

Spread the Eastern Strike — Shut Down the Airports!

MARCH 14—The battle lines have been drawn in the most important strike this country has seen in years. As midnight approached on Friday, March 3, pickets went up at airports across the country. The 9,300 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) finally had their chance to strike back at Eastern chief Frank Lorenzo, who has tried to destroy every union in his Texas Air empire.

At New York's La Guardia Airport, one striker declared: "The war started at 12:01 a.m." In Atlanta, Eastern's biggest hub, 1,500 Machinists, pilots and flight attendants chanted the countdown to midnight and began their picketing. At the airline's Miami base, IAM members massed outside the gate, chanting "Strike! Strike!" A contingent of Haitian refugees marched to the Miami IAM hall chanting "Hey, hey, Eastern—Lorenzo must go!"

The strike at Eastern is solid, as pilots and flight attendants stand side by side with Machinists on the picket lines. But this strike cannot be won at Eastern alone. Key to winning is the understanding that bowing to the bosses' injunctions and labor boards is slow death for the strike. But AFL-CIO president Kirkland and IAM president Winpisinger are down on their knees in front of the labor-hating judges, while workers across the country await the word to extend the strike! The stranglehold of the AFL-CIO tops must be broken.

Arrayed against the IAM is not only billionaire Lorenzo, but the whole machinery of the bosses' state—from George Bush, to Congress, to the courts and labor boards. Reagan crushed the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981; now Bush wants to begin his administration by inflicting a humiliating defeat on the labor movement.

Lorenzo has already filed for bankruptcy, opening the way to transfer Eastern's lucrative routes and planes to his non-union Continental operation or sell them to other airlines. The IAM tops' only answer is to line up with Eastern's creditors in bankruptcy court, where the judge can rip up union contracts at will to ensure Eastern's "survival." Airline workers have to ensure the survival of their jobs and union organization throughout the industry,

Rip Up the Injunctions!



Spink/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Atlanta: Machinists strike shuts down Eastern—the most important labor battle in the U.S. in years.

and that means using their economic power against all the airline bosses.

Millions of working people and minorities, the downtrodden and oppressed, look to the strikers to turn around years of givebacks and vicious attacks. The IAM and other Eastern unions must not be left to fight alone—this is a battle labor must not lose!

No more PATCOs! Spread the strike—starting with mass picketing at Continental! All airline unions must go out now—shut down the airports! For a national airline strike!

"They Want a War and They're Going to Get a War"

Eastern Airlines demanded the Machinists take up to a 56 percent wage cut,

and the arrogant Lorenzo was counting on pilots and flight attendants to scab—the way all too many airline strikes have been knifed in the back. Using the language the imperialist bullies normally reserve for Third World "terrorists," Bush's transportation secretary, Samuel Skinner, declared, "if labor wants, as is apparently the case, to hold the American economy hostage...rest assured that this administration will do its level best to ensure that this country never faces such a peril again" (Cable News Network, 3 March).

The capitalist press geared up for the showdown. The *Wall Street Journal* recalled the smashing of PATCO and gloated that strikes are at an all-time low. The *Atlanta Constitution* bragged

Lorenzo was "Dirty Harry with his pistol cocked," waiting for the IAM to "make his day." But this time the wage-cutting bastard ran into a solid front of unions at Eastern who know that if the IAM goes down to defeat, they're next.

The Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 553 executive board issued a call for all 5,900 Eastern flight attendants to stay out—"whether or not an actual picket line is up at your base." At the March 3 Local 553 meeting in Miami, an invited Continental flight attendant spoke powerfully to anyone thinking of crawling back to work:

"Crossing a picket line is not like calling home to tell your mom that you're going to have a baby. You do it alone, you sneak in, you don't call your friends. And in many areas you're alone for the rest of your life."

On March 3, the eve of the strike, Machinists were locked out at airports from Miami to Boston, as Eastern claimed there was a "plot" to deploy the emergency chutes on every plane on the ground. In Miami, home to half the Eastern IAM members, an army of company security guards and management ejected union members from the base. Meanwhile the bosses' state marshaled its forces behind Lorenzo: "The cops are scheduled for overtime. The tow trucks are waiting. The riot troops are on call" (*Miami Herald*, 2 March). Angry workers gathered at the IAM lodge, many dressed in black T-shirts with a skull-and-crossbones and the slogan "Scabs Will Pay."

Friday night, 3,000 Machinists and
continued on page 11

Airlines and American Capitalism



Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies

— SEE PAGE EIGHT —

PC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Defend Abortion Rights!

There's an all-out assault on abortion rights in this country, as the Operation Rescue hogs blockade clinics and terrorize patients and staff. These "Right to Lifers" are the biggest advocates of the Jim Crow death penalty and have been a spearhead of racist reaction in the Reagan years. Now these clinic bmb-ers and anti-woman creeps, with Bush's blessing, are bidding to have their reactionary agenda adopted by the Supreme Court, whose review of a Missouri anti-abortion law could lead to the overturn of the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationwide.

As defenders of abortion rights prepare to march in Washington on April 9, militants can draw inspiration from the 25-year history of Bill Baird, a pioneer in the struggle for abortion rights. Baird set up this country's first free birth control counseling and abortion clinic. His 1972 Supreme Court battle (*Baird v. Eisenstadt*) laid the constitutional foundation for the right to privacy on which *Roe v. Wade* is based. In a recent interview (*Women and Revolution* No. 36, Spring 1989) Baird said:

"When we won in 1973 I predicted that if we didn't fight back we would lose the abortion law.... For the next six or

seven years I alone stood outside every 'Right to Life' convention with a picket sign because I could see they were marshaling the troops for this counter-offensive.... We've allowed them to build this tremendous, monumental ground of support as moralists, when they really are thugs.... I'm asking people to become not a spectator to the cause of freedom, but a participant, and to realize that they can make a difference."

Ten years ago, Baird's Long Island clinic was burned to the ground by a reactionary religious nut. He has faced eight arrests, death threats and enormous court costs. Last month, the Partisan Defense Committee sent Baird a donation to assist him in defending his clinic. We urge you to send donations to: Parents' Aid Society, 131 Fulton Avenue, Suite 306, Hempstead, NY 11550.

* * *

Defend the Anti-Klan 3!

Chanting "UMass students, take a stand! Stop the thugs from the *Minuteman*!" up to 200 students demonstrated in front of the Student Union at Amherst on March 13. Fed up with being on the receiving end of harassment and assaults by a gang of racist, right-wing thugs grouped around the

Minuteman newspaper, the students came out to a speak-out organized by the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) to build support for the "Anti-Klan 3," victims of a violent rightist provocation.

On February 9 a dozen of the campus brownshirts violently attacked participants at an SYC video showing of the November 5 Philadelphia anti-Klan mobilization (see *WV* No. 472, 3 March). The "Minutemen" are pressing false and malicious charges of assault and battery, with penalties of up to ten years, against the three Spartacist supporters. The Anti-Klan 3 and others who defended the meeting have filed counter-charges against six of the "Minutemen."

The March 13 rally galvanized some of the many targeted by the "Minutemen" to take a united stand against them. Allan Dittmore of the Radical Student Union said: "These people have gotten away with too much for too long. They attacked the Spartacist video—I was there. They attacked people, pushed and shoved and tried to trap people in the room.... These people should be expelled and hopefully they will be." Owen Broadhurst of the Central America Solidarity Association told the rally: "They use violence against people. We know that they used violence against Ted Chambers when he was distributing the *Liberator* [a student publication that exposed the *Minuteman*'s links to Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi fascists]. They used death threats to get Jay Festa [a former student senator and ex-president of the Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Alliance] to resign."

Reggie Fouché, a black student senator, reported how the *Minuteman* crowd's candidate for senate denounced all Third World students as "garbage." Members of the black Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity joined the marshals squad defending the rally. About a dozen "Minutemen" waving American flags threatened protesters and tried to break up the rally but failed miserably. One black woman challenged them: "Where are your white sheets today?" The crowd roared its approval as some demonstrators torched copies of the *Minuteman*. One of the Anti-Klan 3, Tom Daley, concluded the rally by calling on everyone to "Pack the Northampton District Court on Thursday, March 23rd! That's when our case will be heard. These stormtroopers would like the court to declare open season against all of us: blacks, Hispanics, gays, socialists. Don't let them get away with it!"

Send letters demanding the dropping of charges against the Anti-Klan 3 to: Clerk of the Court, Northampton District Court, 15 Gothic St., Northampton, MA 01060. The Spartacus Youth Club has been "banned" from use of facilities in the UMass campus center. Send letters protesting the ban to: Office of the Chancellor, 374 Whitmore Building, UMass Amherst, MA 01003. Court battles are costly—send a check to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. For a subscription to the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* send a donation of \$5 or more (\$1 for a single copy) to the same address. ■



TROTSKY

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

On 8 March 1917, International Women's Day, a massive strike begun by women textile workers was the spark that ignited the Russian Revolution. The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 brought gains for women in all areas of public and private life—gains unheard of in the "advanced" countries under capitalist rule. For us today, as for Lenin's Bolsheviks, the fight for women's liberation is an integral part of the fight for proletarian revolution.

The Soviet government is the first and only government in the world to have completely abolished all the old, despicable bourgeois laws which placed women in a position of inferiority to men, which placed men in a privileged position, for example, in respect of marital rights and of children. The Soviet government, the government of the working people, is the first and only government in the world to have abolished all the privileges of men in property questions, privileges which the laws on marriage and the family in all bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, still preserve.

Wherever there are landowners, capitalists and merchants, women cannot be the equal of men even before the law.

Where there are no landowners, capitalists or merchants, and where the government of the working people is building a new life without these exploiters, men and women are equal before the law.

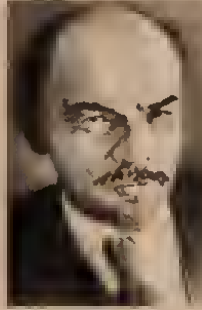
But that is not enough.

Equality before the law is not necessarily equality in fact.

We want the working woman to be the equal of the working man not only before the law but in actual fact. For this working women must take an increasing part in the administration of socialised enterprises and in the administration of the state....

The proletariat cannot achieve complete liberty until it has won complete liberty for women.

—V.I. Lenin, "To the Working Women" (February 1920)



LENIN

Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

America's only political prisoner on death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been denied his appeal to have his death sentence overturned by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Mumia's appeal had also demanded a new trial. The March 6 high court decision ignored a multitude of fair trial violations and refused to consider the political motivations which were central in prosecuting Mumia and getting him sentenced to death.

"As a former Black Panther Party spokesman and an outspoken MOVE supporter, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for over 20 years," said PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein in a press release. At the time of his arrest, Jamal was president of the Association of Black Journalists in Philadelphia. He earned the cops' undying hatred especially for his sympathetic interviews with imprisoned MOVE members after the 1978 cop siege. "It is this history which made him the target of a deadly state vendetta," Wolkenstein said.

Mumia was framed up in the killing of a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. At the 1982 sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued for the death sentence by claiming that Jamal's having been a member of the Black Panther Party showed he was a committed cop-killer. The jury was assured that the death penalty would never be carried out, that Jamal would have "appeal after appeal." For years the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had held in other cases that this obviously false argument mandated automatic reversal of the death sentence upon review. But in its March 6 decision the court ignored its own precedent in its push to silence Mumia by execution.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about. It exposes not only the arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but also the inherent racism of its applica-



Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980. no credit

tion. Mumia was targeted because of what he wrote and said, because of who he is: a radical black man who became known as "the voice of the voiceless." At his trial Mumia was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury of eleven whites, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding 12 prospective black jurors simply on the prosecution's request.

Jamal's appeal was supported by *amici curiae* (friends of the court) briefs from the ACLU and National Conference of Black Lawyers. Ron Dellums, now chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal" in a letter last November. Thousands of people around the nation have petitioned the governor to demand "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die," as part of a campaign initiated by the PDC. This campaign now takes on even greater urgency. Telegrams and letters should be sent now to the governor at: Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. For petitions and other information, please contact the PDC. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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17 March 1989

World War II and the "Proletarian Military Policy"

The Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S., published in February the second in its *Prometheus Research Series*, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'." This 101-page bulletin includes documentary material from World War II Trotskyist groups in the United States, Britain and France, as well as an introduction which is a major programmatic statement of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the international Spartacist tendency, "Trotskyist Policies on the Second Imperialist War—Then and In Hindsight."

The "Proletarian Military Policy" (PMP), a series of demands centering on the call for trade-union control of military training, was first raised by Leon Trotsky early in 1940 and adopted by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in a September 1940 resolution. The Spartacist tendency has long seen the "Proletarian Military Policy" as a major factor disorienting the Trotskyist movement in the early years of WW II. In "Genesis of Pabloism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972) and in more detail in a pedagogical article written around the same time in the youth press of the Spartacist League, "Proletarian Military Policy" (*Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter* No. 13, August-September 1972, reprinted in the new bulletin), we have argued that the demand for trade-union "control" of military training for the bourgeois army is at best utopian—and in the midst of an escalating inter-imperialist war it necessarily carries a social-patriotic thrust.

The PMP was in large part a misdirected attempt to take advantage of the anti-fascist sentiments of the proletarian masses in the Allied imperialist countries faced with invasion and occupation by Hitler's army. As such it carried a not-so-implicit Anglo-American bias (no one ever raised the demand for trade-union control of military training for Hitler's Wehrmacht) and it entailed a willful blindness to the racist inter-imperialist war in the Pacific. For the most part the PMP was shelved in practice by those sections of the Trotskyist movement that had adopted it (not coincidentally the British and American) when it became clear that Hitler's military power was waning in 1943. Since that point, the PMP has largely been a historical question for those claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, but the Spartacist tendency has always sought to

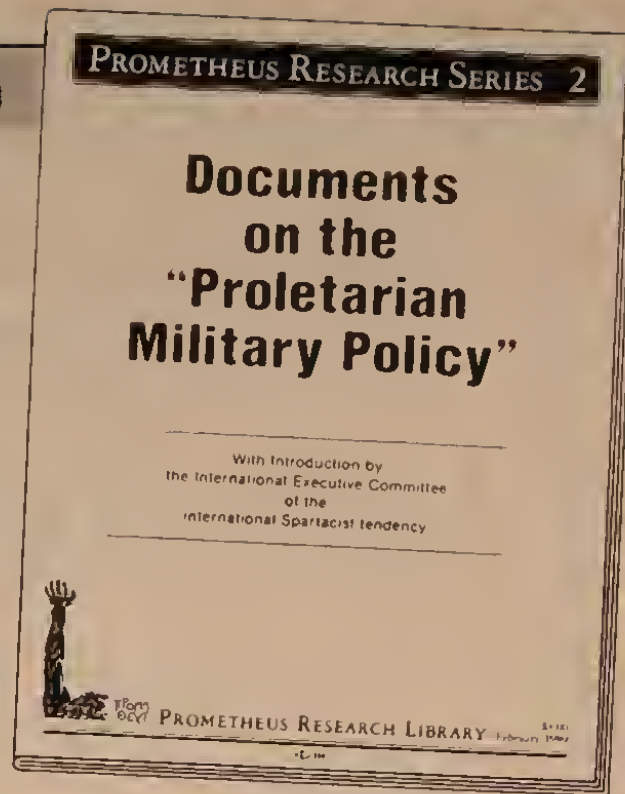
draw a balance sheet on the question in order that the theoretical unclarity which lay behind the adoption of the PMP by the revolutionary SWP of the 1940s not provide an opening for future programmatic departures.

