

Portugal Leaves, U.S./South Africa Move in

Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!

NOVEMBER 11—The departure of the last Portuguese troops from Luanda today represents the end of five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. Whether this will result in an independent Angolan state, however, is in question. Following the lowering of the flag in the capital, the left-nationalist Moscow-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) proclaimed a new government. At the same time, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) are reportedly preparing to announce a second government. The FNLA is financed by the U.S. and heavily backed by Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo), while Maoist China supplies guns and military advisers; UNITA is neo-colonialist, backed by the remaining Portuguese entrepreneurs and increasingly backed directly by South Africa. Meanwhile, a joint FNLA/UNITA force, spearheaded by white mercenaries and organized in South Africa, is reportedly moving toward Luanda, the capital city.

During the last 14 months Angola has been torn by a power struggle between the three groups. A "transitional government" set up with the signing of the Alvor agreement in January broke down two months later following bloody fighting in the capital. A second attempt to set up a four-part coalition (along with the Portuguese military), the Nakuru accords in June, did not last even three weeks before serious clashes again occurred. The battles quickly developed into full-scale civil war, with the leftist MPLA tenaciously holding onto the capital and the north central region, the FNLA firmly entrenched in north Angola, and UNITA consolidating its grip on the south central plateau region around Nova Lisboa.

During this time each group has had its foreign suppliers: the MPLA receive-

**Maoists Bloc with CIA
"Anti-Imperialists" in
Angola**

SEE PAGE 9

ing Soviet bloc and Yugoslav weapons; the FNLA backed up by Zaïre, China and the U.S.; UNITA receiving aid from Zambia and now South Africa. The delivery of armaments had a great effect on the shifting battle lines. Thus the FNLA drove the MPLA out of the important crossroads town of Caxito north of Luanda after obtaining tanks and artillery from Zaïre last summer; the MPLA retook the junction a few days later after receiving Russian missiles and anti-tank rockets. In addition, during August South African



[L'Express]

Sympathizer of MPLA arrested by soldiers of FNLA after the battle of Porto Quipiri.

troops entered southern Angola and occupied the area around the Cunene River hydroelectric installations. But despite heavy foreign involvement the struggle remained essentially a three-cornered power struggle between rival petty-bourgeois nationalist formations. Within this framework, there was no way that Marxists could take sides politically among the contenders; in Angola there was no qualitative difference between the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FNLA and MPLA, and any proletarian union- and party-based formation struggling independently would meet with the same savage repression at the hands of the nationalist groups.

However, in recent days and weeks the Angolan civil war has become increasingly dominated by imperialist attempts to "counter Soviet influence" through installing an anti-communist FNLA/UNITA regime or, failing that, dividing up the country. The decisive evidence of subordination to imperialism was the appearance of an armored column headed by 500 white mercenaries, organized by the rightist "Portu-

guese Liberation Army" (ELP) and launched from South African-held areas. This colonialist/imperialist-led force took the southern provincial town of Sa da Bandeira on October 29 and last week was vying with the MPLA for control of the port of Lobito and the railroad at Benguela.

This attack is part of a concerted imperialist power play aimed at "maintaining the balance of power" (i.e., containing Soviet influence) and establishing a *cordon sanitaire* of conservative regimes as a huffer to protect white-dominated South Africa. Other elements of this policy are the attempt during the last year by the apartheid regime in South Africa to buy "détente" with Zambia, and the several million dollars channelled by the CIA to the right-wing nationalists in recent months. The 25 September *New York Times* confirmed this widely-rumored fact, noting: "American funds were being used to buy arms for both Mr. [Holden] Roberto [FNLA leader] and Mr. [Jonas] Savimbi [UNITA leader]..." Last week the Ford administration went even further, requesting a

tenfold increase in military aid to Zaïre (from \$3.8 million to \$39.4 million), admitting that this was being used for a "covert supply of rifles, machine guns, vehicles and ammunition to the two anti-Soviet liberation movements in Angola" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Marxists are uncompromising opponents of colonialism and thus, without muting our struggle against bourgeois nationalism, we would give military support to any of the pro-independence groups against the Portuguese army. However, in a power struggle between right- and left-wing nationalists (such as has occurred in Angola from August 1974 until last month) the working class is not obliged to support the "progressive" aspiring exploiters, although there may be occasions for military blocs with the latter against the ultra-reactionaries.

