCO picket lines.

Our Local 100 must stop servicing the scab operation at Kennedy—shut down the Train to the Plane. The JFK Express is a symbol, it's Koch's pride and joy. To shut it down would be a dramatic act of solidarity and a big fist in Koch's face. Let Koch know that we won't take the PATCO treatment this fall.

The strike is our only weapon. We can't rely on a "neutral" arbitrator to fight for COLA, or defend dues checkoff, or prevent the TA from murdering our brothers—remember Jesse Cole and Al Lambert!

We've got to take a stand. For labor action to defend PATCO—defend the right to strike! Shut down the Train to the Plane!

—The Ad Hoc Committee for Labor Solidarity

announced this plan at the next strike support committee meeting, they were dismayed. One speaker termed it "unfortunate" because it would mess up their plans for a Saturday rally!

On the morning of the 21st, the bureaucrats failed to mobilize the thousands who should have been there to shut down the three Bay Area airports. Nevertheless, hundreds of local unionists took time off work to answer the call. In San Francisco, Jeff Pector of the S.F. Airport Labor Coalition announced there were to be no picket signs or anything resembling a picket line, or any suggestion to anyone at the employee entrance gates that they shouldn't go in to work: "There are always people who see a picket line and go home, and then get disciplined and we can't defend them." No, the bureaucrats *won't* defend them! The bureaucrats also tried to forbid sales of *Workers Vanguard* with the headline, "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" But WV salesmen held their ground (130 copies sold), and the picketers soon picked up our chant, "Shut it down! Shut it down!"

Across the Bay in Oakland, several hundred unionists picketed all four lanes of the highway leading to the airport. Alameda Central Labor Council leader Dick Groulx had earlier addressed a PATCO strike meeting in Fremont calling for a "complete shutdown of the airports." But on August 21 he worked out a deal with the cops to let militants block the road for several minutes at a time and then periodically clear the way to let accumulated traffic pass: picket lines become glorified stop lights! At a subsequent Oakland Airport picket on September 4, an even larger crowd of 600 workers, many of them from public employees unions, mounted an aggressive, frustrated stand-off with the cops. While the bureaucrats were careful to prevent the August 21 demonstrations from closing the air-

ports, it is ironic that the union tops found it necessary to take their "shut-down" rhetoric further than the fake-lefts. Perhaps this is the kind of "clear policy"—all talk and no action—that the RWL has in mind for their anti-labor "labor party."

On August 24 the "support" committee met again at the Fremont union hall. This time many PATCO members were in attendance for their regular nightly strike meeting. SL trade-union supporters again raised a motion to nail down a one-day strike and mass airport pickets. The air controllers applauded and seconded the motion, but the opportunists jumped in to object: it was too soon, the unions would never do it, etc. In the end there were not enough votes to pass the strike motion. Lane Kirkland himself couldn't have done better in dissipating the PATCO strikers' militancy. Nevertheless, a labor shutdown of the airports is increasingly urgent. Air transport workers have the power to do it—the obstacle is the do-nothing bureaucracy, in alliance with their pseudo-socialist cheerleaders. Victory to the PATCO strike! Shut down the airports! ■

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BOSTON

"The Fight for Socialism"

Brandeis: alternate Wednesdays,
Beginning September 23
Harvard: alternate Wednesdays,
Beginning September 30

For more information: (617) 492-3928

DETROIT

"Marxism and the Fight for Proletarian Revolution"

Alternate Saturdays,
Beginning September 26

For more information: (313) 868-9095

LOS ANGELES

"Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today"

Los Angeles City College

For more information: (213) 662-1564

Spartacus Youth League El Salvador Weeks

Univ. of California/Berkeley—October 2-9
S.F. State Univ.—September 21-25

Film showings:

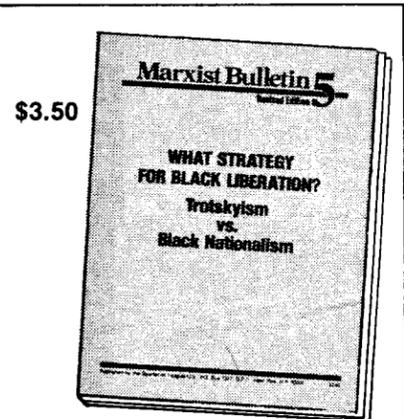
"Revolution or Death"

Tuesday, September 22, 12-2 pm
Conf. Rm. A-E, Student Union
San Francisco State University

Thursday, October 1, 7:30 pm
105 Oakes
University of California/
Santa Cruz

Friday, October 2, 8:00 pm
2000 LSB (Life Science Building)
University of California/Berkeley

For info. on other events: (415) 835-1535



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Angola...