An article by Pierre Broué in *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* No. 23 (September 1985), "Trotsky and the Trotskyists Confront World War Two," was the catalyst for the comrades of the IEC to review the question of the PMP. An IEC meeting in Paris in the fall of 1985 provided the occasion for a discussion on the subject of the Trotskyists during WW II. An account of that discussion by comrade Pierre Vert was published in *Spartacist* (English edition) No. 38-39, Summer 1986 (Vert's article is also included in the new bulletin). The IEC voted at its 1985 meeting to endorse Trotsky's 1934 manifesto, "War and the Fourth International."

Vert's *Spartacist* article noted that the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, published by the Institut Léon Trotsky—a group of intellectuals associated with Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI, formerly the OCI)—is "probably the most provocative publication in the world today for archival and historical research on the Trotskyist movement." Broué is in the process of editing a multi-volume French-language edition of Trotsky's *Oeuvres* (Works). A significant increase in the available documentary record of the Trotskyist movement resulted from the opening of the formerly closed section of the Trotsky archives at Harvard University in 1980, as well as the discovery in 1987 of substantial new Trotsky papers in the archives of Boris I. Nicolaevsky at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. This material, much of it not in Pathfinder's English-language *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series, has enriched not only the more recent volumes of the *Oeuvres*, but also the *Cahiers*, and provided a documentary basis for Broué's just-published (in France) biography of Trotsky.

Trotsky's essential writings on World War II and the PMP have, however, long been available in the Pathfinder series. In addition, the relevant articles and speeches by SWP leader James P. Cannon are also available (a bibliography of directly relevant works by Cannon and Trotsky is included in the bulletin). "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" adds to the currently in-print documentary record by reprint-

A selection of documents from World War II Trotskyist groups in the U.S., Britain and France.



ing not only the SWP's September 1940 Resolution, but also the sharp polemics of the (then) left-centrist Max Shachtman against it. The inexorable political logic of Shachtman's defection from the Fourth International at the war's outset, precipitated by his capitulation to petty-bourgeois anti-Communism in the wake of the Hitler-Stalin pact, took 18 years to fully play itself out. By 1951 Shachtman was advocating his own anti-Soviet version of the "Proletarian Military Policy"—the transformation of the Korean War into a "democratic" war against Stalinism! But in 1940 and 1941, Shachtman could still write an effective polemic against the revisionism on the nature of the state which was inherent in the PMP.

The Wartime Trotskyist Movement

The Fourth International was founded in 1938 in the shadow of the Munich crisis and in the midst of a Stalinist campaign of assassination which devastated the cadres of the Trotskyist administrative center in Europe. With the onset of the world war, international coordination and communication among the Trotskyist movement internationally became spotty to nonexistent. An emergency conference was held in New York in May 1940. It adopted a Manifesto on the war, written by Trotsky, which included the demand for trade-union control of military training. This section of the Manifesto provoked much controversy where it was received in Europe, and the Belgian section refused to include it when they published the Manifesto. The SWP's September Resolution was even more controversial, especially in Britain. "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" reprints three counterposed resolutions on the PMP from the fusion conference of British Trotskyists in March 1944, which resulted in the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party. In addition, the bulletin publishes English translations of two documents opposing the PMP from an April 1941 internal bulletin of the French Committees for the Fourth International.

Our bulletin introduction, "Trotskyist Policies on the Second World War—Then and In Hindsight," makes use of some of the wealth of documentary and memoir material from the wartime Trotskyist movement which has been published in the last decade in the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* and elsewhere. While the introduction to *Cahiers* No. 23 invited further contributions toward a continuing discussion on the subject of the Trotskyists in World War II, *Cahiers* No. 28 (December 1986) carried a statement by Broué which haughtily refused to reply to Pierre Vert's *Spartacist* article. (Broué objected to our observation that his central thesis—that the European Trotskyists failed by refusing to enter a "mass movement based on national and social resis-

tance," i.e., the Stalinist- and bourgeois-led Resistance—bears some relationship to the present-day reformist and liquidationist policies of the Lambert group.)

Recently the discussion on the Trotskyists in WW II has been continued in the pages of *Revolutionary History*, a collaborative multi-tendency archival journal published by Socialist Platform in Britain. *Revolutionary History* devoted its third issue (dated Autumn 1988) to the wartime Trotskyists, publishing an article by Sam Levy, entitled "The Proletarian Military Policy Revisited," as well as two valuable articles previously available only in French, one of them initially published in *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*. The forthcoming issue of *Revolutionary History* (No. 4) will include even more material, some of it never published before in any language. In particular the issue will contain an article on the Dutch Committee of Revolutionary Marxists (Wim Bot, "Generals Without Troops: Dutch Trotskyism During the Occupation") which our IEC found particularly useful in reviewing the work and perspectives of the small Trotskyist nuclei which functioned in Europe during the war. Our bulletin, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy,'" is dedicated to the memory of the wartime leader of the Dutch Trotskyists, Piet van 't Hart, and to those who fought alongside him during the German occupation of Holland.

War and Revolution

In its introduction, the IEC critically analyzes the fragmentary writings of Trotsky on the PMP, pointing out that Trotsky's use of the post-February 1917 Russian Bolshevik experience in elaborating the PMP was quite misleading. Proletarian "control" of any aspect of the bourgeois army is only possible as a brief episode in a revolutionary situation (e.g., Russia after the overthrow of the tsar). A situation of dual power did not exist in any imperialist country in 1940. When seen in the light of the earlier positions and work of the Trotskyist movement, in particular the seminal 1934 document "War and the Fourth International," the PMP represented a real, if ephemeral, programmatic departure. Unfortunately, the dispute was not resolved at the end of the war.

The IEC's introduction also points out that Trotsky was right to foresee that the war would bring in its wake a tremendous revolutionary wave, especially in the colonies, posing the possibility of proletarian seizures of power in a whole series of countries. If the Trotskyists were unable to put themselves at the head of the discontented and war-weary masses, this was due to the extreme weakness of their forces, and to the effectiveness of the imperialist countermeasures. At war's end, a combination of Stalinist betrayal and often savage bourgeois repression effectively strangled the possibility of proletarian

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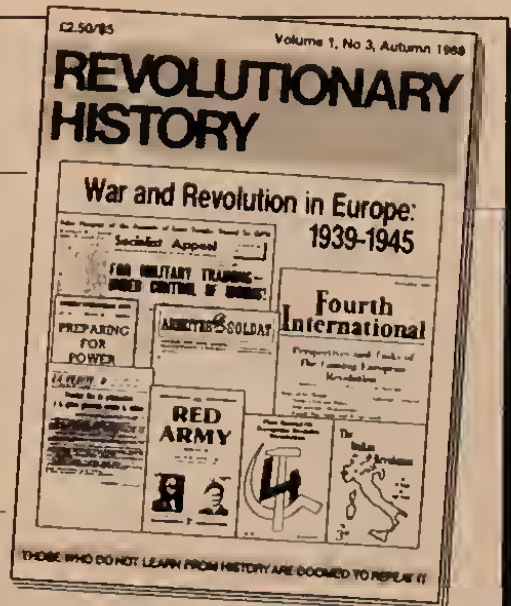
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Fascist Cancer in Gorbachev's Russia

When the nativist Russian fascists of Pamyat staged openly anti-Semitic demonstrations in the heart of Lenin-grad last summer, it sent shock waves throughout Soviet society (see "Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!" *WV* No. 461, 23 September 1988). Unchallenged by active mass opposition and protected by a section of the Soviet bureaucracy, Pamyat has grown ever bolder. It seized on the campaigning for the March 26 elections to the newly created Congress of People's Deputies as a springboard to flaunt its terror tactics and spew its violent anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism. Intended as a showcase of "democratization" under Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness), the election campaign has been marked by public nominating meetings which in many districts have turned into mass free-for-all debates lasting into the night. But not where Pamyat appeared.

Pamyat targeted Moscow's Sverdlovsk precinct, one of the most publicized campaigns in the country, where the nomination was being contested by Vitaly Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*, a flagship of Gorbachev's program of political and economic "restructuring" (*perestroika*). Pamyat succeeded in forcing Korotich off the ballot, and on February 19 in Moscow, hundreds turned out to a demonstration called by "informal patriotic organizations" to celebrate Pamyat's victory. One speaker wore a sweatshirt reading, "Down with the occupation by Jewish nationalists," and led the crowd in chants of "Hang Korotich! Hang Korotich!" "You can see the work of our hand," boasted a Pamyat member, ominously adding, "and you will see it more."

The residents of Sverdlovsk got a direct and frightening look at the work of Pamyat's hand. As some 700 people crowded into a Moscow auditorium on the night of January 9, they were confronted with a well-organized squad of more than 50 Pamyat thugs. People entering the meeting were told, "go back—we know your address," and threatened that if they voted for Korotich "they'd be in a bad way" (*Ogonyok*, 14 January). Inside the hall, Pamyat started screaming "Long live the Russian people" and "There's no room for the friends of Jews on Russian soil." Brandishing yellow Stars of David blackened over by crosses and a banner reading, "No trust in the leader of the yellow (Jewish) press," they yelled at the podium: "Korotich, you Jew, give back your silver coins."

Ogonyok quoted a horrified eyewitness: "Looking at the activity of the well-organized hooligans from the 'Pamyat' society, at how they shouted, whistled, stamped their feet, threw out foul words, offensive slogans, I automatically thought: what does this remind me of?" She answered herself by pointing to Hitler's 1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch: "That's how the thugs from the Munich beer halls got started." Korotich, who is not Jewish, later recalled: "I grew up in the Ukraine and I've seen Nazis in my life, and this was not much better."

That's what the "Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat" is: Russian Nazis! They agitate for an anti-Semitic

Final Solution; they strut around in black shirts and black jackboots; they hark back to the prerevolutionary Black Hundreds, pogromist gangs organized by the tsarist secret police to terrorize the Jewish ghettos. But their direct inspiration is more recent and even more murderous than that. These rabidly anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinists may be ambivalent about Hitler, because while they think Hitler did a good thing for Germany—by exterminating all the Jews—they hate the Germans as well. But they are nativ-

Pale of Settlement as they were under the tsars, but are an integral part of Soviet cultural, economic and political life (like Moshe Milshtein, a leader of Soviet army intelligence). There is a high rate of intermarriage between Jews and ethnic Russians, between Russians and non-Russian nationalities. Former Soviet leader and head of the KGB Yuri Andropov, for example, had a Jewish grandmother.

It is not insignificant that one of the best-selling books in the Soviet Union today is *Children of the Arbat*, a pow-

Jewish ghettos and workers' districts against the tsarist Black Hundreds prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, so today it is the multinational Soviet working people who have both the power and the vital interest to sweep away the Pamyat fascists. In particular, many of the tens of thousands of returned Soviet veterans who fought against reactionary cut-throats in Afghanistan believe they were carrying out their "internationalist duty" there, and can and must be mobilized against the Great Russian chauvinists of Pamyat.



Signs say "Pamyat will win," "Yes to nationalism and patriotism" and "No to rootless cosmopolitanism" (above). Pamyat fascists disrupt Moscow election meetings in January (right).

Victims of 1903 Kishinev massacre (below left)—Pamyat seeks to carry forward anti-Semitic terror of tsarist Black Hundreds. Another of Pamyat's forebears: Russian fascist general Vlasov collaborated with Nazi invaders (below right).



David Mowshowitch



World Publishing

ist Hitlerites on Russian soil, a spearhead of fascist counterrevolution within the Soviet degenerated workers state. Recently, war memorials in Murmansk have been defaced with swastikas, and Russian youth have been seen wearing swastikas. Pamyat führer Dmitri Vasiliev claims to have 20,000 members in Moscow and support in 30 other Russian cities. And they have been growing ominously.

However, the potential forces for crushing Pamyat are far greater. Despite decades of Stalinist nationalism, a deep reservoir of internationalism was inherent in the foundation of the Soviet state. Pamyat is a threat to all the non-Russian nationalities and to the very survival of the Soviet Union as a multinational state. Moscow and other major urban centers are deeply integrated; Jews today are not confined to the

erful novel attacking the Stalin era, written by the Jewish writer Anatoli Rybakov (though Rybakov's book is still outsold by several works by Russian nationalists). One of the principal motivations for the founding of the Federation of Socialist Clubs two years ago was, in fact, opposition to Pamyat. But Pamyat is not going to be stopped by an opposition confined simply to literary denunciations. In *Ogonyok's* account of the January 9 Pamyat attack, one V. Chernov expresses dismay that a small handful of *organized* fascists was permitted to break up and terrorize a meeting of *unorganized* hundreds.

The main force for crushing Pamyat does not lie with the Soviet intelligentsia, which has rallied in its bulk behind Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms." Just as it was the Marxist-led workers who successfully defended the

Amid the explosive rise of nationalist movements among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the most dangerous nationalism of all remains that of the dominant Russian people. In its repudiation of the Bolshevik program of international socialist revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy opened the door to all the old crap of the tsarist prison house of peoples, glorifying social backwardness and Great Russian chauvinism. If the working people of Russia take it upon themselves to wipe out the Russian Nazis it will send a message that would be heard from the Caucasus to the Baltic. *Soviet workers must act! Crush Pamyat!*

The "Memory" of Tsarist Pogromism

Yet these Nazis find protection under the wing of a section of the bureaucracy

opposed to Gorbachev's "reforms," while the Gorbachevites tolerate and amnesty Pamyat by denying it is fascist. When Pamyat marched through Moscow's Red Square two years ago and demanded a meeting with Korotich's ideological soulmate, then Moscow party head Boris Yeltsin, Yeltsin invited them in for a two-hour discussion and praised their "patriotism for our motherland." Today Yeltsin says: "Pamyat began as something interesting and then turned evil." Pamyat began by thinly covering its rabid anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinism with a veneer of "patriotic" concern with the preservation of old monuments and churches.

The Russian Orthodox church was the organizing center of pogroms and counterrevolution; this is the "memory" (*pamyat* in Russian) these fascists claim, and it is being officially encouraged. The *New York Times* (22 February) reported on a church "concert" in Moscow on February 16 "where more than 3,000 people celebrated God and pre-revolutionary Russia" and the most enthusiastic applause of the evening came when writer Konstantin Kovalev hailed the old anthem, "God Save the Tsar." The *Times* commented: "Under Mr. Gorbachev, the state has set out to win over at least some of the Russian patriots with greater religious freedom and promises to restore neglected Russian monuments..." Last April, Gorbachev met with the Russian Orthodox Holy Synod in Moscow, the first time a Soviet leader had met with the church hierarchy since Stalin in 1943! The government's official celebration in June of the church's 1,000th anniversary fueled Russian nationalist obscurantism.

The last decade has seen the sharp growth of a chauvinist "Russophile" movement shot through with anti-Semitism. Many writers associated with the "Village Prose" school, which idolizes the backwardness of Russian village life, push the traditional Black Hundreds line of "Beat the Yids!" They include prominent and best-selling writers like Valentin Rasputin, Vasily Belov and Viktor Astafyev (who rails against the "seething pus of Jewish super-intellectual arrogance"). A recent Pamyat manifesto claims support for *perestroika*, but "à la Rasputin," not "à la Korotich."

The conflicting currents which have emerged under *glasnost*, and now tear away within the Stalinist bureaucracy and Soviet society generally, were reflected in the two demonstrations which took place in Moscow on the anniversary of Stalin's death on March 5. While the semi-official Memorial society attracted thousands to a protest honoring the victims of Stalin's terror, Pamyat laid a wreath at Stalin's grave—and then rallied at a monument to the tsarist soldiers who "liberated" Bulgaria from Turkish rule in 1878. While Memorial raises funds to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's terror, Pamyat raises funds to erect a monument to Tsar Nicholas II. In a street encounter on March 5, a Pamyat supporter argued, "Russia has been in existence for at least a thousand years. We've never had a democracy before... we can only be strong if we have a strong leader. Democracy means disorder." A supporter of Memorial could only reply, "But America is strong and it is a democracy" (*Washington Post*, 6 March).