The MPLA while presently aligned with Moscow could tomorrow become the favorite of Washington, and it is in any case no less hostile to the slightest expression of working-class indepen-

continued on page 9

New "McCarthy" Bill Menaces Left, Labor, Blacks

SMASH S-1!

Martha Mitchell peered out her window at a massive demonstration protesting the invasion of Cambodia and said, "It's just like the Russian Revolution." Her husband knew better but was nonetheless enraged by "anti-American criticism" of the government's Vietnam policies. In June 1971 when the *New York Times* began reprinting the "Pentagon Papers," Attorney-General Mitchell went to court waving the flag of "national security" in an attempt to gag the press. But by the end of the month the Supreme Court had turned him down and the Pentagon Papers were rolling off the presses, embarrassing an already exasperated, brittle administration.

Nixon, Mitchell and the gang—soon to become the Watergate conspirators—wanted to shake off the cumbersome legal apparatus and do it their way. Their criminal efforts aimed at satisfying bonapartist appetites are now infamous. What is not always understood is that it was in this political climate and with those intentions that John Mitchell, in 1971, became chief architect of "the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975," a legislative house of horrors popularly known by its Senate docket number as "S-1."

Reported into the Senate Judiciary Committee in late October, S-1 began its legislative history in 1966 when Lyndon Johnson appointed a National Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws. Under the guise of streamlining the jumbled, overlapping and often inconsistent federal criminal statutes, S-1 became under Mitchell-Kleindienst the synthesis of the worst of the Nixon-backed crime bill (S-1400) and the Reform Commission's minority law-and-order report—an elaborate license for massive government repression. Its sweeping provisions trample democratic rights in a drive to bring quick and harsh class "justice" against anti-government elements. The bill represents a particular menace to left, labor and black militants.

Legal Police Terror Against the Left

The 753-page S-1 aims its most dangerous and outrageously undemocratic big guns directly at the left. It dispenses with the language of the 1957 Supreme Court decision that "a clear and present danger" must be shown in order to convict for "advocacy" (to overthrow the government), instead finding much broader definitions useful.

- S-1 provides 15-year penalties (three times the Smith Act terms!) for anyone who "organizes, leads, recruits members for, or participates as an active member" of an organization which incites others to actions which "at some future time would facilitate" the destruction of the government "as speedily as circumstances permit."

- The "conspiracy" and "solicitation" sections of S-1 open the prosecutor's door even wider. One could be indicted for agreeing with another person that at some time in the indeterminate future they would "incite," or for attempting to persuade another person to engage at some future time in seditious "incitement."

- Redrafting the 1968 "Rap Brown Act," Section 1831 eliminates the need to prove that a person crossed a state line with the specific intent to incite a riot. S-1 provides three-year/\$100,000 penalties for using a telephone or the

mails, much less physically crossing a state line, resulting in "promoting" a riot. A riot is defined as "tumultuous conduct" of five or more persons that "creates a grave danger of injury or damage to persons or property." Note that the "danger" must be grave, not the injury or damage! Under such conditions, not only would most of the antiwar demonstrations of the 1960's be banned, but also many strikes.

- Loosely redefining sabotage, the bill makes it a crime to delay or obstruct "production, repair, or delivery" of "any property particularly suited for national defense use" that "might impair the ability of the U.S. to prepare for defense activities." While exempting "conduct occurring in the usual course of a lawful labor strike activity," it is clear that not only anti-militarist demonstrations but also political strikes would be banned.

