

No "Solidarity" with Democrats!

For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!



It was the biggest labor demonstration by far in American history, and perhaps the largest protest ever seen in Washington. As many as half a million marched through the capital's streets September 19, dwarfing the AFL-CIO's own conservative prediction of 100,000. It was a massive outpouring of working-class anger against the Reagan government, but the union ranks were not brought to D.C. for militant struggle. For the union bureaucracy, which planned "Solidarity Day" as a pressure tactic, the numbers were the message, period. Many rank and filers, however, wanted real action against Reagan's vicious cutbacks and strikebreaking. An angry steel worker remarked, "We should have been here during the week to shut down Washington." It is because

of sentiments like these, the danger that things could "get out of hand" and turn into a class struggle against the capitalist government, that the union tops resort to such mobilizations only when their own backs are to the wall.

And they are. The unprecedented labor demonstration was called to answer Reagan's charge that union leaders like AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland were "out of touch" with their members. The 44 percent vote for Reagan by unionists in 1980 backed up this implied threat, and the administration's actions in Congress and toward the PATCO strike show it feels it can safely ignore Kirkland & Co. The response of the labor fakers and the broader purpose of September 19 was to reforge the unions' traditional ties to the



AFL-CIO organized largest labor demonstration in U.S. history, but refused to call solidarity strikes in support of PATCO.

Democratic Party—the popular front American-style. A brown-and-white sticker widely distributed at the rally expressed the bureaucrats' option: "Solidarity in '81—Victory in '82!" And the *Washington Post* (20 September) noted that the aim of the march was "stiffening the spines of wobbly Democrats" and "to drive Ronald Reagan and his kind from power in 1984 by reviving the old Democratic coalition."

Hundreds of thousands of workers came out because they hate Reagan, not to demonstrate support to a Democratic "alternative." There were 50,000 Machinists alone, tens of thousands of AFSCME members, 20,000-plus auto workers and large delegations of steel workers, construction workers and most other sectors of American labor. It was a broad cross section of the union movement, including at least 100,000 black workers. Notably absent, however, were ghetto youth and other minorities, whom both the unions and civil rights organizations failed to turn out. This is a dramatic expression of the deep vacuum of black leadership in the U.S. and the absence of a class-struggle

leadership of labor which could mobilize behind it the oppressed masses in struggle against the common capitalist enemy.

The bureaucracy was forced to provide Marxists with a tremendous opportunity to intersect a broad cross section of the American labor movement. If the Spartacist League were even a small mass workers party, we would have sought to mobilize and bring to Washington at least a quarter of the march. As a small propaganda group, we were able to sell over 8,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* even when competing with the Communist Party and Workers World giveaways. Reagan's union-busting has produced a shift in the consciousness of the American working class. The labor movement may be no less anti-communist and politically backward. A poll taken at the demonstration claimed a majority of those questioned supported a stronger American military. But even workers from conservative craft unions and decked out in American flags enthusiastically bought *WV*, if for no other

continued on page 4



The Russian Revolution of 1905

PAGE SIX

SL/ANZ Protests Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

MELBOURNE—A militant demonstration took place here on September 1 outside the Ceylon Tea Centre to protest the recent escalation of terror against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). For months the right-wing government of Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene has resorted to martial-law "emergency rule," unleashed troops and fomented pogroms to smash Tamil agitation for a separate state on the island ("Tamil Eelam"). In the June "emergency" the military ran amok in the predominantly Tamil northern town of Jaffna, and by early August mobs of Sinhalese chauvinists were attacking Tamils across the island, including on the tea and rubber estates worked by the horribly oppressed "Indian Tamils." (Descendants of impoverished Indians imported by British planters in the 19th century to work as "coolies," they have been denied all citizenship rights since 1948, sent back to India by the hundreds of thousands since 1965, forced to labor for sub-subsistence wages on estates resembling concentration camps.)

The Melbourne demonstration, which was called by the Spartacist League, raised demands and slogans such as "Cops and army out of the Tamil areas—smash the state of emergency!" "For the Tamil right to self-determination" and "Tamil workers—key to the Sri Lankan revolution!" While the rest of the left (notorious for Australian national-

ism) ignored the protest, the SL speaker emphasized how here in racist "white Australia" solidarity action in defence of Asian workers and the oppressed is a crucial concrete test of revolutionary internationalism. Genuine anti-imperialism means opposing not only the American CIA/NSA spy-in-the-sky satellite tracking station here at Pine Gap, but also the U.S. imperialist military outpost on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia and the Pentagon's designs to move into Sri Lanka's strategic natural harbour at Trincomalee. Among the SL slogans at the protest was "Defence of Vietnam, USSR begins in Pine Gap, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!"

While defending the right of the oppressed Tamil minority to form a little capitalist "Eelam," the SL speaker called for united class struggle, linking the desperate Tamil plantation workers with the Sinhalese working people, especially women workers in the Singapore-style sweatshops set up by foreign capitalists in Jayawardene's "free trade zone": "There is no way that the anti-Tamil terror, the discrimination in all aspects of social life and in the workforce against women on the island of Sri Lanka will be resolved in the interests of the working-class movement, in the interests of the Tamil minority, in the interests of the women of Sri Lanka, short of proletarian revolution."

RWL CLAPS for Bureaucrats

San Francisco
September 19, 1981

To the Editors:

I liked your article in the last issue, "For Solidarity Strikes with PATCO!", especially the part about the RWL's anties around PATCO strike support. So I thought you might be interested in what happened to BAY-CLAP (BACLP—the Bay Area Coalition for a Labor Party, of which the RWL is a prime pusher) in my union, CWA Local 9410.

BAY-CLAP is better known in the Bay Area as the John Henning Fan Club. Henning is the California AFL-CIO secretary who occasionally in a fit of frustration, mouths support for a labor party while in practice he has always endorsed and voted for Democrats.

BAY-CLAPer Marge Clouser, who is on my local's executive board, included a BAY-CLAP petition in mailings to local stewards—you know, the kind that calls for the Central Labor Council to do good things, to support PATCO. But even that went too far for the bureaucrats BAY-CLAP sucks up to. At our September 15 union meeting, Clouser announced that BAY-CLAP was *retracting* the petition because some union officials said: "It placed the labor councils in a bad light!"

The PATCO strike can and must be won by labor shutting down the airports. This will take a fight against the do-nothing union bureaucrats like my local president Jim Imerzel, a new BAY-

CLAP endorser. The PATCO strike will *not* be won by building sandboxes like the RWL's BAY-CLAP and Strike Support Committee which only kiss up to the very bureaucrats who have done everything to kill real strike support.

Fraternally,
Kathy Frick

On Iranian "Communist Unity"

21 August 1981

Spartacist League/U.S.

Dear comrades,

In relation to the last issue of *WV* [No. 287, 14 August], and the article "Iranian Leftists Join iSt," the following correction about the footnote on the group called "Communist Unity" is required: the group is not a split from the Fedayeen. According to the declaration issued by the group in March 1978, the group was begun by "some very small communist currents which were founded by some anti-imperialist currents which were founded by anti-imperialist militants abroad." The unification of all these little groups produced the group called "Communist Unity" in 1970. The group began its activity in the Middle East in 1970, and at the same time got in touch with the founder of the Fedayeen organization, i.e., the Ahmadzadeh group. The group has had close political cooperation with the Liberation Movement of Dhofar [Oman].

Comradely,
Elahe

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



The 1981 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive is off to a good start with 27 percent of the national quota met after the first week. But the sale of 1,118 sub points is overshadowed by the spectacular success of a single-copy sales campaign begun in August which has introduced the Spartacist League's press to thousands of new readers, many of them trade unionists.

The SL decided to undertake a one-shot sales drive to push our late-summer issue, *WV* No. 287, as singularly appropriate given especially the impact of the PATCO strike. The drive was so successful that an expanded press run of 18,000 copies was sold out. Altogether more than 8,500 copies of the issue were sold in street sales, including more than 1,300 sold at New York's Labor Day demonstration. The next issue sold out again when the September 19 labor marches in Washington, D.C. and California yielded a total of 8,894 copies of *WV* No. 288 sold to demonstrators. The star salesman was comrade Gloria of New York, with 318 copies sold. Altogether 9,329 copies of Spartacist periodicals were sold on Sep-

tember 19, as well as packets, pamphlets and 87 points in subscriptions.

From the time the labor marchers got off the buses in Washington, they were deluged with free newspapers; most of which ended up on the ground. That more than 8,000 of them paid a quarter for our paper is testimony to our comrades' determination, to their pride in their party and its press. But more than that, the sales figures are an index of the mood of the unionists who came to Washington. They are angry over the economic crisis, desperately threatened by Reagan's vicious program for workers and minorities. And evidently some of them are open to investigating a radical perspective as an alternative to the empty gestures of union leaders who offer no leadership.

At present there exists no mass revolutionary pole capable of offering leadership within the unions and among the doubly oppressed minority populations. To build the revolutionary workers party to fill that vacuum of leadership is the historic task to which the Spartacist League is dedicated.

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WEEK ONE TOTALS

Area	Quota	Week 1	%
Ann Arbor	80	19	24%
Berk./Oak.	630	56	9%
Boston	450	296	66%
Champaign	80	28	35%
Chicago	500	97	19%
Cleveland	260	103	40%
Detroit	200	15	8%
LA	400	69	17%
Madison	120	26	22%
New York	910	319	35%
SF	470	90	19%
TOTAL	4100	1,118	27%

Spartacist Candidates in Detroit Elections:

"Labor/Black Defense Against Klan Terror!"

DETROIT—In primary elections September 15, Spartacist candidates for city council Don Andrews and Ann Weekley received 1,700 and 2,000 votes respectively. This amounted to roughly 2 percent of the total vote in our first campaign for public office here. Andrews and Weekley campaigned as the workers candidates "For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!" In particular they pointed to the successful November 1979 labor/black protest initiated by the Spartacist League (SL) and United Auto Workers (UAW) militants, where 500 proclaimed: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

The Spartacist platform called for militant class struggle against the rotting capitalism that has ravaged Detroit, devastating the auto plants and sending ghetto youth unemployment to 70 percent. Not Chrysler-style giveaways to the bosses but sit-down strikes to stop plant closings and citywide strike action by municipal workers against wage cuts! Andrews and Weekley pointed out that it is the city administration of black liberal Democrat mayor Coleman Young that is shoving Reagan austerity down the throats of working people, at the behest of the auto companies and banks. The SL campaign called on labor to break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats and build a workers party. Opposing phony "butter vs. guns" reformism, Andrews/Weekley denounced the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Socialist revolution, said their campaign brochure, "is not only the historical imperative, in Detroit it is obviously the only solution."

A central focus of the Spartacist campaign was to take the socialist fight into Detroit's auto factories, particularly the giant Ford River Rouge complex. The Rouge Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in UAW Local 600, built the Andrews/Weekley campaign at the plant, and Don Andrews was a guest speaker at the September meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit:

"Detroit today is being pushed off the cliff. Mass layoffs, plant closings are destroying workers' jobs, homes and families by the thousands. Before Dodge Main was closed the Spartacist League fought for militant labor action—sit-down strikes—as the only answer to the destruction of a huge section of the working class.... "Reagan will blow up the world to get the Soviet Union back into the orbit of capitalism. At home he is trying to hack to pieces the PATCO union and the labor movement while its leaders are sitting passively by. We say shut down the airports, fight Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive with hard class struggle! "The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are growing under Reagan. They're even running in both of the racist, strike-breaking bosses parties, the Democrats and Republicans. We say black and white workers have common interests to fight for, and perhaps Reagan's anti-

labor, anti-minority vendetta will make clearer the need to struggle for a workers party."

The Spartacist campaign had an impact at Rouge. One black worker coming off night shift, approached by the Militant Caucus to sign a statement demanding that the UAW furnish buses so that the Rouge could demonstrate against Reagan in Washington September 19, pulled out an Andrews/Weekley brochure and said, "Let me show you something that tells it like it is."

