

Toledo, Las Vegas, St. Croix, Arizona Mines— Class Battles Flare in Reagan's America

Make the Unions One Big Fist!

Break With the Democrats— Build a Workers Party!

Last year, profits of American businesses soared almost 40 percent, while wages for unionized workers went up only 2.6 percent. These were the absolute lowest labor settlements on record, for the first time even less than what non-unionized workers got. And when inflation is added in, it amounts to an actual wage cut. This was the balance sheet of the union misleaders' policy of "sharing the sacrifices" of the depression: the bosses get the money and the workers get the shaft. Now, however, there's an upturn and workers are ready to fight. With the greedy corporations still pushing for union-busting, a giant contradiction is created, rather like two locomotives heading toward each other on the same track. Even the *Wall Street Journal* is worried, saying 1984 will be a "year of reckoning."

The anti-Soviet war drive abroad means war against workers and the oppressed at home. From the MX missile to Cold War politics over the Olympics, Reagan is only implementing what Democrats Carter and Mondale initiated. And precisely because it is tied to the Democratic Party, the present trade-union bureaucracy, forged in the McCarthyite period, is utterly incapable of defending the workers and their allies



Philadelphia Teamsters came out to defend Greyhound workers against union-busting last winter. We say: No More Greyhounds or PATCOs!

from the domestic consequences of today's "Cold War II." Yet now is the time that resolute struggle could win some victories for working people, for a change.

When the economic crisis first hit, the companies turned to the labor "statesmen" who dutifully agreed to rip up their contracts, giving back one union

gain after another. Under Carter, in exchange for Congress bailing out Chrysler and a seat for himself on the board of directors, UAW leader Fraser stole \$5 billion from auto workers' pockets to put in the coffers of the Big 3. With labor caving in, Reagan went further and outright destroyed the PATCO union, summarily firing 10,000

air controllers. Not a peep from the Democrats: this was bipartisan union-busting. And the Machinists, Teamsters and pilots unions who could have shut down the airports didn't—including the IAM's Winpisinger, who calls himself a "seat-of-the-pants socialist," presumably because all he does is sit on his hands.

As recently as last December, Greyhound demanded and got a huge \$13,000-per-worker wage and benefits cut as transport union leaders threw in the towel after four weeks on strike. The company recruited hundreds of scabs and ran down strikers from Boston to Seattle, killing striker Ray Phillips in Ohio. A few weeks later there was another labor martyr on the West Coast, Greg Goochie, run over by a Union Oil scab. Meanwhile the cops are going at it hot and heavy: more than 700 unionists were arrested during the two-month Las Vegas hotel strike. And in the year-old Arizona copper strike against Phelps Dodge, the Democratic governor has twice mobilized the National Guard, tanks and all, against the strikers.

Labor is under the gun legally as well. The Reaganite NLRB and Supreme Court have issued a string of decisions allowing companies to set up non-union "runaway shops" at will, harass workers with impunity for union activity, and throw contracts out the window simply by filing for "reorganization" under the bankruptcy laws. Continental Airlines used this ploy to declare a 50 percent wage cut, provoke a strike and then fire the strikers. Now the company is suing

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Phelps Dodge Strikers Stand Off Cop Assault

It's War in Arizona Mining Town

Eyewitness Report

CLIFTON, Arizona, July 1—In a vicious, premeditated and organized assault, the Arizona "Department of Public Safety" (state police) turned this mining town into a war zone, brutally attacking copper strikers and their

supporters, including women and children, who were peacefully gathering after a labor rally yesterday. Tear gas canisters littered the area and wooden bullets flew as DPS cops pushed the demonstrators back from U.S. Highway 666; the miners responded by grabbing rocks and shouting angry curses at the forces of "law and order" who wantonly brutalized the participants at the rally. After the three-hour tear gas barrage, the state police pulled back and the

strikers took over the highway, erecting barricades of tires, debris and railroad ties which burned far into the night.

The June 30 protest marked the one-year anniversary of the bitter copper strike against the Phelps Dodge Corporation's attempt to ram through a sweeping "giveback" contract and bust the 13 copper unions at its mines and smelters in Morenci, Ajo and Douglas in Arizona and El Paso, Texas. Repeatedly

continued on page 4



Twenty strikers arrested in brutal cop attack.

Oppose Bosses' Control Over Union Dues!

Iowa City, Iowa
15 April 1984

Comrades,

In recent issues of *WV* you reported that the SL-supported caucus in the New York City transit union has come out against dues checkoff. In doing this they have come out in agreement with right-wing anti-union—the so-called right-to-work—forces. I belong to a union which made the transition from hand collection of dues to checkoff while I was a member, albeit many years ago. Therefore I am aware of the pros and cons of the discussion. The argument about having more steward contact has validity, but the point about giving management control of union funds does not strike me as valid. Granted on any given month they could, but then hand collection could be used, and the ranks roused to the attack on them. Once handed over, the funds are the union's. Hand collection reduces stewards to dues collectors in some cases, and creates alienation. The next logical step is to outlaw the union shop. Even if that isn't done, the financial base of a union, strike fund and all, will be seriously undermined. Dues checkoff is an often fought for aspect of union recognition, and in spite of some negative things, some of which you mentioned, it makes for a more stable union. I know that Marxists will sometimes find themselves with positions which are similar to the capitalist and petty-bourgeois right (gun control,

for example). When this happens we should double-check our reasons, and analyze theirs, but it does happen. While I realize that the call for or against a dues checkoff is a tactical question—you are certainly not coming out against workers' organizing—I think that the transit caucus has made a mistake in adopting this stand. It doesn't just attack the bureaucrats as intended, but would hurt the whole union and workers' organizing. It also leaves them open to believable charges of crawling in bed with the worst anti-union groups, real enemies of the working class. I hope that they will reconsider this position. Real working-class leaders don't have to be afraid to admit a mistake, and in the long run, if handled honestly, they will probably emerge the better for it.

In solidarity,
Loren Schutt

WV replies: We do indeed agree with the viewpoint of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, namely: "The dues checkoff makes our union leaders lazy and dependent on [New York transit boss] Kiley. Making the bosses our hankers means entrusting the dues structure to our enemy and ensuring we won't have it when we need it most. We must immediately institute a system of elected shop stewards responsible for dues collection!" (from CFTWU leaflet, "Stop Kiley's Union-Busting!", reprint in *WV* No. 350, 16 March).

Accepting "management control of union funds" assumes class peace in which the union does not fight management. It is worth noting that the dues checkoff was "won" by the Transport Workers Union tops in 1948 in the aftermath of passage of the witchhunting anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, and as part of the red purge in New York City transit. L.H. Whittemore's biography of Mike Quill, *The Man Who Ran the Subways* (New York, 1968), lays out starkly how this measure was proposed by the bosses in order to strengthen the TWU bureaucracy against the militants:

"Mayor O'Dwyer nodded his approval of this logic and inquired if Quill could use a dues checkoff by which the Board of Transportation would collect dues from employees' pay checks. This would be a way of obtaining solid rank-and-file support against the Reds at the convention later in the year. Mike simply replied, 'A checkoff wouldn't hurt.'"

"O.K., you've got it," returned O'Dwyer, and the shortest labor negotiation in history was finished."

The dues checkoff is an instrument of financial blackmail. This was demonstrated in the 1980 NYC transit strike when it was taken away from the TWU, thereby financially crippling the union in the very heat of battle. Of course, the union could and did organize hand collection, but to do this only in the middle of a strike was at the very least disruptive. The checkoff was later restored after six months for the bureaucrats' "cooperation over productivity," i.e., selling out work and safety standards. Dues collection by elected stewards serves to make the union leadership financially as well as politically accountable to the membership and prepares the union for combat.

Dues collection alienates a union

membership when they get nothing for their money except an overpaid labor bureaucracy who act as company agents. This is exacerbated when the bosses collect the dues for the bureaucrats. Of course, we defend the dues checkoff against anti-labor assaults like the Taylor Law penalties leveled against the TWU for the 1980 strike. In the aftermath of the sellout of that strike which left the membership paying massive fines, some TWU members refused to pay dues. We oppose such "dues protests" which only further cripple the union, and insist that members pay their dues while fighting for a class-struggle leadership that gives them something for their hard-earned money.

The dues checkoff is a classic example of the tendency for trade unions in the absence of a revolutionary leadership to turn into appendages of the bourgeois state, reflecting the sellout labor bureaucracy's desire to live in "harmony" with the class enemy. It is of a piece with the various "labor courts," boards and capitalist labor legislation generally, which these fakers always count on. And it is particularly true for the dues checkoff in NYC transit where the boss and union treasurer is the state itself. While favoring all legal proceedings defending the interests of the working class, we oppose all capitalist labor laws as instruments to subordinate the workers movement to the capitalist state. As Leon Trotsky emphasized in his 1940 notes, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," the primary slogan to turn the unions into instruments of class struggle is the "complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state." ■



TROTSKY

Forge a Class-Struggle Workers Party to Win!

Locked into class war with the bourgeoisie that is master of wealth and political power, workers need their own party to conquer state power and expropriate the bourgeoisie. Addressing this need, America's founding Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote regarding the turbulent struggles of the 1930s:



LENIN

Much has been said about the "backwardness" of the American working class as a justification for a pessimistic outlook, the postponement of the socialist revolution to a remote future, and withdrawal from the struggle. This is a very superficial view of the American workers and their prospects.

It is true that this class, in many respects the most advanced and progressive in the world, has not yet taken the road of independent political action on a mass scale. But this weakness can be swiftly overcome...

In one leap—in a brief decade—the American workers attained trade union consciousness on a higher plane and with mightier organizations than in any other advanced country. In the study and analysis of this great transformation, rather than in vapid ruminations over the "backwardness" of the American workers, one can find the key to prospective future developments. Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the American workers will advance beyond the limits of trade unionism and acquire political class consciousness and organization in a similar sweeping movement.

—James P. Cannon, "Theses on the American Revolution" (1946)

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Australasian Spartacist

Protest Hits Racist Murder of Australian Aborigine

SYDNEY, Australia—Over 50 demonstrators protested on June 1 against the Western Australia Supreme Court's outrageous acquittal of five cops who murdered John Pat, a 17-year-old black Aboriginal youth beaten and kicked to death last September in Roebourne. The protest, initiated by blacks in Wollongong and held jointly with the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, demanded "Avenge the Murder of John Pat!" and "Drop the Charges Against Roebourne Blacks!" An SL/ANZ spokesman stressed the need to link justice for the embattled and marginalised Aboriginal population to a fighting labour movement and a party to sweep away the racist ruling class which opposes Asian immigration and Aboriginal land rights, and called to "establish a planned economy throughout this whole region where blacks, Asians and white people can live together in security and dignity."

Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!

China Spearheads U.S. Aggression Against Vietnam

Thirty years after the historic victory over French colonialism at Dien Bien Phu, almost a decade after the CIA and U.S. ambassador ignominiously fled Saigon, the heroic Vietnamese people are still resisting imperialist-directed aggression. China's recent stepped-up artillery shelling and troop incursions along the northern border of Vietnam, timed to coincide with Reagan's visit to Peking in April, trace in blood the unholy alliance between U.S. imperialism and the Chinese Stalinists against the Soviet Union and its allies. "It's a way of celebrating Reagan's trip. They used to celebrate with firework displays," commented General Dam Quang Trung, Vietnamese army commander of Military Zone I where the Chinese attacks took place.