- The bill also provides jail sentences for interfering with recruitment, conscription or induction into the armed forces, and a one-year jail term for the obstruction of *any* government function by "means of noise, by means of violent or tumultuous behaviour or disturbance, or by any other means."

prosecution in all sentences of probation or where jail term is less than three fifths of the maximum; and bars virtually all insanity defenses. It expands the definition of "harboring" a federal criminal to include merely telling someone he is being sought. It abridges the right of witnesses before Congress and grand juries to claim the Fifth Amendment—i.e., remaining silent to avoid possible self-incrimination—and provides for stiffened jail terms for refusal to testify. S-1 also increases the penalties on drug possession and bans most post-Victorian sexual material as "obscene."

Making the Country Safe for Watergate

The S-1 bill provides for a legal apparatus which would sanction Watergate-style activities not only against the left, but also against political dissidents of every stripe—even the bourgeois political party out of office. It reaffirms and expands federal wiretapping authority, without the necessity of a court warrant. It would provide for the whitewashing of Watergate-type crimes

immediate handing over to government agents of such materials by anyone receiving them.

The kicker is the definition of "national defense information": it need not be classified, may be generally known, and need not be proved to have harmed U.S. "interests"! The legal defense that material has been unlawfully classified is prohibited, except when all administrative remedies have been exhausted. Section 1114 also prohibits the communication of any statement "which in fact is false" about "losses, plans, operations or conduct of the military forces of the U.S." or any U.S. ally, or any enemy! An editorial error, or the report of a strike at a defense plant, even during an undeclared war, could land editors and reporters in jail.

It is the Watergate sections of S-1 that are, of course, most under attack in bourgeois circles. It is one thing to use wiretaps and illegal searches against "reds" and black militants (a practice that has been going on for years) and quite another to bring such methods to bear against the capitalist party out of office. S-1 seeks to generalize and bestow legal sanction on policies the FBI, CIA and "red squads" have been following for years against left, labor and black militants: mail openings, surveillance, break-ins, frame-ups, COINTELPRO disruptions and "enemies" lists.

The bill was drafted before Watergate, and there will be considerable pressure in bourgeois circles to change and amend it in the direction of a pure and simple "get tough on crime and reds" bill. As one of S-1's most promi-

**CP's
Smith
Act
victims—
1949.
DAILY
WORLD
presents
them as
"the
first."**



Six of the defendants in the first Smith Act trial: William Z. Foster, Benjamin Davis, Eugene Dennis, Henry Winston, John Williamson and Jack Stachel.

- By the criteria in the bill S-1, every left group in the U.S. would become instantly felonious. To ease the task of prosecution, the bill further relaxes the notoriously vague standards for proving "conspiracy." Whereas now some "overt act" in furtherance of the conspiracy must be proved to establish plotting, Section 1001 would make "any conduct" (defined as including "omissions" and "possession") engaged in to pursue the "conspiracy" sufficient grounds for conviction.

- Several sections of the proposed law include not merely sharp attacks on the left, but a barrage on all civil rights. S-1 encourages entrapment techniques and agents provocateurs by putting the burden of proof on the defendant to show that he was not "predisposed" to commit the crime involved.

- S-1 increases the sentences for most federal crimes, including reinstituting the death penalty for treason, sabotage, espionage and certain cases of murder; allows sentences to be appealed by the

by giving federal officers, employees or anyone acting at their direction immunity for crimes authorized by a government agency head. (The bill even provides as a legal defense the mere belief by a federal official that his criminal behavior was authorized, even if it was not!) This includes the use of "deadly force" by federal marshals and FBI agents, paving the way for even more indiscriminate terror by gun-toting thugs on the government payroll.