The intellectuals and technocrats who are the base for Gorbachev's *perestroika* seek to appease and emulate Western imperialism. Their opponents capitalize on popular disgust with the prospect of a return to pervasive profiteering and mass unemployment, to hark back to the days of "order" under Stalin and to a "Greater Russia" in which the Jews, Armenians and other non-Russian nationalities who are particularly prominent in Gorbachev's entourage "knew their place." Last November Moscow was the scene of a formerly unthinkable public symposium on Trotsky, where the relatives of

Bolshevik Revolution purged Russia of Black Hundreds reaction. Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918.



Old Bolsheviks like Joffe, Piatnitsky and Antonov-Ovseenko recalled the Stalin terror and the heroism of the Left Opposition. But the symposium itself became the scene of a gruesome display of Jew-baiting by Pamyat supporters who, as *Le Monde* (22 November 1988) reported, "wanted it known that this Trotsky was just one of those Jews who invented the revolution to kill Mother Russia." What is missing on all sides in the debates raging within the Soviet Union today is precisely the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, who swept away the dark oppression of the tsarist "fatherland" and its Orthodox church which Pamyat wants to reinstate.

Protectors at the Top

For the moment at least, Pamyat appeals to and serves the interests of those elements of the bureaucracy opposed to Gorbachev's liberalization and the "new permissiveness." It is an open secret that a section of the Leningrad party leadership promotes Pamyat, which first emerged in 1979 under the wing of the powerful Ministry of Aviation Industry and, according to the paper *Sobesednik*, numbers an army general among its members (*Washington Post*, 19 February). At the time of last summer's demonstrations in Leningrad "a mob of fascist thugs from the Pamyat society" was seen with a poster reading "Greetings to Nina Andreyeva! Hurrah!" (*Moscow News*, 11 September 1988). The "Nina Andreyeva letter," reputedly masterminded by Gorbachev's chief opponent in the leadership, the now demoted Yegor Ligachev, denounced the "excesses" of *glasnost* and particularly the attacks on Stalin.

Pamyat's vendetta against Korotich coincided with a campaign against him by anti-Gorbachev elements in the literary establishment. Korotich was subjected to vicious attack at a December meeting of the Russian Writers Union, headed by "conservatives" Sergei Mikhailkov and Yuri Bondarev. When

Ogonyok responded with an open letter accusing Bondarev of working against *perestroika*, Korotich's opponents, including Rasputin and film director Sergei Bondarchuk, got a broadside published on the back page of *Pravda* which warned: "History is being unprecedentedly distorted, social achievements of the people are being revised, and cultural values are being vulgarised..." (*London Guardian*, 19 January).

On January 23, the magazines *Moskva*, *Molodaya Gvardiya* and *Roman-Gazeta*, which pander to the crudest Russian nationalism, spon-

sored a meeting in Moscow which was effectively a rally against *Ogonyok*. According to an account in *Moscow News* (12 February) by liberal poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, "the hall was decorated with the slogan 'The Pamyat Movement Will Win' and a red banner on which the hammer and sickle was replaced with St. George the Victorious...[who] in the hands of the Black Hundreds was a symbol of pogroms." Another Pamyat banner read "No to Rootless Cosmopolitans"—evoking Stalin's anti-Semitic purges of the late '40s and early '50s. The deputy

editor of *Molodaya Gvardiya*, an official Komsomol (Communist Youth) publication, inflamed the crowd by reciting statistics on the preponderance of Jews in Soviet literature and education.

"I remembered," wrote Yevtushenko, a "gathering on Hitler's birthday a few years ago in Pushkin Square." In 1982, a handful of Russian Nazis showed up in Moscow's Pushkin Square to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday; they were immediately pounced on by hundreds of students and young sports fans. Yet while Yevtushenko denounces Pamyat

Gorbachev with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Pimen. Kremlin bureaucracy conciliates religious obscurantism for its own nationalist reasons.



sored a meeting in Moscow which was effectively a rally against *Ogonyok*. According to an account in *Moscow News* (12 February) by liberal poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, "the hall was decorated with the slogan 'The Pamyat Movement Will Win' and a red banner on which the hammer and sickle was replaced with St. George the Victorious...[who] in the hands of the Black Hundreds was a symbol of pogroms." Another Pamyat banner read "No to Rootless Cosmopolitans"—evoking Stalin's anti-Semitic purges of the late '40s and early '50s. The deputy

editor of *Molodaya Gvardiya*, an official Komsomol (Communist Youth) publication, inflamed the crowd by reciting statistics on the preponderance of Jews in Soviet literature and education.

Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!

What to do about Pamyat has become a burning issue. Last summer, *Izvestia* published and gave its support to an appeal by 59 Leningrad academics demanding the arrest of Pamyat's leaders. At the same time, *Moscow News* carried a denunciatory report of Pamyat's Leningrad rallies by writer Valery Voskoboynikov. Voskoboynikov and his family received a number of telephoned death threats, as the "Leningrad Council of the National Patriotic Front" distributed a hit list including his name, while other leaflets signed "Pamyat Fathers" called for the methods of "partisan war" against opponents. In response *Moscow News* (30 October 1988) called on the authorities to prosecute Pamyat for violating Soviet laws which ban racist agitation. After several months of "investigation," the Leningrad procurator (district attorney) exonerated the fascists of advocating violence and extremism. Pamyat's demonstrations had official permission from the highest Leningrad authorities in the first place and took

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Gorbachev in Estonia, 1987. Market-oriented perestroika intensifies national antagonisms within the Soviet Union.

Pamyat...

(continued from page 5)

place under the gaze of the police, who harassed or arrested only *anti-Pamyat* protesters.

Having experienced a taste of relatively open public debate in the last few years, many Soviet citizens are undoubtedly fearful that any action by the bureaucracy against Pamyat will be turned against them. A letter to *Moscow News* (13 November 1988) by Leningrad journalist Anna Osipova recognized that "if today Pamyat representatives are put away, tomorrow I may be put away." But Osipova took issue with editor Yegor Yakovlev, a leading Gorbachevite, for justifying official tolerance of Pamyat as part of *glasnost* and insisted, "Non-resistance to evil is the most fertile soil for it."

Under a healthy dictatorship of the proletariat, like the Bolshevik power under Lenin and Trotsky, the social conditions which generate the likes of Pamyat would not exist, and any fascist scum that did emerge would be immediately suppressed. But the Stalinist bureaucracy fears independent action by the proletariat far more than it does Pamyat. The nationalist bureaucracy cannot be entrusted with suppressing Pamyat, but massive and determined demonstrations by the Soviet working people can and must eliminate this

capitalist Democratic Party, that the racist American ruling class can be persuaded to "han the Klan." It was the Marxist Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, which initiated this successful united-front action—centered on the power of the working class—to *stop the Klan*, and revolutionaries were key to building it. The CP wanted nothing to do with it (though it subsequently participated in the PDC-initiated action against Klansman David Duke in Chicago).

For Leninist Internationalism!

With its embrace of the hoary traditions of Russian nationalism under the guise of building "socialism in one country" and its repudiation of Leninist internationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy at best politically disarms the Soviet masses in the face of nativist fascist reaction and at times dangerously overlaps with outright Great Russian reactionaries. In his murderous campaign to smash the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, Stalin regurgitated the anti-Semitic appeals of the counterrevolutionary White Guards, who painted Trotsky as the personification of "Jew-Bolshevism." Years later, in the aftermath of World War II, Stalin instigated several purges aimed at Jews under the guise of fighting "Zionism" and "cosmopolitanism." The last of these was the so-called "Doctors' Plot" purge, which was cut short by the tyrant's death in 1953.

Today Stalin-lovers and tsar-lovers find common cause in amnestying the Georgian-born "Great Russifier" by blaming all his crimes on one of Stalin's Jewish henchmen, Lazar Kaganovich. Similarly Pamyat steers clear of attacking the Russian Lenin (though Russian nationalist circles are apparently buzzing over whether Lenin was one-eighth Jewish), focusing on the "corrupt" Jews like Trotsky and Kamenev who surrounded him. Indeed, the CIA-funded journal *Glasnost* criticizes Pamyat for allowing its virulent anti-Semitism to stand in the way of more consistent anti-Communism. But Pamyat is hardly crypto-Stalinist; to it, Marxism at its root is a Jewish plot.

Stalin's glorification of counterrevolutionary chauvinism was carried to its logical conclusion by a minor Soviet diplomat named Butenko, who defected to Mussolini's fascist Italy in 1938, and subsequently by General Andrei Vlasov, a Soviet officer captured by the Germans who then organized an army of Russian "volunteers" to serve Hitler on the Eastern Front. But around the same time that Butenko broke from the bureaucracy in the direction of fascism, Ignace Reiss, a heroic Soviet military intelligence officer, broke in the direction of Bolshevism, publicly declaring himself for the Fourth International. Reiss was shortly thereafter abducted and murdered by Stalin's assassins. Trotsky pointed to the "faction of Butenko" and the "faction of Reiss" as graphic evidence of the dual character of the nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet workers through a political counterrevolution in 1924 and has since rested parasitically atop the collectivist foundations of the workers state created by the October Revolution.

While a Reiss faction has yet to emerge in the Soviet Union, the outlines of a counterrevolutionary Butenko faction are beginning to take shape. Alongside of the rise of the latter-day Vlasovites of Pamyat, Gorbachev's *perestroika* has brought to the surface the worst anti-social scum. The proliferation of privately owned "cooperative" stores and restaurants has led to a sharp rise (or at least a more public emergence) of financial speculation and organized criminal activity, including shakedown rackets. The paper *Moskovskiy Komsomolets* recently ran an



Lenin and Trotsky's Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

exposé on the spread of organized crime among young people, reporting how "In every high school... there are teen-aged mobsters selling pornography, radios, video recorders, cassette tapes, clothes and cosmetics" (*Washington Post*, 12 February).

Gorbachev's encouragement of market competition and a dog-eat-dog mentality has also fueled nationalist movements among the more economically advanced nationalities like Armenia and the Baltic republics who see in *perestroika* an opportunity to break free from the centralized economy and better their lot at the expense of their poorer neighbors, like the Azerbaijanis and even the Russians. Indeed, if Soviet Russia were the "evil empire" that Reagan and the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd paints it to be, simply exploiting and lording it over the non-Russian nationalities, there would be no room for a mass *Russian* nationalist movement. In his own brutal, bureaucratic way, Stalin was actually a leveler of the conditions of the different Soviet nationalities. Today, Lithuanians and Estonians march in the tens of thousands under the flag of the interwar bourgeois republics, which were bastions of White Guard pogromism and anti-Communism, while Armenia and Azerbaijan are rent by murderous fratricide, and demonstrators in Azerbaijan carry placards of Khomeini. Now nationalist agitation has flared up elsewhere, including the Ukraine, the largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union.

But the social force which has yet to assert itself in Gorbachev's Russia is the proletariat, the driving force of the October Revolution. The Soviet working people have nothing to gain from *perestroika*, and many have made their

dissatisfaction clear to Gorbachev. A number of strikes have taken place in the past year, and as the store shelves grow emptier discontent increases. Moreover, while the government has churned out reams and reams of defeatist propaganda to justify the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, there are many Soviet citizens who refuse to accept the lie that their sons, brothers and husbands gave their lives for "Russia's Vietnam." The *afghantsi*, returned Red Army vets who saw with their own eyes the centuries of social progress that separate the land of the October Revolution from neighboring Afghanistan, are among the best organized and fastest growing of the "informal groups," and to them "internationalist duty" has a living meaning.

The multinational Soviet working class must reassert its independent interests, which lie neither in the Western-oriented "market reforms" of Gorbachev nor in a return to the benighted Great Russian chauvinism of the dark past but in the struggle for international socialist revolution. The October Revolution opened the portals of emancipation for the workers and peasants of Russia, for the Jews and non-Russian nationalities of the tsarist prison house of peoples. What is urgently called for is a return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, necessitating a proletarian political revolution which will shatter the bureaucracy and restore the red banner of revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin. The crushing of Pamyat as a necessary measure of self-defense by the Soviet peoples will be a step on that road. We are writing in English, from abroad. It is urgent that there be a corresponding organizational force within the Soviet Union, not least to fight Pamyat. ■



In anti-Semitic poster, White Russian counterrevolutionaries depict Trotsky as ogre of the Kremlin.

nativist Hitlerite menace, presenting the authorities with an accomplished fact. At the time of the Pamyat provocations in Leningrad last summer, we wrote:

"For every one of these Pamyat fascists, there are tens and hundreds of fascist-hating workers, students, veterans and youth in military service who would eagerly come out to the Rumyantsevsky Garden on a Thursday to teach the Russian Nazis a lesson. Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Lenin-graders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to burn Nazi swastika flags in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat?..."

"What is necessary now is an aggressive mobilization organized as widely as possible—from below, independently of the authorities—in Leningrad, to ensure the greatest preponderance in the relationship of forces against the dangerous Pamyat fascist fanatics. People from many different political persuasions can join together in action to smash Pamyat."

When the American fascist Ku Klux Klan tried to stage a race-hate provocation in Philadelphia last November 5, TASS (6 November 1988) correctly reported that a "massive anti-racist demonstration took place on the site of the planned" fascist demonstration, but it falsely claimed that the demonstration "demanded the passage of federal legislation making the KKK illegal." It is a reformist notion pursued by the American Communist Party, whose idea of communism is to pressure the

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Students Say: "Atwater Must Go!"

Mass Protests Rock Howard

Break with the Democrats!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Six days of nonstop protests by Howard students succeeded in forcing Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee, to resign from the board of trustees of the nation's most prestigious black university. Howard students struck a symbolic blow against the racism of the ruling Republican Party at a time when the Republicans are eager to lure middle-class black support. Hitting Atwater's role as Bush's campaign manager in promoting the racist appeals around Willie Lee Horton (a black convict accused of rape while on furlough), the students distributed a leaflet asking, "Do you want this man [Atwater] to rape our university?" The leaflet called for student protest at the school's annual convocation on Friday, March 3.

On Monday morning, a thousand students gathered at the flagpole—now flying the red, black and green banner of black nationalism—and took over the administration building. Vowing not to leave until Atwater resigned, students also demanded a reversal of the proposed 15 percent tuition hike, increased financial aid (some 80 percent of Howard students need subsidies to afford college), better housing, a vague call for more "Afro-centric" courses, and a reactionary demand for more campus cops and higher pay for campus security. But the cops were unleashed against the protesters. City cops armed with rifles broke into the basement while a SWAT team with tear gas was dropped by helicopter onto the roof!

University president James Cheek, a black toady of the Republican Party, threatened mass arrests and expulsions of all protesters. Cheek, who got his start as Nixon's White House liaison to put down unrest at black colleges in the late '60s, would have few qualms about spilling student blood in his fiefdom—

especially when Howard's \$179 million in federal funding hangs in the balance. But it was the black front men for the Democratic Party who succeeded in dispersing the protest—with the assistance of the "talented tenth" black nationalist student leadership. D.C. mayor Marion Barry praised the students and withdrew his riot cops. Atwater withdrew but the students stayed, demanding action on their other demands and assurance of no reprisals. Finally Jesse Jackson flew into town and ended the protest at 3:00 a.m.

Thursday morning...with a prayer and a "covenant"!

