WORKERS VANGUARD

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Proletarian Justice For the Bloody Assassins!

Carter's "Human Rights" Means Videla/Pinochet

As Jimmy Carter signs the new Panama Canal treaty September 7, it is only fitting that his Latin American cohorts have been invited to Washington to celebrate with him this imperialist swindle. Fresh from the torture cells of Chilean concentration camps and the blood-drenched vacant lots of Buenos Aires come Carter's "partners in hemispheric cooperation"—the Videlas, the Pinochets, the Banzers—whose very presence at the ceremony tears off the "human rights" mask of U.S. foreign policy. And to top it off, these butchers have organized their cabal for the week of September 11, when left-wing militants throughout the world will commemorate the fourth anniversary of the murderous Chilean coup.

Chile's General Pinochet, Argentina's General Videla, Bolivia's General Banzer, Brazil's General Geisel, the Dominican Republic's Mr. Balaguer—every one of these jackals should be swinging from a street lamp, sharing the fate of the Bolivian butcher Villarroel, who met his end in this way in 1946. There is not a single major European capital in which this conglomeration of jackbooted dictators would dare to show their faces today. Only in the imperialist citadel of Washington, and only because of the wretchedly reactionary leadership of the American labor movement, is this counterrevolutionary gathering possible. If these swine were all to arrive in Paris at the invitation of the French government, they would be greeted by enormous mass protest. Demonstrators in Washington September 7 must show that in the U.S., too, these scum inspire popular hatred.

Equally important, however, is to denounce the imperialist swindle which this malodorous bunch is being called in to rubber-stamp. Carter's deal with "progressive" Panamanian strongman General Omar Torrijos leaves the U.S. in control of the Canal Zone until the year 2000, including the presence of several large military bases, and thereafter sanctions American "protection" of the "neutrality" of the Canal—all in exchange for a few million dollars a year. Yet in spite of the fact that thousands of Panamanian students have demonstrated against this robbery, because it is endorsed by "anti-imperialist" Major Torrijos, and evidently by his mentor Fidel Castro, *the sponsors of the September 7 protest have not said a word against Jimmy Carter's Canal treaty in their demonstration call*! Thus the cheerleaders for "Third World" Stalinism, normally unconditional supporters of every anti-Yanqui fad among Latin American nationalists, are led by their tailism and reformism to a de facto endorsement of the imperialist deal. Not the Spartacist League, however, which is marching with and will defend our banner: "U.S. Out of the Canal Zone! No to Carter/Torrijos Imperialist Rip-Off!"

Paris Match

Goose-stepping Chilean troops pass in review before Pinochet.

Red Flag

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Special Fusion Supplement

Imperialist "Human Rights" Hoax

With this collection of strutting despots as a target, people may lose sight of the fact that the main enemy is at home. New Leftists, Stalinists and other reformists who only a few short years ago placed total blame for the Pinochet coup at the feet of the CIA now look to Carter to secure "human rights" in Latin America. But the man who U.S. officials say "may not receive General Pinochet" commands the most deadly imperialist juggernaut which threatens humanity today—the "democracy" which firebombed Dresden, atom-bombed Nagasaki and carpet-bombed Indochina. A new smile in the White House doesn't change this fundamental fact.

While the killing goes on in dungeons throughout the continent, invariably by U.S.-trained and supplied police, the State Department PR men are trying to sweep away this brutal truth and replace it with the "spirit" of the Carter regime. Thus Roslynn Carter junkets to Brazil and Ecuador spreading good-will among the priests and exchange students. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance "brings the human rights theme" to a meeting of the Organization of American States in the island of Grenada, whose dictator has a group of thugs called "Volunteers of Human Rights." While Assistant Secretary of State Terence Todman is in Chile, Pinochet proclaims the "abolition" of the DINA, earning the congratulations of Washington. And after an hour's talk with Videla, Todman reports his confidence that "Argentina is overcoming the abnormal conditions which surrounded the coup."

These sentiments are reflected as well in the bourgeois press. In Santiago, *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis photographs Pinochet kissing babies, lauds his new "popularity" (!) with the (literally) starving masses, discovers a "sharp decline in disappearances and killings of political activists," and reports there will be elections...in 1985!! In a statement that would make his assassinated "comrades" Salvador Allende and Orlando Letelier turn over in their graves, Spanish Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez reportedly told Onis in Santiago that he sees evidence of "gradual progress" and that "the situation is not as black and white as is pictured abroad" (*New York Times*, 1 September).

According to the *Times*' man in Santiago (and Pinochet's man on the *Times*) there are only 400 political prisoners left in Chile's jails. This whitewash job is a new low even for the newspaper which prints all the news that fits in with its class interests. Only a year ago conservative estimates listed 4,000 prisoners languishing in a string of concentration camps which stretched from burning desert hotboxes in the north to freezing antarctic hovels in the south. What has happened to these people? Are the bunks at Dawson Island empty now? Open it up for inspection! What happened to the prisoners at Tres Alamos and Cuatro Alamos? And Chacabuco? Pisagua? Penalolen? Despite wide publicity given to a limited "amnesty" of some 300 left-wing prisoners in November 1976, the remaining thousands are unaccounted for. One can only hope Onis is lying through his teeth and that the 4,000 have not simply joined their 30,000 comrades slaughtered since the 1973 coup!

Castro/Torrijos, Castro/Pinochet

Conjuring up images of Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, Carter is using the occasion of the Canal treaty to proclaim a "new era" in U.S.-Panamanian relations which will "serve as an example to the world." The relation, of course, is pure and simple bribery, and the only reason Carter gave an inch is because the Panama Canal is no longer strategically vital to the U.S. (with a two-ocean navy and the inability of big ships, military or commercial, to pass through it). And in any case,

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Defend Teacher Seniority Rights!

Chicago Busing Plan: Racist Tokenism

CHICAGO, September 4—Public schools open here this week in a tense atmosphere. Following a summer which witnessed growing fascist mobilizations and a national convention of Nazi groups, a police riot in the heart of the Puerto Rican community and a pogrom-like mob assault on black motorists in the all-white Marquette Park area, Chicago is rife with racist hysteria. Meanwhile, a program under which barely a thousand black students have volunteered to transfer into schools in white neighborhoods has sparked a rabid anti-busing movement patterned on Boston's ROAR.

This program—called the "Permissive Transfer Plan"—is, in fact, a sop to the racists, an open abandonment of state-enforced integration of the school system. It allows students from certain schools, designated as "overcrowded," to switch to "below capacity" schools. Younger students will be bused, and free transit tokens provided for high school students. Board of Education leaflets to parents describe the plan as an antidote to overcrowding and pointedly avoid any mention of integration.

Of course, the most overcrowded and dilapidated schools are those in the sprawling black and Latin ghettoes, and thus a very few minority students (about 1,200 out of a total student enrollment of over half a million) will be attending previously all-white schools. This is sufficient to stir the wrath of militant bigots, who fear the slightest change in the rigid residential segregation which has been the hallmark of this Midwest industrial center for generations (86 percent of all black students attend schools officially recognized as segregated, for example).

The Board of Education and the administration of mayor Michael Bilandic, heir to the Democratic Party fiefdom of the late "Boss" Daley, have merely resuscitated a 14-year-old transfer plan and presented it as a "desegregation" measure in order to avert potential cuts in state funding. This cynical ploy assures continued apartheid-style education while maximizing the potential victimization of those black students who opt to transfer. Racist demonstrations and threats of violence have been sufficient to restrict the number of volunteers to about 13 percent of the approximately 9,000 students eligible to take part in the program.

"Voluntary busing" places the burden on minority students and parents, forcing them to choose between attending their present crumbling ghetto schools or facing the bloodthirsty mobs on the Southwest Side while the cops stand idly by (or even join the racist mayhem as they have in the past). The Chicago plan is fully consonant with the Carter administration's opposition to "forced busing" and with the liberal capitulation to segregationist forces across the country.

At an August 31 Board of Education meeting, Spartacist League spokesman Bernard Vance pointed out:

> "What integration takes place this fall will not take place because of the Board's efforts but in spite of it. The working rule of the Chicago Board of Education is 'separate but equal' in the time-honored racist traditions of Chicago schools. The Spartacist League asserts that separate is not equal—it is the rule of racist segregation! We demand full integration of the Chicago schools and of the schools in the wealthy white suburbs."

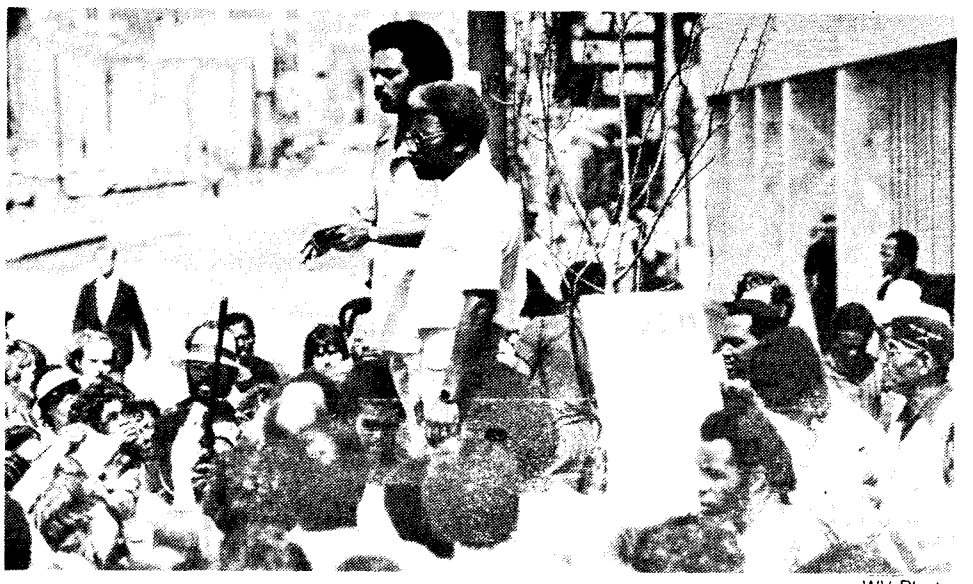
Vance ended with a call for "the organized labor movement to mobilize massive integrated labor defense guards to defend black students against racist attack."

Forced Teacher Transfers Attack Union Rights

The racist Democratic Party machine inherited from Daley has shown that it is unwilling to implement even a minimal plan for desegregating the schools. However, faced with the threatened loss of funds from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), it was more than willing to launch a full-scale attack on the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). Under the guise of meeting HEW guidelines for integration of the teaching staff, the Board has violated transfer and seniority rights in a despicable attempt to cover up its own refusal to make any effort to break down the ghettoization of the school system.

