

Woodcock Prepares Defeat at UAW Bargaining Convention

Victory Program for Auto Workers



Auto workers demonstrate against UAW tops' secret agreement with the company in 1973. UPI

MARCH 15—The special bargaining convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW) meets in Detroit this week at a key moment for U.S. labor, as over 4 million workers face contract expirations over the course of the year under conditions of continuing massive economic assault on the working class.

Key unions with contracts coming due between now and September include the Teamsters, with the national master freight agreement up at the end of March, and United Parcel Service at the end of April; the Rubber Workers (URW) facing the "Big Four" tire and rubber companies in mid-April; and electrical workers negotiating with General Electric and Westinghouse in June and July.

Food and construction industry workers will also be dealing with new contract talks before the UAW heads into the biggest bargaining month of the year in September, when agreements with the four auto manufacturers and major agricultural implements companies fall due. A class-struggle program is needed now to provide focus for the contract struggles, and unite the entire labor movement in a fight to smash the capitalist offensive.

Workers in all industries have been hit hard by the economic downturn, which is only now beginning to be alleviated ever so slightly.

• **Unemployment**, still at 7.6 percent of the work force, is barely reduced from its peak of 9.2 percent in May 1975. Official figures disguise real unemployment, which includes workers who have

given up looking for work, workers forced to accept reduced hours with wage cuts, etc.

• **Inflation**, which raged at 8.8 percent in 1973 and at 12.2 percent in 1974, continued to cut wages by over 7 percent during 1975. Wage increases for workers under union contracts expiring this year averaged at only 7.3 percent per year (including cost-of-living adjustments, if any). Real wages have fallen steadily since 1972.

• **Productivity speed-up**: While hundreds of thousands have been permanently driven out of major industries, others have been forced to boost corporate profit margins through speed-up, automation, heavy overtime, etc.

• **Cutbacks**: Banks and corporations are putting the squeeze on cities and states to cut back services, raise rates and lay off tens of thousands of municipal workers. Meanwhile, as social needs go unfulfilled and unemployment lingers on, the Bureau of Labor Statistics admits that "industrial production is still far below capacity" (*Monthly Labor Review*, December 1975).

Union leaders and contracts have failed miserably to protect workers against this economic abuse. The Woodcock leadership of the UAW brags expansively about the cost-of-living protection in its current contract, which it claims kept pace with inflation through a total average increase of \$1.59 an hour since September 1973 (*UAW Solidarity*, January-February 1976). But the most obvious facts about auto

and related industries in the last two and a half years are the disastrous unemployment and the continued heavy overtime and speedup.

Woodcock did absolutely nothing about the massive layoffs which began in November 1973 and have affected about half of all auto workers either temporarily or permanently since then. Supplementary Unemployment Benefit funds were over-extended, and well over 100,000 auto workers lost their recall rights and may never regain their jobs.

Break with the Bosses' Parties!

Especially in a presidential election year, the economic situation cannot be separated from the political. The loss of real wages suffered by workers over the last four years is due in part to Nixon's wage controls, Ford's economic conservatism, and the refusal of labor officialdom to fight either with anything more than a few more hours spent testifying before Congressional committees in favor of more government spending or quotas on imports. Placing the Democrats in office would be no better, as demonstrated by the continued advocacy of wage controls by such aging liberal darlings of the trade unions as Hubert Humphrey. Neither bourgeois party is capable of ending inflation or unemployment, twin economic evils of capitalism.

While wage controls were in force, trade-union leaders used them as an excuse not to fight for more than the "guidelines" allowed. Now that they are

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Court-Martial Convicts Anti-Francoist Officers

Turmoil in the Spanish Army

MARCH 13—After a hasty two-day trial, nine Spanish army officers, arrested last July for "seditious" activity and accused of being members of the clandestine Democratic Military Union (UMD), were sentenced on March 10 by a military court.

In an obvious attempt to avoid fueling the massive anti-government demonstrations and strikes sweeping Spain, the sentences handed down to the nine officers were considerably less severe than the 12-year jail terms demanded by the prosecution. The sentences ranged from eight years for Major Luis Otero Fernández down to two and one half, four and five years for the seven captains. Two of the latter were even let out of jail pending review of the sentences, and the court also recommended application of the royal clemency decree issued last November.

A tenth officer escaped the roundup last July in which the nine were taken prisoner. In addition, last October, three more officers were arrested and early this month another was arrested in a continuing attempt to purge dissidents in the armed forces.

The UMD claims to have an estimated 500 members and an equal number of sympathizers, mainly in the middle echelons of the officer corps

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In struggle to smash apartheid, the working class will not forget....



Keystone Press

The Sharpeville Massacre

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Editorial Notes

How Mandel-Thought Defends Mao Betrayals

LOS ANGELES — On March 12 Milt Zaslow, National Coordinator of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC), debated independent Maoist Bill Weinstein on Chinese foreign policy.

The prelude to the debate occurred a week before when Frank Pestana of the U.S.-China Friendship Society was given an entire session to himself to present the first set of arguments in defense of China's "complicated" foreign policy. In the discussion period Pestana was confronted by withering criticism from supporters of the Spartacist League. This was evidently more than he had bargained for, and Pestana withdrew from the debate, as did Marilyn Katz of the New American Movement (NAM), who said NAM would wait for a "real debate" with the Maoists.

Only Bill Weinstein agreed to try to defend the indefensible—and he couldn't do it. He used only a fraction of his allotted rebuttal time and then just gave up.

With Mao's partisans in such disarray, the debate could have provided the opportunity to elucidate, through a fundamental critique of Chinese Stalinism, why it is that Mao's self-appointed defenders are having such a hard time. But no such explanation was provided by Milt Zaslow. Unable to present a coherent Trotskyist analysis of the Chinese revolution—bureaucratically deformed from its outset—Zaslow confined himself to a list of the Maoists' recent betrayals. A Trotskyist could have illuminated the central axis of the class-collaborationist foreign policies of the Mao bureaucracy, but there was no Trotskyist at the podium. There was only a muddled centrist anxious to play both ends against the middle and simultaneously cash in both on Mao's former popularity and on his present discreditment in petty-bourgeois radical circles.

Zaslow's presentation, like the RMOC leaflet handed out at the debate, merely elaborated the crimes of the Maoist bureaucracy since 1971. Why was 1971 the "great divide"? Zaslow never explained.

So an SL spokesman took the floor to demand to know why the shopping list of Maoist foreign policy betrayals omitted the 1965 Indonesian massacre which took the lives of hundreds of thousands of militants. The pro-Chinese Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)—then the largest in the world not holding state

power—under the direct guidance of Mao politically disarmed the Indonesian masses and prepared the way for the decimation of the PKI by the "anti-imperialist" dictator Sukharno.

Zaslow's answer was despicably dishonest: he hadn't had time in his speech to bring out everything that China had done wrong and the RMOC hadn't wanted to make its leaflet too long. Yet the leaflet did include plenty of Mao's betrayals: Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand, Iran, Oman, Zaïre, Sudan, Ethiopia. Oddly enough, nothing here predates the 1970's. Why? Indonesia which of all of Mao's criminal betrayals was certainly the most monumental in terms of its massive consequences—was omitted not because of space, but because of politics—Zaslow's politics.

The audience was offered the real explanation by an SL speaker who read from a document of the international current to which the RMOC claims allegiance (the majority faction of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" [USec]). Instead of exposing Mao's treachery in Indonesia, Zaslow's mentors were busy providing back-handed excuses:

"Even if one wished to attribute to Mao exclusive responsibility for the defeat of the Indonesian revolution—which in any event would be excessive: the Kremlin's responsibility is at least equal to if not greater than Mao's in this tragedy—this event weighs less heavily on the 20th century history than the victory of the Chinese revolution."

The RMOC tailists cannot debate Maoism from a Trotskyist perspective. The centrist United Secretariat majority—which did not call for a political revolution in China until 1969, which suppressed the "appeal" of the Trotskyists rotting in Mao's jails, who tailed after Mao's left-talking "Cultural Revolution"—are in no position to cast any light on the historical current represented by Chinese Stalinism. The beleaguered Bill Weinstein, saddled with the job of defending an apparently endless string of Maoist betrayals, finally said of Zaslow's eclectic presentation: "This won't substitute for Marxist analysis." That comment was one of the most incisive of the evening.

Maoist Running-Dog-Fight

SAN FRANCISCO—*Guardian* editor Irwin Silber walked into the emotionally charged atmosphere of a room filled by nearly 500 Maoists March 12 to present a forum on Angola. Just about every one-time "progressive friend of China" in town was there, either

hoping to be instructed how to be "critical" without breaking from Maoism or, like the October League (OL), waiting to assert a claim to the "orthodox Maoist" niche—a once hotly contested spot on the radical spectrum now grown remarkably less populous in a hurry.

Tensions ran high as the OL supporters present in force denounced Silber for "objective support to Soviet social-imperialism." The discussion period was mainly a duel between Silber and the OL. At one point, though, a speaker for the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) demanded to know why the *Guardian* has been refusing to run advertisements from the RCP when it takes them from the Spartacist League and other "Trots." Silber replied that ads for "Red Papers No. 7" and the latest issue of the RCP newspaper (which labels Cuba "state capitalist") were rejected because "the *Guardian* considers Cuba a socialist country."

Silber carefully avoided any direct criticism of the Chinese bureaucracy, characterizing the USSR as "social-imperialist." He spoke of "class collaboration Moscow-style" and warned of "class collaboration Peking-style" in Angola, as the OL and RCP squirmed in their seats or heckled. He observed that the idea that the Soviet Union constitutes "the main enemy today" leads to "reactionary consequences"—which he easily documented from the pages of the OL's *Call* and the RCP's *Revolution*.

Prating about "frank differences" and "comradely criticism," Silber rallied the numerous *Guardian* supporters in the audience around an anti-China pitch. He began: Who believes that the USSR is the main danger today? The scum of the earth. South Africa believes the USSR is the main danger. Portuguese imperialism believes it. U.S. imperialism. The CIA. FNLA. UNITA. And who else believes the USSR is the main danger? The audience in its majority chanted: "China, China, China."

China's shameless tailing after U.S. imperialism, particularly in Angola, has ostracized loyal Peking apologists from their accustomed habitat, to the point that today the *Guardian*, traditional weathervane of mainstream petty-bourgeois radical opinion, treats the RCP as worse than "Trotskyites." But the anti-communist potential inherent in Silber's more urbane rabble-rousing is no less dangerous than the anti-USSR, anti-Cuba frenzy of the orthodox Maoists. What Silber represents is decades of Stalinist class collaboration, *Guardian*-style.

Letters

Stalinism and the Stalinists

Chicago
7 March 1976

Dear Editor,

The article "West European Stalinists Delete 'Dictatorship of Proletariat,'" (*WV* No. 99, 5 March 1976) contains the following passage:

"Ever since the early 1950's when

Michel Pablo (then head of the Fourth International) abandoned the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism as a counterrevolutionary current in the workers movement—instead terming it centrist—and ordered sections of the FI to submerge into Stalinist parties...."

While the sense of the passage is correct, the formulation "counterrevolutionary current in the workers movement" (my emphasis, J.S.) oversimplifies Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism in its world-historic complexity. Specifically, this formulation fails to distinguish between Stalinism when referring to the organization of Russian society—bureaucratic (petty-bourgeois) government based on collectivized (proletarian) property forms—and Stalinism when referring to the worldwide political movement emerging from the degeneration of the Leninist Third International.

Trotsky held that the Russian state bureaucracy and the Communist parties in the capitalist world were not analogous social formations. Both have played a counterrevolutionary role on a world-historic scale, but do so from very different material and social bases, for differing motivations, by different methods and in different contexts.