The Vietnamese report that Chinese artillery shelling has resulted in heavy civilian casualties and destruction of schools, factories and villages. Spreading the conflict along Vietnam's entire defensive perimeter, in May the Chinese extended mortar and artillery fire across their border with Laos, Thai army troops simultaneously crossed the northwestern Laotian/Thai border, raising the Thai flag over three villages and forcing the Laotian population to register with Thai authorities, a conscious provocation opening yet another front in this reactionary offensive. Most ominously, this coincided with large-scale joint U.S.-Thai military exercises in the region (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 June).

The battle-hardened Vietnamese remain confident of their capacity to repel the new Chinese attacks. As of mid-June they had retaken three of the six positions within Vietnam occupied recently by up to 20,000 Chinese troops. But the fighting continues and the threat of a full-scale Chinese invasion still looms. China's UN representative recently asserted its "right to teach Vietnam a second lesson," evoking Chinese rhetoric before the 1979 invasion. Should China invade in the service of U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union and its allies, all people everywhere must rally to Vietnam's defense.

The latest attacks by China and Thailand, while ostensibly aimed at getting Vietnam to abandon Kampuchea (Cambodia), are part of Reagan's provocative war drive against the USSR, Vietnam's main ally. The military and economic pressure on Vietnam is designed in part to drive a wedge between Hanoi and Moscow. But this strategem has not succeeded. Soviet aid to Vietnam, while inadequate, has been of vital importance, as our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand recently noted: "It is indeed fortunate that Vietnam's powerful Soviet ally has considerable sea and air power standing ready at the huge U.S.-built port at Cam Ranh Bay. In the midst of the Chinese shelling Hanoi underlined this point by publicly announcing Soviet commando manoeuvres and training on Vietnam's eastern seaboard" (*Australasian Spartacist*, May-June 1984). These maneuvers were reportedly designed to forestall a possible Chinese amphibious invasion launched from the island of Hai Nan opposite Vietnam.

Reagan's April trip to Peking was closely tied not only to the attacks on

Vietnam but to strengthening overall U.S./China military collaboration. The U.S. already has a super-secret electronic spy post in western China near the Soviet border, replacing listening posts lost in Iran after the fall of the Shah. Pentagon chief Weinberger's visit to China last fall was followed by sales to China of anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles, early warning radar and other weapons systems. Just before Reagan's visit, *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reported that Washington and Peking have been exchanging satellite

Pot's gruesome "Democratic Kampuchea." The Cambodian people have clearly welcomed the Vietnamese presence which has brought them food, schools, hospitals, libraries: physical survival and the beginnings of economic and social reconstruction. Even a former U.S. ambassador to Cambodia, Emory Swank, recognized that "the Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and

arms, consuming rather than producing. Given the devastation of continual war, it is a remarkable feat that last year Vietnam managed to achieve self-sufficiency in food production for the first time since the fall of Saigon.

Defend Vietnam Through Proletarian Internationalism!

Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution against U.S./Chinese aggression requires not only military capacity and resoluteness, of which the Vietnamese are past masters, but a *political* counterattack as well. A revolutionary internationalist government in Hanoi would appeal to Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers, and to the ranks and cadre of the Chinese Communist Party, to rebel against their rulers' obscene alliance with Reagan and the Pentagon. The danger of China's counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet aggression will not end until revolutionary Chinese workers drive the Maoist/Stalinist bureaucracy out of the Forbidden City, until the long-suppressed legacy of Chinese Trotskyism and the founders of Chinese Marxism is revived to guide the Chinese working class in struggle for the norms of authentic socialist internationalism.

Key to turning the Chinese masses against the Peking accomplices of U.S. imperialism must be exemplary defense of the rights of the once large ethnic Chinese (Hoa) community within Vietnam itself. This Chinese community, with a relatively high cultural level and potentially a valuable human resource for economic reconstruction, could have become a key transmission belt of internationalist values into China itself. Yet in recent years more than a quarter million Hoa—both the petty capitalist merchants of Cholon and the skilled artisans of the North—were forced to flee from Vietnam to China. The London *Sunday Times* (10 June) reports that during the recent fighting some of these ethnic Chinese refugees "were accused in Vietnam of being fifth-columnists."

Viewing the world through nationalist blinders, the Hanoi regime often focuses on China, more than U.S.

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Bowie/Time

Heroic Vietnamese soldiers defeated French and American imperialism, now resist U.S.-orchestrated attacks by China and Thailand.

reconnaissance information about the Soviet Union and Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. It also projected that "after the election" Reagan will probably give China AWACS spy planes and the U.S.' top-of-the-line fighter plane, the F-16A.

The alliance between Reagan's America and the Peking Stalinists is a terrible danger not only to the Soviet Union and Vietnam but also to the Chinese people themselves, to the social conquests of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution is inseparable from the military defense of the Soviet Union, which stands as the principal obstacle to imperialism's global ambitions.

Hail the Rebirth of Kampuchea!

According to the Vietnamese, China's latest attacks are the heaviest since its invasion five years ago. Shortly after Peking strongman Deng Xiaoping made his triumphalist tour of the United States, he vowed to teach Vietnam "a bloody lesson" for ousting the genocidal Pol Pot gang in neighboring Kampuchea, who killed an estimated *two and a half million* of their own people. Six hundred thousand Chinese troops (more than the U.S. or French had in Indochina at the height of their imperialist wars) crossed the northern border of Vietnam in 1979. After a month of fierce fighting the Vietnamese drove them back across the border with 20,000 casualties.

Ever since, China along with Thailand, likewise incited and armed by U.S. imperialism, has maintained constant military pressure and carried out frequent attacks on Vietnam. The diplomatic pretext for the Washington-orchestrated aggression is "self-determination" for "poor little Kampuchea." But Vietnam *saved* the Khmer people from the hell that was Pol

Pot's recovery" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March 1983).

It should also be recognized that the Vietnamese people are making great sacrifices to aid Kampuchea. Vietnam is a nation that has been at war for 40 years—against the Japanese, the French and then the Americans. Nor did the war end for the Vietnamese people with the fall of Saigon in 1975. There followed a bloody border war with the Pol Pot anti-Vietnamese chauvinists, the 1979 Chinese invasion and repeated attacks by China and Thailand since. Vietnam today is one of the poorest nations on earth, still ravaged by decades of imperialist mass destruction. To defend Indochina, half a million young Vietnamese must be kept under

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Clifton, Arizona, June 30—Thousand-strong march (left) to Highway 666 on one-year anniversary of bitter Phelps Dodge strike. After massive police assault strikers built barricades.

Phelps Dodge...

(continued from page 1)

besieged by the state police, with the town of Clifton (near the Morenci mine) twice occupied by the National Guard, the strikers face mass evictions and union decertification elections (in which the company wants only scabs to

have the right to vote). The 1,000-plus predominantly Mexican and Indian strikers holding out in the middle of the Arizona desert have increasingly become the focus of attention of class-conscious workers throughout the country. As we wrote in our last issue ("Class War in Arizona Copper Mines," *WV* No. 357, 22 June), "It's up to the workers movement throughout the country to hush the Phelps Dodge union-buster. We say: Labor—don't



WV Photos

handle scab copper! Union supporters must flood into the area to build and defend mass picket lines that *nobody* crosses. The Phelps Dodge strikers must not stand alone!"

The day had started with two separate rallies. The United Steelworkers (USWA), leading union in the strike coalition, called an "official" rally at Copper Verde Park up a two-mile road in the Clifton hills. This drew approximately 1,200 to 1,500 participants, including two busloads from Phoenix and Tucson. The "high" point was the appearance of retired USWA president I.W. Abel, architect of the steel union's treacherous "no-strike" pledge. A number of local strikers and their families went up the hill in the morning for a potluck lunch, then went down to join the second event, a march from the Clifton Social Club to the People's Clinic on Highway 666.

Earlier the DPS announced that the highway would be closed for two hours between 3 and 5 p.m. for the march, fearing that otherwise the march to the clinic might attempt to stop the scabs who must pass through Clifton on their way to the PD mine and smelter up the road in Morenci. Before the march, the crowd was addressed by People's Clinic head Dr. Jorge O'Leary who had come forward as a spokesman for the strike militants through the default of the official union leadership. Arriving at the clinic, the 1,000 marchers chanted "Union, Union!" and "Scabs Must Go!" After an abbreviated rally, a large portion returned to the social club while about 100 strikers and supporters remained at the clinic parking area. The strikers had put together a hand to provide entertainment and food was being served at a fish barbeque.

Suddenly, the cops who had been kept out of sight marched down Highway 666 in tight military formation, accompanied by a DPS bus to haul arrested strikers away. They announced the assembly was "unlawful" and must disperse, an announcement few strikers heard since the police were over 100 yards away, and could not be heard above the music. In less than two minutes, without giving the crowd time to move, the cops donned gas masks and laid down a tear gas barrage. The sound of canisters popping and helicopters whirring overhead eerily blended in with the sound of music from the band. Volley after volley of burning, choking gas moved the strikers back while the DPS moved into the clinic area. A tear gas canister was fired at point-blank range through the Clifton Liquor Store window. Inside, Alice Miller, pregnant and expecting any day, was tending the cash register; she was dragged out of the store and arrested.

Strikers were clubbed, choke-held and dragged away. Twenty were arrested. Police sharpshooters were stationed on a hill overlooking the highway. When the area was cleared, the DPS cops hurled the strikers' effigy of a scab. The cops' tear gas attacks came in three waves. There was pandemonium every-

where. The workers pulled back down the road and those up front fled into nearby houses. Strikers were evacuating grandmothers from adjacent houses hit by the attack. Children were wandering the streets covering their eyes and looking for their parents. A two-year-old child was gassed so badly she momentarily stopped breathing and had burn marks on her face. Mothers covered their faces and braved the tear gas to get the kids to safety. It was a battlefield—there were rocks, broken glass, debris strewn all over the highway. There was vomit on the road. But after retreating, people began to regroup.

The cops finally pulled back around dusk, covering their retreat with a cloud of noxious pepper gas. The outraged miners, having watched their children brutalized, stood off the cops by just taking it, over and over, essentially outlasting the repeated attacks. After each cop charge, the strikers came back, demarking their front line with crude barricades across the highway, using everything they could find. As dusk fell, five loads of tires were pulled in. And as soon as the barricades were built, they were lit. In addition to three workers' barricades on 666, the DPS set up a police blockade further down the road so that miners from out of town couldn't get into Clifton. By nightfall the town was sealed off as tight as a steel drum. Up at the mine, the handful of pickets allowed by a court injunction were driven off by Phelps Dodge management, emboldened by the DPS' naked terror. Ominously, one picket shack was burned, and another was bulldozed over the side of the cliff with company equipment.

The Morenci miners are caught between a rock and a hard place. In a desperate situation illusions in the supposed "neutrality" of the bourgeois state can grievously harm the strike. Last August there was the ten-day "cooling off" period decreed by Democratic governor Bruce Babbitt—which only served to undercut the mass picketing and allow the government time to call up the National Guard to protect the scabs. Today, the USWA local called a press conference, strongly denouncing the DPS for attacking strike supporters without reason or warning... while calling on Governor Babbitt to initiate an investigation. But the state is not neutral—it's the armed fist of the bosses. Supposed "friend of labor" Governor "Scabbitt" gave the miners Highway 666 for two hours and then launched a vicious DPS attack to take it back. The miners can only rely on their strength and that of the rest of the workers movement through mass mobilization of labor power.