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presence as justification for supporting South African militarism. Even more so today than in the 1975-76 war, defense of black nationalist Angola against white racist South Africa is bound up with the defense of the bureaucratically ruled Soviet state against capitalism-imperialism.

Reagan Reforges U.S./South Africa Axis

While the Carter administration quietly maintained Washington's traditional alliance with white-supremacist South Africa, it simultaneously sought, especially through black front man Andrew Young, to draw black African regimes into the pro-Western, anti-Soviet camp. To this end, as well as for domestic consumption, Carter/Young hypocritically criticized the apartheid state for violating "human rights." Reagan has denounced all talk of "human rights" as a sign of softness toward Communism and has openly embraced every bloody right-wing regime he can find, from Pinochet's Chile and Zia's Pakistan to Begin's Israel and Botha's South Africa.

As soon as Reagan came into office top-level meetings took place between Washington and Pretoria. For instance on March 15 a group of South African officials, headed by the chief of military intelligence, met with members of the U.S. National Security Council, Defense Intelligence Agency and Reagan's UN ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick. Later Kirkpatrick tried to downplay the significance of the meeting by claiming she didn't know the status of the people involved, even though the *New York Times* reported on the same day that five "top military men from South Africa were in the U.S.!"

Since then Kirkpatrick & Co. have openly flouted UN resolutions for the independence of Namibia. South Africa took over the German colony of South West Africa (Namibia) during World War I and was duly given a League of Nations mandate in 1920. In 1966 the "Third World" majority at the United Nations revoked the South African mandate and subsequently resolved that the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was the "sole" representative of the country. Needless to say, the South Africans are still there in force. Now the Reagan administration declares that independence for Namibia must be linked to the withdrawal of Soviet/Cuban forces from Angola, thus rendering the black African nationalists defenseless against South African militarism.

While stiffening South Africa's resolve to hold on to Namibia, the Reagan administration has also openly encouraged attacks on Angola. It pushed for Congress to repeal the 1975 Clark Amendment, which prohibits overt or covert aid to any Angolan group. This amendment was passed in response to revelations of CIA involvement in the South African invasion and expressed American ruling class anxiety at the time of being drawn into "another Vietnam." Reagan clearly wants to resume military support to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, a joint U.S./South African puppet engaging in terrorism in southern Angola. Repeal of the Clark Amendment was intended as a declaration of political solidarity with South Africa and a virtual declaration of war on Angola.

So Pretoria knew it had the green light for its present invasion. If there was any doubt of Washington's support to South African militarism before the invasion, there certainly is none now. A week after the invasion began U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker gave what is probably the most pro-South African speech ever given by a high U.S. official. While hypocritically claiming the U.S. was "neutral" in any and all conflicts

U.S. Concentration Camp at Lake Placid

Stop Deportation of Haitian Refugees!

Protesting the plight of thousands of Haitian refugees who escaped the bloody torture regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier only to be held prisoner in concentration camps in the U.S., the Spartacist League joined several dozen demonstrating outside the Supreme Court building in Brooklyn, September 5. While the Reagan administration has initiated mass deportation proceedings against them, thousands of Haitians await their fate in the festering, overcrowded pens such as at the Brooklyn Navy Yard or in grotesque concentration camps like the one created at Lake Placid, N.Y., originally built as the site of the 1980 Winter Olympics.

At Krome Detention Center in Miami, INS men and "contract guards" last week tear-gassed and attacked refugees driven to hunger strikes and brick-throwing outbursts to protest their desperate situation. Reagan, like Carter before him, insists the black Haitians are not



WV Photo

"political refugees," but simply economic immigrants. Under the draconian new immigration laws, Coast Guard boats will soon be ordered to intercept the Haitians' rickety boats at sea, hold on-the-spot hearings and compel immediate deportation back to sure torture and death.

between the white-supremacist regime and its black victims, internal and external, he then told it like it is: "The Reagan administration has no intention of destabilizing South Africa in order to curry favor elsewhere" (*New York Times*, 30 August).

And Crocker was as good as his word. The next day the U.S. accepted complete diplomatic isolation by vetoing a UN resolution condemning the South African invasion. Here Reagan not only went against the "Third World"/Soviet bloc majority but his own imperialist allies. France, Japan and Spain all condemned the South African invasion. Even the British Thatcher government, in many ways the ideological twin of Reagan's, thought it wiser to abstain than to solidarize with the hated racist pariah of Africa on this occasion. *New York Times* commentator Flora Lewis summed up the diplomatic situation in a column entitled, "Alone with South Africa."