By 1933 the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was no longer a Soviet party; it was not like the German and French CP's despite a formal similarity and the common

leadership of Joseph Stalin. Rather the CPSU had become a direct extension of the state bureaucracy lacking an autonomous mass base. In 1933, Trotsky wrote:

"The present CPSU is not a party but an apparatus of domination in the hands of an uncontrolled bureaucracy. Within the framework of the CPSU and outside of it takes place the grouping of the scattered elements of the two basic parties: the proletarian and Thermidorean-Bonapartist."

—"It Is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew"

When the "Transitional Program" denounces the treacherous leadership of the Stalinists over the working masses throughout the world, it specifically refers to the Third International, not to Stalinism in general:

"The Third International has taken to the road of reformism at a time when the crisis of capitalism definitely placed the proletarian revolution on the order of the day.... The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam and Anarcho-syndicalist Internationals...."

There is a further point to make about the class political character of Stalin's Comintern, one more important in the post-war period than during Trotsky's lifetime. The Stalinized Third International could be considered a current within the workers movement on the basis of its central organizational locus. But not all Stalinist parties were in the workers movement.

When the Chinese Communist Party abandoned the cities for peasant/guerrilla war in the early 1930's, it transformed its class nature, becoming a petty-bourgeois radical nationalist formation fundamentally different from the French CP, for example. The transformation of the class character of the Chinese CP was anticipated by Trotsky in his important, germinal article "Peasant War in China and the Proletariat" (1932):

"Meanwhile, the majority of the rank-and-file Communists in the Red detachments unquestionably consists of peasants, who assume the name Communist in all honesty and sincerity but who actually remain revolutionary paupers or revolutionary petty proprietors. In politics he who judges by denominations and labels and not by social facts is lost."

The use of the term Stalinism without reference to any specific historic organization or institution is a source of much confusion within the Trotskyist movement.

Comradely,
Joseph Seymour

WV replies: Comrade Seymour's letter makes a valuable point. There is, of course, an additional sense in which the term Stalinism can be used, namely to denote the common features of the ideology propagated (for example) by the French Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party and the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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At London USec "Unity" Jamboree

Mandel Yearns for the Second International

LONDON, March 6—Last night the International Marxist Group (IMG) held a rally featuring Ernest Mandel on the "European Revolution and the Building of the Fourth International." The leading spokesman for the United Secretariat (USec), the international fake-Trotskyist conglomerate with which the IMG is affiliated, Mandel was there to deliver an appeal for "unity" of the "revolutionary left." Although ostensibly directed at groups outside the USec, the message was clearly also intended for the IMG membership, which had been mobilised from other centres across the country for the rally and for educational sessions held earlier in the day.

To combat confusion and demoralisation in the IMG—the English incarnation of an "International" rent by deep factional cleavage, and itself a web of tangled and shifting alliances between numerous competing clique/tendencies—Mandel put forward a concept of "unity" which is nothing other than a frontal assault on one of the fundamentals of Leninism: the need for a programmatically cohesive, disciplined international vanguard party. In typical fashion, the IMG attempted to camouflage the import of the gathering in light-mindedness. The trappings included "workers songs from County Durham," a film on the Portuguese newspaper *República* and some "Spanish pipe music."

The audience was also treated to a 30-minute fund-raising interlude by IMG National Secretary Brian Grogan which recalled some of the USec's more memorable stunts making a mockery of revolutionary politics. (Past "highlights" have included a spokesman for the Canadian RMG who in a January 1975 Vancouver forum responded to supporters of the Spartacist tendency by going into a tap-dance routine, and a recent French LCR handbill depicting Trotsky as a clown on a tightrope.) Grogan told the audience of 500 to shell out for the IMG and keep an eye on the others: "If anyone hasn't got their hands in their pockets, I bet they're in the CIA" or, he added, they might be "the KGB watching the CIA." The biggest laugh came when he announced, "We are the professionals."

Mensheviks, Charlatans and Liars

Grogan's main presentation centred on the claim that the USec—deeply divided between a European-based centrist majority and a reformist minority led by the American SWP—is based on principle. He characterised the differences (which have led to splits in virtually every country where both wings have significant forces) as merely tactical. Boasting that the USec is not "monolithic," he pointed to the debate over Portugal (where the positions

taken by the two main factions would put them on opposite sides in the major class battles there).

Mandel added his bit, boasting that USec "democracy" is demonstrated by the fact that it allows public debate, even "passionate public debate." He praised the USec for getting back to the traditions of the international socialist movement before World War I. But what does this mean? Mandel is rejecting the practice of Lenin's Comintern—with its rigorous membership criteria and democratic-centralist structure—in favor of the Second International! To justify an "international tendency" whose "internal discussion" is public because a dozen vitriolic splits have made it public, Mandel implicitly repudiates the entirety of Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks, which took place precisely over the question of the disciplined communist vanguard.

Concretely symbolising what "unity" means in the USec was the presence on the platform of the notorious Bala Tampoe, head of the USec's Ceylonese section. Although aligned with the centrist USec majority faction, the Ceylonese grouping's political practice is fully reformist; its main activity inside Ceylon is to function as an appendage of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, of which Tampoe is the top bureaucrat.

In 1969, at the initiation of Edmund Samarakkody, the USec "World Congress" was forced to constitute a special Ceylon Commission to investigate Tampoe's extremely dubious activities, which included—on top of shameless pro-government policies in Ceylon—a trip to the U.S. financed by the CIA-backed Asia Foundation.

When the Ceylon Commission suppressed the damning specifics of the uncontested allegations against Tampoe, Samarakkody and the international Spartacist tendency brought the affair to the attention of the world movement. The IMG played an important part in the USec's frantic cover-up attempt, publishing a pamphlet by one Jaya Vithana which claimed that the matter was a fabrication instigated by the Healy tendency. Unfortunately for the IMG USec, Vithana went overboard and baldly asserted that there had been no investigation and no commission—a claim easily disproved by the official minutes of the "World Congress," which included the vague and never implemented recommendations of the allegedly non-existent "Ceylon Commission."

Shifting Sands of IMG Maneuverism

The general rightward drift of the IMG was highlighted by Grogan's lengthy presentation of perspectives in Britain, particularly the orientation toward the Labour Party "lefts." Rightward motion is also indicated by a softer line now being taken toward the reformist American SWP. In the past the IMG majority faction ("Tendency B" led by Grogan, John Ross and Bob Pennington) had been among the SWP's most vehement USec opponents.

As part of the new tilt, recent issues of the IMG's *Red Weekly* have contained a series of articles (directed mainly against the WSL, a split-off from the Healyites) attempting to pervert Lenin's struggle for the Bolshevik party and Trotsky's fight for the Fourth International into

justifications for the USec rotten-bloc style of organisation. In a recent "Statement to the ICL [a fusion between the Workers Fight and Workers Power groups] from the IMG," the IMG boasted that:

"Today the Fourth International is able to put its programme to the test of the real class struggle. Many of its organisations are still propaganda organisations of the size of the ICL, but still others—especially in France and Spain, the USA and Argentina, are already organisations which can have an important effect on the class struggle."

The American SWP and Argentine PST have led the USec minority (what exists in Spain is a split). It would appear that the IMG is now endorsing the "effect on the class struggle" of the programme of the SWP (which calls for "free speech" for fascists, advocates sending the U.S. Army to Boston to "protect" black people, and solidarises with the reactionary offensive headed up by the Portuguese Socialist Party last year) and of the Argentine PST's loudly proclaimed support for the "continuity" of the murderous bourgeois Peronist regime.

The USec's claims to "democracy" are given the lie by the series of grossly undemocratic expulsions carried out by the side with the upper hand in a particular country against its domestic minority. On a smaller scale, it is indicative that this public IMG meeting made no provision for discussion from the floor.

The whole of the Mandel/Grogan "unity" appeal is a fraud, as is the USec's claim to represent the Fourth International. The revolutionary Trotskyist

USec's View of Trotsky:



LCR "humor": making a mockery of Trotsky and Marxism.

programme is upheld neither by the reformist minority nor by the different variants of centrism which constitute the majority. The basis of the existing USec "unity"—and for the regroupment pitch to other organisations made at the meeting—is maneuverist willingness to coexist with abject reformism and to tolerate the myriad and often counterposed manifestations of unprincipled accommodationism practised by the centrist sections in their different countries.

Mandel and his collaborators lecture
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Protest WV Exclusion from ILWU Local 6 Convention

OAKLAND, March 13—The leadership of ILWU Local 6 has taken another step to further undermine the once relatively democratic traditions of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. At the second session of the Local 6 contract convention Local president McClain endorsed and rammed through a motion aimed to exclude a *Workers Vanguard* reporter from covering the meeting. While the motion referred simply to "the press," its author specifically attacked "the Vanguard," the only paper represented at the moment.

McClain got up to whine about how the press "gets the facts mixed up as to what is true and untrue." But, in fact, it is precisely *WV's* complete and honest reporting—combined with revolutionary analysis and program—that bothers the labor fakers. The collusion of the ILWU bureaucrats with the bosses at the expense of the union ranks is thoroughly exposed in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*. That is what McClain & Co. don't like.

In particular, McClain might have been embarrassed by our exposure of his insistence on maintaining the no-strike clause in the contract at the first session of the warehouse contract convention (see *WV* No. 99, 5 March). Likewise, the story of how the bureaucrats overturned two votes by the body rejecting their miserable proposed pension, may not have been appreciated. McClain no doubt would also have preferred to have his praise for San Francisco mayor George Moscone go unreported after Moscone hailed the S.F. police department—which terrorized the city's black population last spring in its Operation Zebra dragnet as "most convivial."

Whatever the pretext offered, clearly McClain's concern was to suppress the facts through this bureaucratic move to censor the working-class press. As Bob Mandel of the Militant Caucus pointed out, direct access to relevant events by pro-labor press can only increase the accuracy of the reporting, thereby aiding the union cause. It is the bosses' press which portrays workers' wage gains as the cause of inflation and indignantly lays the blame for strike violence on those who defend their picket lines as opposed to the scabs who would cross them protected by the clubs of the cops. As for capitalist politicians like Moscone, they merit not respect but contempt from the ranks of labor, whose class interests can be represented only by an independent workers party. It is the Moscones who should be unconditionally excluded from the councils of labor!

In defending workers democracy Mandel noted that several labor socialist papers, including *People's World*, the *Bay Area Worker* and *Workers Vanguard*, had attended the previous session. George Cazzaza of Warehouse Victory, which is politically supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and its *Bay Area Worker*, then took the floor to attack *WV* as having "nothing to do with the working class."

Thus these Stalinists add their voices to the chorus of anti-communist hacks seeking to hide their sellouts with tirades against "outside agitators." Such pandering to vicious bureaucratic red-baiting will inevitably rebound against militants—including, if McClain so chooses, against the Warehouse Victory grouping. Sectarian rejection of workers democracy threatens essential class solidarity and the ability of the working class to struggle to defend itself against the class enemy. It is both short-sighted and dangerous.

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Jim Crow Maoists Declare Cuba Was Always Capitalist

The defeat of CIA/South African-led forces in Angola by the Soviet-backed, Cuban-spearheaded People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has left the Maoist cheerleaders for imperialist aggression with a political black eye. For months the Peking-line Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has been howling that the so-called "Soviet social-imperialists" - not the U.S. imperialists nor the white-supremacist brasshats, mind you - were the "Number One enemy" in Angola and Africa.