The Morenci miners must not stand alone. And they face grave dangers as a result of a de facto split between the militant rank and file and a union leadership which has sought to run and hide at every opportunity. At today's press conference, in the face of violence baiting from the bourgeois press, Steelworkers officials denied the exis-

CLASS WAR IN ARIZONA: State police launch three-hour barrage of tear gas against strike supporters. Miners, their wives and children brutalized by phalanx of cops. There are no neutrals here!



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WORKERS VANGUARD

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NYC Labor Rally Calls for "Victory to Phelps Dodge Strikers!"

Chanting "No more PATCOs! No more Greyhounds! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!" more than 50 militant trade unionists demonstrated in front of Phelps Dodge Corporation's Park Avenue headquarters in New York City on June 28 in solidarity with the year-long walkout by the predominantly Chicano and Indian copper workers in Arizona. The demonstrators included New York-area unionists from the National Maritime Union (NMU), Transport Workers Union (TWU), Communications Workers of America, United Federation of Teachers, Carpenters, Plumbers, AFSCME, IBEW, UAW District 65, IATSE and a contingent from the International Association of Machinists on strike against El Al Airlines since March 15.

Messages of solidarity with the copper strikers were read from striking British coal miners, locked-out oil

workers in St. Croix, Virgin Islands, two Australian unions, French auto workers and the Partisan Defense Committee. A greeting to the New York rally from Dr. Jorge O'Leary, a leader of the copper strikers, was also read. Demonstrators carried signs reading "Victory to the Phelps Dodge workers—On the front line for all labor!" "There are no neutrals in the copper fields!" "The Wobblies played hardball! For mass pickets! Send the National Guard packing!" and "Down with Reagan and the Democrats! For a workers party!"

In calling for the demonstration, NMU member Gene Herson said real labor solidarity means "a nationwide labor boycott of all Phelps Dodge products: not an ingot should move by train or truck!" TWUer Ed Kartsen called on all NYC labor to come out: "It's a crucial battle for all working people." ■



WV Photo

"We Stand Shoulder to Shoulder with Arizona Miners!"

Statements of Solidarity

Phelps Dodge Strike Leader

Brothers and sisters, we the strikers against Phelps Dodge are one day from the anniversary of our struggle. We are isolated in the middle of the desert fighting with one of the biggest companies in our nation. We are delighted and happy that you brothers and sisters help us with your demonstration against Phelps Dodge in New York City. I hope that the company gets the message that we are not isolated anymore, and unions and the workers throughout our nation will support us like you are doing right now. We appreciate in the name of all the 13 unions against Phelps Dodge your big help. Thank you very much.

Dr. Jorge O'Leary,
Spokesman for Phelps Dodge strikers in Clifton/Morenci,
Organizer of the People's Clinic
(after being fired by Phelps Dodge-owned Morenci Hospital)

British Miners

Striking British miners send greetings to the copper miners of Phelps Dodge, Clifton, Arizona. The attack on the working class spreads right across the capitalist world and history demands that the working class of the world unite to end, once and for all, the rule of the profiteer. Victory to the British miners! Victory to the Arizona miners!

Jack Collins,
Secretary of Kent NUM

Australian Miners

The Miners Federation of Australia stands shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters involved in the Phelps Dodge dispute. We congratulate the strikers for their dedication to the cause of the working class and pledge our moral support to them in their struggle.

Yours in unity,
Barry Swan,
General Secretary of the
Australian Miners and
Shale Federation

Soviet News Agency Covers Solidarity Demo

We print below our translation of the account by the Soviet news agency TASS of the June 28 labor solidarity picket/rally in NYC.

NEW YORK, June 29 (TASS)—"Put an end to the tyranny of the bosses," "No to anti-labor power politics"—A picket demonstration with slogans such as these was held at the headquarters of the Phelps Dodge mining company. The participants, New York trade-union activists, strongly protested against the [Phelps Dodge] bosses' attempts to deal cruelly with striking copper mine workers in the state of Arizona.

Having already gone on for a year, the labor conflict has greatly sharpened recently. Unwilling to comply with the just demands of the miners to improve working conditions and raise wages, the Phelps Dodge management declared it would fire strikers and replace them with strikebreakers. As soon as the workers started picketing the mine's entrances, reinforced divisions of police and National Guard were deployed against them with tanks, armored carriers and other military equipment. Seeking to break the will of the strikers, the bosses have started to evict miners from their company-owned houses.

A speaker from the National

Maritime Union, G. Herson, angrily denounced these actions of the corporation and the government's collusion with them. Speaking to the demonstration here, he stated that the policy of making short work of the strikers—an act of gross tyranny—is one more example of the frontal attack on American labor. G. Herson called for U.S. trade unions to declare a boycott of Phelps Dodge to compel its owners to stop their outrages in Arizona.

The company's firing [of strikers] in order to suppress the miners strike stems directly from the anti-labor policies of the Reagan administration, declared Transport Workers Union activist E. Kartsen in an interview with the TASS correspondent. During the whole postwar period, he noted, there has not been a government in the U.S.A. that has taken such a cruel course in its policies toward labor. It is enough to remember the White House's violence against the air traffic controllers union [PATCO], the ban on the national railroad workers strike, and the many other anti-labor acts of Washington. All these facts dictate the necessity of ever tighter unity of the ranks of working America in order to give a rebuff to the Reagan administration, said E. Kartsen.

—M. Knyazkov

tence of a split. Good. At the same time, however, the unions have refused to defend the 20 militants arrested (just as they refused to defend those arrested in the cop riot against the Cinco de Mayo demonstration in May). This is a gross violation of basic trade-union principles: you don't turn your back on brothers and sisters under attack. An injury to one is an injury to all! All labor must demand: drop the charges against Mornci strikers!

The PD strikers are essentially leaderless. Militants correctly understood that the "official" rally was a diversion to keep people away from the road. But the aim is not to take on the DPS in a main force confrontation with no leadership and an unfavorable relationship of forces. It's to shut down Phelps Dodge's operations and keep the seahs out of the mines. It will take more than the efforts of a couple hundred isolated strikers, heroic as they have been, to win this strike. It is crucial to mobilize the organized and disciplined power of the unions, to bring to bear

their strength of numbers, which means a fight extending beyond the narrow walls of the Clifton canyons.

To get out of the present no-win situation, the burning necessity of the hour is to call out an industry-wide strike to shut down all Phelps Dodge operations and all copper production. This is not charity on the part of the U.S.W.A. Machinists and the rest of the affected unions. The other copper bosses are already demanding their contracts be reopened so the companies can force more takeaways down their workers' throats. If the Morenci miners lose, everyone loses. Transport unions must refuse to handle all PD goods. Railroad workers, truckers: hot cargo PD copper! And to insure an on-the-spot leadership that will fight, in order to mobilize the energies of all the strikers, and unite the members of the various unions affected, including co-ordinating with Ajo, Douglas and El Paso, the Phelps Dodge mine workers must form elected strike committees to hold the leaders responsible to the base.

Company officials and the state government would dearly love to see the militants isolated and label them "union renegades" and "outlaws," so that they can be mowed down in the streets of Clifton. And the union bureaucracy's inaction feeds right into this set-up. The union leaders have left the Phelps Dodge miners out there turning in the wind, and now many are angry and desperate. It's not the first time—PATCO and Greyhound strikers were abandoned, too, though any labor movement worth its salt could have won those battles by pulling out their big battalions (shut down the airports, national transport strike). The task facing the PD strikers, and the task facing their supporters in the labor movement throughout this country, is to take this from an isolated and valiant struggle in the wilds of Arizona copper country and turn it into a focal point for a national mobilization of union power and determination to resist strikebreaking and government-backed union-busting ordered by the top levels of

corporate America and their servants from the White House to the State House. This requires a political mobilization against the twin parties of capital, to break with the Democrats and fight for a workers party to bring Reagan down through mass strike action. Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers! ■

Spartacist Forum/Film Showing

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Film Showing: *Labor's Turning Point*, a documentary on the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike

Guest Speaker: Ed Kartsen, former candidate for president, Transport Workers Union Local 100

Friday, July 20, 7:30 p.m.
Machinists Hall, 7 E. 15th Street

For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY



no credit

After National Guardsmen (left) killed two strikers and wounded 25, massive explosion of city's labor movement and unemployed leagues forced withdrawal of the troops. Toledo Auto-Lite victory set stage for great CIO organizing drives of mid-late 1930s.



Wayne State Labor Archives

Auto-Lite Strikers Fought U.S. Troops and Won

The Battle of Toledo, 1934

On Monday, May 21 several thousand unionists fought a pitched battle outside the struck AP Parts plant in Toledo, Ohio, routing scabs, cops and goons. After a siege of 18 hours, the company was forced to withdraw the scabs trapped inside under armed guard. This was almost exactly 50 years ago to the day after another famous labor battle, in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934, when workers tenaciously fought the National Guard for over a week and finally won union recognition. Repeatedly during the depths of the depression auto workers in Detroit, Cleveland and throughout the industrial heartland of the Middle West had fought for unionization and lost. But by 1934 there were the beginnings of an

economic upturn and workers who had been wracked by the fear of mass unemployment took heart.

The success of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike was linked to the use of new techniques of militant labor struggle, in particular mass picketing and joining the unemployed with the employed workers. The old-line AFL craft union leaders had just about killed the strike with their legalistic submission to the capitalist state when militants organized in the Lucas County Unemployed League took it over. This group had been formed and led by followers of A.J. Muste, then setting up the American Workers Party. Although two of the leaders of the Unemployed League were arrested and tried for violating the

injunction forbidding mass picketing, they went straight from the courthouse back to the picket lines which soon began growing. Their letter to the judge proclaiming labor's inalienable right to organize, strike and picket effectively ranks as a historic document of the workers movement.

We print below excerpts from Art Preis' book *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972) on the Toledo Auto-Lite strike. This was one of three great labor battles of 1934—along with the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, led by the Trotskyists, and the Stalinist-led San Francisco dock strike—which paved the way for the foundation of the CIO two years hence and the birth of mass

industrial unionism in the United States. Significantly, all three strikes were led by avowed revolutionary socialists. As James P. Cannon noted in *The History of American Trotskyism*:

"The Mustes had led a great strike in Toledo. The Trotskyists had distinguished themselves in Minneapolis. Toledo and Minneapolis had become linked as twin symbols of the two highest points of proletarian militancy and conscious leadership.... It was obvious, by all the circumstances, that it was time to give the signal for the unification of these two forces. We returned from Minneapolis with this goal in view and moved decisively to the fusion of the Trotskyists and the American Workers Party, to the launching of a new party—the American section of the Fourth International."

Excerpted from Art Preis,
*Labor's Giant Step:
Twenty Years of the CIO*

Worst of all, the wave of strikes following the enactment of NRA in June 1933 was ending in a series of defeats. Where the union leaders themselves did not rush the workers back on the job without gains—not even union recognition, the strikes were smashed by court injunctions and armed violence. Behind the legal restraining orders and the shotguns, rifles and machine guns of police, deputies and National Guardsmen, the scabs and strikebreakers were being herded into struck plants almost at will.