Howard University: No "Ebony Tower"

Howard University is the main training ground for the thin black middle-class layer in white racist America. An estimated 50 percent of black doctors, dentists, surgeons and engineers, and twenty-five percent of black lawyers in the U.S. are Howard graduates. But so few blacks make it into these professions overall that many graduates con-

sider themselves "lucky" if they can land a job selling cars. There's tremendous pressure for Howard students to "make it" out of the desperate poverty and hopelessness that is the norm for an increasing *majority* of black youth. Systematic oppression of black people as a last-hired, first-fired, race-color caste in American capitalism means that even at the premier black universities like Howard, *separate is unequal*.

Despite the much vaunted "Howard experience," a lot of students know that life for blacks in America is hell and want to do something about it. Howard students were a big component of the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington in November 1982; last November, many again were active in the mobilization that put the Klan and skinhead fascists on the run in Philly. But the pseudo-nationalist student "leaders" are so narrowly limited to struggles within their own campus sandbox that they can't lead anyone anywhere except to the Democratic Party's hip pocket—which is exactly where they took this sit-in.

Howard is no ebony tower. It sits right in the middle of a deteriorating black ghetto. If four years of dorm housing looks bad, take a peek at the "kinder, gentler" streets just a few blocks from the Howard campus where people are trapped for life. But the student government bureaucrats and the Farrakhanite black nationalist "NIA Force" leading the sit-in made no attempt to link the students with black D.C. or with the power of the integrated labor movement, which at this moment is engaged in a critical battle with Eastern Airlines.

The protest leaders excluded the communist Spartacus Youth Club which
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Snead/Washington Post

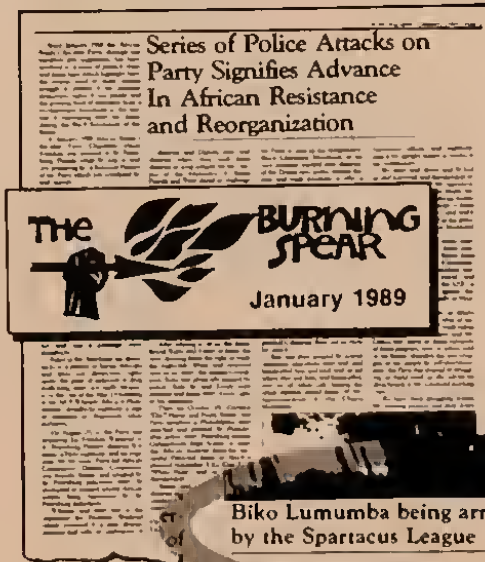
Students demand ouster of racist Republican Lee Atwater from Howard U. board of trustees.

A Reply to the Libels of the APSP

Last December 3 several members of the African People's Socialist Party (APSP) carried out a premeditated, violent and potentially murderous assault against a Spartacist League educational meeting held at Dwinelle Hall on the University of California Berkeley campus (see "Natural Blowback?" *WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988). Also present and acting as cheerleaders during the attack were several members of the African People's Solidarity Committee (APSC), a self-proclaimed "whites only" auxiliary of the APSP.

The staged provocations began with the APSPers creating a very loud commotion by shouting at those entering the meeting and screaming at several of the conference organizers, drawing the attention of participants in a Cartoon Art Museum meeting held across the hall from our educational and also of a large number of students passing through the lobby. Sure enough, and as the APSP intended, the UC Berkeley police, who monitor leftist meetings and are always eager to harass or shut down red gatherings, arrived to "calm things down." As a consequence of this police intervention, we were compelled to move most of the comrades on security duty in the lobby into the meeting room.

The cops hung around for a short while and left. When they did, the



After Spartacists repelled APSP attack on our forum, *Burning Spear* lied that we called the cops.

APSPers, instead of registering for the educational and attending the meeting, on a signal from their leader, who calls himself Biko Lumumba (Buthelezi would be a more appropriate name), launched their vicious assault. Two interracial couples bore the initial brunt of the attack. Fortunately other comrades came to their aid immediately and we were able to quickly subdue the APSP thugs. Along with their APSC cheering section they promptly left Dwinelle Hall at our urging.

The likely result of the APSP's violent

attack was that a lot of people, including innocent bystanders, would get hurt, and the cops would come again, hurt more people and break up our Marxist forum, and possibly also arrest some of the APSP supporters in the process. Because we were able to restore order quickly prior to the cops' arrival, a mass bust and destruction of our meeting was averted.

After the APSP and their friends left Dwinelle Hall they encountered a number of UC Berkeley cops, evidently drawn to the scene by the commotion

caused by the APSP's wild attack in the crowded Dwinelle Hall lobby. The cops proceeded to manhandle and arrest Biko Lumumba, who thus became a victim of his own provocation. Later Lumumba was released from jail and faces no charges.

In the January 1989 issue of its newspaper, *Burning Spear*, the APSP caused to be published a series of COINTELPRO-style libels about the actions of the Spartacist League and our defense of our December 3 meeting. The APSP charges that a member of the Spartacist League pointed out Biko Lumumba to the UC Berkeley cops. This is a brazen lie! We neither needed to nor do we believe in calling the police as arbiters in disputes among leftists. Later the same article claims the Spartacist League dropped charges the article claims we had made against Biko Lumumba. Again, this is an outrageous lie! It is a matter of record that neither the Spartacist League nor any member or supporter of the Spartacist League filed any charges against Biko Lumumba. If the UC Berkeley police found it useful to drop their charges against Biko Lumumba, it is for reasons best known to them and the APSP. Finally, *Burning Spear* publishes a picture claiming to show a "Spartacus [sic] League member...conspiring with the Berkeley police." This allegation too is utterly false and as vicious and baseless as the APSP's other smears.

Doubtless others who have had physical, financial or other contact with the APSP can report similar incidents. ■

Airlines and American Capitalism

The passengers on United Airlines Flight 811 from Hawaii to New Zealand were shaken by a tremendous explosion. Tornado-force winds swept through the cabin. Nine passengers were sucked out through a gaping hole in the side. As the plane lurched violently from side to side, practically everyone on board thought their lives were over. "I was resigned to the fact I was going to die," said an Australian radio broadcaster. "All I could think about were shark bites." Fortunately, the highly experienced pilot was able to reduce altitude and land safely with two engines out, the right wing flaps stuck and a 5-by-15-foot hole in the fuselage.

The accident on this 18-year-old Boeing 747 was evidently caused by the cargo-hold door opening in flight. Last summer, after a near disaster when the cargo door opened on a similar Pan Am plane, the federal government ordered the airlines to strengthen the cargo-door locks on all Boeing 747s—over a two-year period. United had not yet strengthened the locks on the fatal Flight 811.

America's commercial air fleet consists increasingly of flying jalopies. Over 20 percent of the planes have been in service more than 20 years. A Wall Street specialist on the airline industry, Edward Starkman, observed: "If you asked them 10 years ago, nobody in the industry would have said these planes would be flying this long" (*Business Week*, 16 January). In the past five years 16 accidents on commercial planes have involved metal fatigue or corrosion. After the latest disaster, on United's Hawaii flight, the airline industry announced a major program to repair, not replace, old planes. And even this rehabilitation of the rattletrap U.S. air fleet is to be carried out over several years.

In the ten years since "deregulation"—proclaimed as a great "populist" reform—the airline industry has experienced union-busting, deteriorating safety conditions, greater monopoly and now sharply rising fares. The "father" of deregulation, liberal economist Alfred Kahn, is beginning to sound like Dr. Frankenstein watching his creature run amok. Kahn called the recent escalation in air fares "a nightmare" and warned "if it gets bad enough, the government may have to set ceilings on fares" (*Airline Business*, January 1989).

Of course, deregulation is not the cause of everything bad in the airline industry. And increasing government control is certainly no cure. The 1980s has been a union-busting decade throughout American industry. Reagan fired the first shot when he destroyed the PATCO air controllers union in 1981. Runaway debt and financial cannibalism have become a way of life for American capitalism, starting at the top. The trillion-dollar Pentagon war buildup, financed in large part by Japanese and German money-men, has starved American industry of productive investment. While hundreds of billions have been spent on Trident submarines, Stealth bombers and the Star Wars boondoggle, not a single new major airport has been constructed in this country since 1974! At the same time, airline deregulation serves as a textbook example for the Marxist position that intense competition leads to greater monopoly.

Deregulation = Monopolization

Airline regulation originated in the corporatist policies of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), established in 1938, was appointed by the president. The CAB set fares and determined which airlines flew where. Needless to say, granting



Business Week

Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies



As Wall Street financiers skim profits off airline industry, aging U.S. air fleet is falling apart. This Eastern plane broke up after hard landing in Florida, December 1987.

lucrative air routes became a source of White House patronage.

For example, in 1968 Lyndon Johnson's CAB gave Continental permission to fly the Pacific route to the Far East. However, when Nixon took over the White House the following year, he shot down Continental's bid to become a trans-Pacific carrier. Why? Continental's boss Robert Six claimed that Nixon's chief hatchet man, Bob Haldeman, had a personal grudge against him. It seems that Haldeman once worked under Six as an advertising account executive with J. Walter Thompson. Six didn't think he was good at the job and so fired the future White House chief of staff. Such were the ways in which it was decided who controlled the world's airlines.

Liberal reformers had long advocated airline deregulation. Doing away with government rate- and route-setting, they argued, would put an end to political patronage and cronyism, lead to lower air fares and bring fresh managerial blood into the industry. The main architect of deregulation, Alfred Kahn, a university professor who became head of the CAB under Jimmy Carter, describes himself as "an old antitrusteer."

In 1978, when deregulation was intro-

duced, the eight largest U.S. airlines accounted for 80 percent of all passenger miles flown. At first these firms did lose some ground to upstarts like People Express, a shoestring, non-union outfit where the pilots helped load baggage. By 1983 the major carriers' market share had fallen to 74 percent.

But then the big boys struck back with a vengeance. They ruthlessly cut costs through union-busting, giveback contracts and two-tier wage systems while letting safety standards go to hell. At the same time, they used their enormous financial resources to buy out or undercut the small fry, especially in the field of marketing. United and American—the two biggest carriers—provided travel agents with their own computerized reservation systems. So it became inefficient and inconvenient for travel agents to book their clients on smaller airlines even where they offered cheaper fares. Don Burr, founder of People Express, blames the computer for the demise of his airline (absorbed into Frank Lorenzo's Texas Air empire).

Not only upstarts like People Express but practically every major regional airline in the country has disappeared. For many years California was serviced by two large regionals—PSA and Air Cal. The former has now

been taken over by USAir, the latter by American. Small airlines not worth buying out have simply folded. In one month alone—January 1987—three regional airlines filed for bankruptcy. In many big cities a single carrier dominates—Delta in Atlanta, TWA in St. Louis, Northwest in Minneapolis. By 1988 the Big 8 of the pre-deregulation era controlled 94 percent of all U.S. air traffic!

And they're certainly taking advantage of it. As *Business Week* (9 January) quipped: "Now that those upstarts are gone, there's no fare like lull fare." Last fall the airlines, with Lorenzo's Continental taking the lead, did away with or cut back on the various discounts. For about 20 percent of air travelers that meant a 35 percent increase in the cost of a plane ticket. Such are the fruits of deregulation.

Raiders of the Deadly Skies

While the deregulation era has brought greater monopolization, it has also seen striking changes in the ownership and financial structure of the airlines. Two of the most notorious corporate raiders in the U.S.—Frank Lorenzo and Carl Icahn—have taken airlines as their booty.

"Darth Vader" Lorenzo controls the biggest airline operation in the Western world with total assets of \$8 billion. Yet he himself owns less than 1 percent of the stock of this corporate empire centered on the Texas Air holding company, though he exercises 34 percent of the voting control. No believer in stockholders' democracy is Frank Lorenzo. This is a corporate empire built on junk bonds, paying high interest for supposedly high risk. Lorenzo's airlines owe \$5.5 billion in debt. In 1987 the interest payments alone amounted to \$623 million. This is greater than the total revenue of many large U.S. corporations, firms making up 20 percent of the top Fortune 500 list.

Lorenzo, a Harvard Business School graduate from Queens, set up a small aircraft-leasing outfit, Jet Capital, in the late '60s. He got his big break in 1971 when the Chase Manhattan Bank used him as its agent to take over a troubled small Southwestern airline, Texas International (known in the industry as "Teeter Totter Airlines"). In what would become the Lorenzo trademark, he slashed wages, provoking and breaking a three-month strike by air and ground crews. With its low labor costs, Texas International prospered in the booming Sunbelt economy of the '70s.

In 1980 Lorenzo set up the Texas Air holding company. The following year he bought Continental—then the tenth-largest airline in the country—using junk-bond financing. To meet the massive debt service Lorenzo demanded sweeping union givebacks. The pilots and flight attendants unions had no desire to play hardball and offered \$80 million in concessions. But that was not enough for Lorenzo. In 1983 he declared legal bankruptcy, tore up the union contracts and fired the entire 12,000-man workforce. When the pilots resisted with a strike, he replaced them with scabs, most of whose previous experience was probably flying crop dusters.

Lorenzo hired back around 4,000 of Continental's original workforce at 40 to 60 percent of their former wages, giving the company the lowest labor costs by far of any major airline in the U.S. (25 percent compared to the industry average of 35 percent). In 1987 ('88 financial figures are not yet available) Continental ran an operating profit of \$26 million yet had a financial loss of over a quarter billion. The difference is the money paid in interest to the banks and other junk bond holders.

In 1986 Lorenzo floated another

\$600 million in junk bonds to take over Eastern Airlines. Eleven years earlier Eastern's owners had hired former astronaut Frank Borman to manage what was then the third-largest carrier in the U.S. Borman, who liked to be called "the colonel," ran Eastern like a petty martinet. Perhaps thinking he was in competition with the U.S. Air Force, in the late '70s the astronaut-turned-CEO borrowed \$2.5 billion from the banks to buy a fleet of huge Lockheed L-1011s and Boeing 757s. Borman assumed oil prices would rise ever upward and that these jumbo wide-bodies would give Eastern relatively lower fuel costs per passenger mile. Then came the '80s: fuel costs fell, airfares fell and the interest on Eastern's \$2.5 billion in loans rose.

In 1983 the bankers threatened to declare Eastern in default unless it cut wages by 20 percent. The Borman management achieved this by catering to the social-democratic illusions of the Machinists union (IAM) bureaucracy. In return for agreeing to the wage cut, the IAM tops were given 25 percent of Eastern's stock and four seats on the board of directors. Charles Bryan, head of the Machinists at Eastern, looks back at his short-lived moment of glory: "We came up with a very, very innovative progressive plan for sharing co-determination, governance of the airlines, and board positions and so forth" (PBS-TV *Frontline*, 31 January).

At first "co-determination" seemed to work. Between the union givebacks and productivity increases Eastern was saving almost \$400 million a year and started operating in the black. But in late 1985 things came unstuck. Airfares were going down sharply while East-

ern's cash flow was being drained by its huge debt service. The bankers demanded another 15 percent wage cut. Eastern's creditors and owners thought Borman wasn't up to the job and brought in the industry's No. 1 union-buster—Frank Lorenzo.

Lorenzo has systematically looted Eastern in order to break the unions. For example, Eastern has loaned Texas Air and Continental \$200 million at low interest while borrowing the same amount from banks at high interest. Lorenzo "sold" Eastern's computerized reservation system—valued at over \$250 million—to Texas Air for \$100 million in junk bonds. Eastern now pays the holding company for computer services. Lorenzo sold eleven Eastern gates at Newark International—a major airport—to Continental for only \$11 million while selling eight Eastern gates at Charlotte, North Carolina—a relatively small regional airport—to Piedmont for \$25 million. The list of such scams is endless. Even a federal district judge, Barrington Parker, denounced Lorenzo's management of Eastern for "questionable loans and questionable ventures that have drained off cash reserves and other assets" (*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 5 September 1988).