Earlier the RCP had gained notoriety by its obscene policy of hailing the "fightback" of racist anti-busing demonstrations in Boston and Louisville. Now, while imperialist warmonger Gerald Ford assails Castro as an "international outlaw" for intervening in Angola against the South African invasion, these Jim Crow Maoists slobber foam-flecked denunciations of the Cuban "aggressors" but "neglect" to demand the withdrawal of South African troops (*Revolution*, 15 January 1976).

For the RCP the victorious Cuban troops presiding over the consolidation of a bourgeois regime in Luanda represent the shock troops of the "New Tsars." So now the RCP has declared polemical war on the Castro regime. In a seven-page tirade blaring from the latest *Revolution* (15 February) these Maoists bellow—in italics for increased volume—that "*in fact Cuba was never a socialist country*" but rather has been "state capitalist" ever since the 1959 revolution!

The tendency that now calls itself the RCP has gone from uncritical political support for Castro to siding with U.S. imperialism against the Cuban revolution. Supporters of the former Revolutionary Union once helped organize the Venceremos Brigades which took several hundred subjectively revolutionary youth to Cuba where they cut cane and played baseball with Communist Party members. Now, if the RCP's new analysis is believed, it turns out that Bob Avakian was a labor contractor for "Soviet capitalists" and RCPers played ball with the bosses.

"Purchasing 'Socialism'?"

It is true that Cuba was never a "socialist" country; but since 1960 neither has it been a "capitalist" or "state capitalist" country. The Spartacist tendency has uniquely maintained that since that time Cuba has been a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The Cuban revolution smashed capitalist rule on the island and then established and defended collectivized property in the principal means of production. The RCP simply dismisses the need to protect these historic gains. Rather, communists must defend those gains against imperialism and counterrevolution. Our aim is proletarian political revolution to sweep away the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy and bring the workers to direct political power through sovereign soviets and a revolutionary vanguard party.

The RCP can back up its outrageous analysis of the Cuban deformed workers state as "capitalist" only by the most feeble and cynical recitation of Mao-Thought tautologies and homilies. Since the economic policies of the

Cuban Stalinist regime are not qualitatively different from those of the Chinese bureaucracy, Avakian & Co. are reduced to the babble that in Cuba "things, not people, are decisive" (?) while in China "politics is in command"(!?).

Similarly these fake-revolutionary Maoists denounce the Cuban bureaucracy's use of sugar exports to buy manufactured goods from the Soviet bloc as "purchasing 'socialism' instead of relying on and mobilizing the class struggle of the working class and masses." But Cuba during the first half of the 1960's also traded extensively with China. Then, in 1966, Peking reneged on its rice-sugar exchange program with Cuba and joined in the imperialist embargo. Yet according to the RCP, China abandoned Cuba in a noble and proletarian internationalist act contributing to the development of Cuban "self-reliance" and "self-sufficiency"!

The RCP also takes a poke at the Cuban "mania of nationalization" in the late 1960's, pointing to the rapid pace of collectivization and the expropriation of "hot-dog sellers, grocery store owners, bar keepers and other small proprietors." But the RCP praises Stalin's far more disastrous forced collectivization launched in 1929 and hails the Cambodian Stalinists' brutal and retrogressive forced population transfer of the urban masses into the countryside to "build socialism" on the technical level of the ancient Khmers.

Birddogging for Kissinger

Missing from these seven pages is any mention of the U.S. imperialist outpost at Guantánamo. The article rails at the Russian military shield provided Cuba in the past but never once even notes the chain of U.S. military bases in the Caribbean. What the RCP does say is still more despicable. Cuba is supposedly a "colony" which "has not even won its independence and national liberation" from Russian "imperialism." According to this line of "reasoning," Maoists would support a *bourgeois* struggle for independence from "Soviet social-imperialism" and its Havana quislings, i.e., they would support capitalist-restorationist counterrevolution! It would seem that Henry Kissinger is a ventriloquist, for the RCP is certainly a mouthpiece for the most farsighted section of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which recognizes in the Russian degenerated workers state the main present obstacle to its dream of imperialist world domination.

The RCP line on Cuba is one more nail in the political coffin of these discredited Maoist running dogs of U.S. imperialism. In the petty-bourgeois radical milieu from which the RCP draws its support and recruits, the Cuban revolution still commands great respect (and the Castro regime enjoys the confidence which these radicals incorrectly place in petty-bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists in all their incarnations). For over a decade the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions have represented the epitome of "Third World" nationalism and anti-imperialist "people's war." Even for New Left Maoists, Castro and Ho Chi Minh were icons standing above the Sino-Soviet rift and its polemics. Al-



Venceremos Brigade members, many of them supporters of the RU (RCP), visited Cuba in 1970.

though Peking-Havana relations became icy in 1966, when China cut its aid to Cuba, Maoist-inspired radicals in this country could continue to support Cuba, since both Mao and Castro at that time preached that the "main enemy" in the world was U.S. imperialism.

Indeed, the New Left Maoists became Castro's fiercest apologists in the U.S. When the Progressive Labor Party (PL) broke from nationalism and Third World Stalinism in a very partial and deformed manner and began to denounce the Cuban and Vietnamese leaders from the left, the Revolutionary Union (RU) attacked PL for "Trotskyism" in its *Red Papers 1*. Later at the 1969 SDS convention RU forces, unable to defeat Progressive Labor politically, "expelled" PL from SDS for criticizing revolutionary "vanguards" such as "the revolutionary government of Cuba."

But the China-U.S. rapprochement increasingly brought the U.S. Maoists into conflict with mainstream Third World Stalinism as the "main enemy" became "Soviet social-imperialism." The Maoists, notably the RCP and the October League, have denounced Ceylonese JVP youth rebels, Dhofar guerrillas, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Cuban leadership as front men for the Soviet "imperialists" (see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*), each time alienating elements of the petty-bourgeois radical milieu.

Simply on the political basis of its attack on Cuba the RCP likewise should denounce the Vietnamese Stalinists, who now nestle snugly in the diplomatic orbit of the USSR, who now laud Soviet policy in Angola and India and Portugal, and who now even fight Chinese Communist troops in a reactionary "turf" conflict over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. China has refrained from disowning the Vietnamese only because they, unlike Cuba, are strategically situated in the defense perimeter of China and the Chinese consequently are willing to overlook "revisionism" as long as fence-mending diplomacy can prevail.

Yet not once in this article does the RCP mention its previous support to the arch-"capitalist" Castro. Not once does the RCP mention that its cadres rushed to Cuba year after year to cut cane—thereby presumably boosting the "profits" of the "state capitalists"! The RCP spits on the real gains of the Cuban revolution while obfuscating and covering for the bureaucratic parasitism which deforms Cuban society.

A crucial acid test for a revolutionist is the desire to struggle against one's "own" class enemy. In the mid-1960's it was the issue of Cuba which centrally defined the anti-capitalist elements emerging from the New Left milieu. The New Leftists who cheered Castro were manifesting not so much any elaborated class analysis of the Cuban revolution as a gut reaction

against the intensity of U.S. imperialism's frontal assault on Cuba. They were viscerally opposed to the unmistakably revanchist appetites of their "own" bourgeoisie in its frenzied drive to grind into the dust Latin America's first non-capitalist "domino."

PL's initial pronouncement that Cuba was capitalist flowed from a different motivation than the present declaration by the RCP, although both could produce similar logical problems. No sooner had PL produced its "analysis" of Cuba than some of its more curious members began to ask what *material conditions* separated China from a similar characterization. A few years later, PL declared that indeed China, too, was a capitalist country filled with the same sort of "red bosses" that inhabit the "capitalist" island 90 miles off the Florida shore.

But the RCP intends to have no such trouble. Its "analysis" boils down to this: socialist societies are run by Mao-Thought, capitalist societies are not. This simple-minded idealism will satisfy only the most naive among the RCP membership. The others, however, are by now no doubt sufficiently cynical to understand that such "theoretical" exercises are pure eyewash, that they are simply engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda in the narrow nationalist interests of the Chinese bureaucracy.

The RCP tendency - having crawled behind Mao for so long that it has breathed its last gasp of subjective anti-capitalist impulse - avidly embraces an implicit bloc with U.S. imperialism against Cuba. In the course of a few months the RCP has defined itself by barely veiled support of South Africa's military adventure in Angola and opposition to defense of the gains of the Cuban revolution. Blindly following the cadence of Peking, these fake-socialists now march in lockstep with the Pentagon and the CIA. ■

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Orgy of Redbaiting

I.S. Opportunism Backfires at TDC Rallies

MARCH 14—The International Socialists (I.S.) received a rude jolt when its favorite model of "class struggle unionism," Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), proved itself to be a hotbed of anti-communism. At a heavily publicized rally in the Bay Area, a contingent of TDC supporters yesterday attacked supporters from several left organizations, including the I.S.!

The TDC is an unprincipled reformist group which calls for nothing beyond simple trade-union economism. It has persistently refused to attack racism, support the UFW against Teamster raids, demand a break from the capitalist political parties or defend workers democracy. When the Spartacist League (SL) criticized the TDC for these shortcomings, it drew only scoffs and jeers from the I.S. The I.S. not only gave uncritical support to the TDC, but hailed it and similar groupings as "the biggest step forward for the working class since the 1930's" (*Workers' Power*, 12 December).

The Bay Area TDC leadership had laid careful plans for Saturday's demonstration. At a press conference two days prior to the rally, TDC leaders took violent exception to criticisms of its refusal to defend the Farm Workers. They stated openly that the group had not taken a position on the UFW in the past and had no intention of doing so in the future. An SL supporter was informed that placards in support of the UFW would be unwelcome, and that the

TDC was "prepared to deal with anybody who brings slogans that are not part of TDC's demands."

Although preparations had been made to deal with left critics, the disruption at the rally came from another source: a group of right-wing TDC supporters who attacked supporters from all left organizations present, the SL, Workers Viewpoint (a small Maoist sect) and the *International Socialists*. Newspaper salesmen from both Workers Viewpoint and the I.S. had papers torn out of their hands while another *Workers' Power* vendor was pushed around. Meanwhile the official TDC "security squad"—which had come prepared to muzzle the SL—stood by and did nothing to interfere with this indiscriminate attack on all socialists, including the loyal TDC supporters of the I.S.!

The anti-communism at the rally was not limited to this one incident. Several TDC supporters took advantage of an open microphone to attack leftists. One speaker threatened paper salesmen that they "had better cool it," while another denounced the socialists for seeking "to make money off Teamsters" (by selling newspapers!). This trash went virtually unopposed from the speaker's podium. John Larson, a prominent TDCer who described himself as a "socialist," did mutter some mealy-mouthed phrases against redbaiting, but he refused to explicitly raise the issue of workers

democracy or defend the right of left groups to sell their press.

The Bay Area rally was one of several TDC demonstrations that took place March 13, and in some areas the anti-communism was even more virulent. In Cleveland, for example, prominent TDC spokesman Ken Paff was heavily redbaited. After a series of sharp attacks on Paff from the floor, a Teamster finally rose to Paff's "defense" by asserting that he had visited the local FBI and been assured that they had nothing on Paff!

The principle of workers democracy, which defends the right of all viewpoints (excepting those of outright fascists and scabs) to be heard and debated within the labor movement, has been flagrantly violated by the TDC. It has repeatedly endorsed court suits against the Teamsters union and it reaffirmed this policy Saturday. In Cleveland the TDC announced a suit against the Local leadership for interfering with the right of TDC to distribute literature. In Los Angeles a TDC member announced her readiness to file a class-action suit on grounds of sexual discrimination against the Teamster International for offering a rotten contract to Teamster office workers, who are mainly women.

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy cannot be defeated by calling in the bourgeois government—or by using strong-arm tactics. The goon tactics designed to muzzle the SL are precisely what the TDC rails against when they

are used *against it* by the bureaucracy. Such tactics inevitably backfire, as TDC leaders discovered this week. Workers educated to use violence against one left group can hardly be expected to defend other labor organizations against right-wing attacks.