A high point of the campaign was at the Labor Day parade organized by the labor bureaucracy where a class-struggle contingent marched behind a banner reading, "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party! Vote for Andrews/Weekley, Labor Candidates for City Council!" Another Spartacist banner proclaimed, "For Labor/Black Mobilization to Smash Klan/Nazi



Labor Day in Detroit, September 7, Don Andrews (right).

WVPhoto

Terror!" This was the only program that answered the burning need for working-class independence from the capitalist parties and intersected mounting disgust among Detroit black workers against the Democrats. At the rally site in Kennedy Square, every Democratic Party speaker was booed by at least a section of the audience. AFSCME workers whose wages were frozen by Young were particularly vociferous in catcalling the mayor. Democratic senator Riegle, who voted for Reagan's budget, was jeered throughout his speech and actually forced to stop speaking at one point.

Don Andrews was the main Spartacist speaker at the 10 November 1979 rally in Kennedy Square that prevented the KKK from "celebrating" their bloody Greensboro massacre in labor/black Detroit. Socialists of the SL and

class-struggle militants in the UAW were able, through agitation in the auto plants and black community, to force Coleman Young to back down on his threat to arrest anti-Klan protesters. It was the first mass anti-fascist rally in Detroit in decades. This Marxist strategy to fight race terror was sharply counterposed to the reformists' policy of building illusions in capitalist "law and order"—whether through calling on the state to "ban the Klan," like the Communist Party, or by advocating "free speech for fascists" as do phony "progressive" Democratic councilman Ken Cockrel and the civil-libertarian Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Liz Ziers, SWP candidate for city council, went so far as to challenge Nazi Gerald Carlson to a debate, even after her house was firebombed by the fascist scum!

At a September 12 "gay pride" conference, the Revolutionary Workers League and Revolutionary Socialist League opposed a resolution to endorse the Spartacist candidates for city council, even though Andrews and Weekley were the only candidates for city council whose program called for defending the democratic rights of homosexuals. In the voting, Andrews/Weekley did comparably or better than the other candidates who ran as socialists in the city council election. But unlike reformists such as the SWP and CWP, the SL campaign did not present utopian "tax the rich" gimmicks to reform capitalism, calling instead for a workers government—won not through bourgeois electoralism but by mobilizing in the streets and factories. The task now is to organize and recruit from Detroit's largely black working class and youth the class-struggle militants to wage this fight for socialist revolution. ■

Black CWP Youth Victimized by Cops, Courts Drop Charges Against Anti-Nazi Protester Carlton Grisson!

CHICAGO—Last October 19, 2,500 angry people routed the racist scum of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America, and in the process literally trampled upon the authority of the capitalist police. Now the authorities are out to get even, through a vicious frame-up vendetta against 19-year-old black college student Carlton Grisson.

The small band of Nazi punks got their taste of popular outrage when they tried to hold an officially sanctioned race-hate rally in the heavily Jewish Chicago suburb of Evanston, home to large numbers of concentration camp survivors. These uniformed Hitler-lovers, protected by 300 police in riot gear, received the appropriate reception from the 2,500 furious anti-fascist demonstrators whose ranks included many Jewish organizations, blacks and a large contingent from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL).

No sooner had the Nazis unfurled their genocidal propaganda than the crowd unleashed a hail of catcalls, rocks and eggs, then charged police lines and crushed barricades underfoot, forcing the fascists to flee for their lives.

Grisson was one of six protesters arrested during the melee, and he now faces a *three-to-five-year prison sentence* on a felony charge of throwing a brick at a police officer. Charges against the five others have been dropped. A policeman—the only "witness" who can be produced—claims to have followed the flight path of this brick from Grisson's hand to the head of a policeman stationed between protesters and the Nazis over 20 yards away, at a moment when the air was alive with a barrage of objects hurled by the charging crowd.

Grisson makes an ideal scapegoat for them because he's black, a red and charged with assaulting a police officer. He was the only black arrested that day and is a supporter of the Communist Workers Party (CWP).

Don't let them get away with this racist, anti-communist vendetta! Donations for Grisson's legal defense are urgently needed and should be sent to: Carlton Grisson Defense Committee, c/o Les Friedman, 4435 No. Winchester, Chicago, IL 60640. Stop the Frame-Up of Carlton Grisson! For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Nazi/Klan Terror!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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For Labor Action...

(continued from page 1)

reason than to give Reagan the finger by buying a socialist newspaper with the popular and powerful slogan, "Shut Down the Airports!"

Where Reagan's rampage against the labor movement has succeeded in cowing already frightened labor bureaucrats, the piccards actually tried to *sabotage* mobilization for Washington. This was the case with the powerful New York subway workers union TWU Local 100, whose president responded to the steamrolling of PATCO by graciously throwing away the right to strike. Only a few dozen TWUers showed up in Washington. Likewise the UAW Fraser bureaucracy, dependent on the government for Chrysler bail-outs, tried to *prevent* auto workers at the giant Ford Rouge plant in Detroit from going to Washington by providing only *three* buses for a workforce of well over 20,000. Angry militants led by the Rouge Militant Caucus initiated a statement signed by several dozen union officials and members demanding that the voice of labor/black Detroit be heard in Washington, and that the UAW provide buses for whoever wanted to go.

Reagan seems to be doing his best to piss away whatever advantage the Republicans gained from Carter's bankrupt policies. He is busting the air controllers union, an elite professional association that endorsed him for president, and he's even going after the construction trades. The hardhats are supposed to be the aristocracy of U.S. labor—in exchange for being pieced-off financially they can be mobilized for conservatives at the polls or to beat up student antiwar demonstrators in the street. But Reagan doesn't make fine distinctions, and by trying to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act (requiring union-scale wages at federally financed construction sites) he is trying to force construction tradesmen into the same situation as black New York hospital workers or unemployed Midwestern auto workers. What he is counting on is the dead-end refusal of the labor bureaucrats to wage a fight—like shutting down the airports with solidarity strike action, which could win the PATCO strike in a matter of days.

One of the placards handed out by the unions September 19 read, "Carter's Peanuts Were More Nourishing Than

Reagan's Jelly Beans." But hundreds of thousands of workers didn't spend 10 to 40 hours on buses to bring back the "good ole days" of Carter when real wages dropped a whopping 10 percent during the Democrats' last year in office. And in fact there were no Democratic Party speakers (though Teddy Kennedy was on the platform in D.C.). Perhaps they didn't want to get involved in Teddy-Fritz fights; maybe they remembered 1975 when at an AFL-CIO demo in Washington angry workers shouted down Hubert Humphrey. But the AFL-CIO tops were united in "viewing this march as the first step in the 1982 election." According to the *Wall Street Journal* (15 September) Kirkland & Co. hope that "the spectacle of so many groups supporting the AFL-CIO Saturday may help rebuild the liberal-labor political coalition." And after the 19th? "Keep in touch with your Representatives and Senators," advised an official brochure passed out at the rally.

Labor and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

While Reagan insists on treating organized labor like Salvadoran peasants, an administration spokesman last week emphasized one "area of agreement" with the AFL-CIO, namely "backing for a strong defense." And in fact, an editorial in the September 1981 *American Federationist* criticized the budget cuts but not the skyrocketing war budget: "Popular support for a strong defense and foreign policy cannot be sustained by unjust social and economic policies which generate social tension, class conflict and political polarization." But Kirkland's hawkish anti-Sovietism would be just as ruinous as Reagan's "supply-side" "voodoo economics." Unlike the period from the end of World War II to the Vietnam War, U.S. capitalism can no longer afford to both pay for an escalating military budget and provide incremental increases in the living standards of working people. The AFL-CIO's "guns-and-butter" policy means wild inflation, higher taxes and uncontrollably high interest rates, leading to corporate bankruptcies and mass layoffs.

Solidarity Day was named not after the union song, "Solidarity Forever," but for the Polish union Solidarność. So in the mouths of Kirkland & Co. "Solidarity" means counterrevolution. And while Reagan keeps trying to provoke Soviet intervention, the AFL-CIO eggs on the most rabidly anti-

Soviet leaders of Solidarność, sending them dollars, printing presses and CIA agents. Kirkland's Cold Warrior stance was echoed by social-democratic unions in Washington: a United Federation of Teachers placard read, "Want to Outsmart the Russians? Restore Reagan's Education Cuts." And it was seconded by former vice president Walter Mondale speaking at a San Francisco "Solidarity Day" rally, who delivered a virulently anti-Soviet speech for a "strong America," "sacrifice" to pay for "our defense needs" and support to Polish Solidarity. However, the diatribe was nearly drowned out by boos and chants of "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO."

Unlike the liberals and reformists, the Marxists' opposition to Reagan's arms build-up is *not* basically economic. Reagan is building the MX missile, B-1 bombers, Trident submarines, etc. not because he is foolishly wasting money, but because *he intends to use them*. Class-conscious workers must unconditionally defend the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialist militarism just as they defend their unions, despite the bureaucratic leaders, against capitalist attack. Certainly the Kremlin Stalinists' suppression of democratic rights and bureaucratic mismanagement has made communism a dirty word to most American workers. But the USSR remains the main economic/military bastion of the bloc of states where capitalist exploitation has been abolished. Collectivized property and economic planning are historic gains for workers throughout the world, and they must be defended tooth and nail. They make possible for the first time a society without unemployment, inflation and poverty. And this is the key issue in Poland today where Solidarity, backed by imperialist friends of "free trade unions" like Reagan and Kirkland, has embarked on an openly counterrevolutionary course.

Fake-Lefts Tail Labor Fakers

In SF, Democrat Mondale spoke but PATCO strikers were denied a speaker. In Washington some 6,000 PATCO air controllers facing the full hunt of Reagan's union-husting were criminally forced to *the end* of the march, so that militants would not appear before TV cameras and in front of the podium. The PATCO strike dramatically demonstrates the treachery of the AFL-CIO tops. Kirkland, Winpisinger and Fraser all have the same "program": Reagan must "negotiate" with the air controll-

ers. (For a "political solution," like in El Salvador—fat chance!) And if he refuses to bargain? Well, vote Democratic in '82! Meanwhile, the union tops refuse to bring out their ranks for real struggle against the real war on labor being waged by Reagan. And as Kirkland et al. do, so do Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and Gus Hall's Communist Party (CP). The Spartacist League (SL) alone has fought for labor to *shut down the airports!*

September 19 demonstrated both the tremendous power of the labor movement and the cowardice of its leaders. Unleashing that power in militant struggle requires the building of a workers party. But when reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) call on the likes of Lane Kirkland or William Winpisinger to build a labor party, they are calling for a racist, anti-communist, Cold War militarist "labor party"! Yet even this is a reformist daydream. While the SWP talks labor party and the CP talks "new people's unity," the entire AFL-CIO officialdom was uniting solidly behind the Democratic Party. A workers party can be built only in militant labor struggle against Reagan. Faced with mass labor actions every leading Democratic politico would rush to Reagan's side in upholding capitalist interests. The SL has repeatedly insisted that a workers party can be built only in a struggle to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy which ties the powerful union movement to phony "friend of labor" Democrats.

The most popular chants on September 19 were the ones ending with "Reagan gotta go!" But that must not mean back the Democrats. A distributor of the Democratic National Committee publication *Democrats Today* remarked to a *Workers Vanguard* salesman that our socialist newspaper was selling faster than he could hand out his flyer for free. "It's because they remember Carter," he sighed. Reagan *can* be brought down, not by waiting for the 1982 elections to replace him with a strikebreaking Democrat, but through hard labor struggle. In 1968 Lyndon Johnson's administration was rendered impotent by the North Vietnamese Tet offensive. We need a Tet offensive by the U.S. labor movement to bring Reagan to his knees. And that requires the leadership of a socialist vanguard party with a Marxist (Trotskyist) program of workers revolution. Smash union-busting and social reaction! For militant labor action to bring down Reagan! ■

September 19:

Labor Has the Power!

The most energetic contingent, of course, was PATCO—the hard-pressed air controllers who have been fighting Reagan's strikebreaking alone for the last seven weeks. "Strike, strike, strike, strike!" they chanted as they moved down the street in Washington. Neighboring contingents took up the chant, including the liberal/Stalinist United Electrical Workers (UE) which was marching next to PATCO. But then some of the UE people spotted Confederate flags stuck on the banner carried by the Spartanburg, North Carolina controllers and everyone fell silent. A black UE member came up and said simply, "I thought this march was for black people as well as whites." PATCO members apologized and the contingent stopped marching while the air controllers themselves tore off the racist flags, and PATCO members conspicuously trampled on them. It was a moving demonstration of how the class struggle

brings black and white workers together, enabling them to transcend race prejudice in a common fight.