It was at this stage, when strike after strike was being crushed, that the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company struggle blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of the American class struggle. The American workers were to be given an unforgettable lesson in how to confront all the agencies of the capitalist government—courts, labor boards and armed troops—and win.

Toledo, Ohio, an industrial city of about 275,000 population in 1934, is a glass and auto parts center. In June 1931, four Toledo banks had closed their doors. Some of the big local companies, including several suppliers to the auto industry, had secretly transferred their bank accounts to one big bank. These companies did not get caught in the crash.

But thousands of workers and small

business men did. They lost their lives' savings. One out of every three persons in Toledo was thrown on relief, standing in lines for food handouts at a central commissary. In 1933, the Unemployed League, led by followers of A.J. Muste, head of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (later the American Workers Party), had organized militant mass actions of the unemployed and won cash relief. The League made it a policy to call for unity of the unemployed and employed workers; it mobilized the unemployed not to scab, but to aid all strikes.

On February 23, 1934, the Toledo Auto-Lite workers, newly organized in AFL Federal Local 18384, went on strike. This was quickly ended by the AFL leaders with a truce agreement for negotiations through the Regional Labor Board of the National Labor Board, which had been set up under the NRA.

Refusing to be stalled further by the labor board or to submit to the special Auto Labor Board, which Roosevelt had set up in March to sidetrack pending auto strikes and which had upheld company unionism, the Auto-Lite workers went on the picket lines again on April 13.

The company followed the usual first gambit in such a contest. It went to a friendly judge and got him to issue an injunction limiting picketing. The strike had begun to die on its feet when a committee of Auto-Lite workers came to the Unemployed League and asked for aid....

By May 23, there were more than 10,000 on the picket lines. County deputies with tear gas guns were lined up on the plant roof. A strike picket, Miss Alma Hahn, had been struck on the head by a bolt hurled from a plant window and had been taken to the hospital. By the time 100 more cops arrived, the workers were tremendously incensed. Police began roughing up individual pickets pulled from the line. What happened when the cops tried to escort the scabs through the picket line at the shift-change was described by the Associated Press.

"Piles of bricks and stones were assembled at strategic places and a wagon load of bricks was trundled to a point near the factory to provide further ammunition for the strikers.... Suddenly a barrage of tear gas bombs was hurled from upper factory windows. At the same time, company employees armed with iron bars and clubs dragged a fire hose into the street and played water on the crowd. The strike sympathizers replied with bricks, as they choked from gas fumes and fell back."

But they retreated only to reform their ranks. The police charged and swung their clubs trying to clear a path for the scabs. The workers held their ground and fought back. Choked by the tear gas fired from inside the plant, it was the police who finally gave up the battle. Then the thousands of pickets laid siege to the plant, determined to maintain their picket line.

The workers improvised giant sling-shots from inner tubes. They hurled

whole bricks through the plant windows. The plant soon was without lights. The scabs cowered in the dark. The frightened deputies set up machine guns inside every entranceway. It was not until the arrival of 900 National Guardsmen, 15 hours later, that the scabs were finally released, looking a "sorry sight," as the press reported it.

Then followed one of the most amazing battles in U.S. labor history. "The Marines had landed" in the form of the National Guard but the situation was not "well in hand." With their bare fists and rocks, the workers fought a six-day pitched battle with the National Guard. They fought from rooftops, from behind billboards and came through alleys to flank the guardsmen. "The men in the mob shouted vile epithets at the troopers," complained the Associated Press, "and the women jeered them with suggestions that they 'go home to mama and their paper dolls'."

But the strikers and their thousands of sympathizers did more than shame the young National Guardsmen. They educated them and tried to win them over. Speakers stood on boxes in front of the troops and explained what the strike was about and the role the troops were playing as strikebreakers. World War I veterans put on their medals and spoke to the boys in uniform like "Dutch uncles." The women explained what the strike meant to their families. The press reported that some of the guardsmen just quit and went home.

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Unions...

(continued from page 1)

the pilots association under the "anti-racketeering" RICO conspiracy law, charging the union with "terrorism" and instigating "dozens of acts of violence." Such judicial frame-ups go hand in hand with the government's new "anti-terrorism" guidelines against the left. This is "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," and the gun is pointed at all of us.

Reagan's America is a catastrophe for blacks. Conditions in the ghettos are worse than in the Great Depression of the '30s: 45 percent official unemployment among black teenagers, nearly a majority of black men without a job. Infant mortality for blacks in the U.S. is now *double* the rate for whites and significantly higher than in Cuba. And the percentage of black families living below the federal government's pathetic poverty line is *triple* that for white families. Meanwhile, black workers (traditionally "last hired and first fired") have been hardest hit by mass layoffs in basic industry.

But with the economic "recovery" giving labor militancy a boost, America could be in for a labor explosion, and it could be coming this fall. "Restore and More in '84" has become a rallying cry for numerous auto locals whose contracts expire in September. (Negotiations "will be difficult because of our profitability," said a GM vice president.) Also coming up is the national coal contract, involving 150,000 UMW miners who have not forgotten the lessons of their heroic 110-day strike five years ago. But the labor fakers will do their best to head off this upsurge of union battles. "Not picket lines but voter lines" will be their tune as they try to "defeat Reaganism" by electing Democrats in November. Already the AFL-CIO is mobilizing to demonstrate outside the Democratic convention in San Francisco for "Fritz" Mondale (whose law firm represents Greyhound). And to avoid embarrassing the Democratic candidate, the bureaucrats will redouble their efforts to sell out labor and black struggle, openly sabotaging and even calling off strikes.

The bureaucrats, these fat cats and Democrats who run America's unions, have become, quite literally, company cops. Perennial AFL-CIO head George Meany boasted he'd never walked a picket line. Now the labor federation is headed by Lane Kirkland, a professional Cold Warrior (he sat on Rockefeller's CIA "oversight" commission) who was never a union member a day in his life until he became a bureaucrat. As for "bread-and-butter" unionist Jackie Presser, the Teamster chief whose combined salaries last year topped \$500,000, he turns out to have been an FBI informer for the last decade! Recently it has been revealed that Kirkland and several other labor leaders of the AFL-CIO (which in Latin America is known as the "AFL-CIA") are owners of a tobacco plantation in the Dominican Republic where wages are less than \$3 a day. Union leaders like this wouldn't know how to lead a militant strike struggle if their lives depended on it.

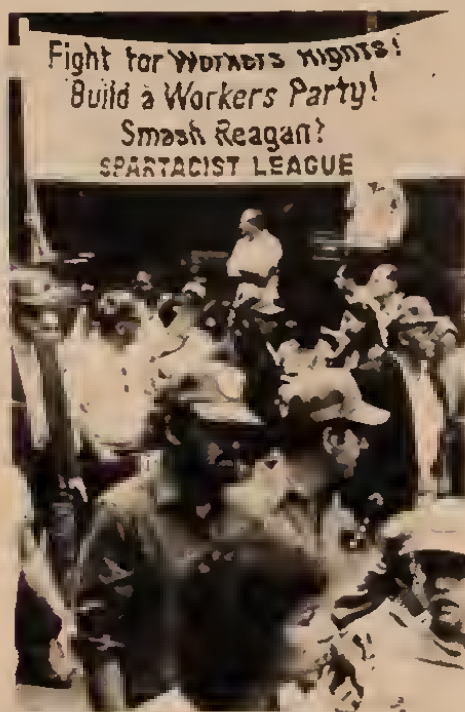
But labor *has* been fighting back, and is increasingly taking up the militant tactics which built the industrial unions in the U.S. The hundreds of arrests in Las Vegas resulted from the mass picketing of the gambling casinos and resort hotels. (The cops also tried to pin several bombings on union members.) In Toledo, Ohio a mass demonstration to support striking UAW members at the AP auto parts plant erupted on May 22. Seahs were penned in with the "Nuckols, Inc." rent-a-thugs while demonstrators battled cops outside and came within inches of a plant occupation when they tried to ram a car carrier through the gate. Both at Toledo and in Morenci, Arizona, where Phelps Dodge copper miners have been holding off the

combined forces of company, cops and courts for 12 months, strikers welcomed *Workers Vanguard* teams with our supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (over 100,000 distributed so far), with its call for some old-time class struggle.

From the Wobblies...

Our warm reception in Morenci was a kind of coming home. The *WV* "Hardball" article was a restatement and distillation of some crucial lessons of the class struggle first learned through blood, sweat and tears in the labor wars in the Rocky Mountains at the turn of the century. Transmitted by the revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) to the early Communist Party, they were passed on to us by ex-"Wobbly" and CP leader James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. Many of the fighting traditions and militant tactics which were decisive in founding the CIO during the 1930s go straight back to the titanic battles for the eight-hour day waged by the Western Federation of Miners (WFM).

During the Colorado strike struggles of 1903-04, in the mining camps of Leadville, Telluride and Cripple Creek, scores of men were killed, over 100 wounded, thousands arrested and imprisoned in "bullpens" (military concentration camps) and hundreds deported from the state in boxcars on the charge of being union men. Militia commander General Sherman Bell summed up his attitude toward the law in the remark, "Haheas corpus, hell! We'll give 'em post mortems!" A decade later at Ludlow, Colorado the scene was repeated as



Labor Day, 1981. When Reagan smashed PATCO, we answered: Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!

women and children were immolated in a National Guard attack. But the strikers, now organized in the United Mine Workers and inspired by Mother Jones, organized *armed pickets* to defend themselves from deputized gun thugs and vigilantes. Although the union was driven out at bayonet point, the miners were quickly learning the laws of the class struggle, many becoming socialists and revolutionaries.

In 1905 the WFM joined in the founding convention of the IWW. Miners Federation president Bill Haywood declared the goal to be "the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism." The Wobblies quickly fell under the control of syndicalists who blindly denied the need for political struggle. But despite their anti-political blinders, the IWWs knew they were fighting a revolutionary struggle. At the 1908 convention of the IWW, Lucy Parsons, widow of Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons, drew the lessons of the Colorado strikes:

"My conception of the strike of the future is not to strike and go out and starve, but to strike and remain in and take possession of the necessary prop-

After 1914 Ludlow, Colorado massacre, Rocky Mountain miners organized armed defense guards.



erty of production. If anyone is to starve...let it be the capitalist class."

This was the origin of the *sit-down strike* tactic which finally broke the back of General Motors in the great Flint strike of 1937.

The high point for the IWW was the Lawrence, Massachusetts textile strike of 1912, where the Wobblies led the first revolt of unskilled, overwhelmingly foreign-born factory workers. They won in Lawrence because they unleashed tremendous mass energy through *mass picketing* by 10,000 strikers, a sight never before seen in New England mill towns. Policy was decided not by a handful of bureaucrats but in *strike assemblies*. Big Bill Haywood got up in Lawrence Common to appeal for "*hot cargoing*" *scab goods*, as did the front page of the Wobblies' *Industrial Worker*:

"Boycott Lawrence! ... Railroad men, lose their cars for them! Telegraphers, lose their messages for them! Expressmen, lose their packages for them! Boycott Lawrence! Boycott it to the limit!"

The IWW's militant leadership and the strikers' determination finally turned the bosses' attempted wage cut into a wage raise and a labor victory that reverberated throughout the country. As historian Paul Brissenden wrote, "Lawrence was not an ordinary strike. It was a social revolution *in parvo* [in miniature]" (*The I.W.W.—A Study in American Syndicalism* [1919]).