The surfacing of anti-communism within the TDC should be no surprise. Where it has gone beyond a small number of I.S. supporters, the TDC has become a home mainly for disgruntled Hoffa supporters. While their militancy on wage issues is legitimate, they share the parochialism, anti-communism and racial insensitivity of both the Hoffa and Fitzsimmons bureaucracies. As the contract expiration date approaches the TDC has capitulated increasingly to these sentiments and become even less distinguishable from the bureaucracy—to the point where it could announce at the L.A. rally that it had forced Fitzsimmons to fight for the membership and would send a wire to the IBT president announcing that they were behind him and the negotiating committee all the way in the contract bargaining!

The disturbing evolution of the TDC is another object lesson in the I.S. school of labor reformism. The I.S. has built the group from its inception and apologized for every capitulation of the TDC to reformism and anti-communism. If today its Frankenstein monster awakes and attacks the I.S., it has only itself to blame. ■

Spanish Army...

(continued from page 1)

(captains and majors), but reportedly counts several generals and many colonels in its ranks as well. With supporters in all branches of the armed forces, according to an interview in *Le Monde* (10 March) the UMD also claims sympathizers in the armed police, the civil guard and even in the army intelligence service.

During the trial the victimized officers read personal statements denying membership in any political organization, but called for "democratization by the path of liberty and social justice" (*New York Times*, 11 March). The most conservative of several dissident groupings in the army, the UMD places itself politically between the Christian Democrats and the social democrats. It calls for the disarming of all right-wing groups and sees its main task as guarding against an ultra-rightist coup. While demanding the release of all political prisoners and legalization of the Communist Party, it repeatedly asserts that Spain is not Portugal. Asked if the group would play a role similar to the Portuguese MFA, one of the Spanish captains replied that they would not be drawn into politics, and would return to the barracks "as soon as a democratic regime were installed in Spain" (*Le Monde*, 23 October 1975). UMD leaders also express great concern for the careers of its members, studying ways of improving the "professional capacity" of military personnel and speeding up the promotion system.

The Military and the Left

The question of the military is key in Spain today. It was in an attempt to sharply crack down on all dissent in the

praetorian guard of the Francoist regime that the government initially arrested and "admonished" scores of officers. It was because a lengthy trial and heavy sentences could produce an explosion in the army and the working class that the prosecution dealt with the "seditious" officers so gingerly last week. Even more indicative of the discontent in the army is the fact that since the fall arms and munitions have been kept locked up under guard, rarely brought out even for training, as the poorly paid draftees (whose salary is 200 pesetas, about US\$3.50, per month) are considered unreliable.

The Communist Party (PCE) has highlighted the case of the arrested alleged members of the Democratic Military Union in its press. But it cannot wage a real defense of those who say they would resist a rightist coup, for that could stir up opposition in the army ranks and thus weaken its role as guardian of the interests of capital. This, in turn, would threaten the PCE's program for a peaceful "democratic breakthrough."

A declaration by the party's executive committee in January stressed that, "The breakthrough will not affect either the armed forces, government officials or the existing social system" (*Mundo Obrero*, 14 January). The latest PCE pronouncements go even further in underlining the reformists' commitment to capitalism, calling for "a provisional government growing from a broad agreement of the democratic opposition, the army and the church [which] would re-establish civil liberties and open a constituent process..." (*Mundo Obrero*, 25 February).

While opposing such blatant class collaborationism, two of the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Spain have raised demands which likewise imply support for a ("democratized") bourgeois army. Thus, in addition to a number of

legitimate demands for civil liberties within the army and calls for the formation of soldiers committees, a recent wall poster of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR, supporters of the majority faction of the United Secretariat) in a Spanish university also called for "purging the military of reactionaries." It is incredible that having closely followed the turmoil in Portugal next door, where hundreds of reactionary officers were purged in late 1974 and early 1975, the LCR should raise this reformist call. The events of November 25 should have made clear to them—if Marxism and previous historical experience hadn't already done so—that the *entire* officer corps defends capitalism. As Trotsky wrote of Spain in the 1930's:

"...at the approach of the proletarian revolution the officers' corps becomes the executioner of the proletariat. To eliminate four or five hundred reactionary agitators from the army means to leave everything basically as it was before. The officers' corps in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch."

—"The Lesson of Spain," July 1936

While USec majorityites call for purging only the reactionary officers (and presumably, therefore, leaving the army in the control of "progressives" such as the UMD, which would certainly crush any attempt at workers revolution), sympathizers of the minority—the Communist League of Spain (LCE)—have called for "democratic control of the army" (LCE leaflet "Con SEAT: Todos en lucha," Barcelona, 12 January 1975) and "democratic control by soldiers committees." Similar demands were raised during the Spanish Civil War when the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM) called for workers control of the army.

But the task of soldiers committees in

the army is to break with the command structure and *destroy*, not control, the bourgeois army. As Trotsky wrote, "The army is a weapon of the ruling class and cannot be anything else.... The proletariat cannot 'control' an army created by the bourgeoisie and its reformist lackeys. The revolutionary party can and must build its cells in such an army, preparing the advanced sections of the army to pass over to the side of the workers" ("Is Victory Possible?", April 1937).

As in Portugal, Argentina, Chile and elsewhere when a working-class upsurge has sharply posed the question of proletarian revolution, in Spain the followers of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat have, in tailing after the present backward consciousness of the workers, again renounced some of the most fundamental principles of Marxism. While vigorously defending the arrested officers of the UMD against the Francoist dictatorship, the task of revolutionaries is *not* to build confidence in the liberals of today who tomorrow will act as hangmen of the revolution. Rather we seek to awaken among the workers and the soldier ranks the consciousness of the need to break with *all* wings of the bourgeoisie and fight for proletarian revolution. ■

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In Struggle to Smash Apartheid, the Working Class Will Not Forget...



Keystone Press

Aftermath of Sharpeville massacre, 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on demonstration against pass laws leaving 69 dead and 178 wounded.

The Sharpeville Massacre

On 21 March 1960, 150 heavily armed police opened fire on thousands of South African blacks demonstrating at Sharpeville township against the noxious pass laws which tightly regulate the daily movements of the African population. Hundreds of bullets were pumped into the unarmed crowd from machine guns, rifles and pistols. When the orgy of bloodletting was over, 69 Africans lay dead and 178 wounded.

Gaping wounds in the backs of most victims told a story of cold-blooded murder, as demonstrators attempted to flee the hail of police bullets. The carnage at Sharpeville was repeated the same day on a smaller scale at Langa township and other suburban black ghettos surrounding the white cities. Recorded by reporters and photographers, the killings provoked world-wide protests, not only from left and labor militants but even from South Africa's imperialist allies embarrassed by the naked face of racist barbarism revealed in newspaper and newsreel photos.

Massive stay-at-home strikes and protest demonstrations in the black townships rocked South Africa. The regime of Hendrik Verwoerd declared a state of emergency, employing the full arsenal of repressive laws developed over twelve years of Nationalist Party rule. The government rounded up 2,000 leaders of the predominantly white, anti-apartheid Liberal Party; the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which had launched the anti-pass campaign; the African National Congress (ANC); and a number of other groups clustered around the ANC-led Congress Alliance.

These militants were "detained" without trial for up to five months. Another 20,000 Africans were sentenced after secret trials held in the jails. The ANC and PAC were outlawed, and several oppositional newspapers banned. In Cape Town PAC led 30,000 blacks in a march on parliament. The police responded to a three-week-long strike in the nearby shantytowns with random attacks on black laborers found in the streets. After house-to-house searches, many blacks were hauled off Gestapo fashion and not seen by their families for months. Some were reported to have died of "pneumonia" while in jail (Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, 1964).

The domestic social crisis and international outrage following Sharpeville shook the confidence of many foreign investors. Some prominent Afrikaner politicians were also shaken, producing a short-lived relaxation of the pass laws. But in general the regime chose to brazen out the crisis and

continue its efforts to crush all opposition. Impervious to criticism, Verwoerd opposed any inquiry into the murders. In response to civil claims for government compensation, parliament passed an Indemnity Act which prevented all legal actions against the government arising out of acts committed during the state of emergency from being heard in the courts.

Black African unrest and police repression were not confined to the suburban townships. Government-appointed Bantu Authorities were repeatedly challenged in the rural "native reserves." On the other hand, less than three months after the atrocity at Sharpeville a tribal gathering at Ngqusa Hill in the Transkei was attacked by police, and 11 blacks were killed. The Pondoland was subjected to military occupation for years, and hundreds of tribesmen were detained.

Constructing a Police State

The infamous Sharpeville massacre was a landmark in South African history. It signaled the ruling Nationalist Party's decision to suppress all manifestations of black protest against white supremacy by unleashing an unbridled reign of police state terror; it also forced the major anti-apartheid groups to re-evaluate and sharply change their pacifist tactics.

Since coming to power in 1948, the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party had successfully used the reins of government and the rural constituencies' weighted vote to steadily increase its legislative majority and whittle down the threat from oppositional parties. One draconian law after another was introduced to disenfranchise, segregate and control all non-whites and to intimidate all political opponents. In 1948, Indians lost all parliamentary representation. The Communist Party (CP), then represented in parliament, was outlawed in 1950.

The Group Areas Act of the same year restricted ownership and occupation of land by ethnic group. This was part of the legal foundation for the apartheid "separate development" fraud by which a mere 13 percent of the land is "reserved" for the African majority. In 1951 the Separate Representation of Voters Act removed the "Coloured" (mulatto) voters from the common roll in Cape Province and set aside four seats in the House of Assembly for "Coloured" representatives.

A 1952 Natives Act consolidated all the mandatory identity cards carried by blacks into a single reference or pass book to be carried *at all times*. For the

first time, women had to carry passes. As many as half a million Africans a year have been convicted of pass law violations since then, giving South Africa one of the highest per capita prison populations in the world. Many of the convicts are then contracted out to Afrikaner-owned farms as forced laborers.

In this period the Nationalists were still constructing the apparatus of the apartheid police state and faced serious opposition not only from the non-white masses but occasionally even from within the bourgeoisie. For five years the courts ruled against the Separate Registration of Voters Act as unconstitutional until the regime had stacked the judiciary with loyal appointees. While routinely backing laws bolstering the government's police powers, the predominantly English-speaking United Party (U.P.) opposed aspects of apartheid which interfered with the free flow of black labor into industry. Faced with an acute shortage of skilled workers, the United Party's capitalist backers demanded a relaxation of the color bar on job categories and limited improvements in the educational and economic opportunities of blacks.

ANC and PAC

During the 1950's, the ANC and its "left" advisers from the CP attempted to bolster the feeble bourgeois legislative and judicial opposition with pacifist protests. A mass Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws was launched by the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) in June 1952. Thousands of volunteers came forward, were sworn to non-violence and filled the jails, gaining international publicity. But the laws remained intact and the campaign was abruptly called off.

The ANC and its allies hoped that "democratic" imperialist powers would back the "democratic" capitalists of the U.P. (and after 1959, the Progressive Party [now Progressive Reform Party] of diamond millionaire Harry Oppenheimer) and force the Nationalists from office through diplomatic and economic pressure. During the 1950's, the CP consistently advocated electoral support to the "lesser evil" U.P. Describing themselves as "the premier, oldest-established and most responsible organizations of their respective population groups," the ANC and SAIC addressed an appeal to the United Nations in November 1952. It closed with a classic statement of the ANC's impotent liberalism:

"With clear consciences and the knowledge that we are armed with lofty

humanitarian principles common to all the great philosophies and religions of the world, we appeal to the men and women of our own country, and indeed of all others, for that moral and practical support which will enable us to enter into the liberty and dignity which is the birthright of all men everywhere." quoted in Council on African Affairs, "Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa," 1953

Differences over tactics and orientation within the ANC culminated in a split and the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in April 1959. In general the new group represented a shift from the ANC's respectable, Stalinist-influenced petty-bourgeois nationalism to a tactically more militant nationalism, flavored by the Pan-Africanist theories of Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore. Its immediate roots were in a section of the ANC Youth League which, beginning in the 1940's, criticized the old-line leadership for "collaboration with the white oppressors." A particular point of contention was the ANC's participation until 1950 in the government-initiated Native Representation Council.