The Liberals' Carrot and the South African Stick

That is not to say there are no differences or tensions between Botha's South Africa and Reagan's America. The white rulers of South Africa want to keep Namibia no matter what and view the MPLA regime in Angola as a mortal enemy which must be destroyed. For U.S. imperialism, even under a right-wing fanatic like Reagan, the options are broader. Washington knows that "Third World" petty-bourgeois nationalist groups like SWAPO in Namibia and the MPLA in Angola can be bought off and that many a Soviet client of yesterday is today Washington's (Sadat's Egypt!).

The U.S. regards South Africa's direct colonial presence in Namibia as an obstacle to winning black African states to the anti-Soviet cause. So even the Reagan administration is willing to entertain the prospect of a SWAPO government in Namibia provided it is purged of all Soviet allegiances. On Angola, Washington's stated position is to force the withdrawal of Cuban/Soviet forces and a coalition government of the MPLA and UNITA. When Crocker visited Pretoria last April for high-level talks, he argued that:

"We believe there can be no peace in Angola without reconciliation between UNITA and MPLA. We see no prospect of military victory for UNITA. Must achieve movement toward reconciliation by playing on divisions in MPLA..."

—*CounterSpy*, August-October 1981

But any such deal with the African black nationalists is completely sabotaged by Washington's present fulsome support to South African militarism. Thus Reagan's southern African policy utterly dismays not only the "liberal" wing of U.S. imperialism but even some hard-line Cold Warriors. The *New York Times'* Flora Lewis, who often mirrors the views of the CIA, is positively enraged that Reagan has thrown away anti-Soviet diplomatic unity by championing the racist pariah of the world. Washington's "neutrality" over the Angolan invasion, she writes in her 31 August column, "was to reverse the anti-Soviet lineup after the invasion of Afghanistan and to isolate the U.S." Andrew Young, ever the black liberal front man for U.S. imperialism, pointed out on ABC's *Nightline* (2 September) that American oil companies continue to do a roaring business with "Marxist" Angola and that support to South Africa will only drive the MPLA deeper into the Soviet camp. These liberal and not-so-liberal U.S. imperialists want to wheel and deal with the various black nationalists in Africa. But the main imperialist military force on the continent is white-supremacist South Africa. Squaring that circle is the CIA's problem, not ours.

For Workers Revolutions in Southern Africa

While Cuba, the Soviet Union and East Germany have poured troops, advisers and equipment into Angola, their aim has *not* been to spread or defend proletarian revolution. Rather they seek to curry favor with and support the anti-working-class nationalist regime in Luanda. For example Cuban troops guard the Gulf oil fields in Cabinda. Small wonder Gulf espouses the "liberal" line on Angola. Military defense against South Africa cannot be trusted to the MPLA leadership, which could easily discard its Soviet ties for a quick deal with U.S. imperialism just as Sadat's Egypt did in 1973. (Soviet arms supplied to Egypt are now being used to kill Russian soldiers in Afghanistan!) The Angolan working class needs a revolutionary (Trotskyist) party, one with the closest ties to the South African proletariat.

The main force for the liberation of the working masses of Angola and Namibia lies in the several-million-strong, black proletariat of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent. In recent months there has been a great upsurge in working-class struggle in South Africa leading to the

emergence of mass unregistered black unions and a sharp rise in strikes—at least one a day. Strikes have even occurred in the economically critical gold mines where 450,000 blacks labor in practically prison-like conditions. The South African military adventure in Angola coincides with stepped-up internal repression—forced eviction of thousands of "squatters" from the Capetown area, police attempts to break up the black unions. Yet, despite the desperate measures of the white racist regime, the curve of black class struggle in South Africa is on the upswing, needing above all a communist leadership to direct the struggle toward proletarian power throughout the continent. ■

Springboks...

(continued from page 12)

battling racist imperialism in Africa.

The South African government has long used the Springboks as a means of breaking out of diplomatic isolation and gaining international acceptance for the apartheid system. In a country that is over 70 percent black, this "national" team consists of 39 whites and one token coloured (mixed race) player. Four members of the team are in the army and two are cops. To arrange for the U.S. tour—scheduled for New York City, Chicago and Albany, N.Y.—a prominent Johannesburg businessman with close ties to the South African government "donated" \$25,000 to the Eastern Rugby Union, clearly a bribe for the invitation.