The secrecy provisions of S-1 directly threaten the press. Several major newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and even *Wall Street Journal*, along with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), have been highly critical of those sections aimed at preventing a new "Pentagon Papers" incident. "Official secrets" and espionage are redefined in the broadest terms to include communicating "national defense information." The bill bans giving such information to unauthorized persons and requires the

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly
of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

WORKERS VANGUARD

FIRST SMITH ACT VICTIMS: Trotskyist Leaders—1941



Six of the 18 Trotskyist leaders convicted December, 1941, in the first Smith Act trial: (seated, left to right) Albert Goldman, Grace Carlson, Felix Morrow, (standing) Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon and V. R. Dunne.

ment critics, the ACLU, says of its espionage section: "The sole statute we need in this entire area is one designed only to deter good old-fashioned spying." After the Watergate scandal, the bonapartist appetites of Nixon and Company were subordinated to the more normal practice of bourgeois police terror against traditional "troublemakers." After some future process of amendment, S-I will very likely reflect this development. The bill not only has the support of Republican fundamentalists like Eastland and Hruska, but also of influential Democratic liberals like Mansfield, Birch Baye, who was originally a supporter of the bill, has recently announced he will insist on 11 amendments. California's Alan Cranston has also called for amending S-I prior to passage.

S-1, the Smith Act and the CP

If the S-I bill is to get out of committee, get to the floor of the Senate and pass, it will do so as a bi-partisan compromise bill with the Watergate-Pentagon sections sanitized and the anti-red sections strengthened. All the more reason to demand that the S-I be smashed and not *reformed*! Yet the Communist Party (CP), one of the most prominent propagandists against S-I, has campaigned precisely for a reform of S-I, while formally calling for its defeat. CP General Counsel John Abt writing in the February 1975 *Political Affairs* calls for a "broad based campaign to send the bill back to the drawing board for complete revision and 'reform' by the House and Senate Judiciary Committee."

Angela Davis, co-chairman of the CP-led National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, recently announced that the group's upcoming conference would make the defeat of S-I a major priority. But the CP's approach to S-I relies on its bankrupt policy of maneuvering with and pressuring the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. *Daily World* articles suggest the typical "write your Senator a letter" theme, including in its list of suggested address-

ees the best friends of S-I: Senator Eastland, McLellan and Hruska!

The CP's posture as the number one fighter against repressive legislation is helied by its own history. It decries S-I as the new Smith Act, while falsifying its own role in the Smith Act prosecutions.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON, (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

The 28 June 1975 *Daily World* sports a picture of six of 12 CP defendants in what it calls "the first Smith Act trials." In fact, the 1940 Smith Act was first used against Trotskyists in the leadership of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters. The CP, engaged in an orgy of super-patriotism in support of the imperialist world war, applauded the prosecution of these "anti-Americans," who were tried and convicted. Needless to say, the government was equally delighted to indict the CP leaders under the same law some seven years later.

On every front the opponents of S-I have taken the opportunity to line up with the "progressive bourgeoisie" against the reactionaries. The spectre of fascism has called forth popular-front propaganda in its most classic form.

In a representative piece, the Maoist *Guardian* (15 October 1975) calls S-I "an enabling act to impose fascism on the American people by 'legal' means...." But fascism is not just reactionary legislation. The Maoists completely fail to understand that it is the mass mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie to crush the workers organizations which characterizes fascism as a method of capitalist political rule distinct from parliamentary democracy. Thinking that bourgeois democracy can be transformed into fascism merely through S-I bills, the Maoists hope to excuse their class-collaborationist popular-front policy of allying with the liberal bourgeoisie.

S-I does not represent fascism any more than McCarthyism did. It is the logical stepping-up of repression within the bounds of bourgeois legality by a ruling class increasingly pressed on all sides: defeated militarily in Indochina, facing sharp economic competition on the world market, fearful of the restive ghettos and the powerful but misled working class. As such, S-I is not an isolated phenomenon. The momentum for this bill parallels skyrocketing police budgets, rampant cop terror and rightward-marching Supreme Court

decisions. The recent defeat of the ERA in the states of New York and New Jersey and the anti-busing resolutions in Congress indicate a political climate in which proponents of S-I might try to make it law. With major cities disintegrating and predictions of civil disorders on the lips of Eastern hankers, the ruling class would feel more comfortable with S-I on the books and ready for use.