Last winter a federal judge ruled that "the school board was guilty of assigning teachers by race" and ordered immediate and massive involuntary transfers of teachers (*Chicago Tribune*, 6 August). After years of assigning black teachers to predominantly black schools and white teachers to white schools, the Board of Education ordered the transfer of 1,700 teachers on June 11. Nine hundred teachers appealed their transfers and 400 appeals were granted. In late August another 800 teachers were ordered transferred. Of the 800 newly transferred, 257 are teachers with high seniority.

The CTU correctly regards this as a deliberate attack on the union. The transfers, coming at a time when the union contract is expiring and negotiations between the union and the Board are due to begin, are a clear provocation and an attempt at union-busting.



WV Photo

Jesse Jackson speaking at August 27 demonstration in front of Chicago police headquarters.

Although the CTU leadership had agreed in June to waive certain transfer rights in the interest of integration, it has filed suit against the blatant violation of teachers' seniority and appeal rights in the last minute transfer orders. This suit is supportable, unlike an earlier class action suit filed by 36 teachers as an anti-integrationist protest.

In the past the CTU leadership has refused to take a position on busing and has capitulated to cuts in the budget for substitute teachers, summer programs and textbooks. The CTU must mobilize both to actively support and enforce integration of the Chicago schools and to militantly defend itself against the school board's attacks on past contract gains. Seniority is the only existing form of union job protection and is vital to

WV Photo

SYL spokesman at Chicago Board of Education meeting last week.

prevent management victimization through "merit" plans, arbitrary transfers, etc. Full integration of the teaching force must be achieved under union control and would naturally follow the integration of student bodies.

Racist Frenzy Builds

Numerous anti-busing groups have sprung up in recent months. The most virulent and outspoken of these calls itself "Operation Resist." Its base is in the all-white, Southwest Side area surrounding Bogan High School—a school which is not even included in the "Permissive Transfer Plan." On August 28, 150 of these fanatical racists, carrying signs reading "Stop the Buses" and "We Will Fight Before We Integrate," marched to Marquette Park, the scene of fascist rallies and escalating attacks on blacks in the past years.

The intensity of the peril to Chicago's black population posed by these lynch mobs is underlined by the current scandal over remarks made by Chicago policeman Aloysius Majerczyk at a recent Board of Education meeting. Majerczyk stated openly what blacks in Chicago have long known: the cops are on the side of the white racists. He threatened that a "blue flu epidemic" might be the response of the police force if the cops are called in to curb "violence caused by integration" (*Chicago Tribune*, 28 August).

In response, Jesse Jackson, black capitalist preacher and head of the reformist People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), called a demonstration at the main police headquarters demanding the firing of Majerczyk. Other demands included a call for more black cops and a plea for a "parent's patrol squad" to insure that the racist Chicago cops are doing their job. Jackson has not been the only one to counsel reliance on the police to protect and defend black school children. In addition to the Chicago Urban League and the NAACP, virtually every pro-integrationist organization in the city has demanded more cops. Especially prominent in raising this treacherous demand was the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), a group dominated by the reformist politics of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The position put forward by Jackson amounts to a plea to cleanse the racist police force by removing Majerczyk and replacing him with a better cop. Jackson's call for more black cops implies that black police will be better than white police, ignoring the fact that under capitalism the role of every cop, black or white, is to preserve the status quo which locks in blacks and Latins at the bottom.

A meeting of the Board of Education on August 31 became a forum on the busing issue. The racists of "Operation Resist" showed up in force to heckle

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West Germany Ending Nazi Trials

Bonn Harbors Escaped SS War Criminal

BERLIN, August 29—On August 15, Herbert Kappler—the former Gestapo chief in Rome who was responsible for the murder of 335 hostages in 1944—escaped from a military hospital in the Italian capital. After nearly 30 years in jail, Kappler was freed by his wife and fascist accomplices, evidently with the tacit approval of the Italian government and "circles in Bonn." The former SS-*Obersturmbannführer* and convicted mass murderer is now a free man in West Germany.

The Andreotti government in Italy, under pressure from an enraged public—there has been a storm of protest from relatives of the victims of the Gestapo massacre—and dependent on Communist Party support in parliament, has requested Kappler's extradition. However, this request was haughtily turned down by West German authorities, on the grounds that the constitution forbids the extradition of German citizens!

Indicative of the prevalent reactionary political atmosphere in the federal republic is the fact that instead of arresting and deporting Kappler, the government has expressed "concern" for this war criminal's safety and given him police protection. While harboring this Nazi murderer, West German "justice" is relentlessly destroying the imprisoned anarchists of the Red Army Faction (RAF—referred to in the bourgeois media as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang") through solitary confinement and has launched a campaign of persecution and character assassination against the left-wing lawyers who have defended the RAF.

Kappler: Nazi Mass Murderer

Who is Herbert Kappler? A member of the Nazi party from 1931 on, he rose quickly in the Security Service (SD) of the Third Reich. In 1939 the high SS official was transferred to Rome, and in 1943 he was appointed chief of the Gestapo there. When in March 1944 some 32 South Tyrolese members of a German SS police regiment were killed by Communist-led partisans, Kappler ordered ten hostages shot for every dead SS-man. When a 33rd policeman died of his wounds, the Gestapo chief ordered an additional ten murders. In all, 335 hostages were eventually shot. The "liberal" German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (22 August) described the bloody fascist massacre:

> "Kappler's men drove the prisoners in groups of five to ten into the dark of the catacombs, which were feebly lit by torches. The Italians were forced to kneel in a row; a policeman then walked behind each one and shot the victim in the neck with his carbine. Kappler was prominent throughout the action, wanting to 'set an example' for his relucant men.... Repeatedly Kappler leaped to the fore to encourage his increasingly exhausted riflemen. One of Kappler's officers, *Obersturmführer* Wetjen, could no longer stand the death scene and wanted to stop shooting; Kappler spoke to him in a fatherly manner, gave him a hand and they shot two prisoners together."

In the same article, *Der Spiegel* rehabilitates the blood-stained SS officer with disgusting cynicism. Hitler's execution order "must have been a real blow to him," they write, since he no longer saw "how much he had come to resemble a primitive Gestapo executioner"!!

Unfortunately, following the collapse of the Nazi puppet regime in north Italy, Kappler did not share the fate of Mussolini, who was strung up on a Milan lamppost. An Italian military tribunal in 1948 condemned the Nazi police chief to life imprisonment, but only on the basis of the five "extra" executions. Apparently for these military judges, Kappler was only guilty of exceeding his orders, and the shooting of the hostages in itself did not represent a crime!

After years in Gaeta military prison, Kappler, ostensibly suffering from cancer, was transferred to a barely guarded military hospital near Rome. This was the first success in the joint effort by a dozen German Nazi veterans' associations, which had the backing of "every federal chancellor since Adenauer and of every foreign minister since Brandt" (*Der Spiegel*, 22 August). In November the supreme military tribunal in Rome ordered Kappler's release on medical grounds. However, this decision was later reversed in the face of massive public protest.

Following Kappler's transfer to the military hospital, his wife, whom he had married in 1973, received regular access to him. But she certainly did not act alone in arranging the dramatic escape which involved a secret air journey to avoid detection by border police. Even the staid, conservative *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (20 August) wrote: "...the *hypothesis of a plot* arises, and no secret is made about suspicions of collaboration between the security services of both countries [Italy and West Germany]" (emphasis in original).

The explanation offered by an ex-SS officer concerning the background to the escape has the ring of truth. The escape "was ostensibly organized by a 'Committee to Free Herbert Kappler.' This was affirmed by former SS officer and founder of the organization, Jürgen Marloh, in an interview with the Milan *Corriere della Sera*. He declared that his organization has friends in both the Italian and German secret services. In the early 1960's 'circles in Bonn' had been agreeable to Kappler's liberation. He himself, as he stressed, had discussed this question with federal chancellors Adenauer, Erhard, Brandt and Schmidt" (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 24 August).

The attitude of the Italian government has been to let things blow over. Its demand for Kappler's extradition was aimed solely at dampening the public outcry. Meanwhile, Andreotti's projected meeting with Schmidt was put off until the fall, in order to prevent the "unfortunate incident" from interfering with Italy's desire for West German loans to bolster her sagging economy.

Der Spiegel

Herbert Kappler in Rome military courtroom in 1948.

Capitalist Class Justice: Protection for Fascists....

The West German bourgeoisie has accepted the Nazi bloodhound Kappler as one of their own. Thus Christian Democratic Union (CDU) chairman Helmut Kohl remarked with satisfaction, "The drama has come to an end." And Kappler is by no means an exception. For years, former federal attorney general Bochar and the son of Rudolf Hess have run a campaign to free the one-time Hitler deputy. Recently U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance entered his name in the lists for this neo-Nazi cause, by sending a letter to Franz-Josef Strauss, the reactionary former West German defense minister, stating that he would work to free Hess.

The standard practice in trials of Nazi war criminals in the federal republic speaks volumes about bourgeois "justice." Since its founding in 1958, the "Central Office for Exposing National Socialist Crimes" has submitted 3,838 requests for judicial inquiries, but less

Der Spiegel

Demonstration against anti-red laws.

trial. Of the 832 Nazis involved, only 560 were found guilty and of these only 128 received life sentences. Today thousands of "old" fascists are loose in West Germany. To top it off, on 31 December 1979 the statute of limitations runs out for all Nazi war crimes, and henceforth thousands of concentration camp commanders and guards, SS members and other fascist murderers will have nothing at all to fear from the "democratic state"—a vile insult to the surviving victims of brown-shirt barbarism.

To distract attention from their plans to cancel all future Nazi war crimes trials, West German authorities have brought up a handful of the more notorious butchers. August 2 marked the end of a Hamburg trial against former SS *Obersturmführer* Gerhard Maywald, accused of participating in two massacres near Riga which took the lives of 6,000 Jewish victims. The court's verdict was that Maywald had merely "aided and abetted" the murder of 320 Jews from the Riga ghetto. According to the judge, "those who selected do not thereby become perpetrators," so Maywald was given only four years in prison. Moreover, he was released on his own recognizance pending appeal—so that, as a result of the "due process" of bourgeois justice, this fascist mass murderer, also, remains a free man.

And not only Maywald. In 1976 former Gestapo officer Wolfgang Abel, who had murdered 150 Russian Jews, was let off due to the expiration of the statute of limitations. Also last year, SS *Unterscharführer* Willi Sawatzki, who burned 500 Jewish children alive in Auschwitz, was freed for "lack of evidence." Nazi "doctor" Kurt Born, who sent several thousand mental patients to the gas chamber, was excused because he "lacked a sense of right and wrong"! The list could be extended endlessly.