Lorenzo's main rival in the airline-looting business is fellow raider Carl Icahn at TWA. Trans World Airlines was founded in the 1940s by eccentric billionaire Howard Hughes. Sentimentally attached to prop planes, Hughes acted as if jets were a passing fad—he refused to buy them. Hughes thus bequeathed to TWA an antiquated air fleet and a declining market share.

In 1985 Lorenzo made a bid for the financially troubled airline. To "save" TWA from Lorenzo, the pilots and Machinists union tops literally begged Icahn to take it over. The pilots, in particular, offered Icahn sweeping concessions if he promised to keep TWA intact and to modernize it. The consummate Wall Street speculator swore he would do so. Icahn's takeover saddled TWA with \$2.5 billion in debt, much of it in junk bonds paying over 17 percent interest. One of the managers for TWA's junk bonds admits: "I believe you get overpaid for the risk you take" (*Baron's*, 26 September 1988).

To overpay the junk bond holders Icahn extracted \$100 million in concessions from the pilots union and froze contributions to the Machinists' pension and benefit funds. However, the flight attendants—largely women—courageously resisted Icahn's attempt to smash their union and walked out for ten weeks (see box, page 12). The flight attendants strike was doomed when the pilots and Machinists crossed their picket lines while Icahn replaced them with seahs.

Wage-gouging, increasing air travel and rising fares have turned TWA into a moneymaker for Icahn. But he is not spending that money improving the airline. Instead he has squandered TWA's



Rob Kinmonth

Corporate raiders Frank Lorenzo (left) and Carl Icahn loot airlines, bust unions.



Larry Barnes

large cash flow in order to raid USX (formerly U.S. Steel) and Texaco. The head of the flight attendants union, Vicki Frankovich, has described TWA as "an unsupervised mutual fund...to fuel Mr. Icahn's stock speculation." TWA probably has the oldest fleet of planes of any major airline. Yet Icahn stubbornly refuses to buy new ones. *Airfinance Journal* (November 1988) reported:

"Corporate raider Carl Icahn, cast in the unlikely role of White Knight in 1985 during a hostile takeover attempt of Trans World Airlines by Texas Air Corp., has once more vetoed proposals to update and expand TWA's ageing fleet."

Comparing Icahn and Lorenzo the same article notes:

"Eastern Airlines unions have bitterly complained about Lorenzo's shifting assets from Eastern to the Texas Air parent or to non-union Continental Airlines. But while Lorenzo has at least kept the assets within the airline family of companies, Icahn has used money generated at TWA to fund some of his outside ventures, starving the airline as far as fleet renewal and expansion are concerned."

It would be wrong to think that raiders like Lorenzo and Icahn are the evil Mr. Hydes of the airline industry while the old-line, established managers are the good Dr. Jekylls. Consider United Airlines, for example. Once the giant of



Dana Summers, The Orlando Sentinel

America's skies, United squandered its enormous cash reserves trying to become an all-service travel company. Changing its name to Allegis, in the mid-'80s the company bought Hertz Rent-A-Car and the Hilton hotel chain. Little money was left over to improve the airline, which lost ground, especially to the more aggressively managed American. Between 1985 and '87 Allegis (née United) ran over \$200 million in the red.

With stockholders increasingly disgruntled, the corporation was an obvious target for a takeover. The most serious bid came from—of all people—the pilots union. But the largest airline in the capitalist world was not going to be taken over by a trade union, not even by an elite, professional union, most of whose members are ex-Air Force officers. In late '87 United's owners hired a new get-tough CEO and sold off the car rental agencies and hotels. To protect itself against a takeover, the management carried out a maneuver known on Wall Street as a leveraged recapitalization. It borrowed \$1.25 billion from the banks—doubling United's debt—to buy off its own stockholders, kind of a do-it-to-yourself corporate raid.

The bankers, knowing that United's management was desperate for the money, charged unusually high interest rates for the deal. United vice president and treasurer Don Seeley whined: "This is very, very expensive vis-à-vis what we should be borrowing at" (*Airfinance Journal*, May 1988). To pay off its very, very expensive debt service, United's management has stated it wants—à la Lorenzo and Icahn—givebacks from the pilots, Machinists and flight attendants. And after the banks cream off United's cash flow, not much is left to properly maintain, not to speak of replacing, its aging fleet of planes.

Gutting the Unions, Gutting Safety

Stapleton Airport, Denver, 15 November 1987: 40-mile-per-hour winds, sub-freezing temperature, a blinding snowstorm. Many airlines canceled their flights. But not Lorenzo's Continental. The DC-9 rolled down the runway, lifted off for a few seconds, heaved from side to side and then flipped over completely. It skidded 1,200 feet, breaking into three pieces. Many of the survivors were trapped for hours, hanging upside down in their seats. Some froze to death.

We wrote at the time: "This was not an 'accident'—28 people were murdered by 'the magic of the marketplace'" (*WV* No. 442, 11 December 1987). The 21-year-old plane was itself a deathtrap, especially in icy conditions. For it lacked a standard and critical feature on newer models: extended slats on the forward edge of the wing which provide extra lift on takeoff. After being delayed the plane sat there for 23 minutes in the middle of the snowstorm waiting for takeoff permission from the control tower. And behind the controls in the cockpit was a 26-year-old copilot with

less than 40 hours flying time in DC-9s!

Union-busting in the airline industry has meant gutting safety. Even the right-wing London *Economist* (4 February) recognizes: "In some of the old airports, the effects of the air-traffic controllers' mass dismissal of 1981 still lingers. Overworked traffic controllers are struggling with antiquated equipment." In fact, overworked labor using antiquated equipment sums up the condition of U.S. commercial aviation in the 1980s.

John Enders of the Flight Safety Foundation spelled it out at a 1987 conference at Northwestern University:

- A huge increase in traffic, straining both the air traffic control systems and aviation infrastructure.
- Reduction in the financial ability of the airlines to undertake safety measures in excess of minimum government requirements.
- Cutbacks in engineering and safety staffs.
- Cutbacks in medical and health maintenance staffs.
- Increased pressures to meet flight schedules.
- Reduced maintenance programs and a minimal equipment inventory.
- Increases in flight-crew duty time.
- Reduction in the average experience of pilots.

The situation has become so bad that last fall even the *Wall Street Journal* (19 September 1988) ran an article titled, "Some Airlines Narrow Their Safety Margins, Seeking to Cut Costs."

Airline Workers Have Power

You will never see an article in the *Wall Street Journal* exposing dangerous safety conditions in coal mines or chemical plants. But when it comes to airplanes, the bosses' lives are at risk too, not just the workers'. Business travel accounts for half of all air traffic. The management of corporate America depends on widespread and frequent air travel. Even if airlines raised their business-class fares 15 or 20 percent, corporate executives are not going to start taking trains between New York and Chicago.

Giveback contracts and the general weakening of the unions in the Midwest "rust belt"—steel, auto, rubber—are bound up with the deterioration of American manufacturing. But that is not at all the case with the airlines. The number of passengers on U.S. carriers has increased by over 60 percent in the past decade. Air freight traffic is also booming. Last year U.S. airlines scored a record operating profit of almost \$3 billion. "Third Straight Record Profit Is the Forecast for 1989" is the lead article in January's *Air Transport World*, a respected trade journal.

No unionized group of workers in this country has more economic clout than airline workers. It was the month-long 1966 Machinists strike against five major carriers that broke the Kennedy-Johnson wage controls. That haughty mouthpiece of American capitalism, the *New York Times* (16 August 1966),

continued on page 13

From the Railway Labor Act to Taft-Hartley

Anti-Red Hysteria and Anti-Labor Laws

The key to victory in the IAM strike against Eastern is *spreading* the strike through so-called "secondary boycotts" or sympathy strikes. For most of American labor, such strikes are illegal under the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act. The 1926 Railway Labor Act, which covers the airlines, does not outlaw secondary strikes, but the Machinists union bureaucracy refuses to spread the strike out of fear of emergency laws, court injunctions and the like. For decades the U.S. labor movement has been hogtied by kowtowing to the bosses' laws. Understanding this history is the key to reversing it.

A century ago unions were considered by the government to be illegal "conspiracies," but hard class struggle forced the bosses to recognize the workers' organizations. But the venal, pro-capitalist union tops—the "labor lieutenants of capital," as the turn-of-the-century socialist Daniel De Leon called them—have tied the workers to the bosses' state. In the late 19th century it was possible for the bosses to simply crush the labor movement through the direct use of armed force, as happened to the 1894 Pullman railroad strike led by socialist Eugene Debs.

But over the following decades the more sophisticated method was to create a layer of privileged labor bureaucrats who would "cooperate" with the bosses' government to suppress strikes, in exchange for a few crumbs from the bosses' table. This scheme meant class-struggle militants had to be driven out. Hence the labor officials who supported endless appeals to various government boards instead of strikes were also the ones who initiated "red" purges in the unions: anti-communism and anti-strike laws went hand in hand. This is shown in the origins of two of the most vicious anti-strike laws now facing U.S. labor—the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act.

The 1920s: Bolshevism and Capitalist Reaction

In the 1920s, labor militants in the U.S. were inspired by the 1917 Bolshe-

vic Revolution in Russia, the first successful workers revolution in history. Communist workers joined with other radical unionists in the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) which agitated for "amalgamation" (industrial unionism—crossing the color line and organizing the unskilled) while also calling for a labor party and defense of Soviet Russia. But the post-World War I period saw a number of large strikes go down to defeat. In 1922 a strike of 400,000 railroad shopmen was broken when other railroad craft unions scabbed. This ushered in a period of reaction. The AFL tops, in many cases aided by the bosses and the police,

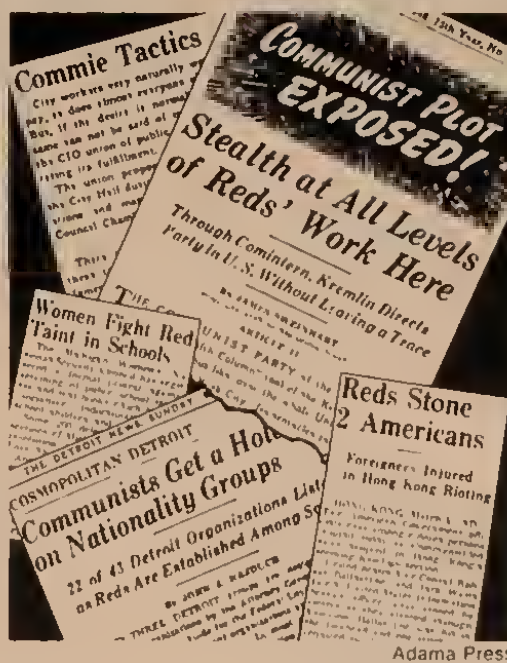
expelled the reds from the unions, helping to drive them out of the industry altogether. In place of class struggle, the AFL bureaucrats argued for "cooperation" with the bosses, exemplified by the so-called Baltimore and Ohio plan, in which the railroad unions would make suggestions on how to improve "efficiency," including layoffs! The end result of "cooperation" was the 1926 Railway Labor Act, then called the

home was linked to the growth of Communism in postwar Europe and the Far East. The most significant post-World War II anti-labor legislation, the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, had as its dual aim purging the reds from the unions and weakening labor's power.

In the face of the postwar strike wave, Democratic president Harry Truman sought new powers to crush labor. In May 1946, for instance, the Railway Labor Act failed to prevent a shutdown

The anti-Communist AFL and CIO leaderships, personified by rabid red-baiter George Meany and liberal Cold Warrior Walter Reuther respectively, accepted and enforced the law by purging the unions of all "reds" and every sort of militant. Ironically, resistance to the purge was undermined by the Communist Party, which had long since abandoned class struggle in favor of class collaboration and support to the capitalist Democratic Party. In a futile

With outbreak of Cold War, bosses' press pushed anti-red scare. Right: Pitched battle at National Maritime Union meeting, 1950. Right-wing bureaucrats like NMU president Curran used cops in drive to purge Communists.



Adama Press



William P. Gottlieb

Watson-Parker Law. Communist leader William Z. Foster, who was head of the TUEL, summed it up in 1927:

"It virtually legalizes strikes on the railroads and establishes compulsory arbitration. It opens the door wide to the development of company unions. It gives the reactionary Federal Courts the right to interfere in and regulate wage disputes between the railroad workers and the railroad companies. It cements the alliance, disastrous for the workers, between the companies and the union leadership, an alliance based on the surrender of the workers' interests."

—American Trade Unionism: Selected Writings (1947)

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Roosevelt's New Deal sought to channel the mass union organizing drives into the machinery of government control. Key to this was the

of the railroads by a massive strike of several unions led by the Locomotive Engineers and Trainmen. Truman tried seizing the railroads under wartime measures still on the books and ordering the workers to stay on the job. The strikers defied him. Truman reacted by asking Congress for the power to draft strikers into the military. A few months later when the United Mine Workers threatened to shut down the coal mines, Truman got a temporary restraining order against them. But the miners tore up Truman's court order and walked out. The bosses' government searched for more legal weapons in its anti-labor arsenal, and came up with Taft-Hartley.

This act was a draconian measure: it outlawed the most effective labor tactics, particularly the secondary boycott or sympathy strike, which UMW leader John L. Lewis had used so effectively. It empowered the president to order strikers back to work for an 80-day "cooling-off" period. And it extended the government's writ to interfere directly in the unions' administration and purge the unions via a "loyalty" oath: elected union officials were required to sign an affidavit that they were not Communists, or else lose their "certification" from the National Labor Relations Board. Those unions which refused to sign were, for the most part, witchhunted out of existence—the militants fired on the job after being "fingering" by the FBI, the union's contracts stolen by unscrupulous anti-Communist unions which had been "certified" by the government.

At the time of its passage, Taft-Hartley was denounced by millions of unionists as the "Slave Labor Law." The packinghouse workers, National Maritime Union, West Coast longshoremen and other unions called for a 24-hour national strike against the bill just before it was adopted. Attempts to send a massive Labor Caravan to Washington in protest were squashed by the labor bureaucracy, but when the bill was finally passed on 23 June 1947, it enraged the coal miners who were then seeking a pay raise. Over 200,000 miners walked out in Pennsylvania, Alabama, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia. "Let the Senators dig the coal!" was the cry in the coal fields.

attempt to maintain their position, the CP actually voted for the bureaucrats' anti-communist clauses.

The anti-strike laws, and labor's kneeling to the laws of the bosses' state, were married to a program of anti-Communism and Cold War. That is the foundation of the labor tops to this day, whose services on behalf of U.S. imperialism busting workers' organizations from Chile to South Korea has earned them the name "AFL-CIA." AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland is a member of the right-wing Committee on the Present Danger, which plots war against the Soviet Union; he sits on the CIA oversight committee. The AFL-CIO tops are awarded these privileges because of their demonstrated commitment to *suppress class struggle*, a corollary of which is they will not defy the government.

The liberal/social-democratic wing of the labor bureaucracy is, if anything, even stronger in advocating government control over the unions. America's best-known "socialist" union leader, William Winpisinger of the Machinists, has used the Eastern strike to reaffirm his support for a corporatist system governing labor:

"To provide a more tranquil method of settling labor disputes, Congress enacted labor laws that protect worker rights and mandated Government agencies to protect workers from management abuses. The system has worked fairly well. The one notable exception is Eastern Airlines."