The September 19 "Solidarity Day" march sponsored by the AFL-CIO in Washington was full of instructive incidents. Above all, you could see the power of labor everywhere, from the organization of the march to the giant contingents which flowed for hours out of the Washington Monument and Ellipse staging areas onto Constitution Avenue. They rented the entire Washington, D.C. subway system for the day and ran it free, at peak capacity all day long, bringing their people in from the Pentagon and RFK stadium and then back out again. The unions brought over 4,000 buses, seven special trains, box lunches for their members. There were enough toilets! And a sound system that would put Woodstock to shame. It was structured from top to bottom, using the shop stewards to

provide the marshals and bus captains. An army came to Washington, not 500,000 individuals—an army of labor. You could see it: *labor can organize society*. But the pro-capitalist tops won't—class-struggle leadership is key.

It certainly wasn't an antiwar march by student radicals. The May 3 El Salvador demo was the first mass anti-Reagan protest, but there was very little overlap between the two marches, except for the left. (Most of the eco-freaks and New Leftists spent September 19 in NYC's Central Park listening to a Simon and Garfunkel '60s revival concert.) This crowd came from all over the East Coast, the Midwest and the South. And this march will certainly produce a dramatic increase in union consciousness in the coming months: all those union baseball caps; the T-shirt of white Florida unionists, "If you ain't union, you ain't shit!"; the chant by black D.C. AFSCME workers, "We're

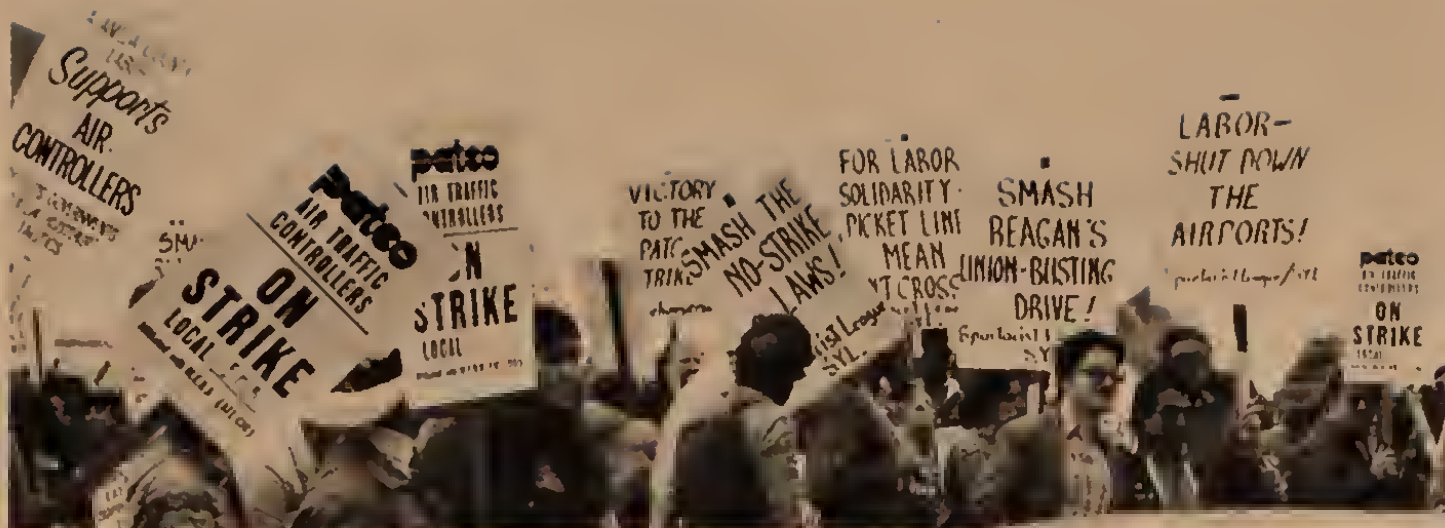


WV Photo

Washington, D.C., September 19.

bad, we know it—we got the union to show it!"; the skilled tradesmen marching with blacks and buying papers from communists.

There was a lot less red-white-and-blue patriotism than one might expect: *continued on page 9*



PATCO demonstration, Oakland airport August 21.

WV Photo

Why Reformists Won't Say "Shut Down the Airports!"

PATCO Strike and the Left

For seven weeks the American labor leadership has left the striking air traffic controllers totally isolated in the face of the most brutal government union-busting attack in decades. While mouthing "support" to the PATCO strike, union bureaucrats like William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) have refused to lift a finger in concrete action. Yet it is patently obvious to all that Reagan's goal—the obliteration of PATCO—would be a tremendous setback for the entire labor movement. At stake is not just the existence of a small union of white-collar workers on the fringe of the labor movement. Rather, the administration is testing labor's resolve to defend its rights and living standards against the reactionary program of budget cuts, racism and anti-Soviet war buildup. So far the labor movement is miserably failing.

The PATCO strike should have been won in early August by the labor movement shutting down the airports and decisively busting the union-buster Reagan. Any one of several unions embracing airport ground and flight crews—most importantly the IAM—could bring air traffic to a halt in hours. Winpisinger, however, rejected as "bubble-headed" and "foolhardy" any call for solidarity strikes, saying that, "Our lawyers assured me that any organized work stoppage by our members under these circumstances would leave both members defenseless against management retaliation up to and including mass dismissals" (*Boston Globe*, 18 September). He also feared that the IAM would lose its "entire financial resources and reserves." So having discovered that the capitalist state is on the side of the bosses, this pseudo-socialist resolves to do... nothing. The AFL-CIO tops simply added the PATCO mass firings to their long list of grievances to be voiced in Washington September 19.

The Spartacist League (SL) and our supporters in the unions have fought and will continue to fight for *immediate action to shut down the airports*. But the rest of the left has unanimously fallen in step behind AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland's posture of giving the air controllers "solidarity" in words, betrayal in deeds. Before the PATCO strike was even two weeks old, "Marxist" newspapers began to appear calling for "building support" for the strikers on Solidarity Day, a month later! The Communist Party's West Coast weekly, *People's World* (8 August) said: "Support the controllers with telegrams, resolutions and other actions. Let's begin now to build Sept. 19..." Sam Marcy, big cheese of the Workers World Party (WWP), recommended "resolute class action" like the September 19 march in an article entitled "How the

PATCO Strike Can Be Won" (*Workers World*, 21 August).

Meanwhile, a special PATCO supplement of the *Militant* (21 August), newspaper of the long-since ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), advocated unspecified "united action," a labor party and a big demonstration on—you guessed it—September 19. Even the foundering right-centrist Shachtmanites of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) have joined the act. In their 15 August *Torch*, they call for "a few simple practical steps" topped off with: "Finally, the already planned AFL-CIO-called March on Washington for Jobs on September 19 could be used to rally support for PATCO." Anyone who in August talked about "supporting" the PATCO strike on September 19 is a cynical liar.

DSOC Backstabbing

The social democrats ensconced in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party are angrier at PATCO than they are at Reagan. Doug Fraser, "progressive" president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), captured this backstabbing spirit when he moaned that the air controllers strike "could do massive damage to the labor movement." Taking the cue from Fraser and windbag Winpisinger, a leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the soc-dems have set their typewriters a-clackin' to justify betrayal.

In *These Times*, a trendy social-democratic tabloid distributed by Winpisinger and other labor liberals like Jim Balanoff, ex of the Steelworkers, criticized PATCO sharply for its "go-it-alone attitude... ineptly handling their strike... did not make their case as well

as they could have," etc. *ITT* prepared to make the best of the worst: "Even defeat could catalyze the labor movement..." Writing in *DSOC's Democratic Left*, chairman Michael Harrington struck a similar chord in order to highlight the supposed largesse behind such gestures as UAW officials not taking planes, an AFL-CIO defense fund (which has collected a paltry \$33 per striker from other unions), and a small rally at Kennedy airport. What further action does Harrington advocate? "Write your senator and U.S. representative opposing Reagan's union-busting."

The Workers World and CP reformists are looking forward to cultivating multi-issue popular fronts in PATCO's ashes, much like the Grand Coalition being forged by the bureaucrats with the Democratic Party. *Workers World* talks absurdly about the "three-step punch" that will supposedly knock out Reagan: Labor Day, September 19, and ...the WWP's own All-People's Congress in Detroit in October! Further aid, says Marcy, "can also come in the form of legal decisions by the courts who have an unusual opportunity to show their independence from the executive" by nullifying PATCO's decertification. So it's constitutional checks and balances to the rescue!

For the CP, the PATCO strike is an opportunity to mend its ties to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party through more traditional channels. This includes unstinting praise to Mayor Koch's opponent in this year's New York City election, liberal Frank Barbaro, darling of the city's labor bureaucracy. Meanwhile, Gus Hall is pushing his "flying is scabbing" cop-out, taking front-groupism to new heights with the formation of "Concerned Air Travel-

lers." This is a conscious attempt to divert the working class from pushing for powerful labor action which could win the strike. For the CP it is a service consciously rendered to the union misleaders. For example, on August 21 the AFL-CIO called for mass picketing at three airports in the Bay Area. Spartacist supporters attempted to turn this action into an airport shutdown, and at S.F. airport picketers picked up the chant, "Shut it down!" CP supporters helped take the heat off the bureaucrats by handing out an appeal to passengers, asking them not to board their planes!

During the air controllers strike, one of the easy outs has been to suggest that airport unions honor PATCO picket lines. Even Winpisinger mouthpiece Larry Rubin of the IAM said, "If airline mechanics are confronted with a picket line... I don't know of any Machinist who would cross it." The suggestion having been made by a bureaucrat, both the SWP and RSL meekly hint that honoring picket lines would be nice. They have refrained from demanding such action, however, since Machinists might actually encounter PATCO picket lines some day. But mainly the controllers have limited picketing to control towers, in order not to put pressure on the leaders of other airport unions. Asked at the NYC Labor Day parade what else he would ask Kirkland to do in support of the strike, PATCO leader Robert Poli replied that the AFL-CIO was doing everything necessary! Under these circumstances, all talk of simply honoring picket lines is a cowardly loophole to let the Winpisingers off the hook.

On the other hand, the small centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) manages to call for *everything*, because it has no intention of fighting to implement *anything*. Thus an RWL-supported caucus in UAW Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) in Detroit, the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), put forward a motion at the August 15 meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit, calling for: sympathy strikes, refusal to fly, mass picketing, financial support, a one-day UAW sympathy strike and a general strike to force Reagan's resignation! When DAP chairman Hank Wilson objected, a CMDUAW member jumped up offering to drop the part about the general strike. But that was back in August. At the September 12 DAP unit meeting, the CMDUAW raised a motion to endorse Solidarity Day, which failed to even mention PATCO! Thus the RWL is helping the bureaucrats bury PATCO while endorsing Lane Kirkland's flag-waving inauguration of the 1982 Democratic Party Congressional campaign.

Now the RWL has produced a new paper, *Workers Struggle*, whose first issue shamelessly imitates *WV* on the PATCO strike, from the headline ("Shut Down the Airports") to the picture. Yet at a strike support meeting in the Bay Area on August 14, the RWL put forward a motion for a one-day airport shutdown while *rejecting* the call by the SL and class-struggle union militants to *set a date*. Thus their talk of airport shutdowns is simply pie-in-the-sky, no more real than the bogus calls to "respect picket lines" which don't exist.

Solidarity Day has not brought PATCO closer to victory. On the contrary, the bureaucrats hope that September 19 will have dissipated working-class anger over Reagan's union busting so that now PATCO can be quietly laid to rest. The AFL-CIO tops want no more PATCOs and no more mass demonstrations. From here on out it's to be Democratic Party electoralism. Or is it? PATCO members are not the only public employees who are ready to fight. Millions of workers don't want to wait until November 1982, or 1984, for another "veto-proof Congress" which will give them nothing. Labor: Shut down the airports now! Bust union-buster Reagan!