As a rule, only a few subordinates are

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UFW Boss Hails Marcos' Dictatorship

Chavez: Farm Workers' George Meany

FRESNO, California—Facing an enormous mural depicting Cesar Chavez carrying a child at the head of a campesinos' march, the United Farm Workers (UFW) held their third constitutional convention late last month. Militants who still hoped that UFW president Chavez represented a break from the mainstream business unionism of the AFL-CIO certainly went away disappointed. Chavez' commitment to class collaboration was saluted through written messages from both George Meany and Jimmy Carter. Personal testimonials were also delivered by U.S. secretary of labor Ray Marshall, assorted labor dignitaries, the inevitable priests and the Fresno chief of police.

The key issue at the convention was the UFW's organizing drive. Preceding a deal with the Teamsters last March—which gave jurisdiction over field hands to the UFW, and cannery workers, machine operators, etc. to the Teamsters—the UFW had been reduced to only 12 contracts, and its very existence was threatened. The convention credentials committee reported contracts at 84 ranches and negotiations proceeding at 90 more with growers whose workers have voted for UFW representation.

In the wake of these limited successes, Chavez steered the convention into an endorsement of his pacifist legalism. In fact the strategy he outlined for organizing thousands of unorganized farm workers represents a retreat even from the minimal struggles of past years. "Because we are now legal, much of the fight is being transferred from the picket line and the boycott to the hearing room and the courts," he reported.

According to Chavez, the key to what has been achieved was the union's successful lobbying for the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA). This is a myth. The ALRA purported to guarantee farm workers the right to choose a union through state-supervised elections, but it did not prevent massive intimidation and violence by police, grower and Teamster goons against UFW supporters. And when the UFW continued to win representation elections despite this brutal harassment, the state legislature allowed the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to run out of money. Although funding was later restored, Chavez' report chronicled how the ALRB had consistently intervened against the UFW. It was not until the Teamsters, under enormous pressure, halted their jurisdictional warfare that

WV Photo

Cesar Chavez speaking at UFW convention in Fresno, August 26.

the UFW's fortunes improved.

Nonetheless, although admitting that under its past and current administrators the ALRB had "accomplished just the opposite" of its stated intention to protect farm workers, Chavez termed it a "good law" and touted it as a model for a national farm labor act. The UFW leaders claim that its provisions are more pro-labor than the National Labor Relations Act. In fact both these laws outlaw organizing strikes and hot-cargoing by labor, the militant tactics essential for a real organizing drive, and should be rejected by farm workers.

The UFW leadership formally opposed President Carter's immigration plan, which Chavez in his written convention report correctly termed racist. In the past Chavez has lined up with chauvinists, calling on the hated Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la Migra*) to drive undocumented workers from the fields. The UFW even briefly organized "union patrols" to seal the border. Forced to reverse himself under heavy pressure from rank-and-filers and Chicano organizations, Chavez still lacks a strategy to defend both the legitimate demands for job security by UFW members and the rights of undocumented workers. Moreover his enthusiastic welcoming of labor secretary Marshall, Carter's spokesman at the convention, made a mockery of even his formal opposition to Carter's chauvinist policies. UFW members must demand full citizenship rights for undocumented workers and an organizing drive on both sides of the border.

For years Chavez was widely hailed as a "progressive" by liberals and the fake left; hundreds of idealistic youth served the UFW as voluntary organizers. But to anyone with any acquaintance with the union, it has become abundantly clear that Chavez' policies do not differ in any important respect from those of reactionary labor chief Meany, and there has been a mass exodus of disillusioned volunteers, not unlike the situation in the Mine Workers under Miller.

Referring to charges by some volunteers that he had used red-baiting techniques, Chavez blasted those "who come with their own political and social values and have attempted to convince the workers to adopt them." If there was any doubt as to the meaning of these remarks, UFW public relations director Marc Grossman dispelled it in a *Los Angeles Times* (27 August) interview: "If any s.o.b. comes in with his own political or social agenda and tries to impose that agenda on this union, then we will kick them out."

Grossman made good on his threat by autocratically expelling our reporter from the convention. A simple question about the status of the Texas Farm Workers was sufficient to provoke this political censorship. (The Texas Farm Workers aroused Chavez' ire by occasionally defending their picket lines, an act so distasteful to Chavez that he cut off all support to their organizing drive.) After verifying that *Workers Vanguard* was indeed the newspaper of the Spartacist League, Grossman returned and ordered the reporter ejected, adding that "this is our convention" and that he didn't want any "commie freaks" inside. Grossman, of course, conveniently overlooked the presence of reporters from the Communist Party, Workers League and the *Guardian*, who have generally functioned as reliable toadies for the Chavez regime. *WV* and the Spartacist League have repeatedly exposed the betrayals of the UFW leader rather than covering them up, and this is what drew the bureaucrats' ire.

While booting out communists, the Chavez bureaucracy had nothing but praise for two invited representatives of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. After a visit to that country this summer, Chavez returned full of enthusiasm for his hosts. The presence of spokesmen for a regime which has outlawed picketing and strikes and has engaged in widespread torture of oppositionists is an insult to the UFW's Filipino-origin members and the working people of the brutally exploited island "paradise" of "free enterprise." Several convention delegates privately confided their distress at the visit, and a spectator shouted out, "Down with the military regime in the Philippines" before being hastily removed by union security guards.

Despite its recent limited victory, all the gains of the UFW's 15-year struggle remain endangered. Many of the growers where the UFW has won bargaining rights are refusing to negotiate in good faith; giants like Gallo still have no union contract. There are 200,000 unorganized farm workers in California alone, a figure which dwarfs the UFW. Low-paid labor in right-to-work states and the threat of mechanization on the large ranches further jeopardize UFW jobs.

Whatever gains farm workers have made is the result of the militancy and determination of the membership—not because of the intervention of the bourgeois state, but in spite of it. Chavez has continually crippled this struggle through his pacifism, support for bourgeois politicians and embracing of chauvinist policies. If the UFW is to go forward, it can only be through militant organizing strikes backed by labor boycotts of scab products, and not by Chavez' recipe of god, country and Meanyism. ■

Chicago Busing...

(continued from page 2)

pro-integrationist speakers. Francine Fatima, the group's leader, denounced the voluntary busing plan as "the first phase of a plan to disrupt the family under the guise of relieving overcrowding." As her appeal to motherhood and the "legacy" of "neighborhood schools" came to an end, her supporters burst into a chorus of "God Bless America" and walked out of the meeting.

Cecil Lampkin, a spokesman for the SWP-led NSCAR, rose to plead for "protection" from the bourgeois state:

> "We must protect and defend those black students by any means necessary—any means necessary. If the police can't do it, the National Guard. If the National Guard can't do it, bring in the federal troops."

Apparently, the SWP hopes that Chicago's black and Latin populations will forget not only the daily brutality of the Chicago cops—the murderers of Black Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton and more recently of two innocent Puerto Rican youths in Humboldt Park—but also the "protection" experienced when the National Guard occupied the South Side and West Side ghettoes in 1967 and 1968, or when federal troops invaded Detroit's black community in tanks, armored cars and helicopters in 1967. The SWP itself has learned nothing from the dismal failure of its legalist strategy in Boston.

On the other side are a number of Maoist sects whose opposition to busing is increasingly indistinguishable from the ultra-reactionaries. On Sunday the National Workers Organization, a front group of the Jim Crow-Maoist RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), held a large rally at the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry to protest what they termed the "city's divide and conquer schemes." Taking their stand with the frenzied racists, they even oppose the Permissive Transfer Plan with its "voluntary transfers" and free tokens.

The African Liberation Support Committee, dominated in Chicago by the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), also opposes not only genuine integration but even the Board's transfer policy. It organized its own antibusing march on August 20, explaining in a leaflet that "forced busing and...divide and rule tricks" are used by the bourgeoisie to "lay the groundwork to bring in fascism." If they wanted to know the real trajectory of fascism in this country, these front men for the U.S./China alliance should observe the Nazis and Klansmen marching through the streets against "forced busing."

The Spartacist League has always stood forthrightly for united class struggle in favor of the integration of oppressed minorities. Unlike the black nationalists, Maoists and the SWP, we counterpose a struggle for full racial equality to the dangerous fantasies of "black community control." At the same time, we recognize that the decadent capitalist system has no place for blacks and Latins except at the bottom. We have thus fought at every turn for the politically independent mobilization of racial minorities and the labor movement to link the fight against racial oppression to the struggle for a workers government. While supporting every real step toward integration, however minimal, we strongly oppose reliance on capitalist courts, cops and politicians. Only the working class and the oppressed masses can defend their rights and historic interests. ■

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Red Flag Union, Spartacist League Fuse

From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

This is the last issue of *Red Flag*. It is published jointly by the comrades of the former Red Flag Union (RFU) and the Spartacist League (SL) as part of the recent fusion of the two organizations. It is a moment of great satisfaction for the former RFU comrades as it marks a decisive step in our development as revolutionary Marxists.

The *Red Flag* and its predecessor, *Come Out Fighting*, have reflected our political development from parochial gay activism to a class-struggle perspective. We know that some of our readers will regard our fusion with the SL as a big mistake and, worse, a betrayal of the interests of homosexuals. But we also know that many who approved of our open affirmation of communism and followed with interest our break with Stalinism will hail the successful outcome of our three-year struggle to become Leninists.

When we began the Lavender and Red Union (L&RU) in March 1974 we did not know that we were founded on a political contradiction. Even before we launched a publication in May 1975, we defined ourselves as "a Gay liberation-Communist organization ... based in the Gay community of Los Angeles."

We spoke as gay liberation activists who felt a "cultural and political identity with our people and work for our liberation" (*The Political Perspective of the Lavender and Red Union*, March 1975). At the same time, we knew that "there is only one way for all working and oppressed people to achieve liberation and that is through the socialist revolution." We knew that without a revolutionary party there could be no revolution. And we said so: "The L&RU is committed to helping to build a Vanguard Communist Party" (*Political Perspective*).

Thus we attempted to reconcile with a hyphen two fundamentally different political perspectives: the sectoralist view of the gay liberation milieu and what we imagined to be the communist approach. And while we had a pretty good idea of what the gay movement was, we were (like most of the New Left) dead wrong about communism, which for us meant "Third World" Stalinism/Maoism.

But despite our acceptance of Maoist ideology, we were still a collective of gay men committed to the liberation of "our people." We could not explain why "our people" were locked up in Mao's prisons and mental wards, and why homosexuals were persecuted in the countries we called "socialist." After all, if it were true that socialism held the key to unlocking the homosexual oppression of centuries, why had it not worked in Cuba?

And the Maoist movement, with its backward "workerist" prejudices, didn't want us. The Maoists regarded homosexuality as decadent and sick, while the gay milieu had no use for uncloseted communists. We were isolated in "our" milieu and increasingly sharply critical of the "Marxist-Leninist" left.