However, the bonapartist appetites which produced S-I received a setback in the outcry of indignation which followed Watergate. Its instigators widely discredited, the bill is vulnerable and could be smashed by a broad counteroffensive by the labor movement. Some labor organizations, including the Steelworkers, Meat Cutters, Auto Workers, West Coast Longshoremen, United Electrical Workers, Newspaper Guild and Coalition of Black Trade Unionists have come out against S-I. But the recent AFL-CIO convention tabled an anti-S-I resolution to the burying ground of its Executive Council.

The union editorials that have appeared are a cynical bureaucratic substitution for the massive mobilization of workers necessary to smash this reactionary legislation. The perspective of "reforming" this anti-democratic excrement poses the very real danger that the liberals will be pieced off by amendments which leave militant workers, blacks and the left isolated as the bill's direct target. Mass labor mobilizations must be built, demanding: Smash S-I—Break from the twin capitalist parties of repression!

Only a revolutionary labor movement, unified in struggle for the transitional program, can repel the bourgeoisie's repressive campaign once and for all. The ouster of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which at every turn handcuffs the proletariat to its exploiters, is the condition for victory. The capitalists' witchhunting offensive must be answered by the creation of a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■

NYC Rally for Puerto Rican Nationalists

Free the Five!



Approximately 350 people demonstrated outside the United Nations on November 1 to demand freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for more than 20 years because of their armed attacks on bourgeois politicians (U. S. President Truman and the House of Representatives) responsible for maintaining colonial domination of Puerto Rico. While the numerous speakers at the demonstration made purely nationalist appeals (except for Resistencia Puertorriqueña, which vaguely alluded to socialism), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League carried a banner with the slogan, "Free the Five! Independence for Puerto Rico—For a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!"

SPARTACIST

édition française No. 10
octobre 1975

3,00 F. \$.75 US/Canada

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

For an Impartial Workers Commission on the Varga Affair!

A "Highly Dubious Figure"

LIRQI Walks Out of Paris Meeting

PARIS—On November 6 representatives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) attended what was to have been the final planning meeting prior to the official formation of a Commission of Inquiry on the Varga affair and distributed a statement (reprinted below) documenting our efforts to work toward the creation of an impartial and authoritative commission, and our strenuous objections to the efforts of Varga's LIRQI to pull individuals and organizations on the left into a cynical cover-up operation.

At the previous meeting held October 30, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) had indicated agreement to participate in a commission on the basis of a statement of purpose, drafted by the LIRQI, in which the accused themselves would constitute part of the jury. Apparently willing to bloc with the minuscule Varga tendency on this completely unprincipled basis in order to score factional points against a major competitor—the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)—from whom the accusations against Varga originated, the LCR had dismissed our objections to foisting off an impartial investigative body an already stacked deck. Referring to an article in *Workers Vanguard* which had alluded to Varga as a "highly dubious" figure, the LCR had even gone so far as to strengthen the LIRQI's proposed basic statement by adding a clause explicitly designed to exclude Spartacist tendency representatives from the Commission. In the October 30 meeting the Lutte Ouvrière (LO) organization had played a confusionist role and solidarized with the LCR.

But at the November 6 meeting, representatives of the LCR and LO evidenced some principles, or at least cold feet. After a representative of the iSt read our declaration, the LCR agreed—although only for reasons of "efficacy" and "credibility"—that the LIRQI itself should not be a member of the Commission. LO backed up the LCR, adding that the LIRQI's proposed statement clearly assumed Varga's innocence in advance.

Stunned by the disintegration of their maneuver, LIRQI representatives lost their cool. When a Spartacist tendency supporter suggested that the increasingly disorganized discussion should take place in rounds, rather than permitting the chairman to respond to every speaker, the chairman turned white and replied, "Here all the organizations are not on the same footing of equality." The LO representative pointedly demanded to know what that statement was supposed to mean, and insisted that LO would not participate in a whitewash of Varga. The LIRQI then exposed its real intentions toward the supposedly impartial investigation: "Never will we allow the working-class nature of our organization to be put on trial."

