

2 Dead, 147 Wounded

Chicago Cops Riot Against Puerto Ricans

CHICAGO, June 9—Last Saturday the Puerto Rican community centered in the Humboldt Park area was subjected to a classic police riot. Recalling numerous ghetto outbreaks triggered by cop terror in the mid-1960's, a force of several hundred Chicago police, completely unprovoked, descended on a Puerto Rican Day celebration June 4 with guns blazing and night sticks flying. The tragic toll: two youths killed, 147 injured and 154 jailed.

The capitalist press has sought to fabricate a story to cover up this vicious cop reprisal. The massive police deployment was just an attempt to protect picnickers in the park from a gang fight that had broken out, wrote the Chicago papers, echoing police department spokesmen. They sought in particular to discredit the militant resistance to the marauders in blue. In all, 17 police vehicles were put out of commission, many of them rolled over and torched, and the army of several hundred cops was twice driven from the area before the clashes finally died out late on Sunday night.

Saturday's events began when a small bomb went off outside the mayor's office, doing little damage and hurting no one. The bombing was promptly attributed to the Puerto Rican FALN (Armed Forces for National Liberation). A year ago, almost to the day, three Loop banks and the Chicago police headquarters itself were shaken by bombs that were also blamed on the FALN. (Similar bombings occurred in mid-June 1975 as well.) This time the cops were ready... to go for blood in a deliberate reprisal action.

So on Saturday evening the police stationed themselves around Humboldt Park where the Puerto Rican Day parade ended. "Some people were being searched before being allowed to enter the park," according to one witness. When a disturbance broke out between two local street gangs, the cops had the excuse they were looking for to move in with an all-out attack. Within minutes after the disturbance broke out, more than 200 police, some on horses, had invaded the park, beating and clubbing their way through the crowd.

A *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter injured in the melee said he saw one officer alone fire "four or five shots" point-blank into the throng. Almost immediately after the shooting began,

two young men, Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz, were killed, shot in the back by .38 calibre bullets, the type used in most police service revolvers. (Four other persons, two men and two women, later arrived in the hospital with gunshot wounds.) The anger vented by the onlookers over the murder of Osorio and Cruz forced the cops to briefly retreat.

While the crowd was throwing bricks, rocks—anything they could get their hands on—to drive the killer cops out of the area, police reinforcements arrived and a second wave surged into the park, forcing the people into the street. "We were stampeded," said one woman. According to the *Sun-Times* (5 June), "along Division [the principal street in the Humboldt area], at least 1,000 persons of all ages cheered the stone throwers with every hit." At this time also, the police cars and paddy wagons were turned over and set ablaze.

Later that night police mobilized in full riot gear. Helicopters with mounted searchlights hovered over the neighborhood while police phalanxes swept the street, causing additional arrests and injuries. Throughout the night, bloodied victims of the cop onslaught arrived at the hospitals. One woman told reporters she saw a couple who had been watching a fire at Division and Washenaw streets when police approached and beat the husband to the ground without warning. When the wife protested, she too was kicked and hit with nightsticks. "They were talking to us like we were dogs, like we were animals," she protested.

The clashes with the police continued sporadically on Sunday, and for about an hour that afternoon there was some looting and burning of white-owned shops in the area. Meanwhile the bourgeois press ran screaming headlines about "gang warfare." The *Sun-Times* proclaimed, "Humboldt Park Riot" in bold letters and entitled a picture "Police car target of mob rage." The FALN incident was also prominently featured: "Bomb County Bldg. (Puerto Rican group takes blame)."

Press accounts uniformly tried to portray the weekend's events as the result of gang fights escalating into a general riot, forcing the cops to intervene. Eyewitnesses were equally consistent in refuting this account. One told a

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Chicago Sun-Times

Chicago cops assault Puerto Rican youth during police rampage in Humboldt Park area.



Wide World

Protesters attacked police vehicles after trigger happy cops killed two following Puerto Rican Day parades.

Leninism and Workers Control 6

Castro Soft-Pedals Democrats' Assassination Plots

Behind "CIA's Secret Army"

Last week the United States government agreed to a limited exchange of diplomats with Cuba for the first time since relations were broken by Washington in January 1961. This was the latest of several recent indications that the U.S. bourgeoisie is loosening its long-standing political and economic quarantine of Cuba. The travel ban has been lifted, and American tourists can now spend their money in Havana (although they still can't bring back Havana cigars). In Congress the Carter administration has given the green light to liberal efforts to end or at least modify the trade embargo.

Now Congressional delegations, journalists and businessmen are flocking to the island, bringing back reports of a new-found "openness" in the regime of Fidel Castro, whom imperialist mass murderer Henry Kissinger hypocritically denounced as an "international outlaw" little more than a year ago. George McGovern even chaperoned a South Dakota basketball team, in a visit reminiscent of the "ping-pong diplomacy" that marked the early stages of the U.S./China rapprochement. A change is in the air.

Gone, along with the diplomatic and economic quarantine on Cuba, is the news blackout by the "free but responsible" mass media, which are generally extremely attentive to what the government considers off-limits. Now that Castro is no longer taboo, the networks and big business dailies are racing to see who can get the "scoops."

So on two successive nights this week Castro and Cuba were the subject of prime-time television programs. On Thursday ABC broadcast an hour-long interview by Barbara Walters. While gamely enduring a plethora of trivial questions and insipid anti-communist jibes, Castro repeatedly referred to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's terrorist activities against Cuba. At one point Walters complained: "I sometimes feel that you feel that everything—everything—comes back to the CIA."

Ironically, 24 hours later, another program—a CBS News special called "The CIA's Secret Army"—provided a documentary glimpse at the ample reasons for Castro's apprehension of the spy agency and its Cuban emigré mercenaries. The program reviewed such examples as U.S. dedication to "human rights" as the Bay of Pigs invasion, terror bombings, assassination plots, economic sabotage and the CIA-gusano connection to the Watergate affair with



Castro with Barbara Walters from recent interview on U.S. television.

a frankness not customary on American commercial television.

Alibiing for the Democrats

On Thursday, anxious to demonstrate to skeptical network executives that she's worth her million dollars a year (she flopped), Walters pandered to what she presumes is her audience's taste. She barraged Castro with gossip-column questions: "Do you have a house where you live?" (Yes, said Castro, and even a bed.) "Will you ever shave off that beard?" She spent fully five minutes pursuing the question of his marital status. When the Cuban leader rightly told her it was none of her business, Walters demanded to know if party leader Celia Sánchez was his companion.

After a host of similar impertinent questions, which she wouldn't dare to ask another head of state, the high-priced "human interest" journalist began insistently asking for specific numbers of Cuban troops and military advisors in Angola, Ethiopia and elsewhere. Castro finally cut her off, saying he would not work for the CIA for pay, so why should he do their job for free? To top it off, Walters did an amazingly heavy-handed job of editing the videotape, in order to always have the last word in defense of American imperialism against Castro's rather forthright espousal of his brand of Stalinist poli-

tics. The program ended with her solemn platitude that: "What we disagreed on most profoundly is the meaning of freedom."

Castro put up with this guff because the television exposure gave him an opportunity to publicly court the Carter administration. He unctuously described the U.S. commander in chief as "an idealistic man... a well-prepared man... an intelligent man... a man that draws to himself." Incredibly, Castro declared that he is "totally certain" that Carter has called off all the CIA's conspiracies against Cuba. In the unlikely event that the Cuban premier actually believed this statement and acted on it, it could lead to a slackening of vigilance in the defense of the first country in the Americas where capitalist rule has been overthrown. With the nationalist logic of a Stalinist bureaucrat, who despite occasional militant flourishes seeks to defend "socialism in [his] one country" through a deal with imperialism, Castro remarked: "Our relations with Ford and Kissinger were so bad that we wanted the coming of the Democratic administration in the United States."

So the Democrats were the good guys, and the Republicans wore the black hats. Walters summarized: "Castro also blames Dwight Eisenhower and Nixon for the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs operation... John Kennedy, he insists, only inherited the plan." When

asked if he thought that John and Robert Kennedy knew of the numerous CIA attempts on his life, Castro replied:

"Actually, we don't have evidence or proof of that, and we have not wanted to try to know more about this problem. We didn't want to search because Bob is dead, John is dead. And who will gain if we start searching now...? Whose reactionary forces will we be helping with that?"

He then added, almost as if to reassure left-wing viewers that he hadn't completely taken leave of his senses, "I think it is absolutely impossible... that it could have been carried out—these kind of plans—for almost ten years, without the express or implicit authorization of the top authorities of the countries." Castro seemed to want to show that he was just as good at covering up for the authors of crimes directed at him as is the CIA itself. Let bygones be bygones was his repeated theme.

Campaign of Terror

Friday's CBS News program graphically depicted aspects of the long terror campaign unleashed by Kennedy, which Castro is now willing to sweep under the rug as token of his desire for a deal with Carter. In 1961 Kennedy authorized the CIA to launch a full-scale invasion of Cuba. Fourteen hundred exiles (known by their outraged former compatriots on the island as *gusanos*, or worms) had been recruited, armed and trained to restore capitalism in Cuba through imperialist invasion. On April 15 American planes bombed three Cuban airbases. Two days later CIA officer Grayston Lynch led this secret army ashore at the Bay of Pigs. But in the middle of the attack, Kennedy's nerve failed. As Bill Moyers, the program's narrator, explained, the U.S. president had run up against the limits of "deniability" and "disclaimability." Kennedy canceled the remaining bombing runs; the *gusanos* were cut off and soon captured by Cuban forces.

Twenty months later Kennedy ransomed his mercenaries at the cost of \$53 million. He personally welcomed them back to Miami, and it was curious to watch the documentary footage as Brigade 2506 veterans cheered the man who had left them on the beach. The "brigade" ceremoniously presented its counterrevolutionary banner and the president blustered: "I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana." However unlikely their prospects of success at the time, this was not empty talk. For while the *gusano* mercenaries continued to



President Kennedy pinning "National Security" medal on CIA director Allen Dulles shortly after Bay of Pigs operation.



CIA-trained Cuban invaders captured at the Bay of Pigs.

bear a grudge against Kennedy, they were also complicit with him in the multi-million-dollar "Operation Mongoose," the CIA conspiracy to isolate Cuba, dislocate its economy and murder Castro.

From 1961 to 1967 the CIA's hirelings launched hundreds of commando raids, burning sugarcane fields, bombing factories, murdering Cuban militiamen, contaminating Cuban exports and engaging in other forms of military and economic sabotage. Ray Cline, former deputy director of the agency, told Moyers that Operation Mongoose was the largest CIA operation in the world. Its Miami headquarters had 600 to 700 staff officers and some 2,000 Cuban mercenaries.

Bay of Pigs commander Lynch and leading gusano terrorist (as well as Watergate burglar) Rolando Martinez took the newsmen on a tour of former CIA "safe houses" in Miami, showing them one lavish waterfront mansion where gunboats armed with .50 caliber machine guns routinely docked for years. They explained how the CIA provided daily passwords in sealed envelopes to get the boats past Coast Guard interceptors. They described the cooperation of "the Customs, the Coast Guard, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service... much of the Miami and South Florida establishment... 19 separate police departments" that was necessary to keep such a massive campaign under wraps.



Sam Giancana

CBS



Rolando Martinez

CBS



Armando Lopez Estrada, CORU leader.

CBS

But by November 1975 this war was no longer secret, and the Senate Intelligence Committee had to officially acknowledge at least part of the truth. It recorded eight separate CIA plots to assassinate Castro, using everything from high-powered rifles to such bizarre implements as poison cigars, a poison pen, exploding seashells and a contaminated diving suit. It documented that the spy agency had actually enlisted the services of Mafia hitmen, eager to even the score for the closure of their lucrative Havana casinos and brothels.