It was partly our deep distrust of the "revolutionary" organizations which led us to declare for autonomous gay organizations that could at some time in the future (presumably when the left became less backward) link up in a vanguard party. Unlike many feminist and gay groups, we never viewed this "autonomy" as a principle. On the contrary, we considered it to be necessitated by the Maoist left's default on gay oppression. In February 1976 we characterized our position as a "strategic retreat." We became increasingly self-conscious in our efforts to resolve our built-in contradiction, aware that the L&RU was moving "into uncharted territory." In "Update: On Autonomy" (January 1976) we summarized:

> "There is a basic contradiction in the formation of an organization like the Lavender and Red Union. On the one hand we are seeking to unite with others to form a new communist party. On the other hand we are fragmenting the struggle by forming ourselves into an autonomous organization whose primary focus is to work within the Gay community. How do we explain this?"

Well, we couldn't. We could not advance toward a coherent explanation of our own leftward-moving course until our dismay over China's nakedly counterrevolutionary foreign policy, intersecting our long-standing dissatisfaction with parochial "gay liberation" activism, prompted us to undertake a serious investigation of Trotskyism.

We almost didn't make it. The L&RU was innoculated against Trotskyism—and not simply by New Left ignorance and Stalinist political censorship. We identified "Trotskyism" with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The L&RU, like all those in the New Left who subjectively wanted to make a revolution, stood significantly to the left of the reformist SWP. If "Trotskyism" meant the SWP's tailing of pacifists, nationalists, feminists, liberals, we wanted none of it. Perhaps most disgusting was the SWP's hypocritical patronizing of homosexuals. Now posing as the "best builders" of single-issue gay lifestylism, the SWP had a well documented recent history of victimization of homosexuals in its own organization.

The idea that Trotskyism could be the continuation of Leninism did not seem remotely plausible to us until we encountered the Spartacist League in March of 1976. The SL confronted our positions sharply and honestly. Unlike the other left groups which professed a commitment to defending the rights of homosexuals, the SL did not capitulate to the sectoralist politics of the L&RU/RFU (see article on page 8). As we attended SL classes and argued with SL comrades, we began to understand that the wretchedness of the Maoist left was a consequence of Stalinism, the narrow nationalist and class-

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WV Photo

SL/SYL contingent at June 26 rally against Anita Bryant crusade.

Homosexual Oppression and the Communist Program

The Red Flag Union and the Spartacist League have completed a fusion of our organizations on the basis of decisive programmatic agreement that developed during fusion discussions and in the process of joint political work. Before those fusion discussions began the RFU had adopted much of the Trotskyist analysis: the permanent revolution; the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the nature of Stalinism; the crisis of revolutionary leadership and the need to reforge the Trotskyist world party, the Fourth International (see "Fusion Declaration" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 171, 2 September). But programmatic stumbling blocks remained.

Much of the unclarity centered on the nature of the revolutionary program itself. As might be expected in a group shaped in the gay liberation milieu, this centered on the question of sectoralism. Thus as late as May of this year, *after* we had taken a theoretical position that homosexual oppression was not a "strategic question" in the revolutionary process; *after* we had criticized our sectoralism; *after* we changed our name from Lavender and Red Union to the RFU; and even after we had published an article which in the abstract offered a Marxist definition of program—then we offered our "L&RU Program for Gay Liberation." And we summarized this "program"—actually a shopping list of demands—in the slogan, "Gay Liberation through Socialist Revolution!"

While explicitly sectoralist groups such as black nationalists or "socialist-feminists" obviously present sectoralist "programs," many avowed socialist groups, as a result of their appetites to chase after every constituency that's "in motion," end up presenting "programs" for each separate group, and often "programs" at the implicit expense of other courted sectors—a direct contradiction of the role of the vanguard party to represent the historic interests of the proletariat and therefore to defend all of the oppressed. The most notorious of the "polyvanguardists" is of course the Socialist Workers Party with its "revolutionary programs" for women, blacks, Chicanos, homosexuals, etc. In the SWP's case this is conscious revisionism in the service of opportunist appetites. But the RFU was not trying to tail its "constituency," and we even thought we had rejected sectoralism. In our case, we were groping for a communist program and had not yet broken from the idea of being the left wing of the gay milieu. Through discussions and political struggle—something quite different from Maoist "crit/self-crit"—with the SL we came to see that our central slogan represented a programmatic distillation of sectoralism. To resolve the outstanding differences the RFU had to come to terms not only with the revolutionary approach to homosexual oppression but also with the meaning of program for communists.

Sectoralism and Program

In June 1977 we accepted orthodox Marxist views about revolutionary program in an article entitled "Introduction to the Revolutionary Program" (*Red Flag* No. 1, June 1977):

> "The program is the basic document of the party, the concentrated written expression of its analysis of the world, its aims, and the methods by which those aims are pursued. It includes a concrete plan of action and demands. It is the summation of the common understanding that is the basis of the party's unity and all its actions.
>
> "The concrete demands, which are also the party's key slogans, form the bridge between the presently felt needs of the masses and their historic role, between their currently limited and even backward consciousness and their objective tasks in changing the world."

Furthermore, our study of Trotsky had convinced us of the idea that building the vanguard party could be accomplished only on the basis of firm programmatic agreement:

> "Finally, the program is the basis for the cohesion and discipline of the party, without which it is inconceivable that revolution can be accomplished. Trotsky put it very well in some conversations with American revolutionaries about the draft of the transitional program. 'Now what is the party? In what does the cohesion consist? This cohesion is a common understanding of the events, of the tasks, and this common understanding—that is the program of the party'...."

Yet our residual sectoralism narrowed our programmatic focus to the attempt to find the road to liberate homosexuals. Our article entitled "What Is the Importance of Gay Liberation?" (*Come Out Fighting*, May 1977) was devoted to arguing that homosexual oppression is not central to the class struggle. We were unequivocal about the relative social weight and importance of homosexuals and blacks in the U.S.:

> "A strategic question is any contradiction that poses a fundamental block to the unification of the working class and is incontestably a principal obstacle to revolution; without its correct resolution, the seizure of power, the beginning of socialist revolution, cannot be achieved.... The Black question is a strategic question, and the Gay question is not."

But we had not yet drawn the full programmatic implications from this understanding. We were still influenced by sectoralist pressure from our milieu; we wanted to find "programmatic" guarantees that gay oppression would not be perpetuated after the socialist revolution. We were also trying to forestall the charge that we were abandoning the cause of gay liberation.

At the end of this long article we put forth the "L&RU's Program for Gay Liberation," the "exact programmatic demands we will raise." This special "program for liberation" included a number of democratic demands relating to gay oppression under capitalism. But then, "under workers rule," we called for "nationalization of, with state support for, gay bars, baths, community centers, clinics, restaurants, publications, etc."—a sort of community control of the gay ghettos. All of these demands, we said, "can be summarized" in the slogan "Gay Liberation through Socialist Revolution." After we coined the slogan, it was adopted by a variety of fake-left groups.

It took a certain amount of political courage for us to raise such a slogan in opposition to "gay is good," for example. Our intent was to distinguish ourselves from the reformist right wing of the gay movement by explicitly rejecting the notion that homosexual oppression could be eliminated under capitalism.

The L&RU/RFU was doomed to political extinction when we took up the study of Trotskyism. Ostracized from the outset by the Maoist milieu because we were homosexuals, disillusioned by the sharp rightward turn in Chinese foreign policy and the wilting of the Portuguese revolution, limited in our trade union work to militant trade unionism and eventual inevitable reformist betrayals by our lack of a strategy and program, had it not been for our introduction to the Spartacist League and Trotskyism our most probable course would have led us to political degeneration....

The L&RU/RFU had to overcome deeply rooted prejudices to even embark on a study of Trotskyism. Up to that point we held the popular Stalinist belief that Trotskyism was defeatist and counter-revolutionary. This opinion was based in part on the justifiable unpopularity of the pseudo-Trotskyist, reformist SWP in the left wing of the anti-war and women's movements. But such prejudices and the lies and falsificiations on which they are based cannot go unchallenged....

Letter to the PSO

EXCERPTS

August 18, 1977

Potomac Socialist Organization

Dear Comrades,

...Through careful and honest analysis of the limitations of our own practice and under the impact of decisive world events, we were won to the program of Trotskyism, whose only genuine representatives at this time are the international Spartacist tendency. This process has recently culminated in the principled fusion, based on programmatic unity, of the RFU and the Spartacist League/U.S....

Having recently completed a long journey which began at a place akin to where the PSO finds itself now, we do not envy you the difficult contradictions which must plague your group.... Recent events such as the purge of the "gang of four" and restoration of the chief "capitalist roader" Teng, the annointing of the former October League as the official holder of the Chinese franchise on the American left, must be inexplicable.

It is difficult to harbor a belief in socialism in one country, or to claim to be able to distinguish the "socialist road" from the "capitalist road," when you cannot point with certainty to a single example of a country which is following the communist path....

In the face of a series of incomprehensible political defeats and betrayals a year and a half ago the RFU reluctantly took up the study of the Trotsky-Stalin debate. The L&RU/RFU like the PSO understood that without revolutionary leadership the working class was doomed to defeat. We sought, however, for a long time to avoid the central issues which divided the left by submerging ourselves in the gay movement. We based our work in the gay community on the belief that in the absence of a communist vanguard it is the responsibility of each oppressed group to fight for its own oppressed sector. The PSO exhibits sectoralism of a different type. It avoids the struggle for political clarification by submerging itself in the trade unions, which is sectoralism of a different but ultimately no less backward type, i.e., economism.

With comradely greetings,
Walt S.
Michael W.

But the slogan was a reflection of our sectoralist political background. For sectoralists, the communist movement is seen as an amalgam of various oppressed strata rather than as a solitary movement with a singular program. In this context it seemed logical that the task of the "revolutionary" elements among each oppressed group should be to call on their constituency to support the socialist revolution. But the sum total of individual programs which address the various forms of capitalist oppression is not a communist program.

The program of the revolutionary party must express the *objective* historical interests and tasks of the international proletariat. There is only one communist program. Thus, the purpose of Trotsky's Transitional Program is to mobilize the entire working class—to bridge the gap between felt needs and objective tasks, between consciousness of oppression and the need to take state power under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard.

There is no special revolutionary program for homosexuals. The communist program includes demands which address the special oppression of homosexuals. But unlike sectoralists, revolutionaries understand that the fate of homosexuals—like that of any other oppressed group—is determined by the course of the class struggle.

Revolutionary Marxists approach the question of homosexual oppression as the only consistent defenders of democratic rights for all the exploited and oppressed. These rights are indivisible and can be secured only with the proletariat in power. The slogan "Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals" means a commitment not only to fight against such abuses as job discrimination and legal inequality, but also to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of homosexuals' democratic rights. It is not a separate demand for homosexuals, but a demand in the interests of the entire working class.