—New York Times, 10 March

These bureaucrats dare not defy the government for fear of unleashing a groundswell of labor militancy which would sweep them all away. The only times workers have successfully defied anti-labor laws are when they have overridden their pro-capitalist misleaders. In 1977-78 striking coal miners tore up the Taft-Hartley injunction issued by Democrat Jimmy Carter while driving the despised union president Arnold Miller—originally touted as a liberal reformer—from the coal fields. But spontaneous acts of rank-and-file militancy are not enough. The workers need to place at the head of the unions a leadership that will fight the bosses' government and the Democratic and Republican parties, leading the way toward a workers government. ■



Pat Oliphant

In 1977-78 strike, miners told Carter to shove his Taft-Hartley injunction.

vik Revolution in Russia, the first successful workers revolution in history. Communist workers joined with other radical unionists in the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) which agitated for "amalgamation" (industrial unionism—crossing the color line and organizing the unskilled) while also calling for a labor party and defense of Soviet Russia. But the post-World War I period saw a number of large strikes go down to defeat. In 1922 a strike of 400,000 railroad shopmen was broken when other railroad craft unions scabbed. This ushered in a period of reaction. The AFL tops, in many cases aided by the bosses and the police,

1935 Wagner Act, which gave the newly created National Labor Relations Board wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers. With the Cold War these powers were used to destroy leftist-led unions.

The Cold War and Taft-Hartley

The end of World War II saw an explosion of labor struggle in this country as workers demanded the gains they had been promised during the war. The number of workers on strike in 1946 was the *highest* in modern American history. In the eyes of the American ruling class, the upsurge of class struggle at

Eastern...

(continued from page 1)

their families gathered in the street in front of the Miami union hall. In Miami, where Latins (many of them anti-Castro Cubans) are pitted against blacks, the ruling class consciously exploits racial antagonisms. But this night there was a pervasive sense of solidarity. Black and white workers joined arms. A Hispanic woman carried a sign "*No sea rompeduelga*" (Don't be a strikebreaker). A spokesman for a contingent of Haitian refugees told *WV* that they came because "the IAM has always supported Haitian refugees." At precisely one minute after midnight the crowd surged toward the Eastern gates and occupied the street. The Battle of Eastern was on!

Eastern's system collapsed in hours, as 98 percent of Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) members have honored the IAM lines. The pilots' refusal to cross the picket lines has been the key factor in shutting down Eastern, but it is a slender reed to rely upon. The bourgeois press has been hammering at the "solid Republican," white professional pilots to scab.

Lorenzo is trying to keep some planes

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Striking Illinois coal miners stop train hauling scab coal, February 1978.

Ferguson/St. Louis Post-Dispatch



flying by offering \$12 fares on the New York/Boston/Washington shuttle and a \$49 fare between New York and Miami. You'd have to be an anti-union *nut* to fly Eastern, at any price. Scab "mechanics" with 40 hours on jets are servicing the old dilapidated "hangar queens" in

the Eastern fleet. At Miami International Airport, an Eastern plane with a scab pilot at the controls clipped the wing of an Ecuadorian airliner. At Washington National another scab made a "hot start" of a DC-9, feeding it too much fuel and shooting a 20-foot flame out of the jet engine.

Shut Down the Airports!

IAM president Winpisinger has lived up to his nickname—Wimpy. For almost two years he has pursued a single strategy: to place the fate of the IAM at Eastern in the hands of the capitalist state, its labor boards and courts. Even his threat to engage in secondary strikes at other airlines and commuter railroads was bluster to pressure Bush to intervene and declare yet another 60-day "cooling off" period under the Railway Labor Act. Bush refused to intervene, in the hope that Lorenzo could crack the Machinists—as long as the strike was not allowed to spread.

The call for secondary strikes in defense of the Eastern Machinists raised expectations among thousands of airline and railroad workers who know their place is on the picket line with the Eastern unionists.

• On the eve of the strike, IAM members at United Airlines in New York

voted five to one to go out with their brothers at Eastern.

• In Toronto, Air Canada workers who service Eastern planes immediately "hot cargoed" (refused to touch) the aircraft.

• At Marriott airline food services in New York, over 1,000 Hispanic workers, members of IAM Local 2750, are outraged that the IAM tops are forcing them across the picket lines.

• Teamsters, who represent 50,000 airline workers, pledged to honor IAM lines. Spread throughout the industry, Teamsters could dry up the fuel, stop the trucks and bring the airports down in hours.

Before the strike began, Wimpy and District 100 chief Charles Bryan crawled before a federal judge in Washington, D.C. to ask permission to set up picket lines to bring out IAM mechanics and ramp service workers at TWA, United, Northwest, Piedmont and USAir! The judge predictably ruled against honoring the picket lines, but he didn't prohibit the IAM from setting them up. It was the IAM tops who called back the pickets! And they put a tight clamp on any local initiatives by issuing orders that any contact with other unions go through Miami. Even the picketing at

continued on page 12



DeMaria/NY Daily News

Transport Workers chief Mike Quill rips up court injunction in successful 1966 New York subway strike.

Who Betrayed the PATCO Strike

When 12,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) walked out on 3 August 1981, few were expecting what came next. The largely white, conservative union, which had actually endorsed Ronald Reagan in the 1980 elections, wanted to improve safety in the airline industry by reducing the workweek for the harried air controllers to 32 hours. The government wouldn't listen to their grievances, so they struck. But Reagan seized on the PATCO walkout to terrorize the working class as part of mobilizing the American people for Cold War II against the Soviet Union.

Declaring the strike "illegal," Reagan fired all 12,000 controllers. Thousands of scabs from the Air Force and elsewhere were sent in to run the control towers, while PATCO leaders were ostentatiously hauled off to jail in chains. It was a declaration of war on the union movement, and the outcome would set the tone for the rest of the '80s. PATCO leader Robert Poli answered Reagan by saying, correctly, "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." But to win, the air controllers needed support.

Everyone remembered the traditional slogan of the working class, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and all

eyes went to the AFL-CIO leadership. Would they back up PATCO with deeds? They did not. The labor fakers called an empty "Solidarity Day" rally of half a million in Washington, D.C., but left the air controllers twisting in the wind.

The traitors have names: Lane Kirkland, William Winpisinger, Doug Fraser—all the leading labor officials found excuses to do nothing. The Washington rally was to push the Democrats, yet the plan for breaking PATCO was drawn up by the Democratic Carter administration. When asked by a *WV* reporter whether the AFL-CIO would call for solidarity strikes, Kirkland replied, "I do not call for strikes." UAW leader Fraser actually denounced the controllers, saying the strike "could do massive damage to the labor movement."

IAM leader "Wimpy" Winpisinger, whose union included thousands of ground support personnel who could have shut down the airports, left it up to individual members to "honor" the picket lines—meaning they would get no official union backing—and so they went to work. Calling solidarity strikes "bubble-headed" and "foolhardy," Wimpy hid behind "our lawyers" who warned against "retaliation" by the bosses! Later Wimpy whined that he

wanted to shut down the carriers but he was "helpless" without the backing of the airline pilots union.

The Spartacist League and militant trade unionists joined in demonstrations and the few PATCO picket lines, with signs calling on labor to shut down the airports. But the AFL-CIO tops, in an attempt to cover their betrayal, called a toothless consumer boycott against flying. Wimpy ostentatiously traveled to Washington by rented car. The fake "left" which hangs onto the bureaucrats' coattails followed suit, e.g., the Communist Party's Gus Hall declared that "flying is scabbing." By the end of October 1981 PATCO was decertified as a union and disappeared.

This unprecedented defeat for labor in the postwar era fueled a decade of givebacks, union-busting and racist state terror. Today it's become an axiom in the union movement that labor should have stood behind PATCO. But how and why the PATCO strike was defeated, and who put the knife in, has been buried. As we summed it up back then:

"The PATCO strikers have certainly stuck to their guns in the most critical strike since the miners strikes of 1978 and 1980. It is the misleaders of labor who have sabotaged this key strike from the start. They have the power to



PATCO leaders hauled away in chains, 1981.

win it at any time, by shutting down the airports, which they have refused to do."

—"Air Controllers Shafied,"
WV No. 292,
6 November 1981

Don't let it happen again! No more PATCOs!

Supreme Court Rewards Scabs in '86 TWA Strike

Flight Attendants Say: We Won't Cross Picket Lines

On February 28 the Supreme Court ruled against the International Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) seeking to regain the jobs that were stolen from 1,800 TWA workers for striking in 1986. This is a frontal attack on the right to strike. A 6-to-3 decision backed TWA's refusal to rehire flight attendants who remained loyal to their union, while lower-seniority scabs are kept on. Coming on the eve of the IAM strike against Eastern Airlines, this decision is calculated to scare the entire labor movement with the threat that we'll lose our jobs if our strikes are defeated. Well, labor had better start striking *to win!* And that means real labor solidarity in support of strikers—build mass picket lines that nobody better try to cross!

Flight attendants waged a militant strike against corporate raider and TWA boss Carl Icahn when he demanded they take a pay cut of 45 percent (three times more than the other, largely male, unions). Arrogantly claiming the mainly women flight attendants are not "breadwinners," this brazen male chauvinist pig sneered that if they wanted money they "should have married a pilot or a rich husband"—as though only men are

capable of being pilots, and flight attendants are so much dirt under Icahn's feet. The stewardesses, many of them 10- and 20-year veterans, have fought hard to get respect for their arduous profession. While Icahn and his fellow bosses cut safety

standards to shreds, it is often courageous flight attendants who stand between the flying public and disaster: in Denver in December 1987, flight attendants stopped an Eastern plane with ice on its wings from taking off during a snowstorm (Lorenzo



April 1986—Striking flight attendants stand up to TWA boss Carl Icahn.

suspended them without pay).

The anti-labor decision was issued by the Supreme Court, but it wasn't made there. *It was made on the picket lines that were crossed* when the militant IFFA strikers were left to twist in the wind by the other airline unions at the behest of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. When IFFA struck, members of the powerful Machinists union initially honored the picket lines, crippling TWA. But when TWA predictably got an injunction, IAM chief Winpisinger ordered his ranks back to work and IFFA was left out alone; after ten weeks the flight attendants were forced back without a contract. Today "Wimpy" and the AFL-CIO tops are touting strikebreaker Icahn as a potential "savior" for Eastern workers.

To their credit, the flight attendants are supporting the Eastern Machinists strike, while making it clear they haven't forgotten how the IAM refused to respect their picket lines three years ago. At an IAM strike meeting at New York's La Guardia airport, IFFA's Susan Lantz emphasized the need to respect picket lines and pointedly noted that once you're a scab, you're a scab for life. Today the Machinists strike at Eastern is a chance to reforge the labor unity undermined by the betrayal of the IFFA strike. The battle is on—solid labor action can stop cold the vicious union-busting of the Icahns and Lorenzos and win gains for all airline workers. Union militants have got to apply that old labor lesson: "An injury to one is an injury to all! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

Eastern...

(continued from page 11)

Lorenzo's Continental—part of Winpisinger's toothless consumer boycott—is "informational," the labor bureaucracy's perversion of the elementary working-class principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*.

Labor's "Atom Bomb"

This is a popular strike. Frank Lorenzo is the personification of capitalist greed, a man who revels in destroying workers' lives as he rapes Eastern of its assets. Nothing electrified the labor movement more than the expectation that IAM pickets would bring out tens of thousands of railroad workers on the third day of the strike, Monday, March 6. Workers on commuter railroads from the Northeast to Chicago were ready to walk—every rail union in the country, saddled with the Railway Labor Act, faces bargaining this year.

In Chicago, the Transportation Communications Union (TCU) phone tape told Amtrak workers, "We've got to help Eastern workers win this one,

because what happens at Eastern will have an impact on our own bargaining. Our policy is that we do not cross picket lines." Over 2,000 TCU members in Georgia were "on standby" to honor the IAM pickets. Class-struggle militants in TWU Local 100, New York City subway workers, demanded that their union shut down the Train to the Plane to Kennedy airport.

All eyes were on the expected showdown at New York City's commuter railroads, serving over 400,000 daily. The NY tabloids screamed "Commuter Chaos Looms" and "N.Y. Faces Travel Nightmare." Pickets from the airports had their assignments; a JFK striker told *WV* "we're ready to go." And so were rail workers. At New York's Penn Station, an LIRR union shop chairman, thinking a *WV* sales team were the awaited IAM pickets, shouted: "The pickets are here!" Across the country, airline workers have snapped up 2,500 copies of *WV* headlined "Shut Down the Airports!"

A worried *Wall Street Journal* (3 March) noted that "Secondary picketing is labor's 'atom bomb'." But the union tops don't want to use labor's power. As soon as a federal judge signed the inevitable restraining order against

the rail unions, the IAM tops folded. John Peterpaul, IAM vice president for transportation, announced that there would be no pickets. Playing by the bosses' rules is a losing game! What the capitalist state "allows" is toothless "doughnuts and coffee" solidarity. By shutting down the airports and rail, the IAM can turn the injunctions into worthless scraps of paper, crush Lorenzo, organize the non-union carriers, and impose a common, industrywide contract in airlines. What's needed is a single union of airline workers—from baggage-handlers to pilots—throughout the industry.

The 1966 Airline Strike

The bosses' state can be defeated, and the airline workers' own history shows how it can be done. Twenty-three years ago, as U.S. imperialism was escalating its bloody slaughter against the Vietnamese Revolution and imposing wage-price "guidelines" on the American working people, the IAM confronted the airlines, the president and Congress in a hard-fought strike. On 7 July 1966, the union struck five major airlines (Eastern, National, Northwest, TWA and United) carrying 60 percent of all

passengers.

President Johnson had tied up the IAM in "mediation" under the same Railway Labor Act that Kirkland and Winpisinger are pleading with Bush to invoke today. Democratic Senator Wayne Morse, then the darling of the liberal antiwar movement, attacked the IAM for "holding a strike gun at the head of its Government in this hour of international crisis" (*New York Times*, 8 July 1966). Morse headed the "emergency board" which attempted to impose an agreement on the Machinists' ranks. Despite the call for a "yes" vote by the IAM tops, strikers threw the sellout back in Johnson's face. *Life* magazine (26 August 1966) was aghast at "the galling spectacle of 35,400 air-line mechanics treating themselves to the rare, invigorating thrill of telling the President of the United States to go to hell."

The IAM stood solid—"No Legislative Strikebreaking" read the pickets' signs, when the Senate passed Morse's bill to order them back to work. On August 19, while the strikebreaking law was still pending in the House, the IAM got a contract which broke Johnson's wage controls. They faced down the bosses' government and won. The president "was forced to surrender," *Life* complained bitterly, fearful the union victory would now strike "fires of anarchy and avarice among other workers whose contracts are due to expire soon."

Earlier that year in January New York City transit workers shut down the subways, in the process smashing the state's Condon-Wadlin anti-strike law (later replaced by the Taylor Law). TWU president Mike Quill tore up an anti-strike injunction on television. When the sheriff came to arrest him, Quill said, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes. I don't care if I rot in jail. I will not call off the strike." Quill went to jail, but the TWU strike won.

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Members, All United, 1988

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WV Photo

Miami: "Don't be a strikebreaker" say Hispanic workers striking against Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo.

are not enamored with Lorenzo's corporate raids, where safety has gone to hell. Even former Nixon hack William Safire, admitting that his "natural inclination was to blame union leaders," denounces Lorenzo: "What brought the Eastern unions together was their conviction that the company was being raped anyway." He adds, "when the profit motive is used to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, capitalists must scramble" (*New York Times*, 9 March). Liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans alike are appealing to Bush to intervene—not least because they want to head off the potential explosion of working-class action that the Eastern strike may provoke.

The IAM bureaucracy has been shuttling Jesse Jackson around the picket lines in order to *contain* and *divert* the strikers' militancy into safe channels. Before the strike began, Jackson announced, "Workers don't want a strike," pleading with *Bush* to "stand up to cor-

porate barracudas like Frank Lorenzo." In Atlanta, Jackson literally got strikers to go down on their hands and knees to pray—for Bush to intervene! With the support of Winpisinger and Bryan, Congressional Democrats are pushing through a bill to order the IAM back to work. Riding the coattails of these "Rainbow Democrats" are a handful of so-called socialists, reformists who cover for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's sabotage of the Machinists strike.