The Springboks tour is an outrage to American blacks and to all who hate racist oppression and seek its destruction. Indeed, everyone knows this tour could well become a target for an outpouring of mass black anger. New York mayor Ed Koch, no less a politician of the racist white backlash than Reagan, canceled a permit for the Springboks to play in city facilities since he could not guarantee "public order" if this living symbol of apartheid was displayed a few miles from Harlem. Likewise, Chicago mayor Jane Byrne has refused public facilities for the South African "national" rugby team. The organizers of the tour indicate that the New York and Chicago games will take place in *secret* locations!

While the organizers of the Springboks tour and the mayors of New York, Chicago and Albany rightly fear mass militant protests especially by blacks, the liberals and reformists of the Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour group (SART) are asking Reagan to cancel the team's visas. To appeal to the U.S. imperialist government under *any* president to boycott South Africa is a disgusting display of liberal moralism. But to appeal to the right-wing fanatic Reagan, a man whose program could have been written by the Ku Klux Klan, to disassociate himself from South African apartheid is nothing short of obscene.

As against liberals and reformists, we reject moralistic boycotts of all things South African from sardines to Krugers. The only real effect of such boycott campaigns is to prettify "democratic" U.S. imperialism as if "the land of the free" was more humane, more high-minded than South Africa. The crimes and atrocities of white-supremacist South Africa, real though they are, pale before those of U.S. imperialism—Hiroshima, Vietnam, the installation of bloody juntas throughout Latin America. South Africa is a local power, a fairly junior partner of U.S. imperialism. In their wildest fantasies Piet Botha and his colleagues dream only of extending their sphere of influence to adjacent black African states. Reagan/Haig are planning World War III to destroy the Soviet Union because it embodies the gains, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, of the great Bolshevik Revolution.

Drive the Springboks out! Smash the U.S./South Africa Cold War axis! The main enemy is at home! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