The Trotskyist program is not only the Transitional Program, which Trotsky described as "a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution"; it is also everything the party stands for—on *both* sides of the proletarian revolution.

The Program and the Revolution

The socialist program is committed to the eradication of homosexual oppression, which is linked to the special oppression of women. The sexual division of labor based on child-rearing became a source of social oppression in class society. The nuclear family conditions sex roles which are inherently oppressive to those who deviate from the accepted sex role norms. While proletarian rule will do much to end homosexual oppression, the final eradication of all ideological oppression of homosexuals cannot occur until the family is replaced in socialist society.

Unlike the oppression of women or blacks in the U.S., the oppression of homosexuals is not directly based on the *economic institutions* of capitalism. Black workers, for instance, are disproportionately concentrated in the least skilled, lowest paid layers of the working people and among the unemployed. Thus, the overturn of capitalist productive relations will be a decisive and immediate step toward ending their oppression. Much of the oppression of homosexuals is situated in the realm of discriminatory denial of democratic rights. Homosexuals (like blacks and women, for that matter) will benefit immediately from the victorious proletarian dictatorship's assault on discriminatory laws and practices. But they will still continue to suffer from pervasive hostile social *attitudes* deeply ingrained in the residual nuclear family sex role norms of the culture of a transitional society.

The new transitional society can no more legislate away such attitudes than it can eliminate the family by legislation. To arrive at socialism requires a tremendous leap in the productive forces and the gradual development of real social freedom. The withering away of the family as the basic institution defining sexual relations will result in the eventual disappearance of male chauvinism, and with it of generalized anti-homosexual prejudice.

The Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Program

The ultimate abolition of the family has been part of the Marxist program since the Communist Manifesto. The Russian Revolution of October 1917 provided the example of how even a backward, largely peasant country began to create the basis to replace the family. In the first few years of the proletarian dictatorship, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, anti-homosexual laws were struck down and many measures were undertaken with the goal of liberating women from household slavery: kitchens, child care, laundry, dwellings and schools were collectivized. This task was pursued even under the harsh conditions of war and famine.

But the Bolshevik program also recognized that the revolution isolated in Russia could not advance to socialist society. For that, there would have to be revolution in the West. And so the Bolshevik program was necessarily *internationalist* at its core. It was Stalin who concocted the rationale for the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste in Russia with the nationalistic program of "Socialism in One Country." The revolution degenerated, and with that came Stalinist class collaboration and terror. The nuclear family was reinforced, and laws against homosexuals were reinstituted.

The Russian Revolution demonstrates how the proletariat led by its vanguard party moves immediately to establish institutions appropriate to its rule. So it establishes soviets (workers councils) while it seeks to lay the basis for replacing the nuclear family. But where capitalism is overthrown by peasant and petty-bourgeois forces, such as in China or Cuba, under the class collaborationist program of "Socialism in One Country," the bureaucracy fosters institutions appropriate to the peasantry and Stalinism—institutions which replicate the product of the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution: prison camps for revolutionaries and "deviants," the strengthening of the nuclear family.

Many New Leftists fall into the bourgeoisie's trap of equating Leninism with Stalinism; the degenerated workers state in the USSR is seen as the "natural" outgrowth of the Bolshevik revolution. In actuality, the revolution fell prey to a political counterrevolution. The goal of abolition of the nuclear family which had hitherto been a hallmark of the communist program was replaced by the Stalinist program of the family as a "fighting unit for socialism." No "autonomous gay movement" could have exempted homosexuals from the consequences of the Stalinist political counterrevolution, which exterminated the "Old Bolsheviks," liquidated the workers councils, reversed the drive toward progressive social institutions and turned the Communist International into an instrument of class collaboration and "peaceful coexistence."

It was only when the RFU came to grips with the continuity of revolutionary Marxism—Trotskyism—that we were able to explain the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and its consequences for homosexuals in the "socialist" countries. Because the Spartacist League uniquely understood the Russian question and the primacy of program, it could play the decisive role in the transformation of the comrades of the RFU from gay left activists into revolutionary communists. ■

Who Lost Out...

(continued from page 8)

Vietnam, etc. are "state capitalist") would appeal to gay activists who had been viciously trashed by the Maoist left. Everyone knows that Stalin, Mao, Fidel and the rest oppressed homosexuals, so why should a gay collective hold out for defending the "socialist countries" against imperialism? Since homosexuals are persecuted in these countries, how could there be anything about them that is worth defending?

But the RFU's commitment to the Trotskyist program was more than skin deep. Unlike the RSL—which split leftward from the social-democratic International Socialists in 1973 and made a pretense of breaking from its Shachtmanite past in favor of Trotskyism—the RFU rejected moralistic Stalinophobia. We recognized that the RSL's position not only demonstrates a total inability to deal with the real world but also sets the RSL on a fusion course with U.S. imperialism against the deformed workers states, just as it facilitated Max Shachtman's degeneration toward eventual support for the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba.

It was clear to us that the SL struggled to develop the continuity of Trotskyism in methodology and program. The extension of Trotsky's methodology on the analysis of the Russian state to Cuba was a central position of the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP—forerunner of the SL—and today distinguishes the genuine Marxism of the SL from its ostensibly Trotskyist competitors.

The RSL also banked on convincing the RFU that SL was "anti-gay" because—unlike the tailist RSL—it did not make abstract calls to build the gay movement or glorify "gay rage." The cynical RSL also hypocritically sought to scandalize the SL for its so-called "closet rule" that disciplined communists do not risk victimization for their extra-political conduct, for instance public avowal of homosexuality (see *Red Flag* No. 2, July 1977/*WV* No. 169, 12 August). The Shachtmanite spoilers were keenly disappointed to find that we were quite as prepared to suspend our freedom to "come out" as we were to commit our lives and political future to the revolutionary party. A small minority of the RFU which could not make the leap from the gay milieu to the communist vanguard congealed around the RSL's Stalinophobic line and left our organization.

The public announcement of fusion discussions between the RFU majority and the Spartacist League took place at our "Stonewall '77" conference last June. The sharp political polarization which occurred between the SL/RFU and the assorted reformists and centrists only confirmed our confidence in the outcome of these discussions. Early on, it looked as if the room parted down the middle. The SWP, FSP, Socialist Union, RSL, etc. grouped themselves on one side and formed a tacit anti-Spartacist bloc. IMT apologists for "Third World" Stalinism clapped for RSL Stalinophobes and SWP social democrats as one after another they expressed the same tailism of "separate organizations of the oppressed" and shuddered when the SL and RFU countered with the necessity of a conscious vanguard united around the Trotskyist program. A rotten bloc united only by opportunism and real hatred of the Bolshevik politics of the SL railed against our course; their frustration and fury at the exposure of their bankruptcy only deepened our determination.

The principled programmatic fusion of the RFU and the SL is a small but important step toward the construction of the Leninist vanguard party. It is a confirmation of the SL's struggle for revolutionary regroupment through programmatic clarity. It is a blow to the fake-left opponents of Marxism. It is a reaffirmation of our commitment to the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed, through the struggle for the reborn Fourth International—party of the world proletarian revolution—and the socialist future. ■

Trotskyism...

(continued from page 5)

collaborationist ideology of a bureaucratic caste committed to "Socialism in One Country." We understood that the "socialist countries" were not socialist, but bureaucratically deformed workers states. The persecution of homosexuals was a part of the Stalinists' betrayal of the Bolshevik program of laying the material basis for the withering away of the oppressive nuclear family. The SL's insistence on the primacy of program and party (see article on page 6) made possible our principled fusion on a programmatic basis.

But programmatic decisions also meant a split for the RFU. When the majority of our organization adopted the Trotskyist position in defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism, a small faction formed, made a bloc with the Stalinophobic Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and eventually quit. Thus it was in political struggle against our own right wing that we fused politically with the SL, understanding that the program of Trotsky was the revolution defended.

We know that more important struggles and tests lie ahead. But we hope that *Red Flag* readers understand our evident communist pride. More than three years ago we set out to contribute our efforts to the construction of a vanguard party, and we have accomplished the first crucial step toward that goal. With this fusion we bring the collective experience of the L&RU/RFU to the SL. As part of the SL we continue to fight on behalf of our people—not only oppressed homosexuals, but all the oppressed and exploited of the world—armed with a revolutionary program that can lead the proletarian revolution to victory. We encourage our readers to subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*, the only authentic Marxist weekly in the world, which has incorporated the *Red Flag* editor onto the *WV* Editorial Board. And we are confident that those who desire to find the revolutionary course will come to look to the Spartacist League, the nucleus of the vanguard party in the U.S. ■

RFU Rejects Pabloists, Shachtmanites

Who Lost Out...and Why

As the Lavender and Red Union/Red Flag Union (L&RU/RFU) evolved out of the New Left gay movement, we got a lot of attention from the self-styled "Trotskyist" groups. An assortment of opportunists assumed that a gay liberation collective in rapid motion wanted nothing more than a new home and a more systematic rationale for lifestyle radicalism. They could not imagine that the L&RU/RFU—cohered in the petty-bourgeois sectoralist gay left—would solidarize instead with the "hard line" proletarian program of the Spartacist League. In the process we explicitly rejected the "constituency" politics of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the polyvanguardist impressionism of the centrist "International Majority Tendency" (IMT) of the United Secretariat (USec) and the strident cynicism of the Stalinophobic Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) as roadblocks to the construction of an authentic Leninist international party.

Each of these outfits thought it had the inside track. The SWP, for whom principle is synonymous with "sectarianism," may be forgiven for assuming that the disciplined, polemical, "orthodox" Trotskyist SL could exercise no real attraction for a grouping drawn from the petty-bourgeois lifestylist gay milieu. The SWP wanted a ready-made gay cadre to build an ersatz "mass movement" in the homosexual "constituency." And it hoped the L&RU would oblige. After all, hadn't the SWP made a name for itself as the foremost proponents of "autonomous" exclusionist organizations of the oppressed? And isn't the reformist SWP bigger than the pathetic centrists and the "irrelevant" SL?

Alas for the SWP. The L&RU had long since begun to understand that pitting "autonomous" sectors of the oppressed against each other could liberate neither homosexuals nor anyone else. We were far too committed to the struggle to fundamentally reconstruct society to be satisfied with reformist small change. We evolved toward Trotskyism partly because we already recognized that the gay movement offered no program for advancing the struggles of the oppressed. We did not have to wait until the SWP took a cue from Carter's anti-Soviet crusade and made "human rights for gays" its rallying cry to decide that the SWP was not for us.