The Cuban prime minister told Moyers, however, that the committee reported "only part of the plans" and that he knows of at least 24 assassination plots "directly organized by the

CIA in order to murder leaders of the Cuban revolution." The program barely mentioned the most successful one—the 1967 assassination of "Che" Guevara after he was captured in Bolivia.

Rapprochement

While those conspiracies were being hatched and Washington was organizing on a grand scale for his overthrow, Castro was not reluctant to attack the criminals who launched the terror. But times have changed. With the failure of numerous U.S. efforts to smash the Castro regime, with Cuba's abandonment of material support for Latin American guerrillas and with American foreign policy under pressure in Africa and the Near East, the U.S. bourgeoisie is (for now) somewhat less concerned to immediately bring about a counterrevolution to overthrow Castro's deformed workers state. The U.S. has permitted its Latin American allies one by one to re-establish diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba and codified the partial thaw by the ending of hemispheric sanctions at the Organization of American States conference in July 1975.

In addition to the considerations listed above, Carter may also be influenced in his halting movements toward rapprochement with Cuba by a desire to establish a liberal image internationally. Castro evidently thinks so and is going out of his way to praise the hypocritical anti-Soviet commander of U.S. imperialism as a "man of principles." Every class-conscious worker must, of course, struggle against all forms of imperialist sanctions against Cuba, demanding an end to the trade embargo and diplomatic recognition of the Cuban government. But Cuba's need to break out of U.S.-imposed isolation does not justify Castro's fawning Stalinist political overtures to the world's bloodiest imperialist colossus. Nor can the American ruling class be talked out of its fundamental hostility to the Cuban social system.

Stalinist Opportunism and Liberal Reformism

At another level, Castro's single-minded denunciations of the CIA, the Pentagon and the Republican Party, essentially separating them from the imperialist state as whole, feed the bourgeois liberals' argument that this Murder, Inc. operation was some unfortunate Cold War aberration and that the time is now ripe to reform and democratize the government's intelligence apparatus. One aspect of that reform is obviously to sweep up the refuse left behind by Operation Mongoose.

This is Moyers' main point about the gusano killers:

"Now these men... are an anachronism to just about everyone except themselves. All these years later, remnants of the CIA's old secret army spin out of control, on a collision course now with Washington instead of Havana."

He recounts the bloody trail left by these murderers on three continents in just a few months of last year:

"Lisbon—April 22—Cuban embassy



Marc Hutten

Body of Che Guevara after his capture and murder in Bolivia in October 1967.

- bombed, two officials killed;
- "New York—June 5—Cuban mission bombed;
- "Merida, Mexico—July 23—one Cuban killed;
- "Buenos Aires—August 9—two Cuban officials kidnapped;
- "Panama—August 18—Cuban airliner bombed;
- "Trinidad-Tobago—September 1—Guyana's consulate bombed, three injured."

And the worst atrocity to date: the bombing of an Air Cubana plane last October which caused the death of all 73 persons aboard.

Moyers trots out two former chief technocrats of clandestine terror, Ray Cline and Richard Bissell (the man who actually planned the 1961 invasion) who attempt like aging Doctors Frankenstein to explain how their noble plans could have gone so wrong. Bissell tells Moyers: "In the year 1960, to contemplate a full-fledged communist state just off our shores in the Caribbean was indeed extremely shocking. Everyone's used to this now."

Like the various congressional investigators, Moyers, a former press secretary for Lyndon Johnson, well understands that the new Democratic administration can legitimize itself only by exorcizing the clanking ghosts inherited from earlier regimes. Even the mythical Camelot has been so compromised that the Democrats need to distance themselves from important aspects of the Kennedy period (particularly the policies on Cuba and Vietnam). Moyers' line of argument and the testimony of Bissell et al. serves as a way for liberal Democrats to simultaneously wash their hands of this blot and forgive the "mistakes" and "excesses" of the Kennedy administration.

The ritual purging of past sins is accompanied by various resolutions to prevent their future recurrence: Congressional "watchdog" committees, departmental reorganization, budget disclosure, etc. But such reforms are purely cosmetic, their real purpose to limit the CIA's "special operations" in order to make them more efficient and, above all, keep them secret. Under whatever name, in whatever department, U.S. imperialism requires a covert military

arm to carry out the savage imperatives of world power while smugly maintaining the moral superiority of the "American way."

And the gusanos are neither as independent nor expendable as Moyers would have his viewers believe. While posing a minor obstacle to better relations with Cuba and periodically incurring the wrath of the Miami police department with their blood feuds, they have a special role to play in enforcing U.S. hegemony in Latin America. If some of the former employees of "the Company" are getting out of hand, since they are trained for nothing else, the obvious "reform" is to put these fanatical anti-communist terrorists back on the payroll!

If Moyers were not blinkered by his ideology and class loyalties, he might have drawn far more radical conclusions even from his own limited journalistic exposé. The gusanos are not just "disposed of." Rather, they are endlessly recycled in the service of U.S. imperialism. Kennedy hurled them at the Cuban coast, then abandoned them when U.S. culpability was exposed. They came back mad, but he simply signed them up for Operation Mongoose. As Johnson escalated the war in Indochina, he wound down direct attacks on Cuba, and the CIA dispersed its Cuban agents to "counter-insurgency" operations throughout the hemisphere. Two helped to hunt down "Che" Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia. Some eventually joined the various Latin American police death squads and torture specialists whom they were previously advising. Most returned to Miami after 1967 when Operation Mongoose was formally terminated.

In 1971 the Nixon administration required a special unit to harass and spy on its lengthy enemies list (from Edward Kennedy to the May Day Tribe). It naturally turned to the two men who had recruited the Bay of Pigs brigade: retired CIA officer Howard Hunt and his former gusano lackey Bernard Barker. Barker told an obviously shocked interviewer about the scope of the unit, from which the Watergate burglars were to be drawn:

- Q. "How many people did you manage to recruit for Operation Diamond?"
- A. "About 120."
- Q. "Did most of these people have experience with the CIA?"
- A. "All of them. All of them were at one time or another connected with the Central Intelligence Agency, yes."
- Q. "That was almost a prerequisite?"
- A. "Yes, definitely."

When not in the direct employ of the American government, these vermin are often doing the dirty work of U.S. allies in Latin America. Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza openly supports anti-Castro emigré groups. Gusanos have been implicated as hitmen for the infamous Chilean DINA in last September's assassination of exiled Chilean leftist Orlando Letelier. When the Venezuelan government arrested several Cubans in connection with the Air Cubana bombing, it was revealed that they had protectors high up in the Caracas government and had been used as go-betweens to the Chilean junta.

The notion that these long-time CIA minions are now independent agents is as ludicrous as the notion that the CIA carries out its murderous vendettas behind the backs of the president and his advisors. It is nothing but alibiing for the imperialist liberals who were up to their necks in the assassinations business just as much as Nixon. At root is the liberal/reformist illusion in the reformability of the bourgeois state. In Castro's Stalinist version, it is the pipe-dream that by installing a "progressive" administration in the White House the warmongers at the Pentagon and mad bombers at the CIA will be reined in. To end CIA terror, to fully expose the slimy gusanos to the light of day, will require more than halfhearted Congressional investigations or occasional televised muckraking. It requires a victorious workers revolution. ■

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Bloody Colonel Mengistu Slaughters Leftists

Hands Off the EPRP!

Addis Ababa under the heel of the Derg has become a giant charnel house. Outside the city, fresh-turned earth marks a mass grave. Dozens of unclaimed corpses lie heaped up in hospital corridors. Women with shawls turned inside out, a sign of mourning, search for their children. To claim the bodies, relatives must pay as much as \$100, an enormous sum in desperately poor Ethiopia. Soldiers tell them the money is to replace bullets "wasted" on the victims.

By day, convoys loaded with armed peasants rumble through the city. Chanting "Ethiopia or death," they are headed north to bolster 25,000 regular troops in a last, desperate attempt to crush Eritrean independence fighters. This rag-tag "people's army" (reportedly 200,000-strong) is being trained in the appropriately named Siga Meda, the "field of meat," an open area west of the capital once used for slaughtering livestock.

Soon after sunset, neighborhood vigilante groups called *kebeles* take to the streets to hunt down "class enemies of the broad masses." They scour the slums, kicking in the doors of mud huts in search of dangerous implements like typewriters and binoculars. Suspected government opponents are often tortured and killed on the spot. Since February, the *kebeles* and army patrols have killed an estimated 3,000 people in Addis Ababa alone.

Colonel Mengistu Haile Meriam, who emerged as undisputed leader of the Derg—the Provisional Military Administrative Council—following a palace shoot-out in February, set the tone for the extermination campaign at a mass rally two months ago. He held up five vials of red liquid. One by one, he smashed them to the ground, vowing that the streets would run with the blood of so-called "voracious feudalists, hired fascists and running dogs." He has kept his bloody word, except that it is leftists—not feudalists and fascists—who are being slaughtered by the hundreds.

The bloodiest single massacre took place over May Day weekend. In preparation for a massive celebration of "the gains of our revolution," Mengistu loosed his soldiers on students demonstrating against the military dictatorship. Hundreds died in a deadly rain of machine gun bullets (see "May Day Massacre in Ethiopia," *WV* No. 159, 27 May). Two weeks later, the horror was repeated. In the 23 May issue of *Time* magazine, correspondent Lee Griggs reported from Addis Ababa:

"Shooting broke out all over the capital late on Sunday afternoon and continued sporadically for twelve hours. Automatic weapons chattered incessantly, and the crump of exploding grenades punctuated the firing. Cars were banned from the streets, and roadblocks set up to restrict movement by foot. Next day the government-controlled papers announced that 'one anarchist' had been killed—although hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition had been confiscated. Local hospitals had been forbidden to give out body counts, but an orderly at Menelik whispered to me in Amharic, 'Bizualee' (There are many). The best guess: 80 to 100 dead."



B. Campbell/Gamma

Mengistu supporters parade before Derg officers on May Day, just before Mengistu ordered the slaughter of hundreds of protesting students.

These so-called "counterrevolutionaries" and "hired fascists" in the capital are supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), an eclectic "Third World" Stalinist group with significant support among students and young workers. Many were in the forefront of the months-long struggle in 1974 to overthrow the feudalist regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. Although its program for a "New Democratic Revolution" left open the door to an alliance with "progressive" members of the Derg, the EPRP's repeated calls for civilian rule and its assassinations of leading military figures and government supporters have won it Mengistu's implacable hatred (see "Anti-Communist Terror in Ethiopia," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976).

The Derg vendetta against the EPRP as well as army sweeps against left-wing rebels in the provinces have an ethnic aspect that recalls Idi Amin's tribalist pogroms and the racial/tribal cleavages among and within the nationalist groups in Angola. *Le Monde* (26 May) notes that Mengistu "is not a semite like his predecessors, but a Galla, a black, the first ever to have governed Ethiopia." The Amharas, although only a quarter of the population, are historically the privileged elite, ruling over a kaleidoscope of other ethnic groups (of which the Gallas are by far the largest) which they conquered in the late nineteenth century. Mengistu's power base within the army is, at least in part, based on this factor: "Frequently, non-coms or lower-grade officers have replaced their Amhara superiors, often after having killed them."

This should not be surprising, for none of the bourgeois nationalist regimes of post-independence Africa have been able to overcome tribal antagonisms, any more than did the colonial rulers. However, because some of these tyrants like Mengistu hypocritically term themselves "socialists," the imperialist and pro-imperialist press has been able to use the terrible bloodbath going on in Ethiopia as a propaganda weapon against the left. A current example is the dramatic front page of *Jeune Afrique* with Mengistu's photo and the blood-dripping title, "Socialism and Barbarism."