Finally, their cynical operation having blown up in their faces, the Varga supporters slunk out of their own meeting.

Statement to the Commission of Inquiry on the Varga Affair

For almost two years the Spartacist League U.S. and the international Spartacist tendency have systematically attempted to establish the truth behind

the OCI's accusations against Varga—as having been in the service of the CIA, acting as a KGB provocateur—and against the International League Reconstructing the Fourth International (LIRQI). We therefore have called for the creation of an impartial Workers Commission of Inquiry to investigate the Varga affair. In February 1974, shortly after the OCI announced that it would make copies of Varga's archives available to any working class organization, the Spartacist League formally requested a complete set of copies. Only after repeated requests did the OCI deliver a small portion of the archives (approximately 20 percent of what their representative said was available) at the end of August 1974. We delayed taking a public position before receiving the archives and even now feel that the conclusions published in the French edition of *Spartacist* (No. 8, February 1975), although the only ones possible given what is presently known to us, must be regarded as tentative pending a fully authoritative Workers Commission of Inquiry.

In June 1974, Spartacist representatives raised the question of a Workers Commission of Inquiry in informal discussions with comrades Patrick and Blanc of the LIRQI. At that time, the LIRQI comrades said that while they were in favor of a commission, they did not consider it a priority! Indeed, the LIRQI letter to the Spartacist League, received in New York on 26 September 1974 (and published in French *Spartacist*, February 1975) did not even mention any proposal for a Commission of Inquiry. Our reply to the LIRQI of 31 October 1974 again raised the question and reiterated that "under certain circumstances the Spartacist tendency would be willing to participate in such a Commission." We did not feel it was necessary to elaborate on the central condition concerning its membership, since it appeared to us self-evident that neither the accused (Varga and the LIRQI) nor the accusers (the OCI) could legitimately be members of the judge/jury, i.e., of the Workers Commission.

This was not, however, self-evident to the LIRQI, and on 21 January 1975 we received an invitation to a meeting in Paris on 12 January (!) and a proposal by Varga, purportedly written on 19 January 1974 (but whose existence had never previously been mentioned by the LIRQI in over six months of contacts between the SL and the LIRQI) suggesting that both Varga and the LIRQI participate in the Workers Commission. Our reply to this proposal, dated 4 February 1975, therefore expanded on the necessary conditions for our participation in a Commission:

"...under certain conditions we are prepared to participate in a Workers' Commission which would be sufficiently authoritative to come to a definitive verdict on the Varga affair. In particular, that means that such a Commission must function in the best tradition of the international workers movement and that *a priori* any conclusion is possible, including a recommendation that Varga be expelled from the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Socialistes Hongrois and the LIRQI. The character and methods of the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, initiated by Trotsky, are the definitive and necessary model for the international Spartacist tendency.

"It also appears to us that the list of organizations to which you wrote is much too narrow. In addition, it would also be desirable to solicit highly respected individuals such as Tamara Deutscher, Daniel Guérin or René Lefevre, or others mentioned in our

"The initial mistake was that neither Sanyi nor you oriented to the State Department. In my opinion, we have to do everything to begin to orient so that normal links can be created with the State Department."

—Balazs Nagy [M. Varga] to Sztaray Zoltan, 19 December 1958

"About my characterization of Zinner, I'm not an anti-semitic either, but let's look things in the face: the Jewish question exists. I don't hate them, but I'm fed up with their trying to act in our name; they are trying to lead Hungarians without understanding what it's about. ... Fortunately the young Oxford Jews, for the time being, listen to us more than the old Jews, but for how long?"

—Nagy/Varga to Sztaray Zoltan, 4 June 1958

"In our reply we should give the impression that he is a provocateur. ... In short, it is time to exclude this dirty yid from the cultural milieu."