The 1959 PAC manifesto charged that the white, "Coloured" and Indian organizations in the Congress Alliance dominated the ANC and that the Alliance's "Freedom Charter" represented a demand for "constitutional guarantees" and "national rights" as opposed to majority rule:

"These 'leaders' consider South Africa and its wealth to belong to all who live in it, the alien dispossessors and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robbers and their indigenous victims... They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic to see that the interests of the subject peoples who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with that of the white ruling class."

Richard Gibson, *African Liberation Movements*, 1972

Although critical of the ANC's liberalism and generally oriented to the plebeian masses in the African townships, the PAC's pursuit of a "national democratic" revolution marked by political unity between the black masses and the aspiring black petty bourgeoisie was a roadblock to the development of a revolutionary proletarian strategy. Nor were all the PAC's attacks on the reformist CP directed from the left. At the founding meeting, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, a key leader, stated that "Africanists reject totalitarianism in any form and accept political democracy as understood in the West." Such anti-Communist sentiments paved the way for close ties with some Liberal Party

members who went underground in the mid-1960's.

Impotent Guerrillism

Despite the PAC's muddled politics, it took many of the best militants out of the ANC. Its ill-defined plan to win "freedom and independence" by 1963 sparked a new wave of militancy that culminated in the massive demonstrations against pass laws on 21 March 1960. The savage violence at Sharpeville and the ensuing repression convinced the major anti-apartheid organizations that guerrilla violence was the only alternative.

On 16 December 1961, bombs went off in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg, marking the birth of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). A statement issued by the new military formation testified to the continuation of old policies in the new phase:

"We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to its senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war... we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country. Black, Brown and White, whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalists."

Bunting, *op. cit.*

Beaten down by the wave of repression, the ANC and CP launched a half-hearted campaign of sabotage designed to pressure the government and reassert the ANC's claims to lead the "national liberation movement," while concentrating their main efforts on rousing international bourgeois opinion against the white regime. One of their few attempts at serious armed struggle was the disastrous collaboration with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Despite their courage and heavy Soviet weapons, several hundred ANC and ZAPU fighters were decimated in pitched

battles against Rhodesian troops and South African jet fighters in August 1967.

The most famous trial arising out of Umkhonto underground activities was that of respectable former lawyer and CP leader Abram Fischer. Despite apparent deep personal conviction and valor, Fischer's statement to the jury revealed that even in its flirtation with guerrillism, the CP never transcended its role as left wing of the liberal opposition. Assuring his jailers that neither in 1950 "nor at any stage since then has a socialist revolution been on the agenda in South Africa," he explained that the Umkhonto sabotage campaign was designed to make the white oppressor "reconsider his whole attitude." He added:

"If it had succeeded in that it would have succeeded without loss of life or injury to persons, the very things which stimulate race antagonism. It might in addition have the effect of deterring extremists, whose numbers and influence were growing at an alarming rate, from undertaking precisely that kind of terrorism which we have fought to prevent."

Gibson, *op. cit.*

In 1963 the PAC, through its military arm Poqo, attempted to spark armed uprisings in the townships by encouraging indiscriminate attacks on the white oppressors. But the year of "freedom and independence" ended only in a deepening government reign of terror. PAC's efforts at guerrilla warfare, while undertaken with more seriousness than the ANC's, were no more effective. In 1968 a PAC unit was wiped out by Portuguese soldiers while trying to cross Mozambique into South Africa.

Moreover, its belief in Pan-African solidarity was not reciprocated by South Africa's black allies and client states. In 1968 it was driven out of Zambia. In 1970 the Lesotho government attacked base areas from which

continued on page 11

State Amnesty Plan Is a Whitewash

Free Attica Rebels, Not Murderous Guards!



Attica prisoners during rebellion. UPI

Late last month, the most recent in a long series of official "investigations" of the 1971 Attica prison rebellion wound up its work. On February 26, New York special prosecutor Alfred J. Scotti recommended that all indictments in the Attica case be dismissed except for one murder charge against a fugitive inmate alleged to have killed another prisoner widely regarded as a stoolpigeon.

Scotti's investigation followed that of Bernard Meyer, who found that "the state dealt unfairly with the defendants." Meyer, however, recommended no action beyond appointing yet another investigator. Scotti recommended dropping the whole issue, and while all but one of the immediate beneficiaries of the special prosecutor's recommendation are present and former inmates, his real purpose is to continue the cover-up of the murderous crimes of the state police and prison guards in retaking the building.

In making his amnesty announcement, Scotti stated that he "uncovered evidence that strongly suggests unjustifiable homicides were committed by individual law enforcement officers." He also charged that the three previous Attica prosecutors had neglected to bring to light various crimes by troopers and guards, but qualified his accusation by saying the cover-up was not intentional but was the result of "deficient" investigation and mishandling of evidence.

During the assault of Attica by Rockefeller's stormtroopers, 39 were killed by gunfire from troopers and guards; 29 of these were inmates and 10 were guards. Beyond this carnage, 89 others were wounded. Scotti's discovery of "misconduct" on the part of the cops is not new; numerous other "special investigations" have pointed toward this same conclusion, only to be superseded by another officially appointed investigative body.

In September of 1972 the New York State Special Commission's "Official Report" was released, making amply clear that outrages and atrocities were committed by state troopers, prison guards, park police and cops "on loan" from local sheriffs' offices. This "Official Report"—released by the commission's chairman Robert McKay—made no impact on the prosecution, which continued to indict inmates while Rockefeller's cops remained untouched. (For *WV* reports on Attica, see No. 1, October 1971, and No. 67, 25 April 1975.)

Another investigation was prompted when Malcolm Bell, a former leading member of the Attica special prosecution team, resigned in December 1974. His statement to Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, leaked to the bourgeois press the following April, pointed to "substantial evidence" that a gross cover-up of cop crimes had gone on. He particularly singled out Anthony Simonetti, assistant Attica prosecutor at the time, as responsible for the cover-up. Bell's statement led to the early 1975 investigation by Bernard Meyer, appointed by Governor Hugh Carey and Attorney General Lefkowitz. The report of this former State Supreme Court justice, running 130 pages, confirmed Bell's accusation of misconduct on the part of the prosecution but concluded that Bell's charges against Simonetti "proved not well founded"! Meyer then passed the buck to Scotti.

This mendacious whitewash is echoed in the indictments handed down: 62 inmates charged on 42 counts—a total of 1,289 alleged crimes which range from theft of a key to murder. In contrast, only one state trooper, Gregory Wildridge, has been indicted during this entire five-year period! After being charged in October 1975 with recklessly discharging a shotgun during the retaking of the prison, Wildridge was released on \$1,000 bail and retained his job while awaiting trial.

Scotti claims that "The name 'Attica' should be a symbol, not only of riot and death, but also of the capacity of our system of criminal justice to redress its own wrongs." But Scotti's request that all but one indictment be dismissed "in the interests of justice" is no attempt to redress wrongs. It is a liberal sham designed to protect other cops threatened with indictments if the Attica proceedings are allowed to continue, and an attempt to sweep under the rug a five-year embarrassment.

The embarrassment stems in part from the poor track record the state has achieved in court with its flimsy frame-up cases against the inmates. After spending over \$8 million in public funds only two convictions have been won, eight plea-bargainings have been coerced and all other indictments have been dismissed. More important, in addition to the fact that the cops have gone unpunished for the massacre, any thorough-going prosecution of crimes committed at Attica would have to include the man responsible for the bloody carnage in the first place—Vice President Nelson Rockefeller.

The memory of the workers movement is long, and sweeping Attica away will not be an easy task for the bourgeoisie! Dismiss *all* indictments against Attica inmates charged for activities during the 1971 rebellion! Release Attica rebels already sentenced! Jail the butchers of Attica! Attica cops out of AFSCME! ■



Keystone Press

South African police break up demonstration of women in segregated "township" of Cato Manor.

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet
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Spain's Fascist Right . . .

(continued from page 12)

tutions, "political unity" and the armed forces.

From the "Civilized Conservatives" . . .

Nervous that explosion of the Spanish powder keg would topple the shaky center-right government in Lisbon and touch off militant working-class action throughout south Europe, leading imperialist spokesmen have been advocating a "prudently phased program of reform" to the post-Franco regime. As half a million workers struck in the Basque country last week and a mammoth three-month-old strike wave rolled on, the *New York Times* (11 March) telegraphed an urgent warning (in an editorial entitled "Too Slow in Spain") that polarization was deepening, "precious time has already been lost," and "immobility" is a "greater danger" than reform.

Among those in Spain advocating such a program of self-reform of the authoritarian state is a congeries of Christian Democratic groupings occupying the center of the political spectrum. The Christian Democratic Left (IDC) of Joaquim Ruiz-Giménez is in opposition to the Arias government and part of the Platform of Democratic

people shouted 'Fraga, Fraga, Fraga' as easily as they used to shout 'Franco, Franco, Franco.'" The words change, but the content is the same.

...to the "Bunker" . . .

When Prime Minister Arias announced his government program at the end of January, its proclaimed goal was to proceed "without hurry and without pause" to construct a "Spanish democracy." This "Spanish democracy" is to stop far short of universal suffrage and parliamentary government, and in any case, except for a slight modification of the draconian "anti-terrorism" law, the present cabinet has failed to enact a single reform since coming to office in early December. Behind this "immobility" is the die-hard resistance of the "Bunker," an alliance of the top generals with bitter-end Falangists.

While the recent strikes have demonstrated the tremendous social power of the Spanish proletariat, and the Francoist regime has never had a substantial social base of organized mass support, the "Bunker" cannot simply be dismissed with a wave of the hand as a tiny number of aged Civil War veterans. After executing five Maoist and Basque nationalist militants last September it brought out tens of thousands in a show of force at the royal palace at Madrid, to shout "*Arriba España*" (Up With Spain) and hear their *Caudillo* vituperate one last time against the "leftist Masonic conspiracy." Communists and "Europe." After the death of "the Leader," it staged another

Falange as the preferred designation for the state political apparatus.) As a result, there are today an estimated 50 different rightist groups active in Spain.

The most moderate are several so-called Movement associations which are currently negotiating the formation of a National Front. They have lately been given enhanced influence in a mixed government-National Council (of the Movement) commission for constitutional reform. In the mixed commission the "Bunker" has stymied all plans for electoral changes, to the point that King Juan Carlos early this month called a special meeting of the Council of the Realm to warn the obstructionists that he would assume special powers if necessary to enact needed "profound reforms."

The principal strongmen of the "Bunker" include José Solís Ruiz, who was appointed minister for the Movement last summer; José Antonio Girón, long-time minister for the corporatist syndicates ("vertical unions" including labor, employers and the state) and head of the association of Falangist Civil War veterans; and Lieutenant General Carlos Iniesta, former director general of the paramilitary Guardia Civil and political idol of the secret police. In addition the armed police and directorate general of security, both headed by military officers, are redoubts of hard-line Francoists.