The AFL-CIO labor "statesmen" have chained the unions to the partner parties of capital, as strike after strike has gone down to defeat. Skilled workers' wages, from airlines to shipyards, are driven down to the level of fast food joints. Black youth have no hope of jobs, imprisoned in ghetto hellholes under the lash of cop terror. The frame-up system of capitalist "justice" is used against striking miners in Kentucky and courageous fighters for black rights like Mumia Abu-Jamal. Meanwhile, Wall Street enjoys record profits, raking in billions from "leveraged buyouts" while producing nothing of value.

The Eastern strike is the chance to draw the line! This battle cries out for the construction of a class-struggle workers party, which would mobilize the working class and all the oppressed in *action* to defend and spread the strike.

- Don't bow to the hosses' injunctions! No government intervention in the labor movement! Smash the slave-labor laws—defend the right of "secondary strikes" and "hot cargoing" with strike action! If Bush and the Democrats want war, then give it to them—picket the railroads, Wall Street can walk to work!

- Unionize Continental and Delta! Immediate recall for the TWA flight attendants who stood by their union! For an industrywide airline strike, with a common contract expiration and wages and benefits standardized at the highest level!

- Take the strike out of Kirkland's and Wimpy's hands—for an elected strike committee with representatives from every union at the airport!

- Spread the strike! Picket lines must go up *now* at every airline, air freight and airport service company. No more PATCOs! Shut down the airports! ■

Junk Bonds...

(continued from page 9)

denounced the president and Congress for caving in to the power of organized labor:

"Unless the 35,000 striking airlines mechanics once again repudiate their union leaders, service will soon return to normal on the planes that carry 60 per cent of the country's air passengers. But the agreement under which the strikers will go back to work provides the signal for a dizzying new whirl of wage-price inflation, based on total surrender by the White House and Congress to threats of political blackmail by organized labor."

Today, the American economy is even more dependent on air travel than 20 years ago. A national airline strike, even if it lasted but a few days, would cost U.S. corporations in practically all fields hundreds of millions. Precisely for that reason airline strikes *immediately* come up against the state. Bush is willing to see a strike at Eastern only if it remains *isolated*. The Democrats (and AFL-CIO bureaucrats) do not want a strike at Eastern for fear it will spread. But Republicans and Democrats will be united as one in using the state—the cops and courts—against any attempt to extend the strike to other airlines or means of transportation.



American capitalism's deadly skies: Nine passengers were sucked out of gaping hole in 18-year-old Boeing 747 on United flight from Hawaii to New Zealand.

Howard...

(continued from page 7)

advocates building a student alliance with the ghetto masses and the power of labor. The SYC raised the need to undercut the race and class bias of higher education, by fighting for the nationalization of private universities and open admissions with free tuition and a living stipend for all. This perspective could have won the support of black D.C. youth who presently have no chance of getting into college, but the student bureaucrats were content to lobby for their own share of the pork barrel in nominating university trustees. Rather than allying with the campus workers who have fought Check's union-busting for years, many student leaders grotesquely denounced campus workers for failing to adequately serve students. We say: Abolish the board of trustees! For student/teacher/worker control of the university! Free higher education for all!

Malcolm X: "When You Vote Democrat, You Vote Dixiecrat"

No social struggle can succeed without clear vision, or at least a gut understanding of who your friends and who your enemies are. On the morning of March 7 over 100 heavily armed cops descended on the Howard campus and blocked off surrounding streets. While some students saw these black cops as "Uncle Toms," most appealed to the police and chanted, "Fight Drugs, Not Us." The cops' "war on drugs" is at fever pitch in D.C. and it is a *war on the ghetto*: the city council voted to impose

a midnight curfew for teenagers and Marion Barry has even threatened to bring in the National Guard. Contemporary Howard students could learn a lesson from their forerunners of 20 years ago, when a student takeover protested systematic police terror against the oppressed black masses.

Illusions in the Democratic Party bosses who run the police were even more widespread. Every Democratic Party politico who went to Howard for a "photo-op" in the sit-in has a record of *opposing* labor/black struggle against racist attacks. Where were they when the KKK threatened to march down Constitution Avenue in 1982? Marion Barry ran out of town while Walter Fauntroy denounced the anti-fascist mobilization and staged a ridiculous diversion, handing out free cheese miles away from where the Klan was going to be. Jackson once said that "dope" was a bigger enemy than "the rope."

The nationalist Farrakhanites, who give backhanded support to black Democrats, do nothing in the face of KKK provocations. Above all else, they hate our strategy of integrated class struggle. After the November 5 mobilization against the Klan in Philly, Nation of Islam supporters carried out a cowardly and potentially lethal assault on a Hispanic Spartacist supporter near the Howard campus.

To change society we need to build a revolutionary workers party that fights to sweep away the capitalist system which needs and breeds racism to maintain the rule of the arrogant bosses over those who produce the wealth in society. The Spartacus Youth Club is working to build such a party—Join us. ■

World War II and PMP...

(continued from page 3)

revolutions in most of Europe, though Tito's partisans did succeed in overthrowing capitalism in Yugoslavia, while the Soviet Red Army's occupation of the rest of Eastern Europe eventually resulted in the destruction from the top down of capitalist property relations there. Tito's victory, which resulted in a workers state deformed from inception by a bureaucratic caste, was the first in a series of postwar social overturns led by peasant-based guerrilla formations. The disorientation of the postwar Fourth International in the face of these developments precipitated the creation of the liquidationist current led by Michel Pablo and the destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53.

"Trotskyist Policies on the Second Imperialist War—Then and In Hind-sight" goes beyond historical questions to a consideration of the spectre of World War III which now haunts humanity, bringing with it the threat of nuclear annihilation. The post-WWII world has been dominated by the overriding hostility of imperialism to the continued existence of the collectivized and planned economies of the deformed and degenerated workers states, although with the economic decline of the United States and the growing economic power of German and Japanese imperialism there are increasing indications of renewed inter-

For that is the basic role of the state in capitalist society. As Karl Marx wrote over a hundred years ago:

"At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the state power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism."

—*The Civil War in France* (1871)

To smash this engine of capitalist class despotism requires the united struggle of the working class and all of the oppressed. The conditions are ripe. Far more so than in the '60s, a national airline strike today would evoke strong and broad popular support. Lorenzo and Icahn are hated figures not just among unionists in the airline industry. These corporate raiders personify the cult of greed—the luxurious penthouses a few blocks from homeless sleeping in the streets—which flourished in the Reagan years. The cops sent to break up picket lines and herd scabs through are the same racist pigs who terrorize the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios. For years the pressure has been building for a social explosion by workers, by the black and Hispanic poor, against the Frank Lorenzos and George Bushes, the Donald Trumps and Ed Koches. A national airline strike could be just the detonator the working people need. ■

imperialist antagonisms. The current Gorbachev policy of explicit capitulation before imperialist military pressure in every area of the world will, however, only strengthen the revanchist imperialist appetites. The IEC introduction discusses a possible Soviet nuclear defense posture and reaffirms that revolutionary defeatism toward the imperialist powers and military defense of the Soviet Union remains the policy of the international proletarian vanguard faced with the threat of World War III.

"Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" can be ordered by mail from all sections of the international Spartacist tendency. To order in the United States, send a check or money order for \$9.00 (includes postage) to Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. ■

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Anti-Fascist Demonstrators Penned In by Cops

Metzger's "Aryan Woodstock" Flops

In a drizzling rain on March 4 about 100 skinheads assembled by notorious fascist Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) held a repulsive "Aryan Woodstock" on an isolated Napa County ranch about 50 miles north of San Francisco. Metzger, who openly admits it is "nearly impossible" for WAR and the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan to hold public meetings in urban centers, planned his rural "racial-political-music gathering" as a recruiting tool to organize the depraved skinhead scum into a brownshirt urban auxiliary of his despicable race-war outfit.

The WAR Hitlerites' Napa get-together follows on the heels of last December's Nazi/skinhead rally on Whidbey Island just north of Seattle, when the fascists assembled to "honor" the founder of the white-supremacist terrorist group called "The Order" (see *WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988). As in the case of Whidbey Island, the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) initiated a protest against the March 4 "Aryan Woodstock," forming an "Ad Hoc Coalition to Stop the Nazi Skinheads" which mobilized about 500 assorted leftists and community ac-

tivists, including the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee and Progressive Labor Party/InCAR. Ironically, also in attendance were the Zionist ultra-reactionaries of the Jewish Defense League and a contingent of Guardian Angels, a vigilante outfit notorious for its aid to the police in terrorizing blacks and minorities.

As in the case of Whidbey Island a massive police mobilization protected the fascists. About 500 police drawn from the California Highway Patrol and Napa and Solano counties, many armed with M-16s, guarded the Nazi skinheads and penned the protesters into a muddy cow pasture. Another 1,000 police were held in reserve. To get to the entrance to the ranch demonstrators had to walk more than two miles along an isolated country road closed to through traffic by the cops.

The Napa County ranch, like Whidbey Island, is natural territory for the fascist vermin. A few fascists trying to get to or from the rally were satisfyingly roughed up but quickly rescued by cops. In the main the anti-Nazi protesters were confined to shouting insults. In these circumstances there was no chance for the demonstrators to pre-

vail against the fascists. A Spartacist spokesman attending a February 28 planning meeting of the Ad Hoc Coalition pointed out that it is tactically unwise to confront the fascists in backward, largely white rural areas. The anti-fascist protesters succeed only in placing themselves in the hands of the police, who are not inclined to give even the appearance of evenhandedness. The stage is thus set for a potential fascist victory.

An NBC news report showed a group of skinheads on a hilltop brandishing rifles which had been earlier confiscated and then returned by the police. Reporters and photographers interviewed skinhead guards carrying side arms and bayonets. Defending the fascists, a Napa County sheriff said they were "very cooperative the whole time" (*New York Times*, 5 March). Meanwhile, the capitalist media gave major coverage to the fascists, whose soggy weekend fête—especially after a court injunction pulled the plug on their "rock concert"—was in fact a miserable flop.

There was a lot of posturing about "teaching the fascists a lesson" by the Napa demonstrators, betraying both tremendous illusions in the "dem-

ocratic" benevolence of the police and wishful thinking that the fascists don't intend to use their weapons. The 1979 Greensboro Massacre gives bloody testimony to the contrary, but most of the left seems incapable of assimilating this truth.

Where the fascists can be met and defeated is when they try to penetrate the major cities with large working-class and minority populations. There we can prevail against the Nazi skinhead scum. But there the popular-frontist left shows no appetite for doing the hard job of mobilizing mass labor/black defense, because it means going up against Democratic Party politicians and fake-progressive labor bureau-rats tied to the liberals' coattails.

Last November's successful Partisan Defense Committee-initiated mobilization that stopped the KKK/skinheads cold in Philadelphia was built in the face of the virulent opposition of Democratic "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode and red- and violence-baiting by the bourgeois state and the misnamed Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Only the mobilization of the working class in hard class struggle will crush the fascist vermin in the egg. ■

Stop Duke!...

(continued from page 16)

tendencies which united around an urgent call to action. Participants raised their own views in their own name—from the speakers platform, with their newspapers, on signs and banners. Joining together to defend ourselves against the common enemy is an obvious proposition, but it is also unusual on the American left, after decades of Stalinist exclusionism and manipulative practice. If the powerful workers movement in Germany had heeded Trotsky's calls for a united-front policy, Hitler's fascists could have been crushed in the egg and the Holocaust never would have happened.

The Communist Party did not endorse the demonstration, but advertised it in the *People's Daily World* and participated in the picket line with their banner: "Outlaw Racism and Anti-Semitism." Bernard Branche of the PDC and Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL) responded in his remarks:

"We place no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. We place all our faith in the power of the masses. Some people believe that we can call on the government to do away with the Klan and Nazis. We think only by mobilizing the power of labor, and blacks and

Democratic Party coalition falls apart in Chicago: Richard Daley Jr. (left) defeated black acting mayor Eugene Sawyer in racially polarized primary election.



Frank Micelotta



Greer/Chicago Tribune

other minorities, can these fascists be stopped. In the final analysis, as in Hitler's Germany, the bosses will resort to these fascist murderers as their dogs of war, as their last resort to defend, to prop up, the decaying system."

Other participating organizations included the New Alliance Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, Socialist Action, and the Revolutionary Socialist League, New Alliance, which endorsed and spoke at the rally, marched with placards with pictures of ex-mayor Harold Washington; the Spartacist League's signs included "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!"

A Spartacist leaflet distributed at the anti-fascist protest is reprinted in this issue of *WV* on page 15.

"Segregation City" Elections

The Democratic Party popular-front coalition fell apart in Chicago with Harold Washington's death in 1987. Acting mayor Eugene Sawyer was installed by white City Council racists (who thought he'd be the best candidate to beat in the next election) and ridiculed by angry black Chicagoans as "Uncle Tom Sawyer." In the Democratic primary, despite Sawyer's endorsement from Chicago's best-known black Democratic Party politician, Jesse Jackson, blacks did not turn out heavily. "Mayor Daley Jr." rolled up more than 90 percent of the white vote in the most racially polarized voting in the city's history. Now the Democrats are split: Jackson is campaigning for black alderman Timothy Evans who is running for mayor as an "independent."

According to the CP's *People's Daily World* (2 March) which was distributed at the anti-Duke protest, Evans represents a "progressive agenda." New Alliance Party spokesman Dr. Jessie Fields was even more explicit: "The people of Chicago have some new tools, or new weapons, to fight against the Klan. And that new weapon is independent politics. It's the campaign of alderman Timothy Evans for mayor of Chicago on the Harold Washington Party ticket. A vote for Timothy Evans as an independent is a vote against the Machine, it's a vote against reaction and a vote against the Klan."

Is that so? Eugene Sawyer noted correctly during his failed campaign: "There are no virgins in Chicago politics. We all started in the Daley machine. Harold Washington, Tim Evans too" (*New York Times*, 27 February). The efforts (infrequent) by elected officials to address the aspirations of black Chicago come to naught because they are locked into an entire state machinery of the racist status quo. The election of Washington did nothing to change conditions for the youth trapped in the ghettos and barrios. Washington's henchmen organized to break the strike of the predominantly black teachers. In 1986, the KKK brought 3,000 racists to Marquette Park; though Washington himself was on these race-haters' hit list, he told blacks to stay home, while his cops arrested and beat anti-fascist demonstrators.

The mass civil rights activism of a generation ago brought an end to official Jim Crow segregation in the South but, under the leadership of Democrats and preachers, never challenged the racist capitalist system. However it did convince the ruling class of the advantages of installing some "black faces in high places," the better to keep the lid on. Now most big cities are administered by black mayors, while underneath it all the economic conditions of life for the black masses have actually deteriorated—and correspondingly, so have their legal and social rights.

In Chicago, this is particularly clear with regard to the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). In CHA public housing, 97 percent of the families are black and 92 percent of households are headed by women. Now the police, in "surprise inspections," are riding roughshod over the rights of tenants with raids, searches, seizure of personal belongings without warrants and detention without cause. The CHA has taken to evicting anyone not listed on the lease—including grandparents, grandchildren and "common law" spouses. Last December, eight couples were married in a joint civil ceremony to prevent the CHA from tearing their families apart. Fifty residents of one South Side project told the *Chicago Defender* (12 December 1988) that "they're tired of living like prisoners in their own homes."