Our fusion with the SL must be more than annoying for the SWP, for it undercuts the SWP's cherished slander that the SL abstains from the struggles of the oppressed. To the SWP, anything that is not cynical tailism of exclusionist sectoralism and lifestylist illusions must be abstentionism. The idea that the SL can recruit some former gay activists by fighting for a unitary proletarian program violates all the SWP's laws of nature. The idea that a fusion can be accomplished on the basis of programmatic agreement rather than mutual capitulation probably gives Jack Barnes a headache.

Incarnations of the IMT

Between the reformism of the SWP and the Trotskyism of the SL lurk numerous denizens of the centrist swamp. Most have been having their troubles recently, and not the least of their difficulties is the success of the SL in becoming the recognized and credible revolutionary alternative to SWP reformism.

The supporters of the Pabloist IMT have an additional difficulty: their international mentors' penchant for infanticide. The European-based IMT is in bloc with the SWP, which despite its social-democratic appetites still pays lip service to the centrist USec. So Ernest Mandel and his cohorts of the IMT leadership look with disfavor on SWP left critics and others who want to constitute an IMT-loyal grouping in the U.S. Hence the IMT leadership's practice of killing off its centrist American offspring. These latter make sporadic attempts to stop the hemorrhaging of demoralized elements and pull together a pro-IMT "regroupment." These efforts are confounded by the fact that all the groupings are strongly parochial and have major idiosyncratic differences.

WV Photo

Red Flag Union Stonewall '77 Conference in Los Angeles in early June.

Largest and most stable among these groups is Seattle's Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). An organization which split more than ten years ago from the SWP, the FSP claims to be the first "socialist-feminist" Bolshevik party in history, raising the woman question to "equal and interlocking" status with the class question.

Ever floating out there in Pabloland is Milt Zaslow and his "personal" group, the Socialist Union, based in Los Angeles. And from New York there is the loosely knit Marxist Education Collective (MEC), with Murry Weiss as "respected teacher" and Art Felberbaum as the Orwellian "coordinator." The MEC waxed indignant when we characterized them as "stage-managers" for a pro-IMT lash-up; meanwhile, Murry and Myra Weiss went to Seattle to make a guest appearance at the FSP convention and Felberbaum went on national tour.

The L&RU/RFU looked like a wonderful showpiece to bring under the Pabloist umbrella. Having long since despaired of the revolutionary potential of the working class in the advanced countries, the IMT abandons the Leninist conception of the party and substitutes a kind of federation of special-interest groups which when stuck together make up something called the "broad vanguard." The program of the "party" that services this "vanguard" consists of tailing the false or partial consciousness of whatever looks like it is in motion. As a representative of an oppressed grouping, the L&RU/RFU would have been a great catch.

Zaslow seemed to think so too. He did not seek to recruit us to the Socialist Union, but urged we contribute to a projected journal and help form a new Pabloist section in the U.S. He anticipated there would be many differences among the participants, but this was fine; in fact, the more muddled the merrier for Milt, who insisted factions were positively desirable in the early stages of party-building.

When the RFU leadership came to New York to look over the MEC and the SL, we gave a forum under MEC auspices. The meeting became virtually a platform for the SL program as the RFU speakers solidarized with the SL's unique position on the USSR and the deformed workers states. Differentiating ourselves from the Pabloist view that Fidel Castro is an "unconscious Marxist" who led a socialist revolution and established a healthy proletarian state in Cuba, we explained that in Cuba a nationalist formation leading a peasant mass overthrew capitalism and established a deformed workers state which requires a political revolution to open the road to socialist development and proletarian internationalism.

While our leading spokesmen were in New York giving a forum at the MEC, Felberbaum was in Los Angeles talking to our membership. He didn't like what they told him. He was upset that the group's change of name, reflecting a desire to emphasize our "red" politics more than our identification with the "lavender" milieu, would make us unrecognizable as the homosexual component of a future Pabloist lash-up. But what really threw a monkey wrench into the MEC's schemes was the RFU's consolidation around the SL's Russian question position, as Felberbaum found out.

Of all the American IMT sympathizers, the most eager to recruit us was the FSP. These "socialist-feminists" naturally made their appeal to the RFU's sectoralism. They criticized precisely the side of our politics which was drawing us closer to Trotskyism: our deepening understanding of the primacy of the class question. They attacked us for "overemphasizing" the proletarian character of the revolution at the expense of the "autonomous" organization of women and homosexuals. For the FSP, communist consciousness is osmotically gained through the experience of one's own oppression; hence the most oppressed are necessarily the most revolutionary. To the FSP we were therefore more revolutionary as gay activists than as communist cadres.

The FSP castigated us for not applying Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution to the contemporary U.S. Trotsky's theory holds that in the backward countries a victorious proletarian revolution is needed to address not only socialist tasks but also the democratic and national tasks once associated with bourgeois revolutions. For the Pabloists, "permanent revolution" becomes empty jargon, *useful only for associating Trotsky's name* with the most absurd anti-Marxist positions. The FSP thoughtfully provided a perfect example when it published an account of Murry Weiss's speech to the FSP convention:

> "'...radical action and thought in the '60's as expressed in the Black, feminist, and gay movements was a manifestation of the *permanent revolution* in the United States,' Murry said. He showed how 'the extension of the revolution into new areas of cultural and social life, which in a schematic sense was not scheduled until after the revolution, occurred here before the revolution and is erupting in our world right now. It is not waiting!'"
>
> —*Freedom Socialist*, Spring 1977

In other words, the revolution is an unstoppable objective process which doesn't have to "wait" for the construction of a revolutionary proletarian leadership. This is the fundamental methodology which distinguishes Pabloism from Leninism. It leads the Pabloists to continually tail groups that can never lead a proletarian socialist revolution (the Communist Party in Portugal, Fidel Castro, the black nationalists, etc.), all the while claiming them to be "objectively" revolutionary.

When FSP members were confronted with the RFU/SL fusion, they could only wail that the SL was not "gay liberationist." We responded that we were no longer "gay liberationists" but communists seeking the program which will lead the proletariat toward state power. We did not want a "program" that splits the working class into separate parts and pits one against the other.

Latter-Day Shachtmanites

To the American IMT clots, the RFU/SL fusion represents a significant loss for the Pabloist smorgasbord. But the group that is the most immediate loser is the frenzied Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). For the RSL to have won a dozen new members to its shrinking sect would have been not merely a gain. It might have meant a respite from the RSL's frantic spiral down toward oblivion.

What makes the RFU/SL fusion so frustrating for the RSL is that these latter-day Shachtmanites probably imagined the RFU was in the bag. The RSL certainly figured that its Stalinophobic position on the Russian question (the USSR, China, Cuba,

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Escaped SS War Criminal...

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found guilty but not the principal war criminals of the German bourgeoisie. Today ex-Nazis occupy influential positions in German economic and political life. The head of the Association of German Industry, for instance, is the former SS officer Schleyer. Former chancellor Kiesinger and former West German president Lübke were also Nazis. And the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) includes numerous "old" Nazis in its ranks. For example, CDU deputy Wissebach is a member of the "Hess Mutual Aid Society of Veterans of the Former Waffen-SS."

But German justice deals with anti-fascists, even mere liberals, quite differently. In 1971 when Beate and Serge Klarsfeld tried to abduct and deliver to France the former chief of the Paris Gestapo, Kurt Lisschka, who had been condemned to death *in absentia* by a French court in the 1950's, the Nazi hunters were found guilty rather than Lisschka. Serge Klarsfeld was sentenced to two months probation for "coercion," and Beate Klarsfeld to two months jail for "bodily injury."

In any case, the new brownshirt commando groups are much more dangerous than the nostalgic veterans' groups, which regularly hold their reunions under the SS runes with official permission. In Nürnberg, for example, the Hoffmann "Defensive Sports" group legally holds paramilitary maneuvers. And hand-in-hand with the deadly activities of these fascist scum goes publicity aimed at salvaging the "honor" of the Nazi regime. The latest example is the recent "psychological" film, "Hitler—A Career," now showing all over West Germany, which is ultimately an apology for the Third Reich.

The West German bourgeoisie is conscious of the purposes of this campaign, and tolerates the fascist commando groups even if it doesn't need them right now. It counts them among its own, to be unleashed against the workers when the proletariat can no longer be restrained with the means available to bourgeois democracy.

...and Witchhunt Against the Left

Because it is bourgeois *class* justice, the judicial machinery uses a double standard: protection of the fascists and a witchhunt against the left. A recent decision which provoked a large outcry was the ruling by a Hessian court refusing to grant tenure to Silvia Gingold, a teacher who is a member of the pro-Moscow German Communist Party (DKP). Gingold, the daughter of an Auschwitz survivor, lost the case on the grounds that the DKP was allegedly "hostile to the constitution," even though the party itself is not illegal. Thus the Damocles' sword of *de facto* illegalization hangs over all working-class organizations to the left of the Social Democrats.

Another main target of the witch-hunters has been the lawyers who have represented the RAF defendants or other anarchist groups at one time or another. Simply because of their defense of their clients, these lawyers have been accused of complicity in terrorist activities, and are threatened with jail sentences, exclusion from political cases and even disbarment. The most recent victim of the systematic slander and persecution campaign is RAF lawyer Klaus Croissant, who was forced to flee to France in July. In response to a press conference by Croissant accusing West Germany of trying to kill the remaining RAF prisoners, the influential *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (3 August) charged the lawyer with "openly becom[ing] an organizer of terror"! While the bourgeois press sheds bitter tears over the death of Dresdner Bank chief Jürgen Ponto (assassinated in late July), it says precious little about the August 15 bombing attack on the Stuttgart offices of RAF lawyers Croissant, Müller and Mewerla.

But it is not just a question of McCarthyite repression, character assassination, blacklisting (the infamous *Berufsverbot*) and the like directed against left-wing radicals. The West German bourgeoisie already has the blood of several anarchist prisoners on its hands: Holger Meins, 1974; Siegfried Hausner, 1975; Ulrike Meinhof, 1976—as well as Katharina Hammerschmidt, who died of a tumor due to lack of medical treatment in jail. And now there may be still more deaths. After a brutal attack on the RAF prisoners by several dozen guards in the Stammheim jail, on August 8 the court reversed a previous decision allowing the prisoners to be together for an hour at a time, and sent them back to total solitary confinement.

In protest, 30 or 40 anarchists in Stammheim and other prisoners went on a hunger strike, and since August 9 also have refused to take liquids. (At present they are being forcibly fed.) Although information is hard to obtain because of a press blackout, it has been reported that RAF leaders Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ennslin and Jan-Carl Raspe "have been repeatedly found unconscious in their cells" (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 26 August). The comrades on hunger/thirst strikes are in imminent danger of dying, in protest against the inhuman conditions of their imprisonment—their lives must be saved!

While we energetically reject the petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terror, we also know that these anarchist victims of bourgeois repression stand against West German imperialism. They are on the same side of the barricades with the communists in the class struggle. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, demands an immediate end to the murderous persecution of the RAF comrades, as well as their immediate release and that of all class-war prisoners in West German jails!