Peking's and Moscow's alternating



Prensa Latina

Mengistu greets Castro during recent Africa tour.

support for the military regime (a repeat of their courtship of the "anti-imperialist" emperor before his overthrow) had prevented the EPRP from falling completely into either the Chinese or Soviet orbit. Still it pays ritual tribute to the heroes of "Third World" Stalinism. On last year's May Day, the party's supporters marched behind portraits of Mao Tse-tung and "Che" Guevara.

And what does Guevara's comrade-in-arms, Fidel Castro, think of this murderous military junta? Following his recent tour of Africa, which included several days in Ethiopia, Castro was interviewed by Simon Malley, editor of the Algeria-financed *Afrique-Asie*. This was Castro's evaluation of the Derg:

"The February 3 events have been decisive. That was when the left and the true leaders of the Revolution took control and the process was directed along revolutionary lines.

"I've gotten to know Mengistu very well. He is a serene, intelligent, daring and courageous man, and I think that he has exceptional qualities as a revolutionary leader.

"Even though the Ethiopian Revolution has powerful enemies, the people are ready to fight, and no true revolution can be beaten easily. We think the

success and consolidation of the Ethiopian Revolution are of great importance for Africa.

"Let me repeat that I think that Mengistu is a true revolutionary and that the revolution now being developed in Ethiopia is a true revolution."

—*Gamma*, 22 May

Castro is playing a key role in the Soviet bloc's attempt to extend its influence in the strategic Horn of Africa by cementing an alliance with Mengistu and mediating the long-standing Ethiopia/Somalia border dispute. The *Afrique-Asie* interview reports that Castro attended a secret summit conference in Aden with the leaders of Somalia, Ethiopia and South Yemen to lobby for Moscow's proposed "anti-imperialist confederation" of the three countries. The real selling point, however, is not Castro's "Third World" diplomacy but Soviet arms.

Since last summer when several army officers were executed on charges of conspiring with the CIA, Ethiopian-U.S. relations cooled rapidly. In the same period, Washington was bolstering relations with the Sudan, which supports two of the Derg's major opponents, the royalist Ethiopian Dem-

ocratic Union and the predominantly Muslim Eritrean Liberation Front. The military junta repeatedly complained that it was not receiving sufficient military equipment from the Pentagon to modernize its army, which has been steadily pushed back in Eritrea until it now holds only a handful of towns.

Twice last year the Derg's arms requests were held up for months, and it was forced to scurry across Europe, East and West, in search of alternate sources. In December a delegation went to Moscow and signed a secret agreement for the purchase of more than \$100 million in arms. Since the February



Bourgeoisie holds Ethiopian regime as example of African socialism.

shoot-out, Mengistu has openly expressed his preference for Soviet patronage. In return, Jimmy Carter suddenly discovered "human rights" violations in Ethiopia (presumably these did not exist from 1945 to 1975 when the U.S. poured \$600 million into the coffers of Haile Selassie and, for a time, the Derg), and cut off U.S. military aid.

In his May Day speech Mengistu bragged about ending an era of "slavery" by expelling five U.S. agencies in late April. The international Stalinist press dutifully reported his bluster. Three days later, he was in Moscow, where he signed a declaration laying the "foundations for friendship and cooperation" between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union.

Moscow has delivered tens of thousands of weapons along with dozens of tanks and armored personnel carriers. Reports from the Eritrean guerrillas and from Sudan claim that Cuban military advisors are training the peasant militias. Whatever the truth of this assertion, in an interview with Barbara Walters of ABC-TV, Castro stated that all the Cubans in Ethiopia are "accredited as diplomatic personnel," while adding: "I want to warn you that this does not imply that we are not willing to send instructors."

Once again the Stalinists are demonstrating their willingness to seal diplomatic deals in the blood of left-wing militants in other countries. Since the EPRP is extremely isolated internationally, Moscow's professional liars do not shirk from even the most nauseating slanders in their efforts to cover up for Mengistu. In the 21 May *Daily World*, Communist Party hack Tom Foley actually hails the recent massacres:

"Part of the imperialist panic no doubt arises from the increasing effectiveness of Ethiopia's worker and peasant militias in fighting U.S.-supported counterrevolutionary bands.

"The CIA-backed 'Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party,' which had been carrying on a terror campaign aimed at workers [it took credit for the assassination of the government-installed, strike-breaking head of the labor federation], has suffered crippling losses lately in Addis Ababa."

The vultures that hover over Revolution Square in Addis Ababa are a grisly symbol not only of the frenzied bloodlust of the Derg but also of the bottomless treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracies—the gravediggers of the world revolution. The future of humanity lies not only in the social revolution to smash bourgeois rule, from Ethiopia to the U.S., but in political revolution to overthrow the self-serving bureaucratic betrayers who rule over the deformed workers states. ■

How CIA Infiltrated Australian Labor Movement

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The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is a sinister gang of professional assassins in the service of the world's foremost imperialist power. In carrying out the covert military operations dictated by U.S. foreign policy interests the CIA murdered the Congolese nationalist leader, Patrice Lumumba, in 1961; Latin American revolutionary, Che Guevara, in 1967; and made at least eight attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. These hitmen for U.S. imperialism organised or bankrolled reactionary coups in Brazil, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Iran, Indonesia, Cambodia and Greece. They organised the 1960 Bay of Pigs invasion designed to topple the Castro government and have infiltrated and subverted trade unions throughout the world.

So when Christopher Boyce, a young [American] employee of TRW (a [California] electronics firm with CIA contacts) [who is] charged with being a Soviet spy, told a Los Angeles court in late April, "If you think what the CIA did in Chile was bad you should see what they are doing in Australia," he stirred up an understandable hue and cry.

What is the CIA doing in Australia? According to Boyce, it has infiltrated Australian unions particularly in the transport industry; furthermore, it systematically deceived Australian governments about the true nature of the ultra-secret Pine Gap "communications" base near Alice Springs.

Victor Marchetti, an ex-CIA operative whose *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* exposed numerous CIA operations, bolstered Boyce's charges with the additional information that the "satellite-tracking" station at Pine Gap can tap all overseas telephone and telex messages to and from Australia and that the CIA has filtered funds to the Liberal and Country parties. Philip Agee, another ex-CIA agent, then exposed eight CIA operatives here and linked CIA money with the virulently anti-communist National Civic Council (NCC) of B.A. Santamaria and right-wing union officials associated with it. In an interview on ABC-TV Marchetti expressed his belief that the CIA acted to "destabilise" the Whitlam Labor government, albeit in a more "sophisticated" manner than Chile.

There is every reason to believe all the concrete charges are true, but that is scarcely surprising. None but a fool could doubt that the U.S. would maintain an intelligence operation in a



50,000 protested in Melbourne, November 1975, against Kerr's dismissal of Labor premier Whitlam.

strategic component of its world-wide counterrevolutionary military alliances—ANZUS [the 1951 Australia-New Zealand-U.S. tripartite treaty] is hardly a secret—nor that it would keep secrets from what is after all a very junior imperialist partner. However, whatever the CIA's "destabilising" activities in Australia, they certainly must have been a great deal more subtle than in Chile. Australia is no Chile and [current Australian prime minister Malcolm] Fraser is no Pinochet.

The Australian bourgeoisie has every reason to protect the secrecy of the CIA. Why, then, have the bourgeois media, particularly Fairfax's Sydney tabloid, the *Sun*, run a spate of sensationalist exposés of CIA activity? Fairfax rabidly supported [Gough] Whitlam's sacking and is as firmly committed to the "American Alliance" as is Fraser (or, for that matter, Whitlam). A 5 May editorial in the *Financial Review* provided some useful insights: "The Australian business community ought to be especially concerned about the commercial implications" of CIA wiretapping, and the public must be *re-assured* about these allegations which have surfaced."

In other words, even the firmest of imperialist allies have *some* conflicting interests, and besides, to allow the real "dirty tricks" of CIA/ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Organisation] to remain hidden a small amount of exposure is necessary. Without deluding itself that the bourgeoisie has any intention of curbing its secret police, the labour movement must demand *full disclosure* of all the secret dealings of

these counterrevolutionary agencies! In fact many of the "revelations" which have come out so far, particularly those concerning the sacking of the Whitlam government in 1975, were documented well over a year ago in Paul Kelly's book, *The Unmaking of Gough*. Shortly before his sacking on 11 November 1975 Whitlam accused Doug Anthony, National/Country Party leader, of being tainted by CIA money. The ensuing flap led to the disclosure that Anthony's friend, Richard Stallings, who supervised the construction of Pine Gap, had been a CIA agent. The obvious implication was that there was more to Pine Gap than the "communications."

An alarmed CIA fired off a service-to-service cable to ASIO one day before the sacking, warning that any further disclosures would lead to rupture in the CIA's information exchange with its small-time counterpart. The following day [Australian governor-general John] Kerr, who had longstanding links with both ASIO and the CIA, dismissed Whitlam.

But various fake lefts, notably the reformist Communist Party (CPA) and the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Labour League (SLL), have seized upon these "revelations" as "proof" of their contention that Whitlam's sacking was a CIA-masterminded coup. According to the CPA, the CIA had Whitlam thrown out because he was about to lift the lid on CIA activities in Parliament on 11 November and thereby expose Pine Gap's real functions: "... tracking Soviet missiles in the event of nuclear war and *spying on Australia itself*" (*Tribune*, 4 May—emphasis added).

The SLL chimes in that the downfall of the Labor government resulted from a CIA "campaign of destabilisation... throughout its term in office" (*Workers News*, 5 May). The Fraser government was then installed to take orders from "international capitalism and the Central Intelligence Agency [four months ago it was (supposedly) the Japanese shipbuilders giving the orders] that the trade union movement must be smashed" (*Workers News*, 12 May).

There is little reason to doubt that the CIA/ASIO was at least sympathetic to, and likely involved in, Whitlam's dismissal. After 23 years out of federal office, the new ALP [Australian Labor Party] government quickly developed frictions with the established state bureaucracy—especially ASIO—which was accustomed to dealing with and loyal to a Liberal government. The

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Spartacist League banner at Hyde Park demonstration in Sydney against Kerr's dismissal of Whitlam.

Leninism and Workers Control

by Joseph Seymour

The following article is based on a talk by Comrade Seymour at a West Coast Spartacus Youth League educational in mid-March.

There is probably no question in contemporary left-wing politics where greater confusion, both substantive and terminological, reigns than over "workers control." Of the several forms of confusion, the most dangerous is a *stagist* conception of workers control as the link between day-to-day trade-union militancy and revolutionary dual power, as the *necessary, first* step toward the seizure of state power. Workers control is not a demand which communist trade unionists agitate for and seek to implement every day in every way. It is only appropriate to a qualitatively different, higher level of class struggle.

Workers control—dual power at the point of production—is an aspect, usually secondary, of a generalized revolutionary crisis. With one exception—Italy in 1969—workers control has emerged only *after*, not before, the government was overthrown and the repressive state apparatus was in disarray: Russia 1917, Germany 1918, Spain 1936, Portugal 1974-75. And in Italy's "Hot Autumn" in 1969, workers control was a subordinate aspect of a mass strike wave centered on economic demands.

There are four characteristic kinds of confusion. The most important is an attempt to exploit terminological ambiguity in the service of a reformist programmatic conception. This is the trade unionization of workers control. In the conventional sense, trade unions normally exercise some control over the conditions of production, job standards and the like. Trotsky, who was very precise in his programmatic formulations, always speaks of "workers control of production" or "of industry" to distinguish this concept from the kind of control that trade unions normally exercise.

In a recent article, "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement" (*WV* No. 146, 25 February), we demanded "trade-union control of safety conditions in all industrial situations." This is *not* a call for generalized dual power at the industrial level. Rather it is a strong trade-union demand. Many unions in many countries have forced management to adhere to a thick rulebook specifying safety standards. This is not "workers control of production." Of course, it is in the interests of reformists and centrists to blur the distinction between this type of trade-union control of working conditions and generalized dual power at the point of production signaling a revolutionary situation.