The Wobblies were revolutionary unionists, who knew, as the Preamble to the IWW Constitution proclaimed, that "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," that "between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor..." While socialism had been proclaimed as a goal before, here it was directly connected to a struggle for power. This was brought to a head by the imperialist First World War, a global conflagration to divide up the world in the interests of profit. In 1916 the IWW adopted a resolution on the war modeled, as Haywood noted in his autobiography, on Lenin's resolutions calling for the workers to turn the imperialist war into civil war between labor and capital. And unlike the petty-bourgeois pacifists of the Socialist Party left wing, the IWWs did something to bring this about.

In order to ensure class peace on the home front, Democratic president Wilson created the War Labor Board composed of government, business and union representatives with power to settle all labor disputes. AFL chief Gompers made a no-strike pledge—class collaboration was institutionalized. To back it up, Congress passed the Espionage Act, directed not so much against German spies as against class-conscious workers. Undaunted, 14,000 copper miners in Butte, Montana struck under IWW leadership in June 1917 against war profiteering by the copper trust. Soon they were followed by 24,000 Arizona copper miners. The capitalists soon struck back. In Bisbee, Arizona vigilantes from a local "Loyalty League" rounded up 1,200 strikers,

dragging them out of their beds half-naked, herding them onto a cattle train and dumping them in the New Mexico desert where they were held for 36 hours without food or water before being beaten and sent to a federal stockade for three months without charges.

Back in Butte, the birthplace of the WFM and a hotbed of revolutionary union agitation, hired killers kidnapped IWW leader Frank Little, dragged him out of town and lynched him from a railroad trestle. This was followed by mass roundups of Wobblies throughout the West and eventually the mass trial of 101 IWW leaders in Chicago in 1918. At one time no less than 1,000 Wobblies were behind bars and hundreds deported. As in the case of Mooney and Billings, radical labor leaders in San Francisco framed up in 1916 for a bombing of a "preparedness" rally, patriotic war frenzy was the bosses' ideological weapon against the workers. It is the same today when everyone from striking airline pilots to socialists is labeled "terrorist" by a government that sponsors counterrevolutionary mercenaries from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, all in the service of the capitalist drive toward nuclear war against the USSR.

The Wobblies were very heroic and, by ordinary standards, not very successful. With a pretty small number of cadres even in their heyday, they were able to lead substantial forces in some hard-fought union struggles which however were mainly crushed by brutal repression. They turned their back on the far larger AFL unions rather than seeking to revolutionize them from within. But the IWW's understanding that the state is not a "neutral" agency of abstract "order" but an arm of the bosses' power was a crucial acquisition paving the way for the mass struggles which built the industrial unions in this country. The great battles of the 1930s won some real gains for the working people because class-struggle leaders and militant layers were not afraid to take on the state and thus to touch on questions of power. The success of militant and "illegal" tactics like sit-down strikes showed once again that even "reform" struggles need resolute revolutionary leadership; only fear that an aroused working class will not stop at "reforms" can force significant concessions from the capitalist bloodsuckers. In our *WV* "Hardball" supplement, the SL summed up a lesson from our revolutionary proletarian forebears:

"It's better to fight on your feet than die on your knees. To be sure, many strikes will be lost, even if they are hard fought, as at Stearns [Kentucky] or the 1937 Little Steel strike. But when an important strike is won, it dramatically alters the entire situation, as in the Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco general strikes of 1934—all led by reds, which set the stage for the rise of the CIO—and the 1937 Flint sit-down strike."

... to a Workers Party

The single most decisive event of 20th century history is the Russian October Revolution of 1917, when for the first time the working class took power and threw out the capitalists whose war for profits meant wholesale slaughter and misery for tens of millions. Immediately

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Black West Indian Workers Protest Yankee Slavemaster Hot Cargo Hess Oil!

CHRISTIANSTED, St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, June 30—Marching to the sound of Bob Marley's "Stand Up for Your Rights," some 300 black members and supporters of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8526 demonstrated in the streets here today to protest the continued racist, union-busting attack of oil baron Leon Hess. The protesters had been working brutal, 12-hour shifts and were already more than \$2 per hour behind their counterparts in low-wage, anti-union Mississippi. They were locked out of Hess' refinery on April 15 after rejecting an "offer" which would have gutted the union of its grievance procedure and seniority rights.

With a court-ordered \$500,000 per day fine against effective mass picketing, Hess is running the refinery, the world's largest, with fatigued inexperienced scabs, many of them whites who have been imported from the mainland. The result is a social and physical tinderbox which now jeopardizes virtually everyone on the island. But what is this to Leon Hess? For close to three

months, he has been trying to do with scabs what Reagan did with Marines in Grenada: make the Caribbean a bastion of naked colonial exploitation. As one worker commented today, "They are doing this to us only because we are black."

One of the speakers at today's rally was National Maritime Union member Gene Herson, an organizer of a May 7 solidarity rally in front of Hess world headquarters in New York. (The *St. Croix Avis* ran a front-page picture story on this demonstration on May 14.) Herson stated that Hess thinks that nobody will notice the "racist union-busting going on down here," but "labor is stronger than Hess." He called for mass picketing, a labor boycott of Hess products and for workers on the islands as well as on the mainland to "bring Hess down," to fight the Democratic and Republican politicians and the rest of the hesses' government with a workers party.

The struggle at Hess can have an impact far beyond St. Croix. Until recently, "bonded" black workers, little

more than indentured servants, were brought from throughout the West Indies to work for Hess. Today Hess is building an offshore terminal near St. Lucia, and workers at the St. Croix refinery come from Trinidad, Antigua, Barbados, Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean. Herson pointed out at today's rally that while people on some of the islands "have formally gained their freedom, they haven't received freedom's benefits just as American blacks have been deprived of the benefits due to them from the victory of the North in the Civil War." "It's time to finish the Civil War!" he added to rousing cheers.

USWA Local 8526 president Lonnie James told *WV* that the local has received telegrams of support from Britain: fraternal greetings from the striking National Union of Miners (Kent area) and a message from the National Union of Seamen. The seamen included a copy of the cable they sent to Hess which denounced the lockout and stated: "your activities owe more to colonialism than civilised behaviour in

second half of twentieth century." Solidarity messages have also come from the embattled copper workers in Arizona, a 13-union coalition including fellow USWA members on strike for one year, and from Chevron oil refinery workers in El Segundo, California.

The locked-out Hess workers have their backs to the wall—it is time to put solidarity sentiments into action. This means joint strike action with Hess workers at the USWA-represented refinery in Purvis, Mississippi and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-397 at the Hess installation in New Jersey where the contract expires on August 1. On June 12 a delegation of New York-area unionists supporting the St. Croix Hess strike visited the Local 8-397 executive board who voted to send a financial donation to their embattled fellow workers. But much more is needed.

There are 8,000 Steelworkers members in the Virgin Islands yet the International is not even observing elemental trade-union principles: USWA members from other locals are working every day in the refinery. This must be stopped! One sign at today's rally said "Warning: Scabbing can be dangerous to your health!" The Hess refinery in St. Croix must be shut down with mass pickets until the lockout is broken. All Hess refineries must be struck, now! Labor internationally must declare Hess oil too hot to handle and act accordingly. Teamsters, steel, oil and maritime workers—Hot cargo Hess! Victory to Local 8526! ■

Unions...

(continued from page 7)

the Soviet government withdrew from the imperialist war, appealing to the workers of all the belligerent countries to follow their example. When the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, founded the Communist International in 1919, the Industrial Workers of the World were specifically invited to join. The next year the Comintern renewed this offer:

"We address this letter to you, fellow workers of the I.W.W., in recognition of your long and heroic services in the class war....

"We appeal to you, as revolutionists, to rally to the Communist International, born in the dawn of the World Social Revolution.

"We call to you to take the place to which your courage and revolutionary experience entitles you, in the front ranks of the proletarian Red Army fighting under the banner of Communism."

—from John Gumb, *The Decline of the I.W.W.* (1932)

Haywood joined the Communist Party in 1921, and facing 20 years in jail he fled to Moscow where he died some years later. The remaining right-wing IWW leaders turned their backs on Communism and disappeared into oblivion as an anti-Soviet sect.

However, thousands of Wobblies went over to the Communists, among them Jim Cannon who became a top CP leader before being expelled as a Trotskyist in 1928. Cannon later wrote: "In truth, the IWW in its time of glory was neither a union nor a party in the full meaning of these terms, but something of both, with some parts missing. It was an uncompleted anticipation of a Bolshevik party, lacking its rounded-out theory, and a projection of the revolutionary industrial unions of the future, minus the necessary mass membership. It was the IWW" (*The First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962]). The IWW was what it was, but it wasn't enough to lead a proletarian revolution. That requires a fighting workers party, to prepare and lead the class war to victory for all the oppressed.

"Every class struggle is a political struggle," wrote Karl Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*. It was by using

their state power, by mobilizing the armed forces, that the capitalists crushed strikers from Cripple Creek to Patterson. It is no different today. The Wobbly miners didn't need to be told there's a class war going on—they could see it before their eyes. They needed to know how to win that war, and any strategy that rejects political action is doomed to failure. Writing to his friend Sorge living in America, Marx's great collaborator Frederick Engels insisted as early as 1886 that "the first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party." Yet here we are almost a century later, and alone among the advanced capitalist industrial countries, the U.S. still does not have a workers party, even of a reformist variety. Why?

Historically, the American ruling class has been able to divide the workers of this country along ethnic lines. Democratic Party "constituency" politics is the shell game that derives from those divisions. The bloody system of black chattel slavery was ended over a century ago but the capitalist system itself remains the obstacle to fulfilling the Civil War's promise of black emancipation and equality.

The Achilles' heel of this exploitative, racist system is the labor movement, which embodies the integration of black workers into the economy even as they remain forcibly socially segregated. The logic of every serious strike struggle impels both white and black workers to subordinate their prejudices and fears to the felt need for unity against the employer. Blacks now constitute 31 percent of the AFL-CIO membership and this statistic understates their real economic power. Detroit auto, Chicago steel, New York subways, East and Gulf Coast longshore—black workers have a strategic hold in these and other key sections of the economy.

Moreover, black workers are integrally tied to the ghetto poor whose liberation is manifestly impossible without the destruction of the capitalist system and a radical redistribution of social wealth. It is the strategic weight of black workers in an integrated labor movement which gives them the poten-

tial leverage to topple the entire rotten system. With the most to gain from shattering the status quo, black workers are the most alienated from "American dream" illusions and most open to the socialist program to break labor from the Democrats and build a revolutionary workers party. Black workers can spark and lead more backward white workers in battles against the rulers. That is the way forward.

But the labor bureaucrats, who tie the unions to the Democratic Party, stand in the way. By enforcing the limitation of workers' struggles to what the bosses say they can handle, the bureaucrats guarantee racial divisiveness as layers of the working people compete for a "share" of the crumbs from the capitalist table. Multiracial class unity presupposes a labor-led fight to defend particularly the most oppressed layers—minorities, women, immigrants, etc.—from the rapacious, sick system which is the enemy of all workers.