Spartacist League Forums

For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Reagan: Strikebreaker, Anti-Soviet Warmaker

Boston

Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Room 904-908, Campus Center
U. Mass. Amherst

Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House
Harvard University

For more information: (617) 492-3928

Detroit

Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
Dairy Workers Hall
15840 Second Ave., Highland Park
For more information: (313) 868-9095

Chicago

Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room
Michigan and Balbo Sts.
For more information: (312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
St. Alban's Episcopal Church
2555 Euclid Heights Blvd.
Cleveland Heights
For more information: (216) 621-5138

Prelude to the Bolshevik October

Barricades of the Moscow insurrection.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

We reprint below Part II 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.

As I said, the Bolsheviks were in January 1905 on the outside looking in, at the beginning. Krupskaya wrote a letter to the Petersburg Committee on 5 January concerning the Putilov strike, which was the prelude to Bloody Sunday. She says:

"But where are the proclamations with which the Committee promised to deluge the city? We aren't getting them. Nor any—reports. We learned from foreign papers that the Putilov plant was on strike. Do we have connections there? Will it really be impossible to get information about the strike? Only it has to come quickly. Make every effort to arrange for workers themselves to write reports."

And on Bloody Sunday, 9 January, they had 15 people turn up at the Bolshevik concentration point. In the previous

PART TWO OF TWO

period the Bolsheviks engaged in a bitter factional struggle with the Mensheviks, during which they both lost a number of their supporters. The 1903 split was murky, and it was particularly murky at the time to the workers in the Social-Democratic circles, who tended to view

it as a dispute between the intelligentsia in the party.

The tsar, of course, had a reaction to Bloody Sunday. He had his cops round up a delegation of about 34 pro-tsar workers, dragged them out to his palace on the outskirts of Petersburg and said he excused them for their seditious outburst. It didn't go over. The anger of the workers just exploded. There were strikes all across European Russia, and these strikes continued to spread throughout 1905.

One feature of 1905 was that unions began to spring up, de facto and unofficial. That presented a new problem. But the main question posed was whether the autocracy would fall. It was badly discredited by the defeats suffered in the Russo-Japanese War, a war which Lenin greeted as progressive Asian capitalism striking a blow against the tsarist autocracy. And here, over the question of the fate of the autocracy, the differences between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks began to manifest themselves. When it became clear that the events taking place represented a huge explosion of class struggle, the Bolsheviks and Lenin in particular began to raise the cry for insurrection—to put an end to tsarism once and for all.

And if you look at Lenin's writings in 1905, you'll see a work that's particularly important, calling for an insurrection, calling for the planning of it, calling for setting a date! That was Lenin's "politi-

cal solution," if you will, to the events taking place, and it was the main point of contention with the Mensheviks. I want to make that clear because the Mensheviks were clever at trying to cover their asses on this question.

The Mensheviks had a "conference" at the same time the Third Congress, the Bolshevik congress, of the RSDRP [Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party] took place. This was in the early summer of 1905, and their perspective was outlined there very baldly. It was: "a decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism may be marked either by the establishment of a provisional government which will emerge from a victorious popular insurrection or by the revolutionary initiative of a representative institution of one kind or another, which under direct revolutionary pressure from the people decides to set up a popular constituent assembly."

Now, when you dissect that statement, and Lenin did, it becomes very clear that the Menshevik orientation was a passive tailist one. You know, if a popular insurrection happens, fine and good, but on the other hand maybe a "constituent assembly," a sop from the tsar will be set up. Lenin says,

"Thus, we are told that a decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism may be marked either by victorious insurrection, or...by a representative institution's decision to set up a constituent assembly! What does that mean? How are we to understand it? A decisive victory may be marked by a decision to set up a constituent assembly?? And such a victory is put side by side with the establishment of a provisional government which will 'emerge from a victorious popular insurrection'!! The Conference failed to note that a *victorious* popular insurrection and the *establishment* of a provisional government would signify the victory of the revolution *in actual fact*, whereas a 'decision' to set up a constituent assembly would signify a victory of the revolution *in words only*."

And if you want to know the difference between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in the 1905 Revolution, *that was it*. Lenin was working for an insurrection to put an end to tsarism once and for all. And the Mensheviks adopted a passive and tailing policy.

Now, of course, when Lenin accused them of tailism, the Mensheviks had a reply. They accused Lenin of being a Blanquist, of wanting to engage in

putschism, or a palace revolution. Martynov wrote a long article saying everyone knows that revolutions are social processes, that you can't put a date on them. Lenin had a very effective reply, in *Two Tactics*, that yes, you can't put a date on a revolution, but you can put a date on an insurrection. And it is absolutely necessary, if an insurrection is to succeed, to put a date on it, to plan it and to time it, the same as one does a strike. In fact it is a parallel situation. If you have an organization which is rooted in the proletariat, has the connections with it and is able to judge the situation correctly, it's quite possible to plan, organize and carry through an insurrection. It was Lenin's intent that the RSDRP play the leading role in carrying out such an insurrection.

Menshevik Smokescreen

The various liberal oppositions clearly exposed themselves in 1905, from the most conservative to the "radical" ones. The liberals were willing to play parliamentarist games with the tsar, or to be content with the sops that he threw out. There was an attempt after the initial strike wave of January to set up a Duma, which was to be a purely consultative body with a very limited electoral basis. And the bourgeoisie fell all over themselves grasping onto this tsarist sop.

The Mensheviks, as I indicated, had a tailist position, but this wasn't clear to the workers at the time. Because one of the things the Mensheviks were doing, precisely because they didn't have a perspective of an insurrection, was to jump into a lot of economist strike activity. There was a lot of this, too, throughout 1905. In contrast, the Bolsheviks had a perspective of aiming for political strikes and aiming to muster the strength of these striking workers for an insurrection.

So there was a lot of confusion, and there were polemics, too. You had people like Martov and Dan and Martynov, going after the Bolsheviks, and sometimes the Mensheviks sounded very "orthodox." Comrade Robertson made the point in his talk on the West Coast that it's very easy, with historic hindsight on the role that Menshevism played in 1905 and especially in 1917, to dismiss it out of hand. But if you put



Leaders of the Petersburg Soviet on trial, 1906.

Penguin

yourself back in the setting of 1905, and even '17, it was not so clear what was going on. Because the Mensheviks threw up a lot of smokescreens.

Now, Lenin's conception of what the insurrection should aim for was a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." He wanted an insurrection to bring about a very radical, Jacobin-type dictatorship, which would carry through all the bourgeois-democratic tasks to their conclusions. Burn tsarism out of Russia! The whole institution, its bureaucracy and everything, in much the same way that the Jacobins in the French Revolution erased the monarchists. So he projected an alliance of the insurgent peasantry and the revolutionary proletariat in particular to carry out these bourgeois-democratic tasks—a revolutionary dictatorship, a provisional revolutionary government which was to be the prelude to a constituent assembly and bourgeois republic. And the Mensheviks said, "Aha! Lenin is guilty of Millerandism! What is this participating in a bourgeois government? This is class collaboration!"

So you have Martynov, who was a very right-wing Menshevik, writing concerning Lenin's "Jacobin petty-bourgeois dictatorship":

"We are on the eve of the political self-liberation of Russian bourgeois society, on the eve of a bourgeois revolution. Anyone who takes stock of the conditions involved in bringing about a revolutionary dictatorship will see that to advise Social-Democracy to prepare for revolutionary dictatorship or even for a 'temporary seizure of power' in that kind of revolution is to advise it to prepare for its own bankruptcy and to discredit the socialist flag in the eyes of the proletariat for a very long time.... It means, moreover, betraying the true business of the revolution, for in attracting the proletariat onto the road of fantastic adventures we distract it from its real revolutionary task.... We must always remember that until the socialist revolution Social-Democracy is and must remain the party of the extreme opposition, unlike all the other parties, which in one way or another, to a greater or lesser extent, can count on joining in the government of a bourgeois society."

Somewhat later, in a different context, Martynov points out:

"A party striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat has no right to cover the trappings of power, which promise only to sever its ties with the proletariat; and if it does find itself in power, it has no right to evade carrying out its socialist obligations to the full. Either Millerandism or Marxism!"

And Martov, writing on this question, said:

"If [the proletariat] as a class comes to power, it cannot but lead the revolution on, it cannot fail to strive for Revolution in Permanenz, for an outright struggle with all of bourgeois society. Concretely, this means either a repetition of the Paris Commune or the beginning of a socialist revolution 'in the West' and its spread to Russia. And it will be our obligation to strive for the second."

So the Menshevik conference, which adopted the resolution a part of which I



Workers on strike at Petersburg's Putilov munitions works, 1905.

read earlier, the one that Lenin took apart, also said:

"Only in one event should Social-Democracy on its own initiative direct its efforts towards seizing power and holding it as long as possible—namely, in the event of the revolution spreading to the advanced countries of Western Europe, where conditions for the achievement of socialism have already reached a certain [?] degree of maturity. In that event the limited historic scope of the Russian revolution can be considerably widened and the possibility will arise of entering on the path of socialist reforms."

So, they threw up a lot of political smokescreens to mask what was at bottom their real position. And they were clever enough to try to take advantage of the problems with Lenin's conception of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, to use that as a club against him for their own purposes, which were reformist at bottom.

Lenin and Trotsky

Now, Lenin believed that the immediate tasks of the revolution posed in 1905 were in fact the tasks of the bourgeois revolution. And this shouldn't surprise us, because there was a long history of polemic in the Marxist movement in Russia against the Narodniks and the Social Revolutionaries who said Russia does not have to proceed on the road of capitalist development à la Western Europe, that the Russian peasantry in particular had historic institutions that are innately socialist, and that it was possible to have a revolution of the toilers in Russia that will produce a Russian communal rural socialist regime. If you read a lot of the early writings of Plekhanov and of Lenin you can see that one of the big fights that had to take place was a fight for Marxism, a fight to insist that Russia was not exempt from the laws of capitalist development, but in fact subject to them. This was the tradition of Russian Marxism, to insist against the populists, that Russia would take a

capitalist course of development.

There was a problem, of course. I'd like to quote Lenin regarding Trotsky's views at the time. Trotsky and Parvus, in particular, had a different position than the majority of Mensheviks. They held that it was necessary to engage in an insurrection and establish a provisional revolutionary government in Russia with the working class playing a large role in it. There was a divergence throughout 1905 and Trotsky began to move away from Parvus toward the theory of permanent revolution. But in "Social-Democracy and the Provisional Revolutionary Government," that is a polemic for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, Lenin writes:

"If that windbag Trotsky now writes (unfortunately, side by side with Parvus) that 'a father Gapon could appear only once', that 'there is no room for a second Gapon', he does so simply because he is a windbag. If there were no room in Russia for a second Gapon, there would be no room for a truly 'great', consummated democratic revolution. To become great, to evoke 1789-93, not 1848-50, and to surpass those years, it must rouse the vast masses to active life, to heroic efforts, to 'fundamental historical creativeness'; it must raise them out of frightful ignorance, unparalleled oppression, incredible backwardness, and abysmal dullness. The revolution is already raising them and it will raise them completely."

And he goes on to point out how the government's acts are facilitating this.

Now Trotsky, from his point of view, pointed out that there was a problem that the Bolsheviks had, in particular in light of his experience in the Petersburg Soviet which arose in late 1905. Lenin's formula did not recognize a key problem: if the proletariat played, and in 1905 it did play, the major role as a revolutionary battering ram against autocracy, and if the proletariat was compelled, leaning on the peasantry and peasant upheavals in the countryside, to seize power, then the government that was created, would essentially be a proletarian government. In carrying out the bourgeois-democratic tasks it would also be forced to address itself to the task of the socialist revolution.