A second source of confusion is more purely terminological. "Control" is a word which exists in many Indo-European languages with similar but not identical meanings. In European languages other than English, "to control" means to check or monitor the actions of another. For example, the functionary who checks tickets on French trains is called the *controleur de billets*. However, in English the term "control" means to administer or direct. While in other languages "workers control" is distinct from and weaker than "workers management," in English the two are usually identified. Thus English-speaking Trotskyists sometimes confuse these two qualitatively different concepts. For example, Felix Morrow in his *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain* uses "workers control" to describe what was actually workers management of nominally nationalized enterprises.



1917 factory meeting led by Bolshevik workers.

A third area of confusion centers on workers management, which is neither identical with nor necessarily occurs under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our program is not workers management, but rather the management or administration by a workers government of a centrally directed and planned economy.

It is possible for generalized workers management or, more precisely, self-management to exist as another, distinct form of dual power. Workers control is dual power *within* the production unit; management is still trying to reassert its traditional authority. In Italy 1969 there were pitched battles of Fiat workers against Fiat foremen and company goons—that's what we mean by workers control or dual power. Workers management, by contrast, occurs when the bourgeois management abandons the productive units to the workers, while the latter are not subject to economic administration by the state. It is obvious that such an extraordinary situation can occur only when a proletarian state power has not yet consolidated its rule (Bolshevik Russia in late 1917-early 1918) or in a civil war under a weak bourgeois "popular front" government (Spain 1936-37). Workers management is then a situation of dual power *between* the productive units and the government, which may be either proletarian or bourgeois. The government's monopoly over the mechanisms of finance is invariably the Achilles heel of workers management.

A fourth point of confusion concerns "workers control" as an institution under a democratically governed workers state with a centralized planned economy. The terminological identity of this concept with "workers control" in a revolutionary, dual-power situation is codified in the Transitional Program and reflects the political language of the Russian experience. That the same term refers to two fundamentally different programmatic concepts is inherently confusing and ideally should be

avoided. However, it would be ineffectual scholasticism for us to invent and use different terms.

Nevertheless, comrades must understand the difference. Workers control under socialist economic planning is an authoritative *consultative* voice at the point of production. It is absolutely not counterposed or antagonistic to the managerial hierarchy of the workers government. The notion that "workers control" has the selfsame character during a revolutionary offensive against capitalism and in a workers state is an economist or syndicalist deviation.

Workers control is not a demand made upon the employer or state; it is a *condition* of struggle. Workers control cannot be incorporated into a trade-union contract or otherwise institutionalized. By its very nature workers control posits open-ended struggle between workers and management. Comrade Douglas' document captures well the difference between strong trade unionism and workers control. Putting assembly-line speed in the contract is a strong trade-union demand; workers control means determining line speed against management's will. A union hiring hall is a strong trade-union demand; workers control is forcing management to hire more people than it wants to employ. These are real and significant differences.

Because workers control cannot be institutionalized, it is wrong to call for workers control in a particular firm or industry as a programmatic norm. In a revolutionary situation, of course, certain firms and industries are in the vanguard of workers control struggles—the Putilov metalworks in St. Petersburg in 1917, Fiat in Turin in 1969, the Lisnave shipyards in Lisbon in 1974-75. However, a call to action on a particular firm in a revolutionary period is different from a programmatic norm.

Pabloite Revisionism

The leading exponents of reformist and stagist conceptions of workers

control are the European Pabloites. In Britain, the best-known left-wing advocates of workers control are two free-lancing independent Pabloites, Ken Coates and Tony Topham of the Institute for Workers' Control. The very name reveals a reformist conception. Think of the Institute for Revolutionary Dual Power in Industry! The purely social-democratic nature of the Coates/Topham project is spelled out openly:

"The aims of the Institute for Workers' Control shall be...to assist in the formation of Workers' Control groups dedicated to the development of democratic consciousness, to the winning of support for Workers' Control in all existing organizations of Labour, to the challenging of undemocratic actions wherever they may occur, and the extension of democratic control over industry and the economy itself...."

—*Bulletin of the Institute for Workers' Control*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (no date)

A far more sophisticated exponent of a reformist, stagist position on workers control than the "industrial democrat" Coates is Ernest Mandel. Labeling workers' control an "anti-capitalist structural reform," he presents it as an institutionalized aspect of trade-union bargaining:

"Workers' control is the affirmation by the workers of a refusal to let the management dispose freely of the means of production and labour power.... It is a refusal to enter discussions with the management or the government as a whole on the division of the national income, so long as the workers have not acquired the ability to reveal the way the capitalists cook up the books when they talk of prices and profits."

—"Lessons of May," *New Left Review*, November-December 1968

Mandel simply trivializes workers control as an appendage to every kind of social struggle normally occurring in capitalist society:

"The struggle for workers' control—with which the strategy of anti-capitalist structural reforms, the struggle for a transitional programme, is largely identified—must...keep close to the preoccupations of the masses, must *constantly* arise from the *everyday* reality experienced by the workers, their wives, the students and revolutionary intellectuals." [our emphasis]

—*Ibid.*

The anti-revolutionary nature of Mandel's position is clear when he attempts to inject workers control into the French May 1968 general strike. I read the following passage several times because I didn't understand it. This is because it's inherently confused and confusing, grafting a reformist, stagist concept of workers control onto a revolutionary dual power situation:

"The general strike of May 1968...offers us an excellent example of the key importance of this problem. Ten million workers were out on strike. They occupied their factories. If they were moved by the desire to do away with many of the social injustices heaped up by the Gaullist regime in the ten years of its existence, they were obviously aiming beyond simple wage scale demands."

It is significant that Mandel does not see the strikers as having a revolutionary anti-capitalist impulse, merely wanting to eliminate "many" (sic) of the social injustices associated with the Gaullist regime. He goes on:

"But if the workers did not feel like being satisfied with immediate demands, they also did not have any exact idea of what they did want. Had they been educated in the preceding years and months in the spirit [sic] of workers' control, they would have known what to do: elect a committee in every plant that would begin by opening the company books; calculate for themselves the various companies' real manufacturing costs and rates of profit; establish a right of veto on hiring and

firing and on any changes in the organization of the work.”

—“The Debate on Workers’ Control,” *International Socialist Review*, May-June 1969

But for there to be “workers control of production” *there must be production*. A functioning workers control committee during a general strike would be scabbing! Workers control and a general strike are two mutually exclusive economic-military tactics, which usually arise in very different situations. As we shall see, workers control is usually an attempt to *maintain* production in the face of employer sabotage,

cannot cancel out once ‘calm’ has been restored....

“This de facto power consists in democratically elected committees which establish workers control over all production....

“These committees should decide which enterprises would begin operating again, and to what end—that is, exclusively to fill the needs of the working population. They should have veto power over every investment project.” [our emphasis]

—“From the Bankruptcy of Neocapitalism to the Struggle for the Socialist Revolution,” in *Revolt in France* (1968)

The French 1968 general strike is a perfect example of when a stagist

and read superficially, Trotsky’s article could be interpreted as positing workers control as a necessary or normal early stage of a revolutionary crisis.

Amid Trotsky’s voluminous writings on revolutionary strategy and tactics, there is only one substantive article on workers control—concerning Germany in 1931. Why did Trotsky bring to the fore the demand for workers control at that particular place and time? Why did he consider factory committees rather than soviets as the most likely form of dual power? Why did he regard workers control rather than a mass strike wave or street fighting as the probable initial form of confrontation with bourgeois authority?

First, the economic conditions militated against the strike tactic. Given a sharp and worsening depression, the tasks of the workers were to prevent plant closures, lock-outs and increased unemployment.

Apart from economic conjunctural considerations, Trotsky’s position on workers control was governed by the relations of the Communist Party (CP), which he considered bureaucratic centrist with a potential for revolutionary renewal, to the Social Democrats on the one hand and to the Nazis on the other. In most circumstances the strength of the workers movement against the employers is roughly in line with its strength against the state. Try having a work action in Brazil, Iran or South Korea. However, in Germany 1931 the power of the workers in the shops was far greater than in the streets. The Communists alone, a minority of the proletariat, could not overcome the Nazi stormtroopers; the CP’s sectarianism and the Social Democrats’ legalism prevented united military action against the fascists. However, the Nazi writ did not run into the factories so that in military terms resistance to workers control was far less than to other forms of a proletarian offensive.

The German Social Democrats associated soviets with Communist rule and would have opposed them as a united-front form. The “Third Period” Stalinists refused to work in the Social Democratic-dominated trade unions. The factory committees were the only existing common organizations of Social Democratic and Communist workers. Thus Trotsky saw in the factory committees and workers control the path of least resistance for a united proletarian offensive. His advocacy of workers control was not a universal tactical schema, but a concrete form for a united front of a deeply divided workers movement against the growing fascist threat. If one abstracts Trotsky’s position from the concrete conjuncture and political alignment in Germany 1931, one is liable to project a false

tactical schema involving the fetishization of workers control.

The Bolsheviks and Workers Control

The Bolshevik Revolution and Spanish civil war witnessed the most profound workers control struggles and the only experiences of widespread workers self-management. Therefore the assimilation of these two historic experiences is essential to understand our programmatic positions on the question.

Unlike the Russian revolution of 1905, 1917 was not marked by mass strikes. The workers knew that the war had severely damaged and dislocated the Russian economy, industry was on the verge of collapse due to breakdowns and shortages, and the urban population was threatened by famine. Workers control arose primarily to counter capitalist neglect and sabotage, rather than to extract economic concessions. Lenin’s strong support for workers control in this period was motivated by a conservative economic purpose. In a major article, significantly entitled “The Impending Catastrophe and How To Fight It” (September 1917), he states:

“Control, supervision and accounting are the prime prerequisites for combating catastrophe and famine. This is indisputable and universally recognized. And it is just what *is not being done* from fear of encroaching on the supremacy of the landowners and capitalists, on their immense, fantastic and scandalous profits....” [emphasis in original]

Shortly after coming to power, the Bolshevik government issued two decrees (14 November and 13 December) designed to institutionalize the dual power already existing within Russian factories. The second decree details the powers of the control commissions:

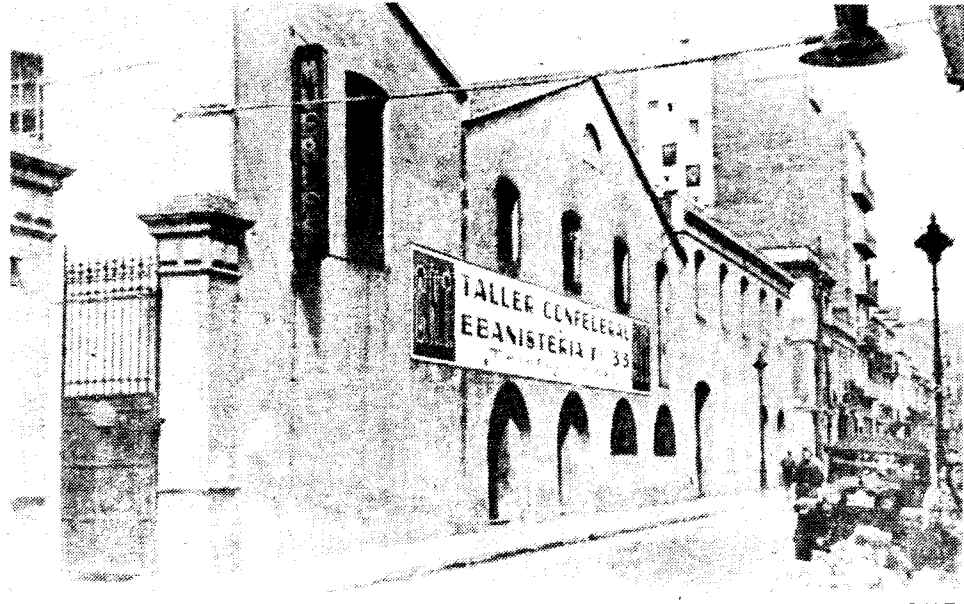
“The control commission of each enterprise is to establish the amount of materials, fuel, equipment, workers and technicians, etc., required for production, the actual stock in hand and labor available; to estimate the prospects of carrying on or closing down; to maintain labor discipline; to check whether buying and selling conform to state regulations; to watch over productivity, and assist in ascertaining production costs, etc.