"Dump the bureaucrats—Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!" This is the call of the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. A lot of "ballot box socialists"—from the ex- and now openly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to the weirdo messengers of Qaddafi in the Workers League—call on the Meanys and Kirklands to form a reformist labor party. But following the tradition of the then-revolutionary SWP of the 1930s, the SL calls for a workers party in order to wage *class struggle, not class collaboration*. We are fighting for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeois parties and the bourgeois state. This includes using the arena of the capitalist elections, but the focus of the class struggle lies elsewhere. American working people, blacks, Latins and other oppressed minorities need a party to mobilize in the streets to *stop the fascist lynchers*, to fight for *labor boycott of U.S. arms* to Central America, South Africa and other bloody capitalist dictatorships. In short, we need a revolutionary workers party fighting to expropriate the Phelps Dodges and Rockefellers, the banks and their politicians, through a workers government.

When the SL initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington,

D.C. on 27 November 1982, we were taking on the responsibility of a revolutionary vanguard party. That anti-fascist victory was organized against Washington's black Democratic city administration and its allies in the reformist left, who all lined up with Reagan to permit the Klan's racist provocation that day. Instead, the 5,000-strong mobilization of predominantly black working people not only stopped the Klan's provocation in the nation's capital, but got a real taste of social power as they took the Klan's route, proclaiming their victory through the streets of this 70 percent black city.

Building a workers party means a fight to oust the present labor traitors and put in a class-struggle leadership that fights to win. The anti-communist bureaucrats—who always denounce militants as "outsiders"—are themselves a foreign body in the workers movement, who achieved their stranglehold over American labor during the Cold War "red" purges. Writing at the height of the McCarthyite repression, Cannon openly proclaimed: "The stage is being set for the transformation of the reformist unions into revolutionary unions, as they were projected by the IWW half a century ago." Union leaders that bow to strikebreaking injunctions, allowing scabs to cross picket lines and giving back gains won through years of hard struggle; job-trusting bureaucrats who promote racial discrimination, protectionism and racist exclusion of foreign-born workers—these misleaders are *losers*. Phelps Dodge miners, Toledo auto workers, Las Vegas strikers need their unions to build *mass picket lines* and *workers defense guards* to stop the scabherders; to *seize the factories*, so the bosses starve, not the workers; to *hot cargo scab goods* and unleash *solidarity strikes* against government strikebreaking.

We need a workers movement that fights—through mass militant industrial action and through independent political action—on behalf of the working class and all the oppressed. The program of the Spartacist League is to struggle within the unions for a new, revolutionary leadership to mobilize the workers and their allies in united struggle against the capitalist system. Bust Reagan and all the union-busters! ■

It's a dog's life for a black person in capitalist America. Four million out of nine million working-age black men are jobless. About another million have given up hope of finding work in this democracy-for-the-rich, and are not even counted in the statistics. Caught in the steel vise of Reagan reaction, wherein soup and ketchup are validated by the government as sufficient food diets, blacks know only social misery. Desperate, with nothing to lose, any alternative seems better than Poverty City, U.S.A. However, the Jesse Jackson campaign offers no road to survival, much less liberation for the oppressed masses in this racist capitalist system. His "freedom train" is designed to derail black struggle. As we wrote in our article, "Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats" (WV No. 344, 16 December 1983):

"Jackson is a shill in Walter Mondale's game. The way the scenario goes: Mondale gets the presidency, Jackson gets to strut around the Democratic convention talking in rhyme and soaking up the media, and the black masses get more of the same... shit."

Jackson also made a show of independence of the white ruling establishment. In a perverse way this was the basis for his association with the despicable and dangerous Black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan's threats to "annihilate" a black reporter for revealing Jackson's disgusting anti-Semitic remarks, the obscene reference to Hitler as a "great man," and most lately Farrakhan's calling Judaism a "gutter religion" were all fuel for the white racist politicians who demanded Jackson repudiate Farrakhan, and that Mondale repudiate Jackson. With the convention only weeks away, Jackson has now been forced to declare that these comments are "reprehensible" and that "I will not permit Minister Farrakhan's words, wittingly or unwittingly, to divide the Democratic Party" (New York Times, 29 June).

In contrast to the overwhelming majority of the American left, which is tailing after Jackson, the Spartacist League declared forthrightly that "as revolutionary integrationists, we are utterly opposed to Louis Farrakhan and everything this would-be Hitler of black people stands for" ("The Sinister Farrakhan," WV No. 355, 25 May). But Jackson's recent dramatic repudiation of his former "surrogate" Farrakhan has nothing to do with political principle. It was all right for this poisonous demagogue to praise Hitler, but caustic remarks about the state of Israel (most of which are true) and he's dumped! Jackson is simply moving to secure respectability as Mondale's man. And Mondale responded appreciatively: "I commend Reverend Jackson for making it clear that Mr. Farrakhan has no part in his campaign." So for J.J., it's "Bye-bye Louis X—Fritz, you're my main man now."

Nevertheless, various shades of reformist leftists are marching to the beat of Jackson, the capitalists' different drummer of 1984. "Jackson Movin' On Up" chimed a recent headline in the with-it rad-lib Guardian. "Make Way for the 'Jesse Express'!" was the line of Sam Marcy's *Workers World*. And the Communist Party paper *Daily World* summed it up succinctly: "Jesse Jackson, a Vital Force in the Anti-Reagan Front." Under pressure of the anti-Soviet war drive, the U.S. left has shifted rapidly to the right in the past period. Now support for the Jackson campaign is the reformists' back door into the Democratic Party.

Jackson has *always* made it clear where he was at. Back in April he vowed: "I am not going to tear up the Democratic Party.... To suggest I will be a problem is to underestimate my commitment and my intelligence" (*Wall Street Journal*, 24 April). Sure, Jackson is "committed" to the racist status quo and the party of George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace and Ku Klux Klansman Tom Meitzer which perpetuates it. And

Left Hustles for J.J. as... Jackson Hustles for Mondale

now the *New York Times* (22 June) fully confirms what we have said all along: "Today Mr. Jackson made it clear that he would support the Democratic Party nominee, whether it was Mr. Mondale or Mr. Hart. He said he considered both to be 'decent men' and that 'if one of them wins, I will support him'."

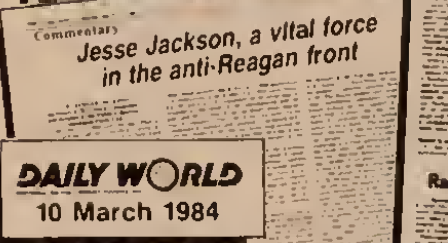
Caboose on the Jesse Express

Jackson's success in mobilizing blacks at the polls for the Democrats in

many new voters, conceivably enough to make the difference between defeat and victory for the Democrats in a tight presidential election."

This shrewd organ of British imperialism says what the reformists cannot admit: a man trading in dreams cannot produce. And they are a bit worried: "Mr Jackson's problem will be to reconcile the pride and admiration he has aroused among ordinary blacks with the degree of commitment to his cause he can reasonably expect from the

—28 March 1984



workers world
8 March 1984

Make way for the 'Jesse Express'!



Rainbow Support Coalition formed to aid Jackson



Reformist left press glorifies black front man for racist Democratic Party. Right: Jackson gladhands Dixiecrat George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.

the big cities of industrial states such as New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois is the kind of "success" black people don't need. A 23 June *New York Times* article quoted a leading Jackson strategist saying that "what is important to Jesse is something nonpolitical and intangible that you can't take to the bank." Jesse Jackson is selling dreams, and his personal PR men on the left admit it in their own way. The *Guardian* writes of Jackson's union-busting, anti-Semitism, black capitalism, racist protectionism, etc.: "His personal record leaves much to be desired...but that's not what matters." What does? "The call for a Rainbow Coalition is an ambitious effort to pull together the most progressive sectors of society." Yet Jackson's so-called Rainbow Coalition is nothing more than the old Rooseveltian deal which tied women, labor and minorities to the existing power structure through the Democratic Party.

Today Jackson's job is to rebuild a sector of this big business-sanctioned coalition and return blacks, who stayed away from the polls in record numbers in 1980, to the Democratic Party mainstream. And Jackson is doing a good job, as the British weekly *Economist* (7 April) notes:

"He has undoubtedly generated a surge of enthusiasm among blacks which has already resulted in the registration of

Democrat chosen to take on Mr Reagan. Some disappointment among blacks will be hard to avoid...."

The well-schooled reformists of the Communist Party say openly that the goal is to organize a class-collaborationist "all people's electoral front" which can "defeat Reagan and all the anti-labor, racist, anti-people Reaganites." And the CP youth press, the *Dynamic* (May 1984) urges that the "young people should bear in mind what the youth representatives of Mondale, Hart, Jackson, Glenn, Gus Hall and Angela Davis" said. "Of all the issues confronting the nation's young generation, defeating Reagan and even more so his policies is the issue." While running their own token Hall/Davis campaign, the CP makes it explicit that its real program is support to *any* Democrat against Reagan.

This is classic "lesser-evilism." But the Democrats are no "lesser evil"—they are the *main* way in which the working and oppressed masses are bound to their class enemy. Jackson is the "Black Elected Official" (BEO) writ large, trying to do on a national level what black mayors like Coleman Young did in 1980, when he crushed a strike by black sanitation workers in order to show to the Republican convention that "Detroit Loves a Good Party." Last fall, Jackson had his Chicago black capital-

ist outfit PUSH organize seah schools during the strike of the heavily black Chicago Teachers Union, a strike set off by hundreds of layoffs ordered by his ally, black Democratic mayor Harold Washington. Keeping the lid on the explosive black ghettos, policing the big city unions—the Democratic BEOs are the declared enemies of black struggle.

In the recent period the Marcyite Workers World Party has distinguished itself as the prime organizer of the anti-Reagan popular front. And of all the apologies for Jackson over his ties to Muslim demagogue Farrakhan, the most craven was written by Sam Marcy himself (*Workers World*, 17 May). Much of the article is given to proving that during the 1930s a substantial section of the American ruling class was sympathetic to Hitler. Very true. But what kind of "defense" of Farrakhan is it to argue that his views are no more reactionary than those of Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh or Father Coughlin? And what about Farrakhan's greatest crime? As Elijah Muhammad's chief lieutenant Louis X, he wanted Malcolm X killed. Today Farrakhan admits that his repeated death threats against Malcolm contributed to the climate in

which the assassination was carried out. But about *this* Sam Marcy says *not one word* in eight solid newspaper pages on the Farrakhan affair.

As the most fervent apologist for Jackson and Farrakhan on the left, Sam Marcy is now up shit's creek. In his 17 May article, Marcy insists again and again, in the strongest language, that Jackson *must* not break with or distance himself from Farrakhan:

"We say sharply and categorically that for Jackson to in any way repudiate or disassociate himself from Farrakhan would constitute a capitulation to the forces of racism and blatant political reaction."

Well, Sam, we are very much looking forward to the next *Workers World* in which you will, of course, denounce Jesse Jackson for capitulating to the forces of racism and reaction. (Don't hold your breath.)

In another article, *Workers World* (8 March) declared: "It is not the political program of the Jackson candidacy that we are concerned with but with the development of the movement as an independent social and political force. And we support it regardless of the program which he propounds." Meanwhile, the tiny more-Marcyite-than-Marcy Revolutionary Communist League-(Internationalist)[RCL-(I)] group in New Haven says they are

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Victim of Racist Protectionism

Avenge the Murder of Vincent Chin!