Trotsky said:

"The snag is that the Bolsheviks visualized the class struggle of the proletariat only until the moment of the revolution's triumph, after which they see it as temporarily dissolved in the 'democratic' coalition, reappearing in its pure form—this time as a direct struggle for socialism—only after the definitive establishment of a republican system. Whereas the Mensheviks, proceeding from the abstract notion that 'our revolution is a bourgeois revolution,' arrive at the idea that the proletariat must adapt all its tactics to the behavior of the liberal bourgeoisie in order to ensure the transfer of state power to that bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks proceed from an equally abstract notion—'democratic dictatorship, not socialist dictatorship'—and arrive at the idea of a proletariat in possession of state power imposing a bourgeois-democratic limitation upon itself. It is true that the difference between them in this matter is very considerable: while the anti-revolutionary aspects of Menshevism have already become fully

apparent, those of Bolshevism are likely to become a serious threat only in the event of victory."

And he goes on to mention an experience in the 1905 Petersburg Soviet where the Soviet tried to force the eight-hour day through on the manufacturers in Petersburg. The response of the manufacturers was to padlock all the factory gates, and Trotsky said, well what's the government to do then—say, oh, we're a democratic bourgeois dictatorship? He said no, it would be impelled to open the factories up and run them at the expense of the government, which is essentially expropriation of the bourgeoisie, that is, carrying out a socialist task.

The Soviets

Okay, I'd like to say a few words about the soviets. They made their first appearance in 1905. The first one appeared in June. It grew out of a strike in the cities of Ivanovo-Voznezhensk, which was the Russian Manchester. Previously politically backward textile workers were led out by the Bolsheviks in a very bitter strike. A strike committee was set up, originally at the behest of a local factory inspector, but expanded its role and assumed some of the aspects of a soviet. It was disbanded when the strike was settled. In Petersburg, on 13 October, a soviet constituted itself, mainly at the initiative of the Mensheviks. This organization grew very quickly. It had 562 delegates in it, each representing 500 workers. It's interesting to note that about 350 of those were metal workers. And essentially during the late October/early November period in Petersburg, when general strikes were occurring, it played the role of organizing the working masses, directing the political strikes and demonstrations, and also arming the workers to protect the populace against pogroms. Because one of the cards the tsarist autocracy played very heavily in 1905 was to provoke anti-Semitic pogroms which, particularly from October/November onwards when the class struggle really heated up in the proletarian centers, became extremely vicious. Where the soviets did organize workers defense squads, though, they were able to suppress the pogromists.

The Bolsheviks were suspicious of these new-fangled creations, the soviets. As late as November of 1905, the conference of the Bolshevik northern committees, which met in Moscow, passed a resolution on soviets which said:

"Soviets of workers' deputies need to be created only where the organization cannot direct the proletariat's mass action in any other way or where it is necessary to detach masses that have fallen under the sway of bourgeois parties. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies must be the Party's technical apparatus for carrying the RSDRP's political leadership to the masses. Therefore it is imperative to gain control of it and to persuade it to recognize the program and the political leadership of the RSDRP."

In Moscow, in October, not only the workers went out on strike but also students, and professors and governmental bureaucrats, and so on. And there was a sort of strike central, which included not only the working class, but also representatives of the intelligentsia, and so on and so forth, and it was a real zoo.

Lenin was out of the country for most of 1905. He came back in November when the strike movement in Petersburg was quite strong. Soviets, these new creatures, had appeared on the scene and it was necessary to hammer out tactics toward them, just as the Bolsheviks were compelled to hammer out their tactics toward unions which sprang up during 1905. Previously, unions had just been the legal workers' societies. And you can see a development by the end of 1905 of the basic communist unit of work, which is the cell, in the labor movement.

There was an interesting article that
continued on page 8



Lenin, 1907

Progress



Trotsky In prison, 1906.

1905...

(continued from page 7)

Lenin wrote en route to Petersburg. It was written in Stockholm—a letter written to *Novaya Zhizn*, which was the Bolshevik paper in Petersburg. Lenin prefaced this letter with an indication of some uncertainty. "I am still forced to write from that accursed 'afar,' from the hateful 'abroad' of an exile...." His proposals regarding the Soviets were not necessarily in contradiction with the motion that I just read. He said:

"As I see it, the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, as a revolutionary center providing political leadership, is not too broad an organisation but, on the contrary, a much too narrow one. The Soviet must proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government, or form such a government, and must by all means enlist to this end the participation of new deputies not only from workers, but, first of all, from the sailors and soldiers, who are everywhere seeking freedom; secondly, from the revolutionary peasantry, and thirdly, from the revolutionary bourgeois intelligentsia.... We are not afraid of so broad and mixed a composition—indeed we want it, for unless the proletariat and the peasantry unite and unless the Social-Democrats and revolutionary democrats form a fighting alliance, the great Russian revolution cannot be fully successful. It will be a temporary alliance that is to fulfil clearly defined immediate practical tasks, while the more important interests of the socialist proletariat, its fundamental interests and ultimate goals, will be steadfastly upheld by the independent and consistently principled Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party."

That's correct, as long as it's a hard party. And this article is interesting because it didn't see the light of day until 1940. I suspect Lenin had a lot of trouble with his "committeemen" on this point.

On the Soviet, I think also Trotsky's experience in it disoriented him. Too much from below, the spontaneity. He saw the workers in Petersburg, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks together in the Soviet, and assumed, therefore, that unity was possible. Overlooking the crucial fact that unity at the top was impossible, that the Mensheviks' role in 1905 was clearly anti-revolutionary. And this was to be Trotsky's downfall in the interwar period, of trying to reconcile into one party the revolutionary and opportunist wings of the Russian workers movement.

Now, I don't have time to go into all the details. The fact that Lenin in 1917 came over to Trotsky's conception of the permanent revolution, comrades can look at his *Letters from Afar* and *Letters on Tactics* and the *April Theses*. It is interesting to note that in Lenin's lecture on the 1905 Revolution, which took place in January 1917, there's a formulation on the nature of the revolution which is almost word for word the one of Trotsky's I read at the beginning of this talk—about the peculiar features of the Russian Revolution, the role of the proletariat and the tasks which were posed. And he does not in January 1917 mention the

formula of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship. So I think he'd already abandoned it and was moving away from it, even before the February events.

Moscow Insurrection

Now, I'd like to close with a few words on something else. And that is the Moscow insurrection. Because it was in Lenin's opinion the high point of the 1905 Revolution. In Moscow there'd been a number of strikes. But a strike started in early December which the autocracy tried to put down by force. The strike grew, at first tentatively, but then with increasing rapidity into a generalized insurrection in response to the attempts to suppress it. And for Lenin, this was the most important lesson he drew out of the 1905 events, that is to say that a section of the proletariat went over to an insurrection. And it was part of what he had been hammering at *all year*: that it was *necessary to organize an insurrection to bring the tsar down. It would not happen spontaneously, the tsar had to be thrown out!*

And I'd like to read a little bit about it, just a couple short quotes from Lenin:

"The strike was growing into an uprising, primarily as a result of the pressure of the objective conditions created after October. A general strike could no longer take the government unawares: it had already organised the forces of counter-revolution, and they were ready for military action. The whole course of the Russian revolution after October, and the sequence of events in Moscow in the December days, strikingly confirmed one of Marx's profound propositions: revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counter-revolution, i.e., it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defence and in this way devises ever more powerful means of attack."

And he goes on:

"From a strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to the mass erection of barricades and street fighting against the troops. Over the heads of the organisations, the mass proletarian struggle developed from a strike to an uprising. This is the greatest historic gain the Russian revolution achieved in December 1905; and like all preceding gains it was purchased at the price of enormous sacrifices. The movement was raised from a general political strike to a higher stage. It compelled the reaction to go to the limit in its resistance, and so brought vastly nearer the moment when the revolution will also go to the limit in applying the means of attack. The reaction *cannot* go further than the shelling of barricades, buildings and crowds. But the revolution can go very much further than the Moscow volunteer fighting units, it can go very, very much further in breadth and depth. And the revolution has advanced far since December. The base of the revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably broader—the blade must now be sharpened to a keener edge."

Lenin writing in 1906 was able to see this. Rosa Luxemburg in 1917 was still bemused with the notion of the mass strike, the general strike as the highest form of proletarian struggle. The Moscow uprising was key for the Bolsheviks in 1917, because they went through the rehearsal in 1905, they had gone through the leap from a general strike to insurrection. So they were able to do it in October. They knew how to do it, and they did it. That was the lesson of 1905.

Summary: Now there's a number of things I didn't mention which are interesting, but I don't have time to go into. One of them is the national question, because in 1905 some of the fiercest centers of resistance and of working-class upsurge were the areas of the oppressed nationalities. In fact, immediately preceding Bloody Sunday there was a long strike in Transcaucasia of the oil workers, in Baku. And in Poland, in Lodz, in June there was one of the bloodiest incidents of the 1905 Revolution. Polish school children and elements of the Russian garrison were wearing red shirts and singing the Internationale, and opposing the attempts at Russification. But it took a

leftist expression—unlike today, thank you, Stalinists.

It also had an international impact in West Europe and the border areas of the tsarist empire, Turkey and Iran (Persia at the time). The peasantry insurrected in the countryside: from about April through July about 15 percent of the manor houses in European Russia were burned and the land seized. But it didn't go deep enough. As Trotsky pointed out, the peasants in the countryside could see grrahhing the estates, but their brothers in the army were shooting at the workers at the same time. (World War I was to change that.) And there were a lot of insurrections in the army. The Warsaw garrison insurrected. The sailors of the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied. There were other garrisons—again, a lot of them in outlying regions where they were used to suppress the insurgent nationalities. Troops refused to be entrained to the Far East. A railway workers strike brought the Trans-Siberian Railway to a standstill. So those are also interesting aspects.

There's a big dividing line in the workers movement, and it boils down to the question: should the Bolsheviks have seized power? If you want to find out where somebody stands, push on that question, and push hard. Because that's the dividing line. This was Lenin's point in 1905. It was very clear that the revolution had to grow over into a proletarian one. In 1928 Trotsky's closest collaborator, Adolph Joffe, committed suicide. He left Trotsky a note and in it stated that Lenin had admitted to Joffe that in 1905 Trotsky was right and he had been wrong. Joffe was taking Trotsky to task because Trotsky saw further, he said, than any of his contemporaries, but he lacked the intransigence of Lenin. And this was a suicide note to his best friend.

A final point, actually a postscript. So as not to idealize history, let me give you some idea of what Lenin was dealing with in the Bolshevik organization. When this upsurge occurred, the Bolsheviks—these committeemen in Russia—had been embroiled in fighting the Mensheviks. And you can read a lot of letters to the center about the Mensheviks flooding Petersburg. You know, "if we only had ten more good agitators and organizers, we could deal with these people—please help." But there was a failure on the part of a lot of the Bolshevik committeemen to make a turn when the upheaval occurred, a conservatism about turning outward and recruiting. There's a famous letter by Lenin to Bogdanov that I'd like to read from:

"We need young forces. I am for shooting on the spot anyone who presumes to say that there are no people to be had. The people in Russia are legion; all we have to do is to recruit young people more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly, *without fearing them*. This is a time of war. The youth—the students, and still more so the young workers—will decide the issue of the whole struggle. Get rid of all the old habits of immobility, of respect for rank, and so on. Form *hundreds* of circles of *Vperyod*-ists [Bolshevik supporters] from among the youth and encourage them to work at full blast. Enlarge the Committee *threefold* by accepting young people into it...."

And he goes on to say:

"In the first place, if you fail to organise them and spur them on to action, they will follow the Mensheviks and the Gapon, and this very inexperience of theirs will cause five times more harm. In the second place, events themselves will teach them *in our spirit*."

And he closes:

"I shall write of this in *Vperyod* and speak of it at the Congress. I am writing to you in one more *endeavour* to evoke an exchange of ideas, to call upon you *to bring a dozen young, fresh workers* (and other) circles *into direct contact* with the Editorial Board, although... between ourselves he it said, I do not cherish the slightest hope that these daring ideas will be fulfilled, unless, perhaps, two months from now you will ask me to wire whether I agree to such-and-such changes in the plan.... I reply in advance that I agree to everything. Goodbye until the Congress, Lenin"

You think that did it? What happened at this [1905] Congress? Well, one of the things the Mensheviks were criticizing the Bolsheviks for was the lack of workers in the Bolshevik committees. And just because the Mensheviks brought it up didn't mean that it wasn't a problem. It was in fact precisely what Lenin was trying to push Bogdanov to do, to open the Bolshevik organization up to these newly radicalized workers. So I'd like to read from the transcripts of the Congress and the motion that came out of the debate. So one character says:

"We must introduce workers [into the committees] because the movement is growing, not because the Mensheviks are 'sowing discord'."