“Decisions of the control commission designed to secure the conditions for its operation *are binding on the owner*.” [our emphasis]

It also stipulates that direct management remains in the owners’ hands and that the control commission has no right to expropriate the enterprises on its own:

“The owner retains his managerial rights over the administration and operation of the enterprise. The control commission does not take part in the administration of the enterprise and is not responsible for its operation.... The

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One of the many union-run workshops established in Barcelona in 1936.

the disruption of war or severe economic crisis.

The call for workers control during the French May events would not merely have been wrong and confusionist, but dangerous and liquidationist. Under those conditions, the French ruling class would have promised considerable concessions toward workers control—open books, union veto on firing, the right to beat up foremen and all kinds of good things—if only the workers ended the general strike and defused the political crisis.

Mandel himself drew out the liquidationist consequences of his call for workers control during the French May-June 1968 events in an article published at that time:

“It is here that the strategy of ‘anticapitalist structural reforms,’ transition demands, assumes all its validity. *The masses cannot seize power in the factories and neighborhoods; that calls for a new and centralized revolutionary leadership that does not as yet exist. But the fact that the masses are not yet in a position to seize power does not at all imply the impossibility of winning, right now, demands over and above wage increases.*

“The workers hold the factories and nerve centers of the nation.... They must immediately establish a de facto power that the bosses and the state

concept of workers control is dangerous. Workers control would have meant a *lowering* of the level of class struggle. It would have been equivalent to abandoning a major battle on the verge of victory and retreating into guerrilla war. The correct revolutionary demand for the French May events was the unification and centralization of the strike committees as embryonic soviets, bypassing a distinct period of workers control

Trotsky on Germany 1931

Trotsky’s 1931 article, “Workers’ Control of Production,” is absolutely unambiguous that workers control is not a reform, but a manifestation of dual power in a revolutionary situation:

“Control can be imposed only by force upon the bourgeoisie, by a proletariat on the road to the moment of taking power from them, and then also ownership of the means of production. Thus the regime of workers’ control, a provisional, transitional regime by its very essence, can correspond only to the period of the convulsing of the bourgeois state, the proletarian offensive, and the falling back of the bourgeoisie, that is, to a period of the proletarian revolution in the fullest sense of the word.”

However, taken out of historic context



CGT-called march in Paris brought out 800,000 unionists in May 1968.



Portuguese shipyard workers on strike in 1973.

Workers Control...

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control commission may, through its higher authorities, raise the question of sequestration of an enterprise or any other compulsory measure with the economic state organs, but it has no right itself to seize and administer an enterprise."

—reproduced in Margaret Dewar, *Labour Policy in the USSR 1917-1928* (1956)

Why did Lenin put forth a policy he later described as a "contradictory and incomplete measure"? Lenin's position on workers control is incomprehensible unless one realizes that he was opposed to the nationalization of industry in the short term. He defended this policy as late as spring 1918 against left communist opponents (Bukharin, Radek, Ossinsky). The Bolshevik government did not have available the technical managerial apparatus capable of administering a socialized, planned economy. Lenin believed that through a combination of concessions and pressure Russia's capitalists could be made to serve the new Soviet state. Workers control commissions were projected as the lowest level of state economic administration. Secondly, Lenin considered workers control a school to train a proletarian managerial cadre, who could take over the administration of a socialized economy in a gradual, orderly and efficient way.

The Bolshevik attempt to institutionalize workers control broke down almost immediately. Capitalists hostile to soviet power abandoned their factories for counterrevolutionary intrigue. Workers, in turn hostile and distrustful toward their employers, drove them out and took over the factories. Frequently instructions from the Supreme Council of the National Economy (VSNKh) not to expropriate an enterprise were met with the response that it had already been done. In the months following the October Revolution, workers control gave way to workers self-management imposed from below.

The instructions of VSNKh to the individual factory committees concerning production and distribution were frequently disregarded. The factory committees sought to maximize enterprise income through unbridled competition for supplies and markets. A Bolshevik leader of the Metal Workers Union, writing in late 1917, described the situation as follows:

"Another proprietor came, who was equally an individualist and anti-social as the former one, and the name of the new proprietor was the control committee. In the Donetz area, the metal works and mines refused to supply each other with coal and iron on credit, selling the iron to the peasants without regard for the needs of the State."

—quoted in Maurice Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917* (1948)

Another Bolshevik trade unionist in November 1917 summarizes the situation thus:

"Workers control by itself is an anarchistic attempt to achieve socialism in one enterprise, and actually leads to clashes among the workers themselves and to the refusal of fuel, metal, etc. to one another."

—quoted in Paul Avrich, *The Russian Revolution and Factory Committees* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1961)

These quotes are somewhat one-sided. The recourse of the factory committees to unrestrained atomized competition did not primarily express either parochial self-centeredness or anarcho-syndicalist prejudices, though both were present. Rather the economic situation reflected the new Bolshevik government's lack of authority and organization amid the anarchic turmoil of revolution. The workers in the mass supported Lenin's government to one degree or another, but questioned its viability and permanence. It was understandable for individual factory committees to refuse to sell on credit to a

government they believed would not be around long enough to pay.

The disastrous effect of workers self-management and the exigencies of the looming civil war convinced most workers of the need for centralized economic direction. The institution of "war communism" met with general support and little resistance.

The onset of full-scale civil war in mid-1918 led to wholesale nationalization and the subordination of the factory committees to centralized economic direction. However, the main reason that Lenin had earlier opposed general nationalization remained. The Bolshevik government did not have an apparatus capable of administering a nationalized, centralized industry. So it turned to the one politically loyal organization which had a hierarchy conforming to the industrial structure—the trade unions. The economy under "war communism" was administered by the trade unions, not by a separate state body. Industrial management by the trade unions, traditional workers organizations, had the further advantage of

trade unions and other workers organizations. Such differences exploded with the end of the civil war in early 1921 amid a mass reaction against the severe austerity and commandism of "war communism."

The Tenth Party Congress in March 1921 saw the semi-syndicalist Workers Opposition advocate the administration of the economy by *autonomous* trade unions. Trotsky, short-sightedly concerned with rehabilitating the economy as speedily as possible, advocated the total statification of the unions, liquidating them as autonomous, internally democratic bodies. Lenin, whose views prevailed, occupied a middle position. He insisted on the direct administration of the economy of the state. He also supported autonomous trade unions to represent the interests of specific groups of workers vis-à-vis the government administration hierarchy, which was capable of bureaucratic abuses as well as errors.

Only with the institution of the New Economic Policy in 1921 did the Bolshevik government acquire its own



Trotsky with Lenin in 1920.

allaying syndicalist prejudices against the new soviet state power.

The threat of white terror strengthened the loyalty of the workers to Bolshevik rule and generated a spirit of self-sacrifice. Economic administration by the unions worked fairly well. A policy originally undertaken as a practical expedient was accepted as a programmatic norm for a workers state. The new Bolshevik program adopted at the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919 stipulated the trade unions would be the basic organ of economic administration. Point 5 of the section entitled "In the sphere of economics" states:

"The organizing apparatus of socialized industry must first of all rest upon the trade unions. The latter must free themselves from the narrow guild outlook and transform themselves into large productive combinations comprising the majority, and gradually all the workers of a given branch of production."

—Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Decisions and Resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

This programmatic statement would cause much trouble a few years later.

The overwhelming economic exigencies of the civil war suppressed any differences within the Bolshevik party over the optimal organization of a workers state, of the relations between the government administration, the

distinct organs of economic administration. This freed the unions to defend the consumerist interests of specific groups of workers. The Labor Code of 1922 stipulated that wages and working conditions be determined by collective bargaining between the unions and state employers.

The early 1920's also saw the introduction of a new form of workers control as an authoritative consultative voice designed to increase productivity. Production conferences of the entire work force elected standing control commissions to oversee that their recommendations were carried out. The Stalinist political counterrevolution eroded and eventually suppressed the control commissions, as it did the trade unions and all other independent proletarian bodies.

The Trotskyist Left Opposition in its 1927 "Platform" calls attention to the atrophying of workers control and the growing indifference of the workers toward productivity:

"The production conferences are gradually being reduced to nothing. The majority of the practical proposals adopted by the workers are never carried out. Among many of these workers a distaste for these production conferences is nourished by the fact that the improvements which they do succeed in introducing often result in a reduction of the number of workers."

The "Platform of the Joint Opposition"

called for strengthening the control commissions:

"The functions of the control commissions of the production councils must be extended to include supervising the execution of their decisions and investigating their success in protecting the workers' interests."

The 1938 Transitional Program incorporated workers control in the consultative sense as a programmatic norm in a workers state, an integral part of proletarian democracy and rational economic planning.

Workers Management in the Spanish Civil War

While workers management in the Bolshevik revolution was a short-lived, anarchic episode, workers management was a central element in the Spanish revolution and civil war. Following the defeated military coup of July 1936 most of Spain's capitalists either fled or were driven out into the areas controlled by Franco's army. Workers management became widespread throughout Spain and dominant in Catalonia (which then accounted for 70 percent of Spanish industry), where the labor movement was dominated by the anarcho-syndicalists through their trade-union federation, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). Workers management was legalized by the Collectivization Decree of October 1936.

The anarchist masses did not look upon workers management as a temporary situation or expedient caused by the civil war, but as the realization of their ideal program. They believed the libertarian millennium had arrived. Despite this very different political attitude, the *initial* experience of workers management in Spain resembled that of Russia in 1917-18. The anarchist-managed collectives acted like competing producer cooperatives. In those collectives which inherited ample material and financial reserves, which had new equipment and enjoyed favorable market demand, the workers' incomes were relatively high. In those collectives without these advantages, the workers suffered accordingly. The situation is well described by Gaston Leval, a French anarchist and prominent CNT militant at the time:

"Too often in Barcelona and Valencia, workers in each undertaking took over the factory, the works, or the workshop, the machines, raw materials, and taking advantage of the continuation of the money system and normal capitalist commercial relations, organized production on their own account, selling for their own benefit the produce of their labour...."

"There was not, therefore, true socialization, but a workers' neo-capitalism, a self-management straddling capitalism and socialism, which we maintain would not have occurred had the Revolution been able to extend itself fully under the direction of our Syndicates."

—*Collectives in the Spanish Revolution* (1975)

The anarcho-syndicalist cadre, like Leval, were dismayed that the "libertarian" collectives reproduced the irrationality and inequality of the capitalist market, a situation which also impeded the war against Franco. The CNT hierarchy more-or-less successfully countered the anarchic parochialism of the collectives and imposed some centralized economic direction. In general, the anarcho-syndicalist workers regarded the enterprises as belonging to the CNT as a whole, not to the individual collectives. Through the CNT, the Spanish workers achieved miracles of economic organization. In Catalonia, which had no metal-working industry, the CNT collectives built a munitions industry from the ground up. The Spanish proletariat displayed outstanding labor discipline, self-sacrifice and ingenuity. This is one of the factors that caused Trotsky, in arguing for the unique significance of the Bolshevik Party, to state that in their mass consciousness the Spanish proletariat stood higher, not lower, than the

WORKERS VANGUARD

Russian workers of 1917-18.