After two trials the racist murderers of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American draftsman, are still walking the streets of Detroit. On June 28 one of them, Michael Nitz, was found not guilty and the other, Ronald Ebens, was convicted of "interference with Chin's civil rights" (!), a sentence for which he could conceivably receive probation. He has been released on his own recognizance pending sentencing in mid-August. Yet this was a crime so inhuman that a federal prosecutor rightly called it "a modern day lynching" using "a baseball bat instead of a rope." Following the verdict Lily Chin, Vincent's mother, pounded her fists on the table and cried out the decision was "not justice." Blacks, Asians, trade unionists and all decent people must mobilize to have these racist murderers put away for life!

On the night of 19 June 1982 Ebens, a former Chrysler foreman, spotted Chin in a Highland Park nightclub where Vincent and his friends were celebrating his upcoming marriage. Apparently mistaking Chin for Japanese (or maybe he didn't care), Ebens came over to him and snorted, "It's because of mother-fuckers like you that we're out of work." Ebens and his stepson Nitz then started a fight and later chased Chin to a McDonald's on Woodward Avenue. While Nitz held Chin down, Ebens crushed his skull with a baseball bat. Four days later Chin died in the hospital.

But it is not just a couple of psychotic racists like Ebens and Nitz who are

guilty of killing the Chinese American draftsman. The auto bosses, United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy and Democratic politicians like Mondale and Jesse Jackson have all whipped up anti-Asian hysteria in campaigning for protectionism for the American auto industry. On the windows of the UAW headquarters in Detroit can be found signs such as "Hungry? Eat Your Foreign Car," and throughout the city bumper stickers read "Unemployment—Made in Japan." Anti-Asian hysteria is rampant in Detroit where over a third of the auto workers have lost their jobs in the past five years and where Japanese auto imports—almost a quarter of the market—are widely blamed. But it is not just Detroit. Last year from California to Houston there was a series of racist attacks on Asian Americans by whites resulting in the deaths of two teenagers and a ten-year-old.

The grisly Vincent Chin case shows the murderous logic of nationalist protectionism as well as the racist nature of American "justice." In their first trial early last year Ebens and Nitz pleaded guilty to the charges against them from second-degree murder to manslaughter. They were then given three years' probation and assessed \$3,800! The outraged protest by Detroit's small Asian community forced the federal government to stage a second trial for "conspiracy and interference with Chin's civil rights." Also the Chin atrocity and judicial whitewash was

Vincent Chin (left) beaten to death by racists a few days before he was to be married to Vikki Wong.

Chicago Tribune



getting unfavorable publicity internationally, especially in Asia. The recent trial drew reporters from Japan, Singapore and the People's Republic of China.

Racist atrocities like the murder of Vincent Chin are endemic to this decaying capitalist system. Whether it be Haitian refugees, Salvadorans fleeing death-squad terror or oppressed Asians, the American ruling class and its labor lieutenants blame the spreading social misery on "foreigners." Some black and Hispanic, as well as white, workers may believe that import protectionism will save their jobs or give them more

bargaining leverage. Don't buy this lie! Protectionism setting the proletariat of one country against their class brothers abroad paves the way for inter-imperialist war. The racist poison of "huy American" protectionism will hit blacks and Hispanics just as it killed Vincent Chin. The real killers of Vincent Chin are the enemies of all workers, the profit-hungry capitalists who drain the lifeblood of workers through speedup and forced overtime, and then throw them into the streets when they no longer need them. And they will be brought to justice in a workers' America. ■

Smash Zionist Scabherding!

Shut Down El Al Airlines!

The strike in New York by some 160 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) against El Al Airlines is well into its fourth month. This is no ordinary contract dispute. El Al is owned by the Israeli state and the Zionist bosses are backed to the hilt by the U.S. government at every level. The cops, the courts and even the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) are all out to bust Machinists Lodges 1894 and 2656.

Under the provisions of the strike-breaking Railway Labor Act, the IAM ground mechanics, cargo handlers, ticket and reservation staff and commissary workers were prevented from striking for nearly a year after their contract expired in April 1983. By the time a walkout was finally legal, on March 15 of this year, El Al was ready

El Al strikers face reactionary Washington/Jerusalem axis.



with 100 overseas scabs, brought into the U.S. under visas that supposedly make the performance of non-supervisory work illegal. The union immediately protested to the INS that this rule was being systematically violated but for six weeks nothing was done. Unlike black Haitians, Salvadorans terrorized by right-wing death squads or starving Mexicans, scabs get the red carpet from Uncle Sam. Especially scabs from Israel, the only country for which the U.S. recognizes dual citizenship. It all adds up to international, state-sponsored strikebreaking.

El Al is demanding a three-year wage freeze, compulsory overtime at reduced premiums, longer probation periods for new hires, reduced vacations, unrestricted use of part-timers and much more in a shopping list of dozens of takeaways. Offers of concessions by union bargain-

ers, such as a two-year wage freeze, were rejected by the airline. IAM unit chairman Gene Hoffman told WV that El Al has now stated that "even if we sign the agreement as is, they would take only 10 to 20 people back and the rest would be subject to recall as vacancies occur through attrition."

The El Al strike is in serious trouble. Seventy of the original IAM strikers are now scabbing and the company boasts, "We haven't had one cancellation, one delay." Labor solidarity has been almost nonexistent. Black skycaps initially refused to cross picket lines at JFK but gave in when their Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 1400 leaders wouldn't back them up. This action unfortunately amounts to more than the combined "efforts" of the rest of the New York City labor movement. Teamster truck drivers deliver freight and

TWU airlines division members are handling baggage and fuel.

IAM president William Winpisinger has appealed to Harry Van Arsdale of the New York Central Labor Council for "complete support and solidarity." Well and good, but where was Wimpy when the survival of an entire union was at stake and the urgent task was to shut down the airports in solidarity with the air traffic controllers strike in 1981? He was hiding behind a call for an impotent consumer boycott and PATCO was annihilated. The labor fakery who handed PATCO over to Reagan three years ago can be counted on to betray the El Al strikers today.

The El Al strikers were predominantly pro-Israel, demonstrating their loyalty to the Zionist state and its airline by working overtime without compensation to load arms into El Al cargo holds during Israel's wars of annexation. In a leaflet distributed to the overwhelmingly Jewish passengers on El Al, the strikers state "our strike is a struggle against the abuse of the very same values Israel stands for." But those values are exemplified by the massacres of Arabs in Shatila and Sabra, the reign of terror in the West Bank and Gaza and the super-exploitation of Palestinian labor. The other side of this virulent racialism is the "Labor"-Zionist myth designed to deny class struggle within the Hebrew-speaking population. The strikers' leaflet talks of an "Israeli tradition of labor fairness." Yet in Israel, the same border police who routinely terrorize Palestinians are used to bust El Al strikers' heads at Lod airport. And the Zionist press has typically denounced the El Al strikers in the U.S., the majority of whom are Jewish, as anti-Semitic and pro-PLO.

Like in any other strike, it will take old-fashioned class struggle to beat El Al. But 160 workers can't do it alone, especially against a boss which accurately brags of its "unlimited funds." The Teamsters and TWU must spearhead a labor boycott of El Al now. Victory to the El Al strikers! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

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Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
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Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Vietnam...

(continued from page 3)

imperialism, as its main enemy. In a rare interview, Premier Pham Van Dong in a muted way appeals to Washington to abandon its ties to Peking: "We must remember that the United States and China are not completely alike—they may sleep in the same bed but they have different dreams. One day the United States will realize that" (*Newsweek*, 14 May). Yes: the U.S. ruling class dreams of reconquering for capitalist exploitation Vietnam and China and the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the U.S. ruling class is determined to avenge itself on Vietnam for the most humiliating defeat of its entire history. To incite the American people, the Reagan gang keeps harping about soldiers missing in action supposedly still held in Vietnam and Laos. Both countries have repeatedly invited veterans and the families of MIAs to see for themselves and have explained they have located all the bodies they can in the dense jungles and mountains. Yet Reagan cynically continues to manipulate the agony of American families for his anti-Communist crusade. Similarly, the U.S. imperialists howl about alleged mistreatment of their former Saigon puppet officials in the re-education camps, but have refused repeated offers by Hanoi to ship them all to the U.S.

Vietnam's leaders have unfortunately sought to politically counter the Washington/Peking offensive by agitating for an anti-Chinese bloc among the various reactionary despots of Southeast Asia, with Australia playing the role of imperialist broker. In particular, the Hanoi regime has been wooing the bloody generals of Indonesia, who in 1965 annihilated the pro-Peking PKI (then the largest Communist Party in the world not holding state power) and also massacred much of the ethnic Chinese community. When earlier this year General Benny Murdani, commander of Indonesia's armed forces, paid a friendly visit to Hanoi, Pham Van Dong expressed his hopes of "continuous growth for the Indonesian armed forces" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 March).

Certainly the Vietnamese government has every right and reason to try to break out of diplomatic isolation and establish economic relations with even reactionary capitalist states. But Hanoi's search for "peaceful coexistence" and anti-Chinese "unity" with the likes of Suharto's Indonesia is diametrically counterposed to the vitally needed extension of revolutionary struggle throughout Southeast Asia. Proletarian political revolution to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies is necessary to put these victories fully at the service of the world revolution.

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was the crucial defeat which ended the "American century." It is, above all, fear of "another Vietnam" which today holds back U.S. imperialism from invading Central America to drown the revolutionary masses in blood. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world owe a special debt to the heroism of the Vietnamese people. The defense of the revolutionary victories in Indochina against vindictive U.S. imperialism and its accomplices remains an urgent task. ■

Toledo, 1934...

(continued from page 6)

Others voiced sympathy with the workers. (A year later, when Toledo unionists went to Defiance, Ohio, to aid the Pressed Steel Company strike, they found that eight per cent of the strikers had been National Guardsmen serving in uniform in the Auto-Lite strike. That was where they learned the lesson of unionism.)

On May 24, the guardsmen fired

point-blank into the Auto-Lite strikers ranks, killing two and wounding 25. But 6,000 workers returned at dusk to renew the battle. In the dark, they closed in on groups of guardsmen in the six-block martial law zone. The fury of the onslaught twice drove the troops back into the plant. At one stage, a group of troops threw their last tear gas and vomit gas bombs, then quickly picked up rocks to hurl at the strikers; the strikers recovered the last gas bombs thrown before they exploded, flinging them back at the troops.

On Friday, May 31, the troops were speedily ordered withdrawn from the strike area when the company agreed to keep the plant closed. This had not been the usual one-way battle with the workers getting shot down and unable to defend themselves. Scores of guardsmen had been sent to the hospitals. They had become demoralized. By June 1, 98 out of 99 AFL local unions had voted for a general strike.

A monster rally on the evening of June 1 mobilized some 40,000 workers in the Lucas County Courthouse Square. There, however, the AFL leaders, frightened by this tremendous popular uprising, were silent about the general strike and instead assured the workers that Roosevelt would aid them.

By June 4, with the whole community seething with anger, the company capitulated and signed a six-month contract, including a 5% wage increase with a 5% minimum above the auto industry code, naming Local 18384 as the exclusive bargaining agent in the struck plants. This was the first contract under the code that did not include "proportional representation" for company unions. The path was opened for organization of the entire automobile industry. With the Auto-Lite victory under their belts, the Toledo auto workers were to organize 19 plants before the year was out and, before another 12 months, were to lead the first successful strike in a GM plant, the real beginning of the conquest of General Motors. ■

Jackson...