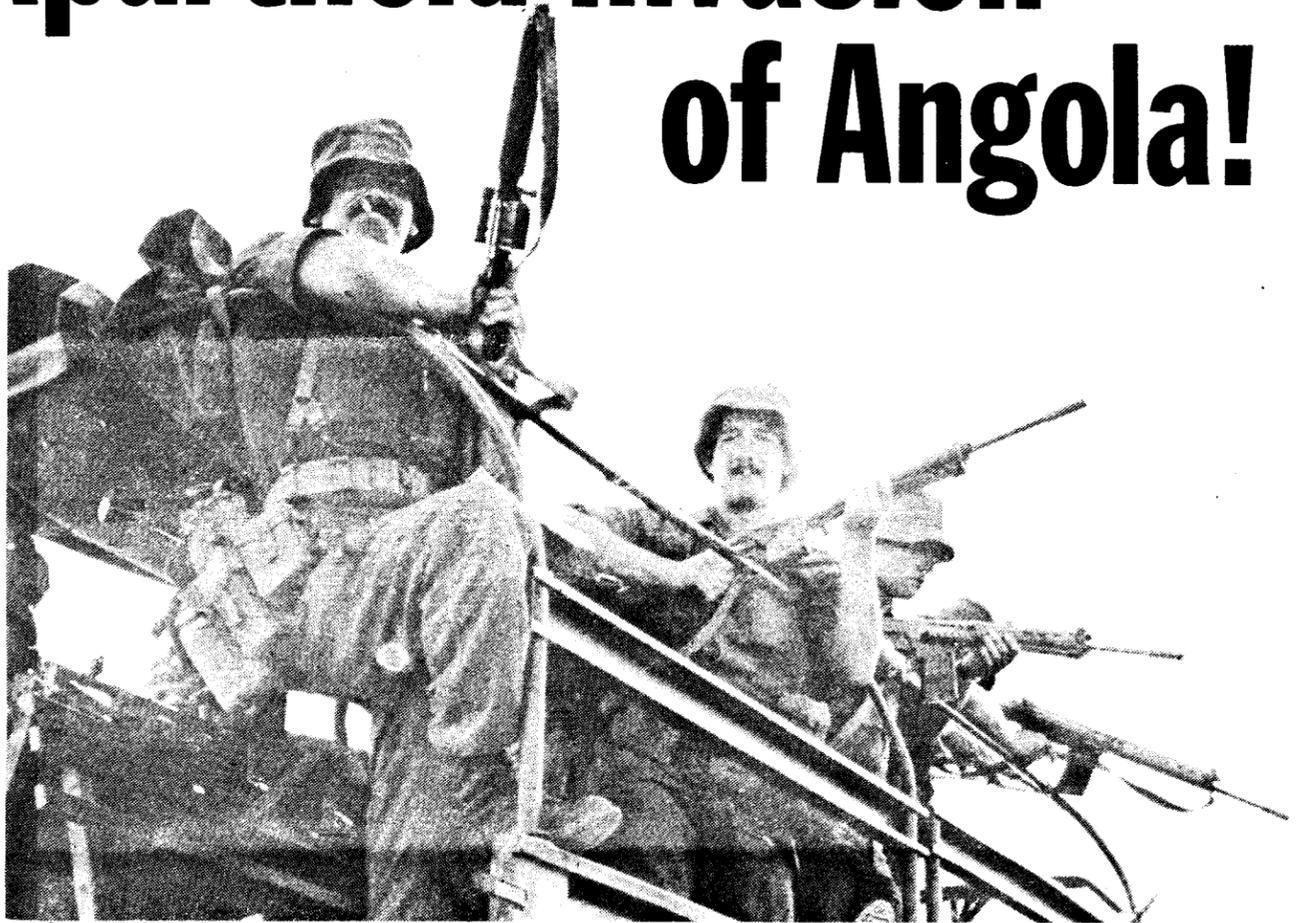
U.S./South Africa Cold War Racist Axis

Smash Apartheid Invasion of Angola!

South African racism found its natural ally in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive as Pretoria unleashed an invasion of Angola on August 24. "WE KILLED RUSSIANS IN ANGOLA," boasted South African war minister Magnus Malan in a screaming *New York Post* (1 September) headline. The *New York Times* (3 September) observed that the South Africans are "all but displaying the mounted heads of Soviet military advisers killed in last week's invasion." These brave Russians were among a handful of military advisers fighting in the invasion area as two South African columns with 32 tanks and air support swept over southern Angola destroying defenseless villages as well as killing Angolan soldiers. While Washington keeps claiming that its South African ally is withdrawing, the latest reports indicate that Pretoria intends to hold onto territory in southern Angola as it has apparently reinforced the original invasion force with a third armored column.

Pretoria claimed that the purpose of the attack was to destroy the bases of SWAPO guerrillas fighting for the independence of South Africa's Namibian colony. In reality the invasion has a far broader aim, one strongly encouraged by Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive—to "destabilize" (as the CIA would put it) and ultimately overthrow the Soviet-allied nationalist government in Angola.

In fact a state of war has existed between South Africa and the nationalist MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) regime supported by the Soviet bloc ever since the Portuguese colonialists pulled out in



U.S. imperialism backs South Africa's racist killer corps.

Alan Hutchinson

1975. A U.S.-backed South African army then moved into the power vacuum trying to reconquer Angola for Western imperialism. This imperialist power play was turned back by the timely arrival of 20,000 Cuban troops armed with modern Soviet weaponry. Since then the Angolan nationalist regime has depended on Cuban troops and Soviet military aid for its very

survival as South Africa has continually subjected the country to air and ground attacks. And as we wrote last spring: "Given Reagan's bellicosity, an attempt to reverse the imperialists' 1976 defeat in Angola by another Washington-backed South African invasion is possible" ("Racist U.S./South Africa Axis," *WV* No. 281, 22 May).

As proletarian revolutionaries we say:

Drive the South African army out of Angola! Military victory to SWAPO in Namibia! At stake in these conflicts is far more than the fate of the black peoples of southern Africa. Angola/Namibia could well become a flashpoint for World War III as the MPLA calls for more Soviet-bloc military aid while Reagan points to the Soviet/Cuban

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Drive Springboks Out!

Rugby Team Tours for Apartheid

On August 24 the South African army, with tanks and air support, invaded Angola. A few days later the Reagan administration declared it would do nothing "to destabilize South Africa" and duly vetoed a UN resolution condemning the invasion. In late September for the first time ever the South African "national" rugby team, the Springboks, is scheduled to tour the U.S. The timing of these events is far from accidental. This tour by the apartheid ambassadors in rugby shorts is intended as a public demonstration of the newly reformed U.S./South African Cold War axis. Even the *New York Times* (14 August) recognized that Reagan/Haig's approval of the Springboks tour is meant "to demonstrate the new friendliness toward South Africa."

The Springboks will come to the U.S. straight from New Zealand where their presence provoked mass violent protests

and produced a major political crisis which could even bring down the right-wing National government. The Springboks' periodic tours to New Zealand and Australia are an attempt by South Africa to assert its membership in the club of rich white men's countries. But their first ever U.S. tour is far more sinister in purpose. It is intended to gain public acceptance for Washington's alliance with the hated apartheid regime as part and parcel of the global war drive against the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Springboks tour provides an important opportunity for massive protests against the U.S./South Africa Cold War axis. By driving the South African "national" team out of the country, militants can demonstrate support to the guerrilla fighters of SWAPO, to the Angolan and Cuban soldiers and Russian advisers now

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Police terror at South African football match.

Peter Mugubane