The CNT attempted, with mixed success, to combine the individual enterprises into vertically-integrated industrial syndicates (e.g., textiles, wood products). However, all the CNT collectives—individual factories, multi-enterprise industrial syndicates (like the light textile syndicate in Alcoy), transport and utilities—had to relate to the rest of the economy through capitalist commercial methods.

Were the CNT collectives economically viable? Those collectives which had a relatively self-contained production process, supplied a localized market, enjoyed a monopolistic position and a large, regular cash flow were generally "profitable." The pride of the CNT industrial collectives was the Barcelona tramways syndicate, a localized monopoly supplying an essential service for immediate cash payment. But those collectives which were part of a long chain of production, imported raw materials, sold on long-term credits or to the government (e.g., the munitions industry) were *not* economically viable without state support and cooperation. Such collectives were critically dependent upon state credit and, therefore, on parties hostile to workers management and the anarcho-syndicalist masses. One justification the anarchist leaders advanced for entering the central Popular Front government was to secure state finance for the CNT collectives.

The collectives were naturally the most resolute defenders of workers management. Despite the attitudes of the workers and given the absence of a planned, socialized economy, the collectives had an organic tendency to become competing producer cooperatives.

The CNT bureaucracy administered the collectives partly in the interests of what it considered economic rationality and partly to carry out the bidding of its Popular Front partners. The CNT did on behalf of the bourgeois Popular Front government what the Russian trade unions did on behalf of the Bolshevik government; it disciplined the anarchic, localist tendencies of the collectives in the interests of the government's economic objectives.

The "expanded economic plenum" of the CNT in January 1938 adopted a series of measures resembling "war communism." These measures, of course, grossly violated anarcho-syndicalist principles. An inspectorate was created to "put forward the expected norms which will effectively orientate the different industrial units with a view to improving their economy and administration..." (quoted in Vernon Richards, *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* [1972]). These inspectors had the right to sanction the elected factory committees. The plenum also empowered managers to dismiss workers for lateness, absence and failure to meet work norms, as well as those labeled "troublemakers" who "create dissensions between the workers and the managers or the trade union representatives."

The Popular Front government, with the Stalinists in the vanguard, recognized in the factory committees and workers management a locus of independent proletarian power capable of challenging its authority. Therefore the basic policy of the Popular Front was to liquidate workers management and statify the CNT collectives. The CNT was too powerful to achieve this end by direct administrative military action, so the government resorted to economic sabotage. Capital equipment was requisitioned from the collectives on the pretext that they were needed for the war effort. Leval recounts an incident where the War Ministry requisitioned two modern milling machines from the Barcelona tramways syndicate. Later it was discovered the ministry had a secret cache of some 40 comparable machines.

The primary method by which the Popular Front sabotaged workers management was through its control of

finances. The government literally starved the workers in the CNT collectives. Leval describes how this was done:

"And when, in Catalonia, the Communist leader Comorera became Minister of Finance after the May Days, the means of struggle he adopted were original. It was clear that it was quite impossible to destroy the outstanding influence of the Syndicates of the C.N.T. To attempt to do so would have paralysed production overnight. So, Comorera had recourse to two complementary procedures; on the one hand he deprived the factories of raw materials or deliveries did not arrive on time, thus resulting in production delays which were knowingly criticised; on the other hand they paid for deliveries of cloth, clothing, arms, etc., with a delay which affected the workers' own budgets. As the wages were distributed under the supervision of the Syndicates, it was against the delegates of the C.N.T. and against the organism of which they were the representatives that the discontent of one section of the workers was directed."

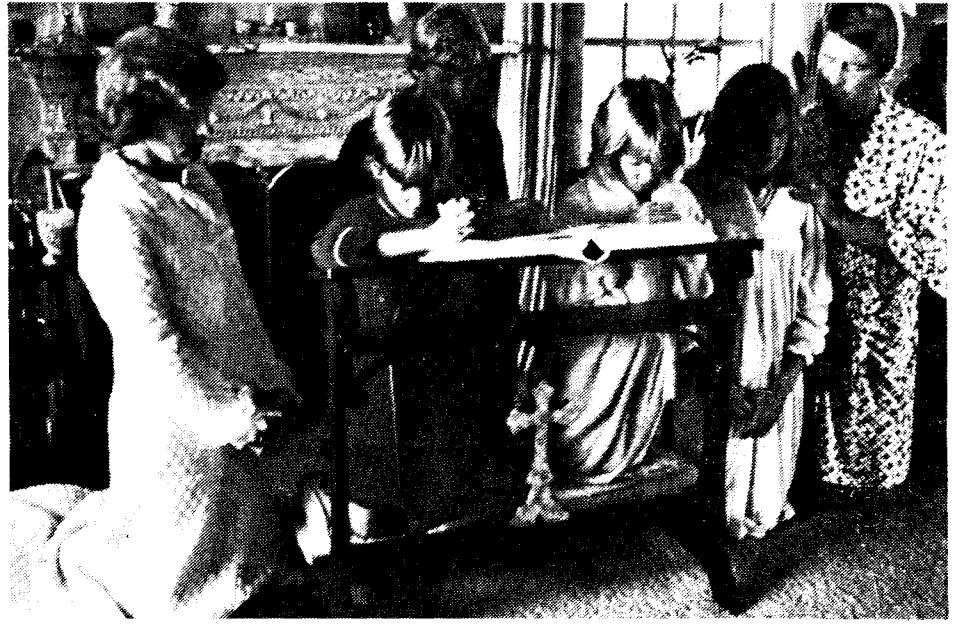
Collectives in the Spanish Revolution

The turning point of the Spanish revolution, the "May Days" in Barcelona, was precipitated by a military attack by the Popular Front government on workers management. The CNT collective which ran the telephone system was especially irritating to the Popular Front because it enabled the anarchist workers to listen in on communications between the central ministries in Valencia and their Catalan counterparts. On 3 May 1937 the Stalinist commissar of public order in Catalonia, Rodríguez Sala, attempted an armed assault on the Telefónica building. The infuriated response of the Barcelona workers—a massive general strike including the erection of street barricades—was on the verge of sweeping away the government forces when the anarchist ministers, García Oliver and Federica Montseny, intervened to arrange a truce. This gave the central government time to send 6,000 Civil Guards to occupy Barcelona.

In the rightist reaction which followed, the POUM leader Andrés Nin and anarchist Camillo Berneri were assassinated among others, the left-centrist POUM was suppressed and the anarchists were expelled from the government (although they remained loyal to the Popular Front). The "May Days" broke the back of the vanguard of the proletariat; the liquidation of the revolutionary dual power established in July 1936, including workers management, followed apace.

The Trotskyist position toward workers management in the Spanish revolution is governed by the fact that it constituted a form of proletarian dual power in relation to an essentially bourgeois government. While criticizing and opposing anarcho-syndicalist doctrine, we would be the most resolute defenders of workers management in practice, far more so than the treacherous CNT bureaucracy. While maintaining and stepping up production for the war of the Republic against Franco, a Trotskyist leadership would have refused and resisted the Stalinist-inspired state requisitions of capital equipment on the pretext of furthering the war effort. Trotskyists would have demanded the ouster of official representatives of the Popular Front government from all bodies administering the collectives. Above all, the Trotskyists would also have explained that genuine socialization of production required the overthrow of the Popular Front (no less than the defeat of Franco's army) and the establishment of a planned economy administered by a workers government.

The contrasting experiences of Russia 1917-21 and Spain 1936-39 indicate that our attitude toward workers control and management depends above all on the class nature of the state power, and secondarily on the development of the revolution from a proletarian offensive against capitalist rule to the consolidation of a workers government administering a centralized, planned economy. ■



Bob Sherman/Camera 5

Anita Bryant and family in their nightly ritual praying at altar in their Miami Beach home.

Defend Democratic Rights for Homosexuals

Stop Anita Bryant!

Several thousand outraged demonstrators marched from New York's Greenwich Village to midtown Manhattan on June 8. The demonstrators were protesting the repeal of a Dade County, Florida law prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and public accommodation.

An aggressive scare campaign spearheaded by has-been pop singer Anita Bryant had focused national attention on the Dade County referendum. Decrying the supposed danger of "child molestation" and citing the California drought as proof of "God's" displeasure with homosexuality, Bryant has issued an open invitation for increased persecution of homosexuals on the job, in public places, in their homes. By reversing the legal affirmation that private sexual conduct should not be grounds for harassment and discrimination, the forces of bigotry and reaction have dealt a significant setback to elementary democratic rights.

Bryant, though grotesque and easy to caricature, is no joke and should not be taken lightly. She speaks for a stratum of vicious and fanatical reactionaries who comprise the hardest core of

counterrevolution in the United States. This layer of bible-thumping bigots is in the forefront of right-wing attacks on virtually every gain of the liberal activism of the 1960's: school busing programs, abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, etc.

The oppressed of society are generally painfully aware of their own special oppression; in fact the radicalism of the 1960's made a principle out of the separate organization of strata of the oppressed: blacks, women, homosexuals, for example. But it is only when consciousness of oppression transcends the subjective and partial and becomes class consciousness that an effective fight against the common enemy—the capitalist system—can be waged on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. That democratic rights and social freedoms are indivisible is, unfortunately, grasped by the reactionaries, who see the menace of "atheistic communism" lurking behind everything from pornography to abolition of capital punishment. Opponents of this repulsive right-wing offensive must be imbued with a similar breadth of purpose.

The vanguard party of the working class is the force which integrates the will to resist all forms of degradation by the capitalist system. The vanguard party must be "the tribune of the people," championing the rights and aspirations of all the working people and specially oppressed. This championship has nothing in common with the patronizing of liberal moralists, but flows from recognition of common interest. The communists, the first victims of the fascist takeover in Germany, understand that it was the working class' failure to come to power which enabled the Nazis to unleash unspeakable horrors against Jews and other ethnic minorities, homosexuals and other social "deviants," trade unionists, freethinkers, pacifists, radicals of every stripe.

The Spartacist League has nothing but contempt for the Stalinist apologists who glorify the oppressive nuclear family structure and justify the Stalinist regimes' persecution of homosexuals, perceived as a threat to the family. Nor does our approach have anything in common with the polyvanguardist opportunists who tail proponents of "life-style" radicalism. The worst of the anti-Leninist tailists is YAWF, which in its endless search for cheap popularity, in this case to please the "gay movement," has called a national demonstration around

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Chicago Cops Riot Against Puerto Ricans

(continued from page 1)

reporter that "everybody was shaky because so many police were there" before the trouble even started. Nothing might have happened, he said, "if the police hadn't come in that way at the crowd that had nothing to do with the gangs."

The official contention that the violence was the work of the gangs was inadvertently given the lie by police superintendent James Rochard, who said the tone of the day "had been set by a bombing earlier." Indicating that cop harassment of the 200,000-strong Puerto Rican community in Chicago would increase in the wake of the violence, Mayor Bilandic said ominously, "There is a need for constant surveillance." Apparently he wants to use the incident to turn back mounting criticism of the Chicago police "red squad," whose violations of civil rights and privacy have led to a number of recent court cases against the spy unit.

An indication of the city rulers' open contempt for the Puerto Rican population was seen on Monday when several bourgeois Puerto Rican "community leaders" came to the mayor's office to discuss the situation. However, Bilandic was at a campaign breakfast with ward committeemen, being serenaded by two violinists, a piano player and a harpist. The Latino "leaders" cooled their heels for three and a half hours until the mayor showed up to talk to them, and then for only 25 minutes.