Mikhailov says:

"The workers are interested in the question of the relationship between workers and *intelligenty*."

And somebody shouts: "There are the rules!" So Lenin steps into the debate:

"It will be the task of the future center to reorganize a considerable number of our committees. The committee members' inertia must be overcome. (Clapping and hissing.)

"I hear Comrade Sergeev hissing, while non-committeemen are applauding. I think one should look at the matter more broadly. Bringing workers into the committees is not only a pedagogical but also a political task. Workers possess the class instinct, and with a little political experience they quite soon become tempered Social-Democrats. I should be very pleased if there were eight workers to every two *intelligenty* in our committees."

Then Mikhailov speaks again:

"It is said that we do not have workers capable of sitting on a committee. That is not true. The criterion for admitting workers... ought to be different from the one applied to *intelligenty*. There is talk of tempered S-D's, but... first- and second-year students, familiar with Social-Democratic ideas from the Erfurt Program and a few issues of *Iskra*, are already considered tempered S-D's. Thus in practice the requirements for *intelligenty* are very low, and for workers they are extremely high."

Lenin interjects, "Very true!" and a majority of the delegates scream, "Not true!"

"The only valid criterion for admitting workers into a committee must be the degree of their influence among the masses. (Hissing, shouting.) All workers who are leaders and have been in our circles must be members of our committees. (Right!)"

It goes on from there. Later Lenin returns to the subject:

"I could not sit quietly when it was said that there were no workers fit to be committee members. The question is being put off; evidently there is some sickness in the Party. Workers must be brought into the committees. It's funny—there are only three publicists [the people who put the paper out] at the Congress, the rest are committee people, and it is the *literatory* who approve of bringing in workers, while the committeemen are all worked up for some reason."

The upshot of the debate was that the issue was shelved. The final motion passed was on the undesirability of passing a resolution on the principles of the problem.

So Lenin had a lot of trouble whipping these guys into line. And the other big fight that he had was that Bogdanov already at the time of this letter that I quoted, which was written pretty early in 1905, was in a waltz with the Mensheviks in Petersburg. There was this strong impulse from below toward unity growing out of 1905, and they had to go through it, go through a unity congress that unified nothing. Lenin, I think, was the only person to vote against it, although he didn't speak against it. And then we go through the period leading up to the final 1912 split. So you see that Bolshevism did not spring from Lenin's head in 1903, but that it took an evolution, struggles over real questions and the experience of dealing with events to hammer out what was to become the party and the program and the practices that led to the successful October Revolution of 1917, and which were later codified in the early Congresses of the Communist International. ■

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Walesa Brings "Mr. AFL-CIA" to Poland

Irving Brown: Cold War Criminal

"Tell me what company you keep,
and I'll tell you what you are."
—Cervantes, Don Quixote

On August 27 the AFL-CIO quietly announced that the American labor federation's "President Lane Kirkland has accepted the invitation of President Lech Walesa to attend the first National Conference of Solidarność in Gdansk, Poland, Sept. 26-29." The terse press release added that Kirkland will be accompanied by one "Irving Brown, AFL-CIO European representative." Polish workers beware! Walesa's welcome to this pair can mean but one thing: openly embracing capitalist counterrevolution.

Lane Kirkland's connections with the U.S. imperialist state are well known—for example, his directorship of the CIA labor front, the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), which sets up yellow "unions" and helps overthrow leftist governments in Latin America (Guatemala 1954, Brazil 1964, Chile 1973). But Irving Brown is in another category. His sinister record of anti-labor, anti-Communist subversion goes back more than three and a half decades. This long-term operative of the U.S. spy agencies is "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself.

Irving Brown was the man who used CIA dollars to plant agents, buy officials and hire goon squads to split, smash and subdue combative unions in Western Europe after World War II. Irving Brown has been identified by former Central Intelligence Agency official Philip Agee as the "principal CIA agent for control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." Irving Brown was dispatched to Portugal in 1975 to stop revolution by busting up the Communist-led union federation while CIA-funded mobs were burning CP offices. Now Irving Brown is being sent to Poland to organize counterrevolution.

Brown's notorious activities are carried out in secret, or publicly with a "labor" cover provided by the Meanyite



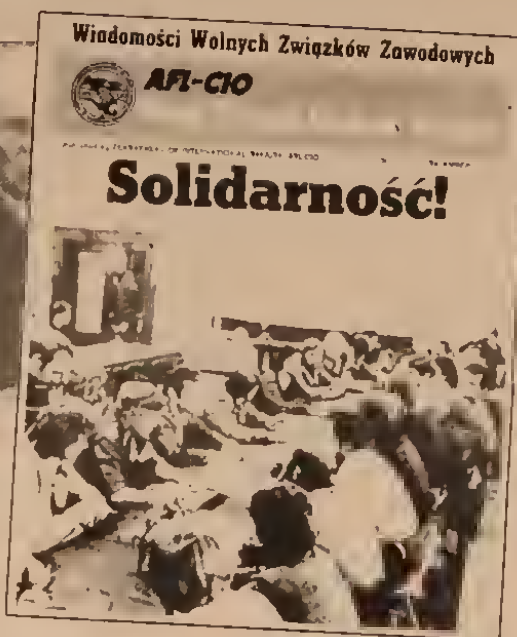
Free Trade Union News

Sinister Irving Brown: Promotes bloody counterrevolution in Poland with AFL-CIO Polish language issue of Free Trade Union News.

Cold Warriors who control American unions. But the cover has been lifted enough times so that his true aims and employers are plain to see. Beginning in the mid-'30s he was the No. 1 sidekick of Jay Lovestone, once Stalin's hatchetman-leader of the U.S. Communist Party who became an anti-Communist witchhunter in the unions long before McCarthyism. When Lovestone was made head of the AFL's "Free Trade Union Committee" in 1944, Irving Brown became his main European operative. His mission: carry out a Red Purge of European labor.

Already in the McCarthy years Brown's activities were revealed in an exposé by Hal Draper entitled, "Cloak-and-Dollar Man: Mr. Irving Brown of the AFL in Europe," and published in *Labor Action* of 20 October 1952. Draper quoted articles in the French newspaper *Le Monde* detailing Brown's operations in France, where with the aid of U.S. dollars, fascist collaborators and Corsican gangsters he engineered a split in the Communist-led CGT union federation:

"Being a realist, Mr. Irving Brown does not long hesitate, it is well known, about the choice of methods to struggle against communism.... In his speech



on December 13, 1951 at the American Club of Brussels, he even gave France precise advice: abolish the CGT's right to trade-union representation; return to the ranks of free trade-unionism the activists who were purged for having given support to the [Nazi-allied] Vichy regime."

Draper comments on the methods of this apostle of "free trade-unionism":

"This frankly means 'anti-Communist terror,' and less frankly, terror backed by the benevolence of the government. The prime example in France... is that of the so-called Mediterranean Committee which is virtually a Brown creature. He had found his man, one Pierre Ferri-Pisani, among the Marseilles dockers—described flatteringly as a 'steely Corsican' by the [*Readers Digest*—and poured AFL money in to build it up."

Brown's "steely Corsican" put together goon squads in every French port to intimidate the CGT and unleashed a wave of terror that sent several CP leaders to the hospital.

It all cost a bundle, far more than the AFL could manage. Quite a few years later it was confirmed that Irving Brown's big bucks came from the CIA. Tom Braden, head of the Agency's International Organizations Division from 1950 to 1954, explained how "With

funds from Dubinsky's union [the ILGWU], they [Lovestone and Brown] organized Force Ouvrière, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions" ("I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 May 1967). In 1949 Ferri-Pisani's goon squads broke a French dockers strike: Braden said Brown needed the CIA money "to pay off his strong-arm squads in Mediterranean ports, so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of Communist dock workers." Meanwhile, following Brown's advice, the U.S. literally bought itself a union movement in the Western occupation zones of starving postwar Germany by feeding hundreds of functionaries with CARE packages and supplying free paper, printing presses and cars—and a ban on the Communists. The total cost of the Lovestone/Brown operations was estimated by Braden at \$2 million a year.

The whole post-WWII AFL-CIA operation would have had little success if it hadn't been for Stalinist betrayals, such as the French CP/CGT suppression of strikes as their ticket for staying in the government. And Lovestone first learned his gangster methods as Stalin's hack at the head of the CPUSA, where he silenced, expelled and beat up the Trotskyist Left Opposition (only to find himself expelled soon after). But make no mistake: these "labor" front men for U.S. imperialism are the front-line organizers of bloody counterrevolution. Remember how they helped prepare the 1973 Chile coup! Polish workers: do not let the crimes of Stalinism blind you to the fact that the AFL-CIO and its Solidarność friends represent a mortal threat to the collective property which is a historic conquest of the world proletariat. No to the "democracy" and "free trade unionism" of CIA assassins, Reaganite strikebreaking and racist terror! Defend the gains of October! Smash the counterrevolutionary threat! ■

Labor Has the Power...

(continued from page 4)

some little American flags, but not a lot; a banner, "Pittsburgh Carpenters for a Stronger America." But this was an overwhelmingly anti-Reagan march. Interestingly, some of the "progressive" unions of yesteryear exhibited the worst social-patriotism. Doug Fraser's UAW bought 20,000-plus blue/white caps with "Buy American" across the crown. Albert Shanker's UFT had endless signs like "Education—First Line of Defense." Of course, the axis of the anti-Soviet mobilization was support for Polish Solidarity. There were numerous Solidarność banners, T-shirts, references in speeches by Kirkland and Mondale. But the domestic class struggle pitting labor against a vicious anti-working-class government also had an impact. A curious sign in the PATCO contingent was noticed as they marched past the Spartacist banner: "I wish I were a controller in Poland."

"Wimpy" Winpisinger's IAM is pushing hard to be the UAW of the '80s. They mobilized heaviest, had caps for everyone, staked out the key spot in the staging grounds so they could move out

first, and invited in a host of student and reformist left groups to march with the IAM contingent. Machinists "socialist" president Winpisinger is a leader of Harrington's DSOC, and the DSOCers had a large contingent (several hundred) behind their symbol of a fist and a rose on a background of stars-and-stripes. This captured the social-patriotic quality of the IAM/DSOC contingent—"Jobs not Bombs" was the main slogan. And just as they earlier tagged along after the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller and Steelworkers' Ed Sadlowski, the reformists are all beseeching Winpisinger to build a labor party—while he is reforging AFL-CIO links to the Democrats. And above all, "socialist" Winpisinger whose membership includes airline ground crews around the country is doing nothing to win the PATCO strike.

The need for a revolutionary vanguard party is posed pointblank if the working class is to smash Reagan's war on unions, blacks and minorities and the anti-Soviet war drive which threatens a thermonuclear World War III. This was the message the Spartacist League brought to Washington, with a banner proclaiming, "Fight for Workers Rights, Build a Workers Party, Smash Reagan!" The tremendous sales demonstrated not only the will of the SL membership to intervene in this unique

opportunity for class-struggle politics, but also a changing mood in the working class. PATCO strikers bought extra copies of *Workers Vanguard* to hang up on their union bulletin boards. Approached by a subscription salesman, a group of air controllers discussed the question—they were broke—and finally one striker spoke up, "Well, we've obviously got to get a sub because we have to read this, so I'll buy one for all of us."

A black comrade from Detroit sold eight *WV*s to a circle of black steel workers from Virginia who wanted to learn about the November 1979 black/

labor demonstration which stopped the Klan from marching in the Motor City. The USWA local president arranged for literature on the November 10 rally to be sent to the union. Another comrade from New York met a group of miners, who demanded to see the union bug on *WV*, then bought the paper. Altogether 8,135 copies of *Workers Vanguard* with the headline "Unchain Labor!" were sold in Washington September 19. Including other SL publications and sales at West Coast demos, some 9,239 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold that day, many times more than at any other event in the SL's history. ■

Spartacist League Forums

Smash U.S./South Africa Anti-Soviet Racist Axis!