...And Beyond

The "Bunker" is by no means the most virulently anti-communist, anti-democratic force in Spain today. It shades into a variety of openly fascist groups that have been actively recruiting lumpen and petty-bourgeois criminal elements, along with the secret police, for the purpose of terrorizing journalists, students, political prisoners and other "anti-national" targets. Among the fascist vermin infesting the rotting Francoist regime are the Syndicalist Action Groups (GAS), centered in Barcelona, whose specialty is arson and attacks against leftist bookstores; the Spanish National Socialist Party (PENS), whose symbol is the swastika and which specializes in attacks on cultural centers; and the Iberian Cross, which has carried out bank robberies and calls for the liberation of Gibraltar as well as the extermination of Jews and freemasons (*Cambio 16*, 9 February).

One of the most bloody of the fascist gangs is the clandestine Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (Warriors of Christ the King), widely believed to have close ties to the Guardia Civil, and whose visible front man is Blas Piñar, publisher of *Fuerza Nueva*. The Guerrilleros arose on university campuses in the late 1960's and have specialized in individual beatings and mutilation, including murder, particularly against suspected Basque nationalists. One of their frequent tactics is to raid university campuses and classrooms using medieval instruments like the ball and chain or the mace. They have also revived the Falangist tradition of professional *pistoleros*. At the October 1 Francoist demonstration in Madrid several foreign newsmen were pistol-whipped by members of the Guerrilleros in plain sight of the police.

A recent bloody incident at the Computense University in the capital shows the close connections of these gun thugs with top officials of the Francoist regime. On February 18 a commando of the Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey attempted to enter the faculty of law in order to "defend" a rightist student who had been expelled by his classmates for brandishing a revolver. The democratic and leftist students, armed with clubs, repulsed the attackers and in the course of the confrontation several of the students, among them a nephew of the prime minister, were injured. The faculty senate then officially banned the attackers.

This called forth a storm of complaints from the corporatist Cortes ("parliament"), most of whose members

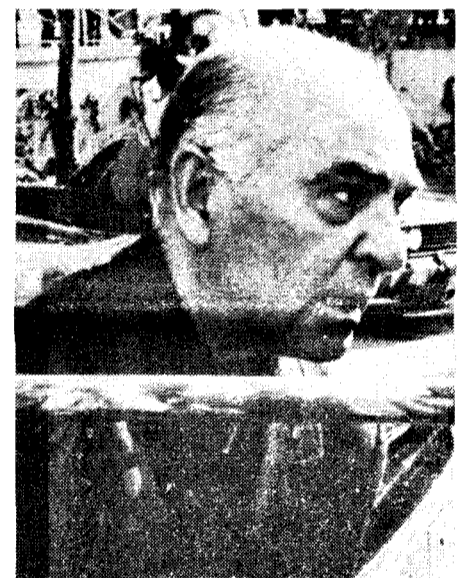
were appointed by Franco. The father of one of the Guerrilleros declared that the universities had become a Marxist fortress, and a former navy minister demanded immediate action, adding, "If higher decisions are not taken, we shall act on our own" (*New York Times*, 4 March). Thereupon the government took the case out of the hands of the university judicial bodies, appointing a special prosecutor in effect to protect the commandos.

Last fall, similar attacks were reported at the polytechnic university, and the universities of Madrid, Sevilla and Zaragoza. Other incidents have included a brutal beating of a liberal monarchist and left Christian Democrat



Blas Piñar

Cambio 16



José Solís Ruiz

Informations Ouvrieres



Members of the National Movement (Falange) sitting in the Cortes. Center, Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro.

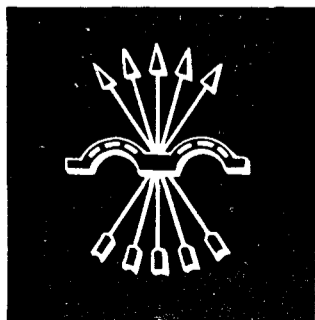
Convergence popular front. However, the IDC is concurrently trying to form a united Christian Democratic party with the Democratic Popular Federation (FPD) led by José María Gil Robles.

Gil Robles, a fossilized version of Ruiz-Giménez, was head of the clericalist CEDA during the early 1930's and war minister in 1935-36. Although the FPD is formally in opposition, it refuses to work with the Communist Party and has left the way open for an arrangement with "civilized conservatives" of the present regime. To its right, is the Spanish Democratic Union (UDE), which includes two ministers of the present cabinet and receives financial support from the Bavarian Christian Social Union of Franz Josef Strauss.

Within the Spanish government itself, ostensibly pro-reform elements such as the interior minister, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, have been alluding to the fate of the "immobilist" Caetano regime in neighboring Portugal, which was overthrown by discontented military officers in April 1974. But even the "liberalizing" wing of the Arias government is committed to maintaining Francoist rule—and cannot do otherwise. To dismantle the bonapartist apparatus would mean removing the very basis for its political existence. As the *New York Times* (4 March) described a meeting of Fraga's political cohorts, "When he entered a hotel reception room the other night,

mammoth demonstration—a blue-shirted Nuremberg Rally—at his burial site in the Valley of the Fallen.

While united against "liberalizers," the "Bunker" is internally fragmented into numerous remains of the "families of Francoism." In April 1937 Franco had imposed unity of sorts on the civilian supporters of the "crusade" with a forced fusion giving rise to the Traditionalist Spanish Falange (symbolized by the yoked arrows). But while assuming the role of *Jefe Nacional* (National Leader), throughout the dictator's rule, his method was to act as a bonapartist godfather playing off several groups (notably the army, the church and the Falange) against each other. The passage in late 1973 of the "law of associations," permitting the formation of political groupings within the framework of the National Movement, led to further splintering. (After the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, the Movement replaced the



Symbol of the Falange

Barcelona, Don Juan de Borbón, who is the father of King Juan Carlos. An idea of just how treacherous the "support" of the Calvo Serrers can be, Don Juan last week flew to Madrid in order to renounce his claims on the succession a move designed to buttress the Francoist monarchy at a time when the regime was reeling under the impact of the huge Basque general strike.

On the other hand, the PCE is aiming at a unification of the Junta Democrática and the Platform of Democratic Convergence, led by the social-democratic PSOE. The PSOE, however, is allied with Ruiz Giménez, who, in turn, is trying to unify with Gil Robles. And what does Gil Robles represent? As war minister in 1935, he appointed General Francisco Franco chief of staff of the army; then, after the popular-front candidate won the 1936 presidential election, Gil Robles called on Franco to seize power... which the *Caudillo* did six months later!

The Communist Party is nonetheless willing to do business with this former benefactor of Franco, the man who prepared the way for the Civil War which cost tens of thousands of Spain's best proletarian fighters their lives. In a major article last fall, the American Communist Party's *Daily World* (29 October) recounted Gil Robles' history, remarking that he is "of course, a reactionary." It immediately added:

"That, however, does not mean he will not play a significant role in the future in Spain....

"As a possible future Premier, he might be compared politically to Portugal's Gen. Antonio de Spínola. But that would be a decided improvement over what exists today."

As the Stalinists' program of class collaboration prepares them to sink to ever-lower depths of betrayal, the lessons of the Spanish Civil War must be learned. The threat of fascist terror and military reaction is not a new one to the Iberian working class. As during the 1930's, it is above all the capitulation before the class enemy by the reformist and centrist misleaders that stands in the way of victory. Once again, it is the construction of a Bolshevik-Leninist, i.e., Trotskyist, revolutionary vanguard party that is the key to success. ■

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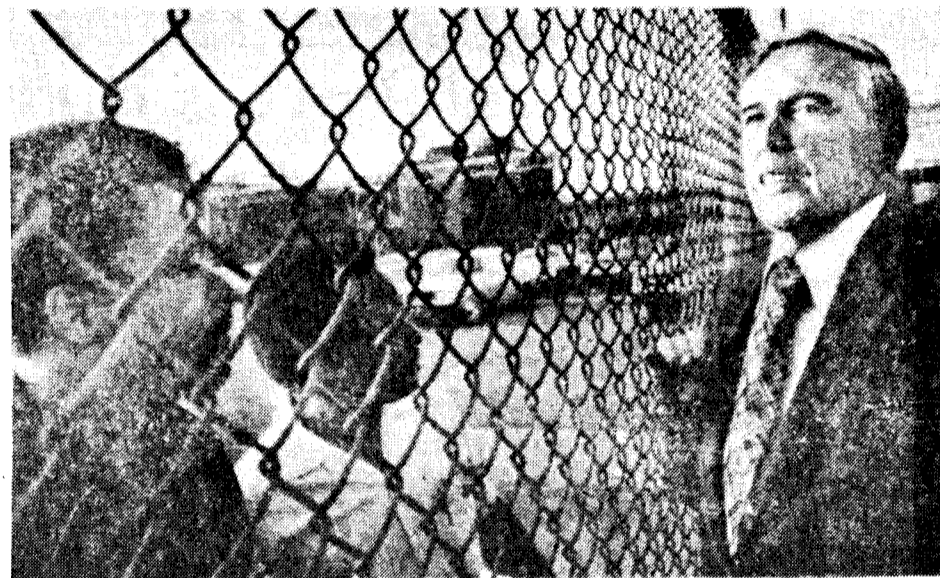
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Victory Program...

(continued from page 1)

lifted, the excuse is voluntary restraint in order to prevent their reimposition! The main concern of the union bureaucracy in 1976 will be to moderate economic demands in order to help the Democrats get into office in November. This can be seen clearly in the UAW. Eager to back a winner this time around, the auto union tops have not yet settled on a candidate: Humphrey-partisan Woodcock was campaigning in Florida for "New South" conservative Carter as a spoiler to cut Wallace's strength; UAW leaders in the Northeast were switching from the burned-out Birch Bayh campaign over to the liberal front-runner, Morris Udall of Arizona, and UAW vice president Doug Fraser is reportedly plugging for veteran sabre-rattler Henry Jackson. All are agreed, however, on subservience to the election-year shell game.

"This is a responsible union," intoned Woodcock to the UAW production



UAW vice president Fraser "discusses" with Chrysler workers after crushing wildcat strikes with bureaucratic goon squads in 1973.

workers conference in January. "We are aware of our obligations."

At the skilled trades conference in March Fraser listed the dumping of Ford as a top UAW priority in 1976. Meanwhile, the same leaders have been downplaying key demands, such as the obvious need for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay for unemployment-beset auto workers. The UAW tops' version of this demand amounts to little more than a company absentee-control program: more days off for good attendance.

Despite his earlier "free trade" pretensions and his current position as head of the International Metal Workers Federation, Woodcock has not held back from advocating the most virulent economic protectionism to "save" U.S. jobs (and corporate profits) at the expense of foreign workers. Woodcock calls for quotas on imports, and expresses his "concern" for American jobs every time a U.S. company buys a part or two abroad. This ties in with the platform of more desperate sectors of the big bourgeoisie, represented by such protectionists as Jackson. If this wing achieves hegemony, the result will not be more "American jobs" but higher prices and a faster rush toward trade war and eventually a new world war for redivision of markets.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW...

The program of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy is clear: instead of leading sit-down plant occupations to stop the massive layoffs of 1974-75; instead of mobilizing all of labor and the unemployed behind the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat inflation and unemployment; instead of defying wage controls and

leading general strikes against city services cutbacks and layoffs, these do-nothing leaders temporize, accept whatever the capitalists can "afford," and tell the workers to vote for yet another Democrat!