The *Chicago Sun-Times* (7 June) piously editorialized against "Humboldt Park Madness," lecturing the Puerto Rican community on its "obligations... to help turn youths from gangs" and denouncing those who cheered "mob attacks on police," while limply admitting a few "questions about the adequacy of police leadership" (such as "reports of indiscriminate gunfire"). In reality, the violence was started by a deliberate cop assault, without warning, against an unarmed and unprepared population, many of them picnicking with children. The crowd's effort to

drive the trigger-happy cops out of the park and from the streets of their community was an elemental act of self-defense.

On the other hand, unreconstructed New Leftovers see every act of resistance to police brutality as a "mass rebellion," as the October League's *Call* (13 June) termed the Humboldt Park incident. This is a carryover from the view of SDS and various Maoists that the wave of ghetto uprisings in 1964-68 marked the first outbreak of "urban guerrilla warfare" in the U.S. In the first place, the 1960's ghetto risings had diverse origins. The 1968 outbursts were a militant expression of anger over the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. The 1967 Detroit riots, in contrast, were expressions of undirected frustration with the miserable conditions in the urban black ghettos, striking out in particular at white-owned businesses.

The events in Chicago on June 4-5 more closely resemble the 1965 Watts and Chicago riots, in both cases a response to police terror. While there was a will to struggle in self-defense, there was not a program to guide that struggle, so the masses' anger was dissipated in unorganized and undirected outbursts. They lacked the coherent purpose of a rebellion. The day following the 1965 Chicago incident, the local Spartacist committee distributed a leaflet, "Get the Cops Out!" which pinned the blame for the rioting squarely on the police and National Guard. Pointing out the futility of rioting, it called for organized self-defense patrols (see *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965).

The 1960's ghetto outbursts were quickly crushed by the police, National Guard and army. The Black Panthers were later to pay with their lives for miscalculating the consequences of a direct confrontation of a small vanguard nucleus enjoying amorphous popular sympathy with this highly organized and murderous firepower of the capitalist state. Moreover, the net result of these riots was not to lay the basis for organization of the black masses, but rather the burning down of scores of small businesses, leaving the already meagre social resources of the slum neighborhood further impoverished.

The *Call* article and editorial ("It's Right to Fight Back") draw no lessons, provide no guide to action other than "holding high the spirit of the Humboldt Park rebellion"! The OL consciously distorts events by describing the park celebration as a commemoration of Puerto Rican independence struggles; and it makes no mention of the alleged FALN bombing, which was used by the cops as an excuse to unleash its brutal attack on the Puerto Rican population. Just as directionless ghetto outbursts are a reflection of the desperation of the oppressed minority populations, so terrorist bombings of symbols of imperialist domination reflect justifiable outrage. But they do not provide a program for victory.

It is necessary to mobilize the Puerto Rican masses and to join forces with organized labor in demanding that those arrested during the Humboldt Park incident of cop terror be immediately released and charges dropped. Instead, the cops who shot the demonstrators, wounding many and killing two, must be jailed and prosecuted! And the watchword of integrated working-class defense must be raised, both in the threatened community and throughout the Chicago-area workers movement. ■

James Earl Ray...

(continued from page 12)

in searching for the nefarious right-wing plotters.

Since King had been built up as a hero for black people in the U.S., his assassination struck a different chord. The current House investigation was the result of pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus, whose members saw a chance to get some cheap publicity. Unable to deliver even a few token pork-barrel projects to their constituents, these black Democratic hucksters can pose as the best defenders of Martin Luther King to further their vote-trading, influence-peddling careers.

Then there are King's former lieutenants, Jesse Jackson—who declared that, "The point is James Earl Ray never did act alone"—is trying to bring back memories of the "good old days" when he was leading sit-ins. This, he hopes, will morally uplift his current grubby begging for crumbs from corrupt Democratic Party bosses and Chicago corporations. Even Andrew Young, who went from being King's link with the "progressive" "New South" corporations to serving as Jimmy Carter's front man at the UN, felt obliged to express outrage at Ray's escape. One wonders why, however, upon reading his truly grotesque statements about King in the June issue of *Playboy*.

Young remarks that he thought at the time of King's murder that "he was very fortunate—really that it was a blessing," because "Martin had done all he could. He was misunderstood... God decided Martin had had enough. It was time to go on home and claim his reward." Alex Haley, author of the black success story *Roots*, expressed exactly the same pious fatalism about Malcolm X, whose autobiography he had helped write. In both cases it was the remark of a liberal

who felt that his leader had served a certain purpose but had to leave the scene before he got caught up in something more threatening to American capitalism.

But in addition to those who have their own reasons for pushing to reopen investigation of the King assassination, there are others, powerful figures, who have consistently fought to kill it. Since the creation of the House Select Committee last fall as part of a deal by reluctant House Democratic leaders to buy election support for Carter, there have been repeated attempts to close it down. In return for the ouster of the committee's chief counsel Richard Sprague this spring, the House agreed to temporarily prolong its existence, albeit with a lower budget.

The battle has been taken to the press as well. Thus, last week the *New York Times* carried an obviously planted story by Wendall Rawls, Jr. entitled "House Inquiry Reported Fruitless on Kennedy-King Assassinations." The article dismissed Lane's findings and said that the Committee, after eight months, "has come up with virtually no new information" and has "discovered that much of the so-called 'new information' on which Congress based its decision to reopen the investigations is in error." But over the weekend, stories on Ray's escape exuded the conviction of a conspiracy.

The Rawls article did catch Lane up on one of his key points, the contention that black detective Redditt's removal left King's "protection" devastated. Lane neglected to mention that 12 Memphis policemen were at Redditt's observation position at the time of the assassination. However, this is his only substantial refutation of Lane.

The FBI's Plot Against King

Whatever the validity of Lane's "unanswered questions"—and we are frankly skeptical on the various conspiracy theories about the Kennedy and King assassinations—there was a real

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Stop Anita Bryant...

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the pro-Carter slogan, "Demonstrate for Human Rights."

Unity of the opponents of social oppression can be achieved only on a clear class program, which has no place for Stalinist conciliation of backward prejudices or for the comforting illusion of "personal liberation" within this viciously racist and sexist capitalist society.

In a disgusting editorial (*New York Times*, 9 June), "urbane" conservative columnist William Safire gave backhanded support to the Dade County repeal:

"In the eyes of the vast majority, homosexuality is an abnormality, a mental illness, even to use an old-fashioned word—a sin.

"...Most of the voters framed the issue, as I did, between tacit toleration and outright approval of homosexuality."

It is truly perverse of Safire to characterize a law prohibiting discrimination as "outright approval of homosexuality" and hypocritically caution that "the activists' demand for moral legitimacy might lash back into an invasion of their legitimate civil rights."

What is at issue is not the futile debate over "sexual preference" and the relative merits of "alternative life styles." The question is whether the state should be given a licence to interfere in private consensual sexual relations, sanctioning persecution of homosexuals by every snoop and bigot. All those concerned with the defense of elementary democratic rights must demand: Immediate abolition of all legislation which discriminates against homosexuals! ■

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conspiracy directed against Martin Luther King, Jr. And furthermore, it was carried out by the same government unit which subsequently "investigated" King's murder: a special "Destroy King" FBI squad operating out of Atlanta.

Last year the Senate Select Committee Investigating Intelligence Activities (popularly known as the Church Committee) heard testimony from Arthur Murtaugh, a former FBI agent stationed in the Atlanta Bureau, and confirmed that there had been sustained use of disruption by the federal political police in a concerted effort to "destroy" King.

In an interview with Lane (reported in *Codename "Zorro"*), Murtaugh said the Bureau's vendetta against King dated back to the early 1960's, since the time King publicly criticized the agency for failing to protect the civil rights workers against Ku Klux Klan attacks. Murtaugh stated:

"The situation was getting quite active—the Klan was shooting into

houses at night, and burning churches. SF [the bureau chief] was manipulating the civil rights investigation. Dr. King called a news conference and said the FBI wasn't doing its job.

"Well, I was there, and I know that the FBI wasn't doing its job—it didn't surprise me; and I don't suppose that it surprised the Bureau—but that was the beginning of the vendetta against King. From that time on, the concentration of effort against King was greater than any single investigation that I saw take place at the Bureau, and I saw a lot of them in twenty years. There was a crew of people who did almost nothing for a period of seven or eight years, except investigate King and try to destroy him."

Operations against King, referred to under the code name of "Zorro," included bugging his Atlanta home and the SCLC office there, and wiring up his hotel rooms practically wherever he went. FBI "agent-journalists" planted phony stories in the newspapers to discredit him. Anonymous letters and tape recordings alleging King's sexual mis-

conduct were sent to his wife. When King was offered the Nobel Peace Prize, the FBI sent him an anonymous note suggesting he commit suicide instead of accepting it, threatened to release more "damaging" information about him if he did not.

When King was shot he was in the process of planning the Poor People's March on Washington, in which thousands of demonstrators from across the country would converge on the capital and construct a tent city to dramatize their need for jobs and housing. According to Murtaugh, the FBI planted provocateurs to disrupt King's rallies in Memphis in order to prove he could not control the crowds. Thereby they hoped to get the Washington demonstration itself banned.

But Murtaugh's recounting of "dirty tricks" is doubtless the tip of the iceberg. J. Edgar Hoover's personal dedication to "getting" King was widely known, and the COINTELPRO operation issued a directive to all FBI branch offices instructing agents to do anything necessary to "prevent the rise of a black messiah." In light of this memo and the literally thousands of pages of dossiers collected by the intelligence bureau on Malcolm X, there is no telling what a thorough investigation of the government conspiracy against King might discover.

Periodically the left-liberal and radical milieus have been gripped by a conspiracy psychosis, a more specific manifestation of the liberal/reformist penchant to blame all defeats on some particularly reactionary agency or force (CIA, Pentagon, etc.), against which all right-minded "progressives" must ally. We, on the other hand, have been aggressively agnostic about the myriad conspiracy theories concerning the Kennedy assassination, and take similar unproven theories about King's murder with more than a grain of salt.

While we do not believe that every political assassination in the United States since Abraham Lincoln is the

result of some kind of fiendish master plan, the accumulated questions surrounding the murder of King remain. The long history of FBI provocations against the civil rights leader are sufficient evidence to distrust its version of the killing, and in any case its files on King should be made public so that the world can see what kind of "freedom" and "human rights" are accorded dissidents in the U.S.

Finally, it is an outrage that *there has never been a real trial of James Earl Ray*—an open ventilation in court of evidence on both sides—because he pleaded guilty at the advice of a lawyer (Arthur Hanes) who is a former FBI and CIA agent, in charge of hiring and training pilots for the Bay of Pigs invasion, who also defended the KKK members accused of killing Violet Liuzzo on the Selma march! In this case the trial itself is far more important than the punishment meted out to Ray, and the Supreme Court's denial of a new trial is a travesty of justice.

The working people and black masses who are the victims of capitalist "justice" and the government's endless conspiracies must demand that the full facts be revealed about the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. We demand the truth about Malcolm X and other militants killed for their stand against the oppression perpetrated by this racist capitalist state. ■



Ebony

Andrew Young with Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. In recent Playboy interview Young said he thought that when King was assassinated "he was very fortunate—really... it was a blessing.... Martin had done all that he could. He was misunderstood.... God decided Martin had had enough. It was time to go on home and claim his reward."

CIA...

(continued from page 5)

bourgeoisie's traditional distrust of the ALP would easily reflect itself in the attitude of the CIA, already disturbed by the ALP's opposition to the Vietnam war.

But Whitlam and the ALP tops have never called for getting rid of the CIA or ASIO. It was the Chifley Labor government which set ASIO up in the first place. And if Whitlam was about to lift the lid on CIA activities on 11 November 1975, why has he kept his mouth shut for the last 19 months? If he didn't know all the details about Pine Gap, this chief executive for the bourgeois state certainly was aware that it was a base for counterrevolutionary activities directed against Southeast Asia and the Sino-Soviet deformed workers states. In his three years in office Whitlam had plenty of time to reveal all the dirty details of ANZUS, ASIO and the CIA.