The bourgeoisie is the real terrorist. Its fascist executioners, like the Rome Gestapo boss, are the real assassins. Kappler is a vicious war criminal! Although the Italian courts have already given proof of their leniency toward this fascist mass murderer, and he would undoubtedly receive far better treatment from them than he deserves, the TLD demands Kappler be immediately extradited to Italy. Only the proletarian justice of a victorious workers government will get rid of the fascist filth, both the "old" and "neo" Nazis! ■

Chilean OTR...

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opposition to the popular front. It also objected, although in an empirical fashion, to the TRO's longstanding policy of "deep entrism" in the Socialist Party (PS), and subsequently withdrew its supporters from the PS. The final break came over an unprincipled fusion of the TRO with the group of L. Vitale to form the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party, the "official"—for a while—USec sympathizing section). For submitting a document against the fusion the future OTR tendency was expelled from the new organization (and its document suppressed).

With members who had been leaders of the National Copper Workers Federation and the support of other miners' leaders, the tendency which became the OTR consistently opposed the Allende government's criminal policy of the "battle for production"—a cynical slogan for speed-up—because the self-proclaimed "people's government" did not change the fact that Chile remained a capitalist country. When Allende launched bombastic campaigns for "worker participation"—a scheme to induce the proletariat to acquiesce in its own exploitation—leaders of the OTR in the nationalized copper mining sector counterposed the slogan of workers control, whose aim was to destroy, not reform, the bourgeois state. In contrast, the MIR and the left wing of the PS, including especially sectors with a certain "Trotskyoid" aura as well as Castro himself, supported the UP's "participation" projects. (Michel Pablo himself made a special trip to Chile to laud this hoax, and dedicated a book about it to his friend, Socialist economics minister Pedro Vuskovic.)

After the bloody Pinochet coup, when the comrades of the OTR were forced to flee into exile in Europe or into neighboring countries, they sought to deepen their understanding of the Chilean fiasco and broaden their international understanding in discussions first with the USec and then the OCRFI. However, they soon discovered that the Trotskyist credentials of these self-proclaimed "Fourth Internationals" were false. The USec, which posthumously declared that the UP was explicitly *not* a popular front, and now had *two* Chilean sympathizing groups, refused to allow discussion of the Allende regime at its Tenth World Congress, since both international factions saw no reason to expose the bankruptcy of their local supporters. While the OCRFI had called the UP a popular front, on the other hand, its Chilean groups (it also had two!) either did not make this characterization or accused the Allende government, rather than the workers parties in it, of "reformism" and betraying. Meanwhile, in France the OCI was calling for a vote to the presidential candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left.

The OTR first came into contact with the international Spartacist tendency at a September 11 protest meeting on the first anniversary of the coup. They read *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3 (a collection of articles from *Spartacist* and *WV* on "Chile: Lessons of the Popular Front," which was published for the express purpose of seeking out Chilean exile groups attempting to draw a balance sheet on the UP), and one week later declared their fundamental agreement with the iSt analysis and programmatic conclusions. But as internationalists, both parties agreed on the need for discussion of all fundamental questions facing revolutionary Marxists. In addition to rejecting the USec and OCRFI, agreement was quickly reached that the Bolivian POR of Guillermo Lora had acted as centrists in both 1952 and 1971, bearing a fundamental responsibility for derailing a revolution; and that Argentina's veteran pseudo-Trotskyist chameleon Nahuel Moreno (who has gone from Peronism to Guevarism to social democracy) had definitively become reformist, committed to the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

From Guevarism to Trotskyism

Several questions became the subject of continuing discussion between the iSt and the OTR, including Cuba, guerrillaism and social democracy in particular. On the first question, after studying *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 2 on "Cuba and Marxist Theory" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 8 in English), the OTR comrades reached agreement with the Spartacist analysis of this key application of Trotskyism on the Russian question, as reflected in Part IV of the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile" (*WV* No. 111, 28 May 1976).

The OTR's position that the social-democratic parties were qualitatively more bourgeois than the Stalinists proved more difficult to resolve. The national/continental isolation of the Chilean ostensible Trotskyist movement—which was the responsibility of the fake "Internationals," who did little or nothing to integrate or politically educate their various "sections"—played an important role. It is a fact that in Latin America all of the parties associated with the Second International are in fact *bourgeois* parties (Chilean Radicals, Venezuelan Acción Democrática, Peruvian APRA, Puerto Rican PPD, etc.), with mildly populist traits and generally strongly pro-American foreign policy. However, after becoming familiar with the social-democratic and labor parties of western Europe and in discussions on the tactical implications of characterizing social democracy as "bourgeois, with a working-class base," the OTR agreed upon the description of the mass social-democratic parties of the advanced capitalist countries as reformist, i.e., "bourgeois workers parties," to use Lenin's words.

The most important and difficult area of disagreement was the question of guerrillaism, for here there were at first sharp differences, and it was a question directly related to the OTR's origins. One of the first accusations raised against the leadership of the Chilean USec section by the tendency which later became the OTR was that of failing to implement the guerrillaist policies of the Ninth World Congress resolution on armed struggle. Like many Pabloists, they thought that Guevara himself had broken or would break, albeit empirically, from Stalinism. Although the OTR rejected Guevarist focoism and Tupamaro-style urban guerrilla warfare, it nevertheless insisted on the necessity of "irregular war" carried out by the working class—in other words, the application of guerrillaism to the particular milieu in which the OTR was working. The question was not abstract, for the OTR counted in its ranks leaders of miners for whom "irregular" skirmishes with the police and army were a periodic occurrence, as well as former Miristas and Tupamaros.

In contrast, *Spartacist* had written as early as 1967 that "Guerrillaism today is a petty-bourgeois reaction to the absence and delay of proletarian revolution."

Beginning from these two sharply divergent positions, several lengthy discussions were held over a period of months, in the course of which the OTR came to reject its previous position. Talk of irregular warfare carried out by the working class as a strategic perspective was an adaptation to the "trade-unionist" conceptions of a semi-proletarian layer; the key sectors of the industrial working class cannot abandon the factories and large mines and take to the hills without losing their base of social power and ultimately risking the loss of their proletarian class character, degenerating into banditry and/or blending into the peasantry (this actually happened to the Communist workers and party cadre in China who fled from the coastal cities to initiate rural guerrilla warfare in 1927-31). Thus Lenin's support for partisan tactics in 1906-07 came in the context of what he believed to be a temporary defeat of the 1905 Revolution; he never considered guerrilla warfare as anything more than a defensive measure—a form of strategic retreat—or an adjunct to regular military warfare, and certainly not a strategy for socialist revolution.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks always sought to organize military struggle through the mass organizations of the working class (soviets, factory committees), in which the party played or sought to play a leading role, in contrast to the Guevarist conception of waging guerrilla struggle through a "professional" party/army—e.g., the Argentine ERP (People's Revolutionary Army, an arm of the Guevarist PRT).

Guerrillaist conceptions had a real social importance in the Chilean "far left," above all via the MIR but also among pseudo-Trotskyist groups which tailed after them. The MIR, for example, did *not* call on the trade unions or later the *cordones industriales* (district coordinating bodies of factory committees) to arm the workers; instead it created artificial "*comandos comunales*," in practice subordinated to the MIR, which were supposed to train selected workers in the use of arms.

Consequently, when the September 11 coup came, the industrial proletariat was left without weapons. Many gathered in their factories to await arms long promised by the Communist and Socialist union bureaucrats, which never arrived. And despite a few acts of bravado by MIR leaders, which simply drew heavier attacks against some of the more combative sectors of the working class, their basic attitude was to treat the military takeover as an inevitable step paving the way to guerrilla war. The OTR, like all the guerrillaist tendencies, saw no possibility of resisting the Pinochet coup; but unlike those who seek to reconstruct the decimated MIR, or the USec majority which is mainly concerned to cover its own tracks of total support to Guevarist guerrillaism, the OTR has drawn the lessons of the terrible defeat represented by September 11 and proclaimed the bankruptcy of guerrillaism in all its varieties.

Leninism on the Organization Question

In Chile the OTR lacked Leninist organizational norms: the definition of membership was fluid, it never had a party press, etc. This organizational practice was naturally maintained in exile, where the pressures toward a "circle spirit" among a small band of survivors are enormous. Nevertheless, as the OTR evolved toward the Spartacist tendency this, equally naturally, led to internal struggles and splits. These are, however, difficult to resolve without assimilating and applying the Leninist norms of democratic centralism. It was problems centering around the organization question that for some months held up the fusion perspective that had been voted in May 1976 and which dominated the activity of the OTR in the last year. As Cde. Ivan of the OTR put it in a presentation to a meeting of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the iSt at the 1977 European summer camp:

> "The OTR was an organization in exile and dispersed over various continents. Basically there were two questions which impeded fusion last year. One was the organizational weakness of the OTR, which as a result led us to a

federative concept of the party. But behind this was an important political point, and that is that the OTR hoped to unite its central cadre in Europe. We had difficulties in bringing about a joint development of all our cadre, and the European nucleus did not have a Leninist methodology to overcome this problem."

The difficulties centered on the struggle to win over an important member of the leadership who had only recently arrived from Latin America. Finding himself cut off from a base and confined to the limitations of a small Trotskyist propaganda nucleus, this comrade began elaborating plans behind the backs of the leadership; acts of organizational indiscipline soon led to an open political break, as he failed to defend the OTR program publicly, breaking explicit instructions. As the OTR reporter noted in his presentation to the IEC:

> "...in the final analysis Cde. Blas presented a perspective which was counterposed to Trotskyism and to Lenin's concept of the party, basing himself on the argument that we can't break our ties with the masses.... Thus in practice he was incapable of defending the entirety of the communist program....
> "A few days ago this process came to an end, and in a task carried out in full consultation with the comrades from the International we formalized Blas' split from the Trotskyist program.... For the OTR, the most important thing in this process was that the break with our past methodology opened the path to genuine Leninism."

An Iskra Perspective

The OTR now faces tremendous opportunities and responsibilities. The Chilean bonapartist junta, lacking a significant social base of support and having been unable to atomize the proletariat and wipe out its leadership, will not last even as long as the Brazilian military dictatorship. In the meantime, those leftists who survived the bloodbath have been concentrated in large numbers in exile centers in Europe and Latin America. Here there is an extraordinary opportunity to reach tens of thousands of committed militants and to challenge the left to seriously draw a balance sheet of the Allende regime. This is by no means limited to Chilean militants, for the Chilean experience has global importance and is *decisive* for the formation of revolutionary nuclei in the key countries of Latin America.