The programs of the visible national opposition groups in the UAW are little better. Most of the emphasis is on some form or other of marginally shorter workweek. A committee of over 60 locals led by Frank Rannels, president of the Cadillac local in Detroit, promises a demonstration at the bargaining convention for "36 for 40" barely more than what Woodcock wants! The much smaller United National Caucus, a reformist grouping originating in the skilled trades and backed politically by the International Socialists, has all but disappeared into a "Coalition for a Good Contract" with Bob Weisman, another local leader with another gimmick. His hobby horse is "32 for 40" achieved through 17 extra days off with full pay each year over the next three years! So far the opposition seems just as interested as Woodcock in not upsetting the auto monopolists' apple cart.

Not to be outdone, the newly surfaced

"Auto Workers United to Fight in 1976," a minuscule grouping with supporters in two locals and backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, has another ploy: avoid the flaws of various phony shorter workweek schemes by...avoiding the shorter workweek! Their slogan, "We need a living wage on a 40-hour week," holds out no answer at all for the well over 100,000 auto workers laid off in 1974-75 and not called back.

... And a Class-Struggle Program for All Workers!

What must be the working-class program in response to the sellout betrayals of the bureaucracy?

• *For united, industry-wide strike struggles!* The bureaucrats want to prevent strikes or keep them small in order to enable the employers to protect their profits. Instead of piecemeal "target company" actions, the UAW must shut down the entire auto industry in the U.S. and Canada. The strikes must be democratically led: for public negotiations, elected strike committees, no return to work until all locals settle and no ratification votes prior to inspection of written contract terms. For labor solidarity in all strikes! UAW support for Farm Workers means little without demanding Teamsters out of the fields, and calling for labor boycotts of struck products.

• *For a sliding scale of wages and hours!* The ravages of unemployment and inflation can only be met by this demand. The hardest-hit industrial unions, such as the UAW and Rubber Workers, should be in the forefront of this struggle, mobilizing other unions and the unemployed. Demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and full escalator clauses in the contract

continued on page 10

Key 1976 Contract Battles Ahead

The main issues are broadly the same for over four million workers facing contract struggles in 1976. The "bargaining demands" raised by the union bureaucrats will at best be compromises, and usually bad ones for the workers. Faced with common problems and a worldwide capitalist depression, workers must respond by raising a far-reaching *transitional program* attacking the very bases of bourgeois society and leading to a planned economy under a workers government.

• *Trucking/warehouse:* The Teamsters master freight agreement covering 435,000 drivers nationwide expires at the end of March, followed by United Parcel Service and warehouse agreements covering more than 600,000 workers. Teamsters have lost real wages over the last contract because of the "cap" on their escalator clause, and unemployment runs as high as 15 percent in some locals. Only a Chicago drivers' strike and a prolonged wildcat brought wages up last time; the Fitzsimmons leadership continues its do-nothing, class-collaborationist policies, including raiding the Farm Workers.

• *Rubber:* Contracts with "Big Four" tire and rubber companies expire in mid-April, covering 67,750 workers in the United Rubber Workers. A sellout by the Bommarito leadership in 1973 at Goodyear ("target" company) led to a rebellion and strike at Goodrich when the same terms were imposed. The membership has faced unemployment on the same scale as auto workers since then, and lost nearly \$1 an hour in real wages due to inflation.

• *Electrical workers:* Contracts covering 140,000 General Electric workers in several unions expire in June, and agreements for 65,000 Westinghouse workers are up a month later. Workers in the electrical industries have also suffered losses in real wages since 1973 due to "capped" escalator clauses, and have been the victims of severe production cutbacks and layoffs.

• *Auto:* Contracts covering 710,000 workers of the auto manufacturers (including American Motors, which for the first time in recent years has a common expiration date with the "Big Three") expire on September 14. Agreements for 100,000 agricultural and construction equipment workers fall due at the end of September and in October and November. Massive layoffs in auto have led directly to a permanent workforce reduction. This goes hand-in-hand with heavy overtime and speed-up for those working, despite Woodcock's phony "voluntary overtime" agreement in 1973.

Victory Program...

(continued from page 9)

must be part of a program for the seizure of state power by the working class, the precondition for putting an end to unemployment and inflation.

- **Unite the employed and unemployed!** No overtime during layoffs; no forced overtime! For full SUB pay, guaranteed by corporate assets and the government! For full recall and union rights for the duration of layoffs! The UAW must demand massive public works at union conditions and wages.

- **Fight speed-up! End no-strike clauses!** In auto, local right to strike without International approval, including the right of departments to stop work over grievances, is crucial. Demands for fixing line speed and job description in the contract, and for working line stewards with full union support, are vital as well, as is abolishing the probation period (which allows management to drive newly hired workers harder than union members, thus destroying job standards for all). None of these demands can be won without a fighting, class-struggle leadership ready to back up local demands with the full power of the national union and rejecting class collaborationism at all levels.

- **Fight cutbacks—For free essential services!** Stopping the rampaging erosion of essential services and demanding free health care, mass transportation, etc., are essential for all unions in stopping layoffs and uniting white with black and other minority workers and poor. For city-wide strikes against cutbacks and public employee layoffs!

- **Fight racism and national chauvinism!** The UAW must mobilize its forces to demand implementation of busing and its extension to the suburbs; and must take the lead in forming labor black defense guards to stop racist attacks. Smash Woodcock's protectionism—For international organizing and international labor solidarity! Boycott struck products and oppose imperialist adventures, such as the recent U.S. South African power play in Angola, with labor action!

- **For workers control of industry!** The employers claim they are facing bankruptcy unless they are allowed to squeeze every last drop of blood from the workers. Instead open their books for inspection by workers committees! Examine every aspect of the corporations' operations, and in the course of scrutinizing the monopolies the workers movement must prepare to run industry itself after kicking out the capitalist owners.

- **Expropriate industry and finance without compensation!** Shut-down plants must be put to use employing idle workers and producing for the needs of society, not bigger profits. Through state planning under a workers government the collectively owned economy can be rationally planned.

- **Oust the bureaucrats. For a workers party to fight for a workers government.** The present union leaderships are committed to capitalism and irrevocably opposed to a class-struggle program. The fight for this program, for an end to class-collaborationist politics, for a workers party based on the trade unions and for a workers government are inextricably linked. Caucuses based on this program rather than on gimmicks and temporary alliances at contract or election time are required throughout the labor movement to build a new, class-struggle leadership. ■

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The Phony Détente Debate

President Ford has expurgated the word "détente" from his vocabulary, recently announcing on television that he preferred the expression, "peace through strength." Henry Kissinger, after a major foreign policy address in Boston on March 11, was asked what word he would substitute for the now censored détente. The secretary of state replied: "I've been dancing around myself to find one.... Easing of tensions, relaxation of tensions. We may well wind up with the old word again."

The leaders of the Soviet Union have reacted with apparent calm to the new turn. TASS published a commentary from the Soviet magazine *New Times* which explains the Ford/Kissinger statements as part of traditional U.S. "pre-election fever." The Russian commentary went on to say that "rejecting the word is not the same as rejecting the political course... as they say you can't drop a word from a song" (*New York Times*, 11 March).

The "détente debate" song-and-dance routine is basically an election year tune played by an administration under attack from bourgeois politicians who sense a rising tide of anti-Soviet sentiment. After the U.S. defeat in Indochina and the Soviet/Cuban victory against CIA and South Africa-led forces in Angola, Republican presidential contender Ronald Reagan wants to "stand up and eyeball the Russians." In the Democratic Party a host of "cold war" liberals promise to do some "eyeballing" of their own.

Should Reagan and Jackson lose a few more primaries, Kissinger may be right about the resuscitation of détente. For the meantime, however, the chief strategist of U.S. imperialism is trying to

sound as tough as he can against the Russians, accusing them of adopting a new hard line. Lashing out at Congressional liberals for voting down Angolan aid ("It is the first time that the United States has failed to respond to Soviet military moves outside the immediate Soviet orbit. And it is the first time that Congress has halted national action in the middle of a crisis."), he warns Brezhnev and Castro to be circumspect in Africa.

Kissinger is backed up in his accusation of an "aggressive posture" on the part of the Russian leaders by professional Kremlin-watcher Victor Zorza, who perceives a debate among Soviet "doves" and "activists." Angola, he concludes, was a victory of the "activists," and forecasts their next move as pushing for "a more aggressive policy for Western Communist parties in Europe" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 1 February). To be sure, Zorza admits that the evidence for such a debate consists of "hints so vague that many outside observers refused to believe its existence."

In fact, the indications from Moscow are of the same old sellout to imperialism. Angola was an easy opportunity, given post-Vietnam revulsion in the American population to another U.S. military intervention and the balking of Congress. By any standards it involves far less risk than the Soviet intervention in the Near East, for instance. As for a "more aggressive" policy for West European CP's, nowhere have Russian leaders opposed popular fronts such as the French Union of the Left or the Italian CP's plans for a "Historic Compromise."

Lately, Kissinger and his ambassadors have been bending the ears of European social democrats, warning them that on no account should the Communist parties be allowed to "share power." While at least the Italian CP does not seem very eager to "share power," the Russians are even less interested in such a prospect. Thus, for example, less than two weeks before the

crucial second round of the 1974 presidential elections in France, the Russian ambassador paid a formal visit to conservative candidate Giscard d'Estaing, in a move that was universally interpreted as a slap at the Union of the Left and preference for a Gaullist government. Certainly, the Kremlin's silence on the new "Kissinger doctrine" is deafening, as is its failure to criticize in any way the Italian CP's willingness to keep Italy in NATO.

While there has been no left turn in the Kremlin, the ability of U.S. imperialism to strike at will has been weakened. Already in 1971, the Spartacist League noted "the definitive collapse of the 'American century'" and the "forced abdication by the U.S. of the role of world policeman and the reversion of American imperialism to merely the strongest of several competing units" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III). This is the significance of Angola.

In actuality, the greatest allies of Kissinger are the bureaucrats of the Kremlin and the reformist leaders of the Western CP's who assiduously push illusions of peaceful coexistence, both on the national plane (popular fronts, "peaceful road to socialism," etc.) and internationally in talk of "détente." The imperialists are unremittingly hostile to the working class and to the degenerated workers state of the USSR, and are still prepared to throw the world into a nuclear holocaust to preserve their class rule. Not "peaceful coexistence" of Brezhnev and Ford, but proletarian revolution is the revolutionary program of the international working class. ■

Mandel...

(continued from page 3)

about "the diametrically linked aspects of Lenin's struggle at that time—against all those who were for political and ideological conciliation and for a faction struggle, while simultaneously against all those who were for splitting the Party and for unity of the Party" (*Red Weekly*, 26 February 1976). The clear purpose here is to falsify Lenin's entire struggle against the Mensheviks and his battle to split the Second International, regrouping the authentic revolutionary forces on the basis of a clear programme and in opposition to the pro-imperialists who had solidarised with their own bourgeoisies.

The international Spartacist tendency is united by its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International through the construction of a politically cohesive, democratic-centralist international tendency whose rich democratic internal life is directed toward the development and disciplined implementation of the authentic Trotskyist programme of international proletarian revolution. ■

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Farm Board...

(continued from page 12)

concerned that authorization of funds for the ALRB was contingent on the incorporation of eight amendments into the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. Aiming first of all at the key "access rule" which has infuriated them for months, they seek to force UFW organizers to provide legal proof in each instance that they have "no reasonable alternative means of communicating."

Other "modest proposals" would allow growers, like the unions, to petition for elections, thus manipulating their result through timing; separate elections for permanent and non-permanent employees, thus "balkaniz-

ing" the workforce into separate bargaining units; extension of the maximum time for elections following petition to 21 days instead of seven, thereby excluding many transient workers, who leave following a harvest, from voting; giving courts greater rights to prohibit "mass picketing and violence"; prohibition of the union's right to deny union membership to any worker who offers to pay dues; and an end to employer liability for back wages for failing to bargain in good faith.