(continued from page 9)

prepared to support Jesse Jackson, but only if his "movement" is big enough: "If 50,000 people came out into the streets in support of Jackson, even once in a single city, we would attach ten times more significance to that fact than to all the polls to date." So the RCL-(1) is waiting for Jackson to become a *bigger* betrayer! What classic examples of revisionist Eduard Bernstein's famous dictum, "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing."

What Jesse Jackson is all about was graphically shown on 14 May 1983, when he came down to Norfolk, Virginia. That day an overwhelmingly black crowd of 10,000, with a powerful black trade-union contingent, was marching in the streets to defend their school integration busing program. While showing up to grab media exposure, Jesse Jackson declared: "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost." Wherever black people are struggling, Jesse is trying to *head it off* and channel them back into the confines of the racist Democratic Party. Back in the 1960s, every black radical had Jesse's number, from the Black Panthers who called him "Jesse Jacknape Jackson" to black radical journalist Barbara Reynolds who wrote: "What they [the ruling class] needed was a Booker T. Washington in bell-bottoms... who could out rap H. Rap Brown, but someone with more orderly oratory who could lead the militants away from the onslaught of property to another front." That's Jesse today.

To turn back the attacks on democratic rights of blacks, to beat back the racist cutbacks (voted for by the Democratic Congress), to integrate the schools and achieve quality education

for ghetto children, to stop the resurgent Ku Klux Klan terrorists in their tracks requires labor/black mobilization in the streets, on the picket lines, on the battle lines of class struggle against *both* capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans. As Malcolm X said 20 years ago, "A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat." Build a workers party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution—this is the only way to break the chains of racist capitalist oppression. ■

Flag Down...

(continued from page 12)

Feinstein wants to make San Francisco safe for the neanderthal Strom Thurmond types and the current George Wallacites, her Dixiecrat brothers-in-arms who will soon be arriving for the Democratic National Convention. Now she hopes to bury the fact that she didn't get away with flying the Stars and Bars again.

The militants who toppled this pole deserve a medal. While rumors circulate that the Klan might try and march in this city, Feinstein showed her true stripes by hanging out the welcome mat, running this KKK flag back up the flagpole. It didn't work! Once again a blow has been struck for working and black people. Once again Civic Center Plaza has been restored to the side of the heroic Union Army that smashed the barbaric slavocracy. But once again the capitalist Democratic Party's actions in this city have demonstrated that the central task of the Civil War, black liberation, is far from completed. Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Forward to a Workers State! The Confederate flag is down and it will stay down! ■

Convention...

(continued from page 12)

least by the city administration of Dianne Feinstein, the ambitious, union-husting, Confederate-flag-waving Democratic mayor. Implementing Reagan's anti-"terrorism" campaign at the Convention constitutes an open invitation to the Ku Klux Klan/Nazi racist terrorists and incites cop violence and ultrarightist assault against protesters and against the Convention itself.

On June 25, the SF police department announced preparation of a detention center for hundreds, who will be arrested for "minor legal infractions" by "special arrest teams." The cops announced the purchase of hundreds of disposable handcuffs, towels and hygiene kits for 1,000, and 500 army cots for detainees. As a "security precaution," state delegations will be bused from hotels to the Convention site "with police escorts and sheriff's deputies riding 'shotgun' in the buses"; "secret contingency plans" to deal with purported terrorists have been devised. In furtherance of the war-crazy Reaganites' drive against "state-supported" (meaning Russian-supported) "terrorism," SF city administrators refused to grant press passes to the Soviet news agency TASS.

Speaking for ourselves, the Spartacist League has no intention of demonstrating at the Convention or even selling our newspaper there. As SL spokesman Al Nelson told the *Chronicle*:

"For our part, we think the Democratic Party convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people."

Nevertheless we emphatically uphold the right of those who do wish to demonstrate at the Democratic Convention to exercise that right without being subjected to police violence, "terrorism" smears or ultrarightist assault.

On 26 April 1984, the SL general counsel sent a letter to the Democratic National Committee protesting the lalse characterizations in the bourgeois press labeling the Spartacist League as violent and as intending to disrupt the Democratic Convention. The letter described these lying accusations as "a renewed governmental COINTELPRO-type effort." And a question was posed: "one wonders if an object of this provocative and false reportage is the Democratic National Convention itself?"

The hysterical and self-serving prophecy of violence at the Democratic Convention is a dangerous weapon against all critics of the Reagan administration, those within the Democratic Party as well as those outside it. Defining lawful political protest as support for "terrorism," Reagan demands "preventive or preemptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike" in the U.S. and abroad. Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio has called Reagan's anti-"terrorism" laws a "throwback to the McCarthy era" and "clearly unconstitutional." New FBI guidelines provide for investigation, harassment, infiltration, disruption, prosecution and incarceration of political opponents on the basis of their lawful political activity. The Spartacist League has filed suit against its inclusion under these new guidelines, in defense of the basic constitutional rights of free expression, association and assembly, as part of our fight against what we have called "McCarthyism with a drawn gun."

This new witchhunt has as its objective the mobilization of opinion behind the anti-Soviet war drive and the repression and destruction of all perceived political opponents. To this end Reagan in his April 5 news conference reiterated his lament that there was no formal declaration of war over Vietnam, thereby constraining the government from charging antiwar critics with "lending comfort and aid to the enemy"—i.e., with treason.

A fitting historical model for Reagan's exploitation of a "terror scare" to smash political opposition can be found in the 1933 Reichstag (German parliament) fire, which was probably set by the Nazis and then was exploited by them to repress political dissidence and consolidate the Third Reich.

The Democrats' embracing of Reagan's "terrorism" scare serves to intimidate, neutralize and discredit all opposition to the administration. The method of McCarthyism is all too familiar. Those anti-communist liberals who want their witchhunt and civil liberties too should know that the witchhunt doesn't stop with Marxists or black and labor activists. Indicative of the Cold War climate was Senate witchhunter John East's smear of Congressional critics of El Salvador's Roberto "Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson, terming their references to D'Aubuisson's well-known connection to the death squads "left-wing McCarthyism" and "Big Lie."

The beneficiary of this "fears of violence" campaign, which claims the intention of protecting the Democratic Convention, is going to be the Reagan administration—not those who claim to oppose Reagan's policies and certainly not those who defend the democratic rights of the American people. This campaign has already inspired the threat of right-wing provocation, with Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority announcing a "Family Forum" conference one week before the Convention and the KKK threatening to march during the Convention. Against the real instigators and perpetrators of political disruption and violence, against the Watergaters and Cold Warriors, against the witchhunters and their shock troops marching under the terror banners of the swastika and the Confederate slavery flag, the SL stands ready to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic National Convention and calls on the labor movement to do so as well. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Militants Bring Down Confederate Flag ...And the Flagpole

When San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein ordered the flying of the Confederacy's "Stars and Bars" on the same Civic Center flagpole where formerly the Confederate battle flag had flown she ought to have known this provocation would not go unanswered. In the early morning hours of June 29, militants took down not only the banner of slavery but the entire pole. We reprint below the Spartacist League press release issued that same day hailing these militants and their heroic act.

According to the San Francisco Chronicle (30 June), the mayor has promised to have the flagpole up and the "California Hundred" (flag of the volunteers who fought with the Union forces) flying by next week. Good. Of course this is what Feinstein promised to do after we twice tore down the Confederate flag in May. But the cutting down of the flagpole is a gauge of the

depth of anger among decent working people, black and white, in the Bay Area with Feinstein's racist arrogance. She ought to think twice before trying another double-cross.

Feinstein spokesmen claimed to the Chronicle that the Confederate flag was only flying because the California Hundred flag was temporarily unavailable! This is an outrageous lie. It doesn't take that long to make a flag, and more importantly there was an appropriate flag available—the replica of the Fort Sumter garrison flag, the historic symbol of Union victory over the Confederacy, which we donated to the city on May 29 when Richard Bradley placed it atop the flagpole. But Feinstein ordered the Fort Sumter flag taken down and destroyed and then ordered the racist Stars and Bars flown. Down with the flag of slavery and racist terror! Finish the Civil War!

Mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein has met her Vicksburg! Her attempt to restore the Confederate flag, the historic symbol of slavery and KKK racism, was foiled by heroic militants who toppled the entire flagpole and dropped the Confederate Stars and Bars into the dirt where it belongs in the early morning hours today. After pledging in April to outraged Bay Area citizens that she wouldn't fly the vicious flag of racist terror, the slavery-loving matron of

Tara ran up another Confederate flag, the Confederate National Flag, and in so doing spit in the face of every decent person in this city, and especially black people.

It was the Spartacist League that initiated the fight to remove this eyesore and incitement to race-terror from our city. Richard Bradley twice scaled the Civic Center flagpole to tear down the Confederate flag and made a third climb to install the historic and heroic Fort

Anti-racist militants torched metal flagpole on which "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein raised Confederate flag for the third time.



Sumter garrison flag. "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein tore that Union flag down and it was shredded. The Spartacist League has continually asserted its determination to rid this city, with its large union movement and minority population, of the Confederate flag. We hail the militant workers who have continued this struggle by toppling the flagpole.

The Dixiecrat Democratic Party, led in this city by Mayor and vice presidential hopeful Dianne Feinstein, has once

again demonstrated its determination to defend the racist status quo. By the time our photographer got out to Civic Center Plaza, work crews had already whisked away the fallen pole and a well-coordinated news media blackout is apparently under way. Where is the Confederate flag now, Mayor Feinstein? Which Union flag are you going to haul down to raise the racist Stars and Bars again? Why doesn't the Dixieland mayor tell us why she ran this symbol of black slavery and racist terror back up again? What happened to the pro-Union, anti-slavery California Hundred flag she announced would replace the despicable racist Confederate flag?

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Spartacists Offer to Defend Democrats' Rights

Are Cops, Reagan Planning Violence at Democratic Convention?

SL Statement

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2—A barrage of recent major newspaper articles, from the *San Francisco Chronicle* to the *New York Times*, is claiming that the upcoming Democratic Party National Convention is in danger of being disrupted by violence. The articles claim that unidentified "police sources" and the Democratic Party National Committee are worried about the possibility of supposed terroristic actions and

provocations against the police, intended to disrupt the Democratic Convention and prevent its nomination of a presidential candidate. Under the cover of this scare-mongering campaign the cops propose to themselves disrupt the convention, turning it into a militarized zone and unleashing their own real violence against the tame liberals and reformists who are expected to demonstrate in SF in conjunction with the Democrats' gathering. In response the Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, is today announcing our offer of a security team contribution of a dozen trade unionists and SL support-

ers to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic Convention. The SL also calls on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, ILWU and other labor organizations to organize an additional labor defense guard for the Convention. The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way helies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate.

The need for this labor defense squad does not arise from the estimated 30 liberal and left groups planning to protest administration policies, over

anything from gay rights to nuclear freeze to El Salvador to jobs. Equating these peaceful demonstrations with "terrorism" is a blatant example of Orwellian doublespeak which serves the forces of Reagan reaction. Police "concerns" about "violence" are a half attempt to exonerate themselves in advance for cop riots, to send a clear message of intimidation to the whole populace. Labor defense guards are necessitated by the embracing of the Reagan administration's anti-"terrorism" scare, if not by the Democratic National Committee itself, then at

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