Whatever the extent of the CIA's role in the political crisis, the Australian bourgeoisie did not need the CIA to spur it on to sack Whitlam, no more than it now requires "CIA orders" to crack down on the union movement. By the time Whitlam was ousted, the bourgeoisie had lost patience with a social-democratic regime which was increasingly discredited and fast losing its ability to contain the working class in the midst of a severe recession. As we emphasized at the time, Kerr's dismissal of the Labor government was an attack on the working class, not a "coup" against bourgeois democracy. While the ALP/ACTU misleaders counselled the workers to channel their rage into votes for the ALP reformists in the ensuing elections, we called for an immediate general strike to restore the Labor government.

The elaborate arguments of the CPA and SLL serve only two functions: to cover for the betrayals of the anti-working-class Whitlam government by painting it as a martyr of CIA "dirty tricks"; and to delude Australian workers into seeing foreign spies and "multinationals," not their own bosses, as their main enemy. We are not concerned with securing the "sovereignty" of the Australian bourgeoisie or protecting it from CIA "spying on Australia." For revolutionaries, the demands to send the CIA packing and to dismantle Pine Gap and all U.S. bases are raised in the spirit of international class solidarity with the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia and the anti-capitalist deformed workers states.

The independence of the labour movement from the bourgeois state and its police agents—CIA or ASIO—is a fundamental principle for revolutionaries. The NCC has long been suspected of being a major conduit for CIA funds into the union movement. Arch Bevis, the Transport Workers Union federal president, recently claimed (quoted in *Tribune*, 4 May) to have been offered money several years ago by a man claiming to be from the AFL-CIO in return for "passive industrial policies." Furthermore, a number of right-wing and "moderate" union officials, including Laurie Short, Barry Unsworth and John Ducker, have attended "education" courses sponsored by the CIA-funded "international department" of the AFL-CIO. All union ties with CIA/ASIO-funded agencies must be broken!

Workers must maintain the utmost vigilance against the pernicious activities of the bosses' secret police. But the secret police are but one arm of the bosses' state, whose power resides mainly in the army. And the bourgeoisie's most dangerous agents inside the labour movement are the pro-capitalist

misleaders who claim to stand *with* the workers as they lead them to the slaughter. Even in Chile, it was not the CIA but the Chilean bourgeoisie and its army which massacred the cream of the Latin American proletariat. And, ultimately, the proletariat's worst enemies were those *within its ranks*, the Allendes and Corvalans, who betrayed it with promises of peaceful reform, whose popular-front "socialist" government maintained the "constitutionalist" army and its officer caste but refused to arm the workers.

The Bolshevik Party was infiltrated by the tsarist secret police up into its top leadership echelons. But that did not prevent it from mobilising the Russian masses to seize power and finally mete out justice to the tsar's butchers—because the Bolshevik Party was armed with a revolutionary program. And like the Russian workers, it is only through the seizure of state power guided by a Trotskyist party that the proletariat will finally deal with ASIO, the CIA and the criminal ruling class which stands behind them. ■

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PDC Demands Release of Pablo Riesnik

*In response to the detention and subsequent disappearance of Pablo Riesnik in Buenos Aires, the Partisan Defense Committee sent the following telegram. Riesnik was a leader of the student movement in Argentina and editor of *Politica Obrera* prior to its forced suspension following the Videla coup.*

Argentine Embassy
1600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Demand official statement on status and whereabouts of Pablo Riesnik, last seen 25 May in Buenos Aires when detained on the street and taken to police station. We protest continuing rightist repression in Argentina and demand immediate guarantee of Riesnik's safety and freedom.

Partisan Defense Committee
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King Assassin in Escape Attempt

James Earl Ray: The Unanswered Questions

The sensational escape of James Earl Ray, the convicted killer of Martin Luther King, Jr., and five other convicts from Brushy Mountain State Prison in Tennessee last Friday surprised the nation... and provoked an immediate outcry of "Conspiracy!"

In this country where governmental "disinformation" and "plausible denial" abound, where political assassination is no stranger, conspiracy theories are commonplace. But the official version of the King assassination has provoked far and away the most suspicion of all. A recent Gallup Poll estimated that less than 20 percent of the American population believes that James Earl Ray acted alone.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when news of the breakout flashed across their TV screens, many people smelled a plot, fully expecting Ray to turn up dead somewhere in a ditch, kidnapped and murdered to prevent him from talking. He was, after all, scheduled to appear before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, and "everybody knows" what happened to mobsters Sam Giancana and John Rosselli when they were scheduled to appear as Congressional witnesses.

Ralph Abernathy—who upon King's death in 1968 took over as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)—said: "I am firmly convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that James Earl Ray has not escaped but is part of a plan..." Walter Fauntroy, news chairman of the Assassinations Committee, asked if he thought Ray's life were in danger, replied: "If there were no conspiracy, he would be in no danger. If there were a conspiracy, he would be in danger."

The kidnapping theory collapsed when Ray was recaptured on Monday morning, after 54 hours of stumbling through the tangled, snake-infested wilderness around the prison. Pursued by bloodhounds, the inept Ray was discovered hiding under a pile of leaves, and returned to the prison "in good condition." The details of the escape were plausible enough, and even the most plot-minded had to admit he had a good reason for trying to break out: if anyone seemed destined to rot in prison until he was a senile wreck it is James Earl Ray.

Conspiracy Questions

But there are some sticky questions. Since shortly after his conviction, Ray has insisted he was coerced into his original guilty plea and that there was a conspiracy to assassinate King. Yet in December the U.S. Supreme Court refused to grant a new trial. In February, the Justice Department issued a report declaring that the FBI had "thoroughly, honestly and successfully" investigated the murder of King.

But so widespread are the doubts

about this case that even Attorney General Griffin Bell remarked about the report that "you could lean to either side of it. You could say that there's no evidence of a conspiracy, but you could still wonder... if there happened to be a conspiracy" (*New York Times*, 19 February). Bell indicated his interest in personally questioning Ray.

Professional conspiracy buff Mark Lane has just brought out a new book, written together with Dick Gregory, called *Codename "Zorro"* (Prentice Hall, 1977), dealing with the King assassination. According to the *New York Times* (6 June), the House Select Committee has relied heavily on Lane's research in guiding its own investigation. Rather than positing a coherent theory, the book simply brings together a series of "unanswered questions" which Lane insists is sufficient to suggest not only that Ray did not act alone, but that he didn't even pull the trigger.

This contention flies in the face of considerable evidence—that Ray admittedly purchased the murder weapon, that he had been in several cities at the same time as King, that he was in Memphis at the time of the shooting and that he had checked into the flophouse next to King's motel, from where the civil rights leader was shot—pointing the finger of guilt at Ray. Nevertheless, Lane has pointed to some significant discrepancies. Among them are:

1) Prior to the assassination, Ray was a two-bit petty criminal, so inept that once, during a burglary, he jumped into a waiting police car thinking it was

Ray leaving court in Memphis after seeking new trial in 1974.

the getaway cab. During another robbery Ray dropped his wallet at the scene and cut himself on the window he broke through. Yet another time, he fell out of his getaway car as it rounded a corner. How could such a bumbling failure make the contacts and get the money to elude apprehension for months after King's slaying—leading the FBI on a complicated 25,000-mile chase through three countries, obtaining a false birth certificate in Canada and traveling from there to London to Portugal and back all on his own?

2) More specifically, how did Ray, who escaped from Missouri State Penitentiary in April 1967, get the money he

lived on between that time and when he was finally arrested in London? While a fugitive, he bought a new car, had plastic surgery performed on his face and traveled widely. Ray says he received money from a mysterious "Raoul," the same man he says gave him the order to buy the gun which was used to kill King.

3) On King's final visit to Memphis, in support of striking sanitation workers, his police protection was reduced to only two detectives, says Lane, of which one, a black detective named Redditt (known to be sympathetic to King), was removed from guard duty only two hours before the murder.

4) Ray's footprints and fingerprints were *not* the ones found in the flophouse bathroom where the government says the shots that killed King were fired. No ballistics tests have ever linked the actual bullets to those found in the gun bought by Ray. The only prosecution "eyewitness" to the killing was dead drunk at the time. His wife, who saw a figure not meeting Ray's description running from the building, was quickly committed, against her will, to a mental institution where she remains to this day.

Conspiracy Lobby

There are obviously important holes in the official version of King's murder. Yet the motives of those pushing the conspiracy theory are also suspect. In the case of the Kennedy assassination there was a gamut running from left-liberals seeking to "purify" America by exorcising that source of all evil, J. Edgar Hoover, to disreputable Louisiana D.A.'s, to out-and-out nuts spinning out endless plots and subplots, each more fantastic and intricate than the one before. The net effect of at least the saner conspiracy theories was to whitewash the Kennedy administration

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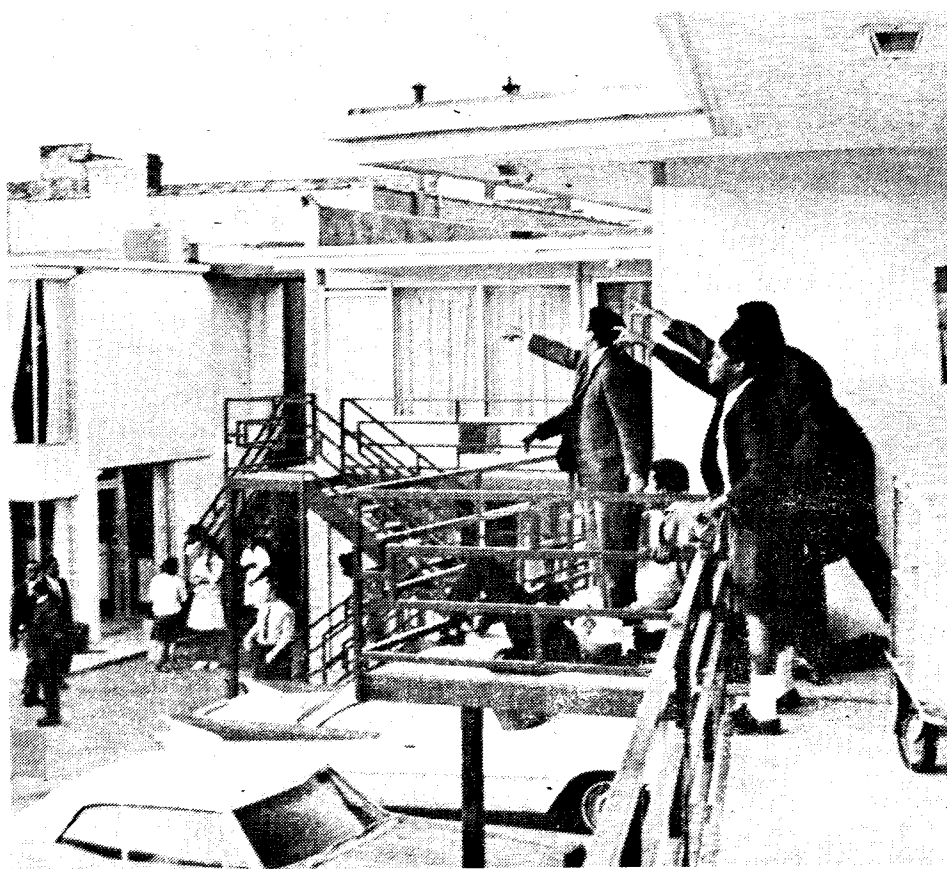


Photo taken moments after Martin Luther King fatally shot.

Joseph Louw/PBL