In the last year, racist attacks have been on the rise, with black families in



Southwest News-Herald

Fascists have targeted Chicago for "white supremacist" provocations. Racist punks rally for genocide in Marquette Park, June 1986.

The Working People Need a Workers Party

Stop the Fascists! Fight for Workers Power!

Coming here today to protest David Duke the racist terrorist is an act of basic political self-defense. If these nests of Klansmen are allowed to organize openly for lynch mob terror, acts of racist intimidation and violence will multiply. But protest is not enough. The fascists must be crushed in the egg.

The fascists grow bold because they feel the nod of approval from the official racist policies of the government. In the 1988 presidential election both parties openly courted the racist vote. Three days before that election, the Klan and Nazi skinheads tried to stage a rally for genocide in downtown Philadelphia. That provocation was spiked by an outraged, integrated, largely black, union-based mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. Again on January 21 in Atlanta, more than 3,000 workers, black youth and others turned out for a PDC-initiated protest against a KKK march which targeted Martin Luther King Day.

Last Tuesday, we had the most racially polarized mayoral voting in Chicago's history; tonight, the Klan is trying to ride the coattails of Daley Junior's victory to enhance its recruitment for race war. The fascists grow bold because they see that the working people and oppressed, the unions and the ghettos and barrios, are divided, passive and insecure. Only by showing that we the working people have the will to fight holdily in defense of all the oppressed can we cut the ground out from under the sinister fascist forces.

It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

The organized trade-union movement has the potential power to bring this whole system to a halt. But the political subordination of the union leadership to the capitalist power structure, especially through the Democratic Party, shackles labor's power. The unions today represent a small (and shrinking) proportion of the workers in this country. Their leaders echo the companies' line that Japanese workers are to blame for America's economic woes. They turn their backs on the black youth being thrown on the scrap heap by a system that has no jobs; they abandon Spanish-speaking workers and "illegal" immigrants to sweatshops, deportation raids and scabherders.

The key struggles that built the industrial unions in America were fought in defiance of the bosses' laws; under the

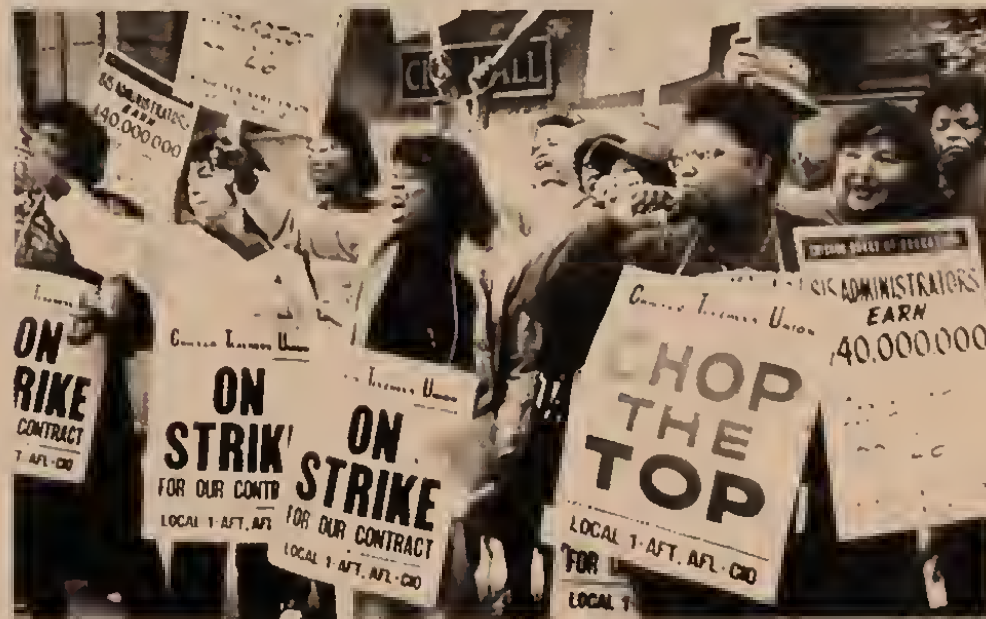
leadership, often, of "reds," unions were organized across the old AFL craft lines, across the lines of ethnic and racial divisions. Key to the victory of the Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934-36 was

with the New Deal Democrats was a decisive step toward the tame union movement of today.

In the interests of labor "peace" (actually, a one-sided class war against



Unleashing labor's power requires fighting for all the oppressed. Above: Labor-based mobilization initiated by revolutionary Marxists stopped KKK from marching in Washington, D.C., November 1982. Below: Chicago teachers struck against givebacks demanded by black mayor, 1987.



the organizing of the employed and the unemployed in common struggle. But in response to those great struggles, in order to defuse labor's militancy and independence, the so-called "New Deal" legally recognized some of the gains won on the picket lines, establishing mechanisms for the government to act as an "impartial" referee of labor-management disputes. Labor's alliance

labor), union "leaders" who wouldn't know how to tear up a court injunction have presided over layoffs and speedups and two-tier deals for their own members, while refusing any real solidarity with other workers who have fought. The "Reagan years" opened with the smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers, as the labor tops refused to shut down the airports and allowed Reagan

to win his first showdown. What followed was a broad assault: on workers' wages and conditions, on the conditions of life in the "inner cities," on women's and gay rights. The lasting symbol of the Reagan years is the homing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia—eleven black people including children killed in a high-tech military operation by the cops, FBI and black Democratic mayor.

Right now, the Eastern Airlines workers are under the gun. The high-business press is openly calling for Bush to model himself on Reagan's "firmness" with PATCO. Tuesday's Supreme Court decision for TWA against the flight attendants gives union-busters another big boost. Eastern's union-buster and corporate raider Frank Lorenzo wants war against the integrated IAM Machinists union. An aroused labor movement must give him more than the war he bargained for by spreading the strike through elected strike committees embracing other unions: shut down the airports!

In this "democratic" country, a tiny minority owns the productive wealth and therefore controls the lives of the millions. This tiny minority owns the mass media and controls the political system. The ruling class expects all the rest of us to pay for their anti-Soviet war drive and for their plundering of the economy while the industrial plant decays and America becomes the world's biggest debtor. To fight for our own interests, we working people need *our own party*, one which will fight to take the power away from America's greedy, corrupt, incompetent rulers and reorganize society on the basis of workers power.

A fighting workers party must be based far beyond the employed, better-organized and better-off workers. It must fight for the whole of the working people, linking the black ghettos and the barrios to the power of the factories. The capitalist class has prevailed in this country, long past the time when it had any progressive role to play, largely thanks to its success in keeping the working people divided against themselves, especially but not only on black/white lines. At the present time, even in small numbers the fascists provide a great service to the rich and powerful in poisoning the relations between the races and fueling racial fears, undercutting the possibilities for united class struggle.

The working people need a political leadership which fights for all of us at the expense of the bosses. We need unions which will wage class struggle to defend their members' economic interests and will take action in defense of the working people on a broad front of vital social struggles: for schools, jobs, housing, against racist terror and police brutality. We need a workers party to bring labor and black power to bear in support of strikes and all freedom struggles. The black youth in particular are a precious reservoir of militancy who must be enlisted in the front ranks of a workers party that will not stop short of the struggle for power. It is this kind of party which the Spartacist League is fighting to build. ■

the white Northwest Side getting terrorized by cross-burnings and shots fired into their homes. Racist cops have gunned down black men with impunity: on January 31 they killed Anthony Mullett, pumping four bullets into his head, in the Rogers Park neighborhood; on March 2 Craig Davis, 19 years old, was shot dead by police.

It's a racist system, and the Democrats are in it up to their necks. But far from fostering "independence" from the Democratic Party, the Evans campaign is of the Democrats, by the Democrats and for the Democrats, and serves only to tie the oppressed to this party of racism and capitalist exploitation. Real

"black empowerment" can only come through militant class struggle for workers power. Spartacist League spokesman Ed Clarkson said at the close of the anti-Duke demonstration:

"The American working class must answer by forging its own party—not British Labour Party-style—but a party to fight for all the common people. A party to fight for jobs, housing, decent schools. A party to fight every instance of racial, sexual and minority oppression. A party committed to the fight for black freedom and equality that began with the Civil War. Blacks, especially black youth, have a vital role to play in the struggle for working-class power. That's the kind of party we need. That's the party the Spartacist League is trying to build." ■

Spartacist Forums

Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!

Speaker: Tweet Carter, Spartacist League

Sat., April 1, 7:30 p.m.

Cobb Hall, Quantrell Auditorium
University of Chicago

CHICAGO

For more information (312) 663-0715

Thurs., April 6, 7:30 p.m.

See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison

MADISON

For more information (608) 255-8068

WORKERS VANGUARD

United-Front Protest Against Klansman Duke: "No Hitlers in Chicago!"

CHICAGO—Some 150 people demonstrated in the rain outside the Bismarck Hotel on Friday night, March 3, chanting: "David Duke, Klan in a suit—still a fascist killer!" Duke, a Klansman who was recently elected to the Louisiana state legislature, appeared in Chicago as the keynote speaker at a convention of the fascist Populist Party.

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and built on short notice, this integrated united-front protest was an urgent act of political self-defense. The PDC's call for the protest said: "These fascists...are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, gays, Hispanics, Catholics, unions—all of us." Word of the anti-fascist action spread quickly through the city. The morning of the demonstration, city bus drivers posted the PDC leaflet on their windshields and passengers greeted leafleters by holding up copies of the *Chicago Defender* which carried news of the protest on its front page.

In the hours before the demonstration, a rumor circulated that Duke would be a no-show. Rally organizer Gene Herson told the press: "If Himmler and Göring are sitting there, what are you going to do, wait for Hitler to come?" Under the protection of union marshals organized by the Labor Black Struggle League, the protesters chanted "Stop the Populist Party—front for KKK killers!" The anti-fascists far outnumbered the handful of fascists nestled in the Bismarck. This demonstration, which was heavily covered on the TV news, points the way forward for the kind of united, labor-centered action needed to send these fascist killers back into their sewers.

Republican David Duke rode into the town made infamous as "Segregation City" under former Democratic Party boss Richard Daley. He was seeking to ride the coattails of Daley Jr.'s Democratic primary victory over a black opponent—the Populist Party hate-fest opened three days after the voting. Duke urged his fellow Kluxers to "get out of the cow pasture and into the hotel meeting rooms." Through the doors of the Bismarck slunk violence-crazed skinheads in Waffen SS T-shirts, the paramilitary vigilantes of Posse Comitatus, fascists from "The Order," which killed Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg,



Protesters at March 3 demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee chanted "David Duke, Klan in a suit—still a fascist killer!"

and Nazis who deny the Holocaust ever happened. The Populist Party aims to weld suit-and-tie Klansmen with Marquette Park Nazis and Uptown skinheads into one genocidal fascist fist. *The power of the integrated labor movement must be mobilized to crush this deadly threat.*

Duke fulminated against Jesse Jackson, "black bloc voting" and "forced integration." His bodyguard was the notorious Art Jones, vice chairman of the American Nazi Party (and organizer of anti-black and anti-Semitic violence in Marquette Park, where last August the Klan drew over 1,000 frenzied racists to a "white power" rally). At the convention, Jones was televised in the act of trying to strangle a Channel 2 reporter. One scheduled speaker was a no-show: Evan Mecham, impeached former governor of Arizona, who sponsored a resolution at a recent state convention to declare the United States a "Christian nation" governed by

the "absolute laws" of Scripture, and to stop the fluoridation of water.

Remember Auschwitz— Fascists Want New Holocaust

The web of fascists in the Populist Party deny the Holocaust ever happened. Through the "Institute for Historical Review," Populist Party founder Willis Carto is the main publisher for neo-Nazi "revisionist historians" like David Irving. Populist Party supporters in the violent, armed fundamentalist group called "The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord" call on their members to "join together and wipe out the Jews. Together we can make the Holocaust a reality and not a Jewish fable" (*Information Digest*, 8 March 1985). In response, the Holocaust Memorial Foundation in Skokie sent this message to the anti-fascist rally:

"The Holocaust Memorial Foundation of Illinois stands with you in your opposition to bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism. We strongly oppose any

groups which deny the reality of Holocaust—the reality of the murder of twelve million people."

From California, Congressman Ron Dellums endorsed the demonstration. A dozen labor unions and officials in the Chicago area and nationwide helped build this emergency united-front action. Among the endorsers were the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 1. Several of the members of this largely black and Hispanic local at the Bismarck came outside to express their support. Kevin Quirk, a transit worker in ATU Local 241, told the crowd, "When the French fascist Le Pen tried to make a campaign stop on the island of Martinique, it was the hotel workers who organized and refused to cater to this latter-day Hitler, the David Duke of France.... It's been done before and it ought to be done today!"

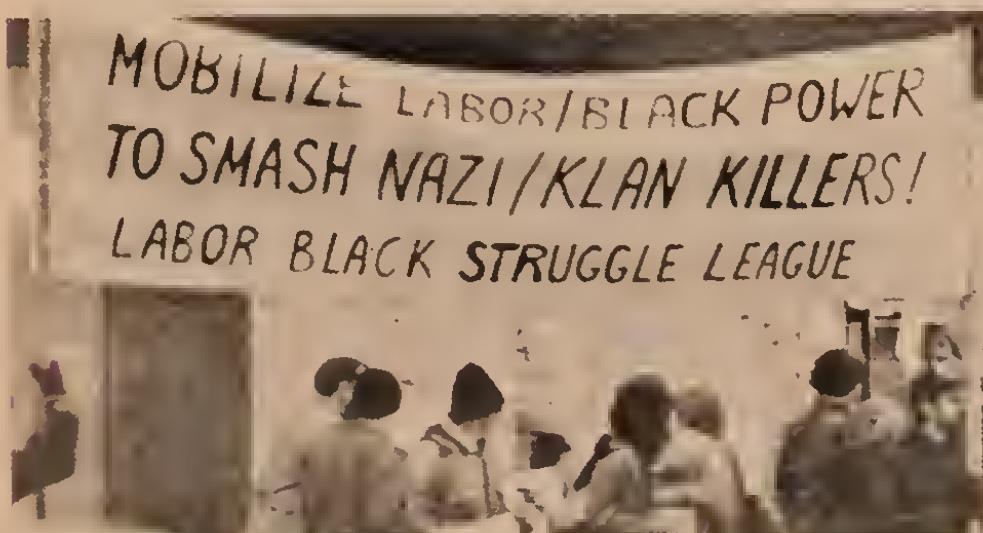
Speakers urged active solidarity with the strikers in the crucial battle at Eastern Airlines. One speaker reminded protesters: "The role of the Klan is to poison the atmosphere for integrated class struggle against the bosses." Among the endorsers was Susan Lantz of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants in New York.

From San Francisco came the endorsement of ILWU Local 6, whose president, Jim Ryder, sent a message of support. Key Chicago endorsements came from Harold Rogers of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Homer Reed of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, and Larry Regan, president of Steelworkers Local 1014. Rally speakers included Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President of ATU; James Dyson from Hotel Employees Local 1; Frank Lumpkin, Wisconsin Steel Save Our Jobs Committee; Larry Duncan, Chicago Typographical Union Local 16; Norm Roth, past president of UAW Local 6; and Ludie Martin of Teamsters Local 743, who told the crowd: "Twenty million Soviet citizens died by Hitler. Stop KKK and the Dukes in Louisiana—we just beat 'em in Chicago!"

Freedom of Criticism, Unity in Action

The March 3 protest was a real united front of very diverse forces and political

continued on page 14



Chicago, March 3: Labor Black Struggle League calls for integrated labor action to smash fascist terror; reformist Communist Party appeals to the racist capitalist state to "Outlaw Racism."