Thus the law that was to be the salvation of the UFW and the precedent for the orientation of future struggles would ignominiously bite the dust. As it now stands enforcement of the ALRA is limited to "slapping the wrist" of violators, as even Allen Grant, head of the growers' California Farm Bureau

Federation, admits. Should the growers' withholding-ALRB-funds blackmail fail to secure the amendments, the growers have even bigger weapons in their arsenal, according to Republican assemblyman Ken Maddy. He indicated last month that his backers were willing to hold up not only the \$3.8 million ALRB appropriation, but also Governor Brown's entire \$12.6 billion state budget, unless he agrees to their changes.

Chavez' Strategy for an Eagle Without Claws

In the face of this attack Cesar Chavez has many strong words. Squawking that the ungentlemanly growers "went com-

proposal similar to the ALRA will be put on the fall ballot, once the 312,000 petition signatures are obtained. This will keep the legislature from "messing around" with the board without going back to the voters, according to Chavez.

This pitiful misdirection of UFW energies amounts to criminal masochism. That the boycott tactic is a dead end, except as part of a broad, united and effectively militant mobilization of the labor movement, has been demonstrated time and time again. The Chavez leadership's intransigent pacifist defeatism forcing farm workers to grovel and plead for the practically worthless sympathies of liberal capitalist politicians and Catholic bishops

Sharpeville...

(continued from page 7)

the PAC had tried to co-ordinate its campaigns inside South Africa. PAC offices in Dar es Salaam and support from the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity are maintained by servile loyalty to Julius Nyerere. PAC leader P.K. Leballo, for example, was the main witness in the 1970 treason trial of seven government opponents associated with former Tan-

tween blacks, Indians and "Coloureds," deeply worried the Vorster regime and held out the promise of a powerful proletarian uprising against apartheid.

Even the political trials and police raids of the past 16 months—primarily directed at students and intellectuals—reveal the government's overriding fear of the latent power of the non-white proletariat. While generally attempting to pacify restive black workers (at Carletonville resorting to a Sharpeville-style slaughter of 11 foreign mine workers), the government hopes to crush the new generation of anti-apartheid activists in the universities and to prevent its forging ties with the elemental working-class upsurge. But to achieve victory over the white-supremacist exploiters in South Africa requires the leadership of a revolutionary proletarian vanguard party armed with the program of permanent revolution.

Even in the midst of the recent strike wave, the hardened reformists of the Communist Party manifest their desire to sidetrack the workers movement onto the path of impotent pressure politics. Stalinist "Third World" expert William Pomeroy greeted with equal enthusiasm the miners' strikes and new stirrings of life in the moribund liberal parliamentary opposition:

"The Progressive Party and the United Party liberals tend to put forward the idea of a multi-racial 'power sharing' between the country's four million whites and 19 million Blacks, with, however, the whites still having the upper hand.

"Such a trend is a long way from any real change, and a long way from winning over the majority of whites themselves, but as in the Portuguese colonies, trends can become radical shifts when the people can no longer be held down."

—Daily World, 26 June 1974

While the appearance of rifts among the exploiters can have a powerful impetus in accelerating the class struggle, what the reformist CP has in mind is quite different: to once more tie the workers to their oppressors by supporting the "progressive" capitalists (Progressive Reform Party leader Oppenheimer, for example, is the biggest mining magnate in the country). The sharpest political struggle against the Stalinist gravediggers of the revolution is necessary. A Trotskyist party, rooted in the black proletariat, must be built to lead the oppressed and exploited working masses of southern Africa to power. ■



U.S. border police dragnets looking for "illegal aliens."

Robert Ziegler



Anti-Apartheid Movement

Passbook burning demonstration during the 1950's.

anian leader Oscar Kambona, whom Leballo denounced as "anti-China" (Gibson, *op. cit.*).

Sixteen years after the Sharpeville massacre, the ANC and PAC are isolated, largely exiled groups whose attempts to embark on the guerrilla road never posed a serious threat to white-supremacist rule. The solid wall of repression since 1960 was only breached by the mass strike wave of black and Indian workers that rolled across the country from 1973 to 1975, eclipsing the pacifist protests of the 1950's and the (largely verbal) guerrillism of the 1960's. This strike movement, surging past traditional barriers be-



Crisis and Change



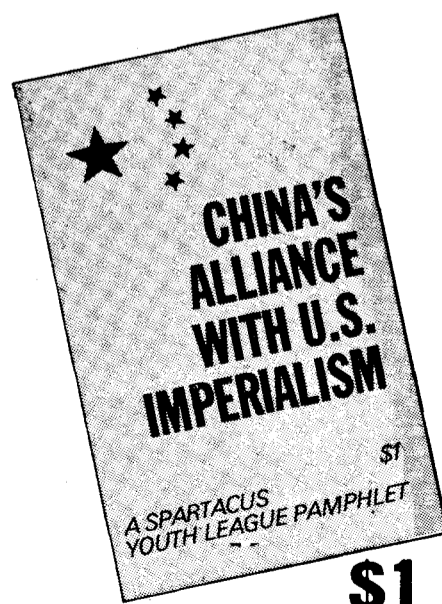
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From left, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Harry Oppenheimer and Nelson Mandela.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Spain: The Fascist Right

Since the death of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco in November, there has not only been a sharp rise of labor unrest and democratic protests but also a stiffening intransigence from entrenched Francoists and an escalation of fascist intimidation. The two-pronged offensive of ultra-rightists fearful for their continued existence was shown most recently in the kidnapping of a leading Madrid journalist and a hard-line speech by the top representative of the armed forces late last month.

The abduction was of José Antonio Martínez Soler, editor of the economic journal *Doblón*. While generally representing the views of Spanish capitalists anxious to get into the Common Market, the 28 February issue of *Doblón* published several articles sympathetic to the more than 80,000 workers then under military discipline due to their illegal strikes. Shortly after the issue appeared five masked men carrying machine guns seized Martínez

Soler, taking him to a deserted spot in the sierra of Guadarrama. There he was brutally beaten, forced to sign a statement repudiating the magazine's editorial policies and threatened with death if he and his family failed to leave the country within three days (*Tele Express*, 5 March). This reappearance of the *paseo* ("going for a walk") recalls the bloody methods of the fascist Falange during the Spanish Civil War, and more recently the death squads of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA).

A few days earlier, Spanish defense minister Fernando Santiago y Díaz de Mendivil gave a speech before top military leaders and Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro echoing ultra-rightist allegations of "creeping communism." General Santiago threatened that the army was prepared to intervene in defense of Spanish values, singling out in particular the Catholic religion, the educational insti-

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Der Spiegel

Spanish Falangists demonstrate in Madrid last September.

UFW Calls New Boycott as ...

Growers Scuttle Farm Labor Board

LOS ANGELES—The California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), product of a widely hailed compromise between growers, Teamsters and the United Farm Workers union (UFW), closed its doors in bankruptcy February 6, having survived only five months in operation. When the \$2.5 million so far appropriated for the administration of representation elections ran out, a coalition of Republican and rural Democratic state legislators successfully blocked \$3.8 million in emergency funds.

From its inception the ALRB has been drowning in thousands of grower-provoked "unfair labor practices" grievances and legal disputes around interpretation and application of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), which was to do away with the "law of the jungle" in the decades-long farm labor war. ALRA has simply brought, as *Los Angeles Times* labor writer Harry Bernstein aptly put it, "a jungle of laws that will make small fortunes for lawyers."

Since ALRA went into effect last August 29 the struggle has not de-escalated, though Chavez boasts that only 13 workers have gone on strike. Contrary to the claims of UFW leaders, standing on the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state has never been a winning proposition. Each level of government took a swipe at the UFW after the ALRB began its work, from local cops and courts—which blatantly aided the growers and Teamsters in

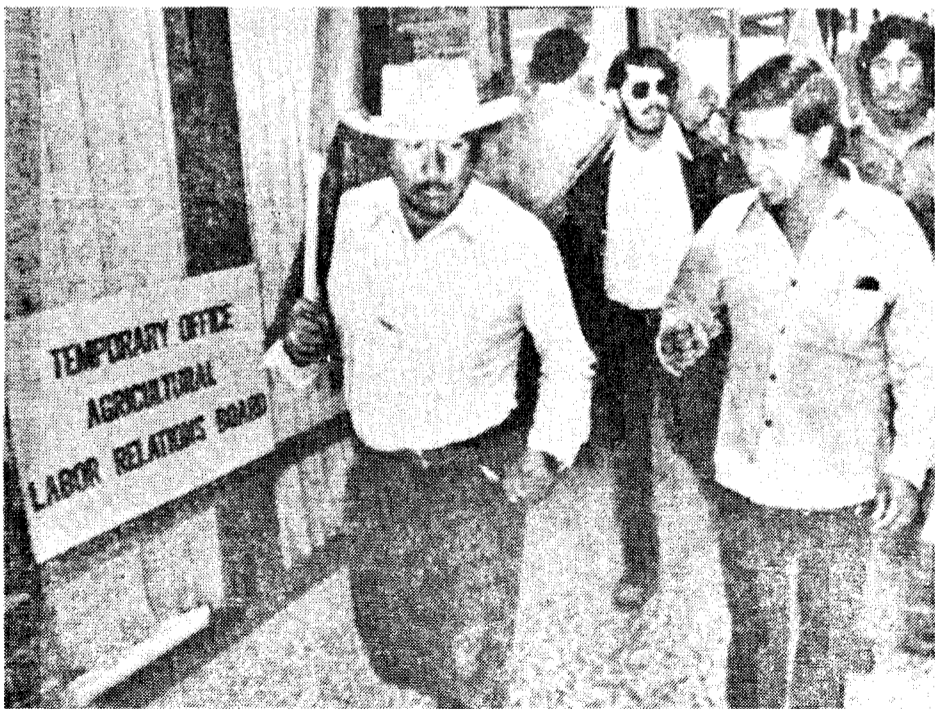
assaulting and arresting UFW organizers—to the state legislature, to the federal judiciary.

Last month a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that permitted states the right to their own immigration laws breathed new life back into California's Arnett Act, denounced by Manuel Fierro of the National Congress of Hispanic American Citizens as "one of the most racist and discriminatory laws I've ever heard of ... much, much worse" than the Rodino Bill (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 February). The Arnett Act makes it a crime to hire "illegal aliens" for jobs that could be filled by U.S. citizens.

The Chavez leadership opposes the Supreme Court decision and the actions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) only with the greatest hypocrisy. Though Chavez complained when INS officials checked the legal status of workers who signed UFW election petitions and hovered around the polling places to deport undocumented UFW supporters, he supported both the Rodino Bill and the Arnett Act when it was passed in 1971. Only recently, under pressure from the UFW ranks and Chicano organizations, has the UFW stopped its active aid to "la migra" in its attempts to deport undocumented workers.

Teamster/Grower Alliance: Alive and Well in California

The Teamster/grower alliance killed the ALRB with a snap of its fingers,



AP

Cesar Chavez, right, picketing ALRB offices in Sacramento last September 6 in protest against pro-grower decisions of the board's legal counsel.

because the UFW was winning too many elections. Despite its terror campaign against the UFW (which had been stripped by Teamster contract thefts down to 7,000 workers last year), the Farm Workers have won about 60 percent of the more than 400 elections held under ALRB authority. (According to the *Los Angeles Times*, out of 410 elections held by February 7 the UFW had won 195 to the Teamsters' 120.

Other unions had won 19 elections, 25 had favored "no union" and 51 elections were still in question.)

This was more than the growers expected. They were counting on those Teamster sweetheart contracts. They charged that the ALRB had wasted its funds and was biased in composition in favor of the UFW. Their legislative representatives served notice to all

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