- Drive the Springboks Out!
- South Africa Out of Angolal
- Military Victory to SWAPO!

Thursday, Sept. 24, 12 noon
City College of New York
438 Finley Hall

New York City

- For Workers Revolution to Smash Apartheid!

Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Schermerhorn Hall
Room 501

Columbia University
For more information (212) 267-1025

Poland...

(continued from page 12)

no "third way," much less a purely trade-unionist third way.

It was clear from the beginning that Walesa & Co. saw themselves leading the entire Polish nation under the banner of eagle and cross in a crusade against "Russian-imposed Communism." Solidarity is no longer a trade union, but has come to include large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc. Last winter/spring much of Solidarity's efforts were directed toward forcing the government to legally recognize the organization of peasant smallholders, Rural Solidarity, a potent social force for capitalist restoration. In late March Solidarity even threatened a nationwide general strike primarily on behalf of the rural petty capitalists, despite the fact that they were driving up food prices for urban consumers.

Local Solidarity organizations have kept up a barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda of the most vile right-wing sort. For example, the Solidarity newspaper at the Katowice steel mill, the largest in the country, reprinted chapters from Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* and ran cartoons that could have come straight out of the Western yellow press. At the same time, Solidarity's leaders have nothing but good things to say about the imperialist West.

Small wonder Ronald Reagan could declare that the Polish crisis signals the beginning of the end of Communism, the desperate dream of world imperialism ever since October 1917:

"...I think the things we're seeing not only in Poland but the reports that are beginning to come out of Russia itself ...are an indication that communism is an aberration—it's not a normal way of living for human beings, and I think we're seeing the first beginning cracks, the beginning of the end."

—New York Times, 17 June.

These were no mere philosophical musings. U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in fomenting anti-Communist reaction in Poland, especially through the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which has contributed \$300,000 and their first printing press to Solidarity.

While engaged in subverting Poland from within, the Reagan administration is also trying to *provoke* the Soviet Union into military intervention, in part through inflammatory statements like the above. Reagan/Haig *want to see* Polish workers hurling Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks in order to fuel their anti-Soviet war drive to white heat.

While the motion in the year-long Polish crisis has been toward pro-imperialist counterrevolution, the condition of cold dual power also created an *opening* for the crystallization of an authentically revolutionary workers party which could reverse this process *from within*. As Trotskyists, therefore, we oriented toward the potential for development of a left opposition from among those Solidarity and Communist party militants who wanted a genuine

"socialist renewal" by seeking to recover the internationalist traditions of Lenin and Luxemburg, perverted in the service of the Stalinist bureaucrats. A revolutionary vanguard in Poland would seek to *split* Solidarity, winning the mass of the workers away from the anti-Soviet nationalist leadership around Walesa. It would put forward a program centering on strict separation of church and state, unconditional military defense of the Soviet bloc against capitalism-imperialism, and a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishment of a democratically elected workers government based on soviets to carry out socialist economic planning (including the collectivization of agriculture). Yet we fully recognized that this program goes very much against the stream in Poland today and that the dominant tendency was for Solidarity to consolidate around a counterrevolutionary course in the name of nation, church and "the free world."

Solidarity Calls for "Bourgeois-Democratic" Counterrevolution

For a year the Solidarity leadership stopped short of openly calling for the overthrow of the official "Communist" system (a bureaucratically ruled workers state) and its replacement by (bourgeois) "democracy" like in the West. Walesa in particular liked to posture as a simple trade unionist, as if Solidarity was the same as the AFL-CIO in the United States or the DGB in West Germany. But as the economy descended into chaos, everyone recognized that simple trade unionism was impossible. Industrial and agricultural production has collapsed, the stores are empty, people wait hours to buy food and other necessities. The head of Solidarity's Warsaw chapter likened the organization to a union of seamen aboard a sinking ship. The obvious helplessness of the Polish Stalinists and evident reluctance of the Kremlin to intervene militarily further emboldened Solidarity's so-called "militant" wing.

The organization made its first bid for power on the economic front. Last April Solidarity came out with a program for the abolition of centralized economic planning, the election of enterprise managers by the workers and enterprise autonomy on the basis of market composition. In the anarchic conditions of Poland such self-managed enterprises would quickly free themselves from all but nominal state control. If carried out, Solidarity's economic program would lead to immediate mass unemployment, facilitate imperialist economic penetration and greatly strengthen the forces pushing toward capitalist restoration. (For a fuller discussion of this, see "'Market Socialism' Is Anti-Socialist," *WV* No. 287, 14 August.) If the government does not agree to this program, Solidarity is threatening to conduct its own national referendum as the first step to taking over effective control of the economy.

But the actions of Solidarity's first congress go much further even than this.

Its open appeal for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc is both an arrogant provocation of Moscow and a declaration of ideological solidarity with Western imperialism. While the demand for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control is integral to the Trotskyist program for proletarian political revolution in the Stalinist-ruled Soviet bloc, the *slogan* of "free trade unions" has long since been associated with NATO imperialism. At the start of the Cold War the fanatically anti-Communist Meanyite bureaucracy set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in closest collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency. It is therefore quite fitting that accompanying Lane Kirkland to the Solidarity congress will be none other than Irving Brown, "Mr. AFL-CIA," whose disruption of the labor movement on behalf of U.S. imperialism spans three and a half decades. The Solidarity leadership is well aware of the anti-Communist meaning of the slogan, "free trade unions," as they have been dealing with the AFL-CIO tops for months.

Even more important than "free trade unions" in the ideological arsenal of imperialist anti-Sovietism is "democracy"—not workers democracy based on soviets as in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 but bourgeois parliamentary "democracy." Here also the Solidarity congress fully adhered to the "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution. The important Warsaw chapter put forward a motion calling for "free elections" to the Sejm, further stating that "the road to the nation's sovereignty is through democratic elections to representative bodies" (*New York Times*, 10 September). In the world of Solidarity everything, including democracy, is subordinate to Polish national sovereignty. (For a theoretical discussion of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in bureaucratically ruled workers states, see Shane Mage, "Pure Democracy" or Political Revolution in East Europe," *Spartacist* No. 30, Autumn 1980.)

Assuming the Warsaw regime was powerless to prevent it (as is probably the case) and that the Soviet army didn't intervene, what kind of government would emerge from free elections to a sovereign parliament in Poland today? A quarter to a third of the voters would be peasant smallholders, who will do what their local priest tells them to do. Their social attitude was summed up by British journalist Tim Garton Ash: "It is the conservative Catholic peasants of South-Eastern Poland who would overthrow communism at the drop of a Cardinal's hat" (*Spectator*, 14 February). Historically, Marxian socialism has been a powerful and at times dominant current within the Polish industrial proletariat. But 35 years of Stalinist bureaucratism has made much of the Polish working class sympathetic *at this time* to clerical-nationalism and pro-Western social democracy, while demoralizing the rest. The likely result of parliamentary democracy would be the victory of anti-Communist, nationalist forces seeking an alliance with NATO imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Such a government would mean the counterrevolution in power. In 1935 Trotsky observed that "the restoration to power of a Menshevik and Social Revolutionary bloc would suffice to obliterate the socialist construction" ("The Workers State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," *Writings [1934-35]*). And the parties that would win "free elections" in the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa are far to the right of the Russian Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. They would be closer to Pilsudskiite nationalism, hankering after the great Poland of the fascistic dictator of the interwar years.

And what would happen to any left opposition to such "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution? In his

report to the Solidarity congress the organization's secretary, Andrzej Celinski, declared that his Communist opponents "do not hesitate to enter the road of national treason" (UPI dispatch, 6 September). Given the mood of the delegates, the accusation of "national treason" is the most inflammatory political denunciation imaginable. As Solidarity moves to reassert national sovereignty, loyal members and supporters of the PUPW will become the victims of a white terror.

Fake-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel of the European-centered United Secretariat and Jack Barnes of the American Socialist Workers Party, tailing anti-Soviet social democracy, argue that Solidarity's leaders have not explicitly called for the restoration of capitalism. But they clearly have called for the overthrow of the existing state and its replacement by a clerical-nationalist regime with close ties to NATO imperialism. And this would not be a peaceful process but a bloody counterrevolution. Trotsky debunked the notion of a peaceful, gradual transformation from proletarian to bourgeois state power as running the film of reformism in reverse.

As for the resulting economic transformation, Trotsky also pointed out that "Should a bourgeois counter-revolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy" ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" *Writings [1937-38]*). State industry would be starved for new investment or even repairs, since this would divert resources from the rapidly growing private sector. At the same time, foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale. Walesa openly calls for joint enterprises with Western capitalists as the salvation of the Polish economy. Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off as a "necessary" rationalization measure. Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarity do not want this. But the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarity's program of "Western-style democracy."

Tell Me Who Your Friends Are...

While proclaiming the need for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc, Solidarity has conspicuously *not* solidarized with workers' struggles in *capitalist* countries. When Ronald Reagan fired 12,000 striking air controllers, the entire national union membership, practically every trade-union federation in the Western world protested. But not the Polish Solidarity! Solidarity spokesman Zygmunt Przetakiewicz attended the New York City Labor Day demonstration in the company of Albert Shanker. At a time when even the most right-wing AFL-CIO bureaucrats were denouncing Reagan's massive union busting and savage cuts in social welfare programs, the Solidarity spokesman maintained a careful neutrality in the conflict between the American working class and the most reactionary government in half a century. When asked what he thought of Reagan's policies, Przetakiewicz replied, "I would not like to be involved in this kind of thing" (*New York Times*, 8 September).

At the Labor Day demonstration Przetakiewicz announced Solidarity was opening its first foreign office in the New York headquarters of Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The UFT is hardly a typical American business union. It is the main organizational base for the Social Democrats, U.S.A., otherwise known as "State Department socialists." Shanker's Socialist Party (which in 1972 changed its name to avoid the stigma of socialism!) were hawks in the Vietnam War till the bitter end, even after Nixon/Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause.

The Social Democrats are despised by

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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mainstream liberals as crazed, anti-communist warmongers. In the film *Sleeper* by left-liberal humorist Woody Allen, the typical New York hero (or anti-hero) reawakens a few centuries in the future and learns that his civilization was wiped out in a nuclear war. He asks, how did this war begin? He's told: we really don't know, but we think a man by the name of Albert Shanker acquired the atomic bomb.

In the past decade the Social Democrats have developed the closest ties to the Meanyite machine which runs the national AFL-CIO. Kirkland/Shanker have done more than anyone else in the American labor movement to prepare the way for Reagan's massive arms buildup and anti-Soviet war drive. These two criminals are actively working for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Kirkland is a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, a right-wing militarist pressure group which attacked Carter for "selling out" to the Russians in the SALT negotiations. The first point in a recent resolution on global politics by the Social Democrats, U.S.A., states:

"The major priorities for the [Reagan] administration in the area of foreign policy should be:

"1) *Rebuilding American nuclear and conventional strength*: The correction of the imbalance, along the lines suggested by such responsible defense analysts as those associated with the Committee on the Present Danger, must be undertaken as rapidly as possible." [italics in original]

—"The Global Vision of Social Democracy," *New America*, January/February

There's a saying: tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are. Well, these are Solidarity's American friends.

Soviet Russia and the Counterrevolutionary Danger in Poland

Faced with the counterrevolutionary danger in Poland, the Kremlin Stalinists have gone beyond denunciations in *Pravda* to mobilizing the Soviet workers against Solidarity. Mass meetings in the giant Zil auto and truck factory in Moscow and similar plants in Leningrad and elsewhere were held to approve a public answer to Solidarity's appeal to Soviet workers:

"They ask us to renounce ourselves, the results of our work, of our struggle, to betray millions of people who fell in battles against imperialism, to betray our Communist future."