Among those who reject the popular front, Stalinism, social democracy and guerrillaism a dialogue could be initiated. Through polemical combat the superiority of the Trotskyist analysis and program can be demonstrated, and the core of an authentic Leninist propaganda group forged and politically prepared for the tasks which will face it when the bloody Pinochet dictatorship falls and the crucial battle to break the working class from the reformists begins in earnest.

Key to this perspective is the question of the press. In the coming period the principal voice for the OTR will be the Spanish edition of *Spartacist*, to be published three times a year, whose editorial board now includes members of the OTR. This is intended to be an *Iskra*-type publication, including polemics and analyses directed primarily at the Latin American exile milieu and to leftists in the Iberian peninsula. In addition the OTR will work toward the initiation of its own press, beginning in a modest format and with irregular frequency. Along with the struggle to build a solid, programmatically united and politically homogeneous organization in exile will naturally come the difficult task of attempting to get this press into the hands of the militants of the Chilean working class wherever they are.

In all this, as a member of a democratic-centralist international tendency, the OTR will count on the full political support and all possible material assistance of the iSt. But there is no denying that the demands are enormous and our total resources qualitatively inadequate. However, the OTR has an important political capital which cannot be minimized: unlike the pseudo-Trotskyists, it represents a coherent and powerful political line which was, tragically, proven correct by the demise of the deadly popular front. Chile 1970-73 has had an impact on the political development of the current revolutionary generation similar to that of the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930's. The Trotskyists who warned that the popular front was leading to a bloody massacre should recall their warnings to educate those who did not heed them at the time but desire to avoid a repeat of the holocaust. Yet Mandel's USec and the OCI's "Organizing Committee" *hide* their Chilean groups rather than highlighting them—and for good reason: *they did not issue such warnings but instead apologized for the popular front.*

We are still weak as a political force, but the strength and promise of the OTR/iSt fusion—what enabled these militants to cross the tremendous gulf from Pabloism, workerism, Guevarism to Trotskyism—comes from the fact that it is built on fundamental Marxist principles:

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International." ■

Carter's "Human Rights"...

(continued from page 1)

Carter's "new era," JFK's "Alliance for Progress" and FDR's "Good Neighbor Policy" are all merely spruced-up versions of the Monroe Doctrine of absolute U.S. hegemony over the Western Hemisphere.

It seems incredible that after Kennedy's Bay of Pigs, LBJ's invasion of Santo Domingo and the Vietnam war there could be a person left on earth who believes in a "progressive" Democratic Party foreign policy. But such strange souls indeed exist, and foremost among them appears to be Fidel Castro. On a CBS television special in June Castro publicly courted the new administraiton, saying he was certain all CIA conspiracies against Cuba had been curtailed! And in a recent interview he refers to Carter as an "honest man" with an "ethical viewpoint based essentially on his religious upbringing." Of course, such sentiments do not reflect naiveté but rather the conscious maneuvering of a Stalinist bureaucrat looking for a deal with imperialism. Asked by the reporter whatever happened to Cuba's support to Castroites in other Latin American countries, Castro responded:

> "It isn't that we don't sympathize with the revolutionary movements. We do sympathize with them. But if a revolutionary movement arises in a country which has relations with us or which respects our sovereignty, however great our sympathy for the revolutionary movement is, we will abstain from any support to such a movement."
> —*Cambio 16*, 15-20 August 1977

Meanwhile the Cuban *líder* is hobnobbing with "progressive" officers like the Peruvian junta and Torrijos. A year ago he advised the Panamanians to be patient with the U.S. in canal negotiations, reminding Torrijos that the Americans still occupied Guantanamo Bay. Now American ambassador to the UN Andrew Young says: "...the reports I have are that Castro encouraged Torrijos to make a fast settlement" (*New York Times*, 12 August).

Castro's conciliation of reactionary forces is not limited to Carter but applies also to local Latin American despots. He of course covers his tracks in Chile by blaming everything on the CIA, but during the Allende regime Castro not only praised the "peaceful road" to socialism but even invited Chilean military leaders to Havana. On a visit to Chile, Castro socialized with the very people that a few months later overthrew the government! (See picture of Castro and Pinochet.)

But it is not only the bureaucrats of the Cuban deformed workers state, but also, in one form or another, the vast majority of the U.S. left that has been sucked into Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. The SWP has tried to capitalize on slogans like "human rights begin at home" in recent anti-Anita Bryant demonstrations. It is only a short step from there to the position of the Communist Party (CP), which called for demonstrators to come to Washington September 7 to demonstrate against the "hawk" Pinochet, while totally failing to even mention the supposed "dove" Videla. And while other fake-leftists are silent on the Canal treaty, the CP says openly:

> "The Panama Canal Treaty is not a concession made willingly by U.S. imperialism; it is a victory, despite its many inadequacies and other shortcomings, for the national liberation movement."
> —*Daily World*, 27 August

While the reformists merely chase after the "good guy" of the moment, the Spartacist League (SL) has based itself on a scientific analysis of imperialism. Thus in 1973, when every fake-leftist in the U.S. tried to place the whole blame for the Chilean coup on the U.S., we pointed out (1) that the Chilean bourgeoisie was quite capable on its own power of mounting a counterrevolutionary bloodbath, and (2) more importantly, by blaming solely the CIA, the Stalinists were trying to cover up the deadly role of the UP popular front, which prepared the way to September 11 by binding the workers to their class enemy. Today, when the same reformists are trying to pressure Carter into calling for "human rights" in their sector, the SL has insisted that this crusade is aimed fundamentally at the Soviet Union; it is not merely hypocritical but a threat to the gains of the workers movement, and must be denounced sharply.

This week class-conscious workers throughout the world will demonstrate in solidarity with their Chilean class brothers, subjected to great suffering under the boot of a bloodthirsty bonapartist dictatorship. While the Chilean and Argentine proletariats have suffered grave defeats, they have not been destroyed as a political force, and will be given that rarity in history, a second shot at state power in the present generation. Thus the most urgent task facing those who would show solidarity with the Chilean working people is to draw the lessons of the 1973 defeat in preparation for the decisive battles ahead. ■

Sigma

Castro and Pinochet reviewing troops in Santiago during Castro's visit to Chile in November 1971.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Class Opposition to Popular Fronts—Key to Revolutionary Regroupment

Chilean OTR Fuses With Spartacist Tendency!

The 1977 European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) witnessed a fusion which is unique in the history of the iSt and of considerable interest and significance to would-be revolutionists throughout the world. The Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile united with the iSt, and is now the Chilean sympathizing section of our common tendency. While the proportions on both sides are modest, this fusion represents a ringing affirmation and confirmation of Trotsky's 1935 remark that: "In reality, the Popular Front is *the main question of Proletarian class strategy* for this epoch." The OTR and iSt met on the common terrain of militant class opposition to bourgeois popular frontism, and it was by generalizing this position of proletarian independence to all major international questions that a joining of our forces became possible and necessary.

For the iSt this fusion marks a significant extension of our tendency, as it is the first Latin American section. It thus represents the addition of an important body of revolutionary experience to a movement previously limited to sections in North America, Europe and Australasia. For the OTR it signifies the overcoming of national isolation and the culmination of its break with Pabloism begun some years before. While holding firm to their opposition to popular frontism, the Chilean comrades have proven capable of uncompromisingly reevaluating their past views in the light of international experience, the indispensable precondition for assimilating authentic Leninism. For anyone familiar with the continental parochialism and rampant revisionism of Latin American "Trotskyism," this is a tremendous achievement.

But the central significance of the OTR/iSt fusion is to underline the Trotskyist analysis of the popular front, the tying of the working masses to "progressive" capitalists—or even "phantom" capitalists (provincial lawyers and the like) when the real bourgeoisie in its entirety has staked its existence on the triumph of naked reaction— with the purpose of preventing a proletarian uprising against all wings of the bourgeois class enemy. A tragically prophetic article in *Spartacist* in the fall of 1970 warned that the Allende coalition, the Unidad Popular (UP), was a popular front such as in France, Spain and Chile during the 1930's, and must be resolutely opposed by proletarian revolutionists. At a time when millions of Chileans and leftists throughout the world were hailing the "*compañero presidente*" and talking of a second Cuba, we wrote: "Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

"In reality, the Popular Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—Leon Trotsky

In reality, this seemingly prescient statement was neither especially original nor did it require a crystal ball. We were simply repeating the lesson of Spain, acting as any Leninist party should, as the memory of the working class. It would seem to be the ABC of Trotskyism, yet every other international tendency which claims that heritage managed to obscure or directly deny the popular-front character of the Allende regime.

Within Chile, the groups to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties were disoriented by the 1970 UP election victory. The most notorious case was that of the Castroite MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria -Movement of the Revolutionary Left) which flip-flopped from guerrillaist opposition to participation in elections on principle ("¡fusil, no elecciones!") to "critically" supporting Allende. Even those who made a claim to represent Trotskyism conciliated the UP, terming the new government "reformist." But there was a small group within the Chilean "Trotskyist" orbit, principally made up of trade unionists, which was driven by its unbending defense of the workers' interests to the understanding that the UP was a popular front that must be directly opposed. It was this nucleus which later became the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria, and which in 1974 summed up the lessons of the Unidad Popular as follows:

> "To say that the character of the UP was reformist means being an accomplice to the betrayals committed.... Thus the UP must be included in the list of the old popular fronts, the model designed to betray the working class."
>
> —"Una derrota política y la necesidad de un balance"

In short, the fusion of the international Spartacist tendency and the Chilean OTR represents the joining of the current which from afar uniquely predicted and warned against the tragic course of the Allende government, with those who directly confronted with the popularity of the UP (and experiencing its deadly consequences) refused to compromise or abandon their defense of their class. As the popular front is indeed the central issue facing Leninists in our times, and Chile is *the* recent burning example of the consequences of popular frontism, the unification of our organizations should be studied by all serious Marxists.

The Evolution of the OTR

Unlike the other fusions entered into by the international Spartacist tendency, this was a case of the coming together of two tendencies that already had the same decisive programmatic postulates rather than of some centrist current breaking loose and being won over to the positions of the iSt. The proletarian revolutionary opposition of the Chilean OTR to the deadly Allende popular front was already decisive. But the OTR, operating in a much more local political/cultural milieu than the iSt, needed to undertake a great deal of testing of the international waters to verify that the treacherous activities of the local representatives of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (USec) and the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (OCRFI) of the French OCI and the Bolivian POR were representative. The fusion was not easy to arrive at; rather, it was one in which key prerequisites already existed, yet it was difficult in consummation as the two parties, testing each other out in many ways and repetitively, came from very different particular terrains.

To understand the fusion process it is necessary first to see the OTR as it was in Chile prior to the coup. The group, which had formed within the USec sympathizing organization, the TRO (Revolutionary October Tendency), began essentially as a "workerist"

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