—*New York Times*, 12 September

These words and these meetings are not simply bureaucratic displays from above without support at the base. Doubtless the Kremlin Stalinists try to whip up Great Russian anti-Polish chauvinism. Furthermore, Soviet workers and collective farmers resent the fact that for years Moscow has subsidized the Polish economy, although the standard of living in Warsaw and Gdansk is far higher than in Moscow or Kiev. Even Western bourgeois journalists report that the Russian man-in-the-street has no sympathy for Solidarity and what it stands for. Why? It is not primarily chauvinism or economic resentment.

The fundamental reason is that the Soviet working masses want to defend the collectivized social system born in the October Revolution, despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration, against world imperialism. Unlike in Poland, where a deformed workers state was imposed from above by the Red Army, the Russian working class in 1917 took history into its own hands and will not lightly relinquish the social conquests of October. Moreover, Soviet working people keenly remember the 20 million lost fighting Hitler's Germany. 600,000 of these fell liberating Poland from the horror of the Nazi occupation. The Soviet working people know that

Protest Counterrevolutionary Polish Union Solidarność!

Down with the Solidarność—"AFL-CIA" Axis!

Demonstrate at the newly opened Solidarność U.S. office
at Albert Shanker's UFT headquarters:

260 Park Ave. South Thursday, September 24, 11 A.M.

the terrible nuclear arsenal of American imperialism, with the anti-Communist fanatics Reagan/Haig on the trigger finger, is aimed at them.

They fear the transformation of East Europe into imperialist-allied states extending NATO to their own border. The Kremlin bureaucrats cynically exploit this consciousness to rally support for their crushing of popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa is not the Czechoslovakia of Dubcek's "socialism with a human face." Now the counterrevolutionary danger is all too real. Any day Poland could explode into a 1921 Kronstadt-style counterrevolutionary rebellion on a massive scale.

But if Poland could become a giant Kronstadt, the bureaucratic regime of Brezhnev is separated by a political counterrevolution from the communist government of Lenin and Trotsky. As proletarian revolutionaries, it is not our task to advise the Kremlin Stalinists on how to deal with the counterrevolutionary situation in Poland for which they bear ultimate responsibility. They are not our saviours. We have no confidence the Russian Stalinists can or will defend the social gains of the October Revolution bureaucratically extended to Poland. In principle the Kremlin Stalinists are perfectly capable of selling Poland to the German bankers if they think they can preserve their own domestic power base. Remember the Stalin-Hitler pact. Ever since the Red Army drove out Hitler's forces at the end of World War II, the Western imperialist bourgeoisies have dreamed of "rolling back" the Soviets to the borders of the USSR (and beyond). However, given the implacable, insane hostility of the Reagan administration and the relative weight of American as against German imperialism, giving up Poland is not a very viable option for the Soviet bureaucracy today. This is especially the case as Poland lies across the main supply and communications routes between the Soviet Union and East Germany, the main state confronting Western imperialism.

Every class-conscious worker in the world, especially in the Soviet Union, Poland and the other East European countries, must understand that Solidarity is pursuing a straight-line policy threatening the gains of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the working class in history. Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! *If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this.* And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution.

What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no

doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the program and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today Trotskyists find themselves in such a position over Poland, and it is necessary to swim against a powerful current of counterrevolution.

But Soviet military intervention against Solidarity will have an entirely different character than its intervention against the Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, which opened the possibility of liberating the Afghan peoples from the wretched conditions of feudal and pre-feudal backwardness. There we said, "Hail Red Army!" In Poland it is the Stalinists themselves, through decades of capitulation to capitalist forces,



Counterrevolution is no joke. Polish university students wear "EA" ("anti-socialist element") T-shirts.

who have produced the counterrevolutionary crisis.

If a Trotskyist leadership had to intervene against counterrevolution in Poland today the conflict might be no less violent. But it would seek to mobilize those sections of the Polish working class which stand on the historic social gains of liberation of Poland from Nazi enslavement and capitalist exploitation, who hate the bureaucracy for undermining those gains, and who would fight together with the Soviet Army to defend the material foundations of a socialist future. The crimes of Stalinism, not the least the present counterrevolutionary situation in Poland, mandate proletarian political revolution in the Soviet bloc, and these workers could well be its conscious vanguard in Poland, tempered in part through a revolutionary mobilization to crush the reactionary forces of Solidarity.

The European bourgeoisies, no less than Reagan and Haig, are trying to convince the working masses to focus their fears on a supposed menace of "red imperialism." But this is starkly contrary to the facts. In Afghanistan the CIA is arming feudal tribesmen in an attempt to strike a blow at the southern border of the USSR, while Soviet troops act as social liberators. Vietnam is under constant menace of renewed attack from China, now overtly militarily allied with U.S. imperialism. And the

racist apartheid South African regime is increasingly becoming a central part of the "free world," acting as an American surrogate in attacking Angola with Israeli supplied weapons. Or that other showplace of the "free world," El Salvador, where American war materiel and Green Berets are supplying and maintaining a kill-crazed junta busy exterminating large sections of its own population.

Fake-Trotskyists and fatuous opportunists like Jack Barnes and Ernest Mandel (who hailed Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" as progressive even as the mullahs were slaughtering their followers) now claim a proletarian political revolution is going on in Poland and Solidarity is its instrument! On the contrary, Solidarity is the translucent Trojan Horse for Reagan/Haig's fanatical anti-Soviet war drive and what is going on in Poland is a pro-imperialist counterrevolutionary polarization. It is no accident that Solidarity has flourished under the gun of mounting anti-Soviet imperialist militarism of first Carter/Brzezinski and now Reagan/Haig, with their virulently anti-communist Polish pope in the Vatican. It is also no accident that in this period when defense of the Soviet Union is urgent, fake-Trotskyists led by Barnes/Mandel abandon all pretense of defense of the Soviet Union and embrace Solidarity.

The choices facing revolutionaries over Poland in the absence of a mass Trotskyist vanguard are not attractive even if they are clear. Abstentionism is

not a choice; it is backhanded support to counterrevolution. No less a danger is abandoning the perspective of struggle for the conscious factor in history, for the *international proletarian vanguard*, which leads either to a social-democratic accommodation with the bourgeoisie or accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy (à la Marcy who defended Stalinist intervention against a nascent workers political revolution in Hungary). Of course the present Polish situation could only have come to fruition in a political vacuum reflecting the destruction of the important tradition of international communism in Poland through savage persecution, both capitalist and Stalinist. That tradition will only be reformed in a reborn Fourth International by revolutionaries who defended the gains of October when the danger was near, the situation complex and the need for programmatic clarity and backbone urgent.

We warn the Polish workers and the world proletariat that under the banner of nation, church and "the free world," the Solidarity leadership is organizing a bloody capitalist counterrevolution. The creation of a "democratic" Poland subservient to Reagan/Haig on the Western border of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped before it is too late! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Time Runs Out in Poland

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

The massive strike in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. The Gdansk accords and the emergence of Solidarity (Solidarność), the mass workers organization which issued out of last year's general strike, produced a situation of cold dual power. This precarious condition could not last long, we wrote. And now time has run out.

With its first national congress in early September, decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution. The appeal for "free trade unions" within the Soviet bloc, long a fighting slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation of Moscow. Behind the call for "free elections" to the Sejm (parliament) stands the program of "Western-style democracy," that is, *capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government*. And now leading Polish "dissident" Jacek Kuron, an influential adviser of Solidarity, and a member of the Second International, has issued a call for a counterrevolutionary regime to take power.

To underscore their ties to the "free world," Solidarity's leaders have invited Lane Kirkland, the hard-line Cold Warrior who heads up the American AFL-CIO, to attend the second session of the congress scheduled for late September. This top labor lieutenant of U.S. imperialism, a man deeply involved in Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, has announced he will be there to wave the "free world" banner in Poland. Accompanying Kirkland is Irving Brown, the sinister AFL-CIO "European representative" whose "labor" cover is an invaluable part of his years-long role as top CIA provocateur against the European labor movement. In turn Solidarity is opening a U.S. office in the premises of teachers' union leader, Albert Shanker, a notorious right-wing social democrat whose party newspaper, *New America*, denounced George McGovern as little short of a "Commie dupe" and even condemned Nixon as soft on Russia!

Over and above the formal actions of the congress, the whole activity and spirit of Solidarity is that of an organization making a bid for power. A few weeks before the congress the top leader, Lech Walesa, told printers who were striking government newspapers:

"I believe that confrontation is unavoidable. The next confrontation will be a total confrontation...."

"We see more clearly that without political solutions nothing can be achieved. The whole war will be won by us."

—*Los Angeles Times*, 21 August

When asked what would happen if the Sejm refused to act on Solidarity's program for self-managed enterprises, Bogdan Lis, regarded as the organization's number two, replied smartly, "Maybe we'll dissolve it" (*New York Times*, 13 September). When the 900 delegates left the congress, they understood that the organization was moving to take over the basic economic and political aspects of Polish life. Now, writing in Solidarity's newsletter, *Niezależność*, Poland's most prominent social democrat, Jacek Kuron, has called for a new government based on a "council of national salvation" consisting of Solidarity, the Catholic church and "moderate" Communist officials. "The moment the council is formed, it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government," Kuron added (UPI dispatch, 16 September 1981).

The sophisticated representatives of Western imperialism, such as the *New York Times*, and apparently the Kremlin Stalinists as well, understand that Solidarity has now crossed the Rubicon. Top American officials have been quoted in European papers saying that Poland today is the most exciting and important opportunity for the West since 1945. And this is from an administration that begins to salivate as soon as it hears the word "rollback." Moscow has issued its strongest warning to date, demanding that the beleaguered Warsaw regime "immediately take the determined and radical steps in order to cut short the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda and actions hostile toward the Soviet Union." In response the Polish government has announced it is preparing drastic actions. Everyone thinks this means declaring a state of emergency and preventing the second part of Solidarity's congress.

Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course has also produced a powerful response from the anti-Moscow center, the Vatican. A week after the congress Pope Karol Wojtyla of Krakow issued his long-awaited encyclical on "the social question." This reaffirmed the church's traditional *defense of capitalist private property against socialism* and war against Marxism, while favoring unions as long as they are a "constructive factor of social order and solidarity." The Polish Conference of Bishops got the message and has thrown its support behind Solidarity's longstanding demand for greater access to the mass media. Does anyone doubt that "the new Poland" Solidarity's leaders say they are building conforms

Solidarity leaders bow to pope (above). With its first congress Solidarity crosses over to pro-imperialist counter-revolution.



Der Spiegel

to the guidelines set down by the Catholic church to which they all profess deep allegiance? The pope's encyclical (written in Polish) could well become the manifesto of a counterrevolutionary mobilization in Poland.

It is the most damning indictment of Stalinism that after three decades of so-called "socialism" a majority of the Polish working class is so fed up with it as to embrace the slogans of the Cold War. It is the Stalinists with their crushing censorship and endless falsifications, their corruption and gross economic mismanagement, their suppression of democratic rights always accompanied by cynical promises of "democratization" who have driven the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of the Vatican and "AFL-CIA."

It is also important to point out that a reported 15 to 20 percent of the Polish workers have *not* participated in Solidarity's mobilization, despite the enormous social pressure on them to do so. Most of these workers probably retain some loyalty to the communist cause and are hostile to the clerical-nationalism of Walesa & Co. But today such workers are clearly a minority and on the defensive as the Solidarity

leadership has the support of the active majority of the Polish proletariat. Thus, the threat of a counterrevolutionary thrust for power is now posed in Poland. That threat must be crushed at all costs and by any means necessary.

Solidarity Under the Eagle and Cross

It is sheer cynicism that Solidarity's leaders still claim to adhere to the 31 August 1980 Gdansk Agreement, which stated that the new union movement would recognize the "leading role" of the Communist party (Polish United Workers Party, PUWP), would respect Poland's international alliances (i.e., the Warsaw Pact) and would not engage in political activity. Of course, Walesa and his colleagues were strongly opposed to all these conditions but regarded them as tactical concessions for the moment. The notion that the new union movement would not be political was an absurdity. As we stated when the Gdansk Agreement was signed, either the new union movement would become a vehicle for clerical-nationalist reaction or it would have to oppose it in the name of socialist principle. There was and is

continued on page 10

25 SEPTEMBER 1981