—Nagy/Varga to Joska Molnar, 4 March 1959

"In my opinion the Belgians were wrong to grant independence [to the Congo] with no preparation, after a paternalistic colonialism. They had a policy of treating the Blacks like children and suddenly they want to apply the most liberal of policies. That won't work. But that's no reason for the Blacks to be irresponsible."

—letter by Nagy/Varga, 9 August 1960

prior letter. In reference to Varga's original proposal of 19 January 1974 (enclosed with your two letters), not only is it too limited, not only were we never informed of it, but Varga proposes (and it appears that the LIRQI agrees) that the LIRQI take part in the Commission's work, which is totally contrary to bolshevik norms and totally unacceptable to us. Under no conditions will we take part in a maneuver designed to whitewash Varga."

Representatives of the international Spartacist tendency subsequently attended all of the planning meetings for the Commission of Inquiry to fight for the creation of an impartial Commission. While the LIRQI conceded our position that the Commission should be broadly based, it has maintained its position that the LIRQI should participate in it. For the LIRQI, the only purpose of the Commission is to denounce the OCI.

The LIRQI's resistance to the elementary norm of impartiality is now incorporated into the basic statement of the Commission of Inquiry of 30 October 1975. The Commission's stated basis presupposes that Varga is above reproach:

"The basis for the formation of the Commission of Inquiry is that within the democratic and workers movement, making public accusations of such seriousness against a revolutionary militant or a working class organization—without proof, or on the basis of possible suspicion—is out of the question. The Commission of Inquiry is being formed because, contrary to what the OCI leadership claims, not only has it not given any proof in the various articles and pamphlets it has published to date, but it has also launched a campaign of physical aggression. Since these accusations and attacks have not been proven, and since it is up to the accuser to furnish evidence, they therefore constitute slanders and provocations."

The task of a Commission should be to determine whether the OCI has furnished adequate proof and to draw the appropriate conclusions. If its starting point is that the OCI has adduced no evidence, then there is no logical reason for the Commission to exist! Thus the

demand that the OCI return Varga's archives to him, which is a possible conclusion at which the Commission might arrive, is presented as a starting point. It should also be noted that underlying the phrase "or on the basis of possible suspicion"—inserted in the document as the result of a motion by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—was a motivation directed explicitly against the international Spartacist tendency, in particular an article which appeared in the 3 October 1975 issue of *Workers Vanguard* and which, drawing on material published in the French edition of *Spartacist* (February 1975), characterizes Varga as "highly dubious." The Commission's statement to the contrary notwithstanding, therefore, part of the basis for the Commission is a political bloc against the international Spartacist tendency.

The international Spartacist tendency has clearly condemned the Stalinist-type methods which the OCI has used in its accusations against Varga. Nor have we ever hidden our serious differences with and severe criticisms of the OCI.

Despite the OCI's methods, however, it must be recognized that in the case of Varga, there are certainly grounds for more than "possible suspicion". The OCI has in fact furnished a certain limited documentation, which has never been disputed by the LIRQI or by Varga. According to the documents quoted by the OCI, during the period from approximately 1957 to 1960 or 1961, Varga actively and consciously sought State Department/CIA funding to carry out anti-Communist activities on behalf of U.S. imperialism. Far from disputing this, or unambiguously repudiating this part of Varga's past, leading members of the LIRQI have maintained that during this period Varga was a "centrist" and "disoriented," and Varga himself unabashedly states:

"That we misunderstood the '56 revolution at the time and that due to this fact I personally made some errors, is undeniable. For by identifying Marx-

continued on page 8

Cop Candidate Re-Elected Mayor

Rizzo Strongarms Philadelphia Elections

PHILADELPHIA, November 6 — Incumbent Democratic mayor Frank Rizzo routed his opposition in this week's city elections, returning to office in one of the biggest victories of his "law and order" career. Salivating over the returns, he pledged a war against his enemies that will "make Attila the Hun look like a faggot" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 November).

Challenging the incumbent were Republican Tom Foglietta and Charles Bowser, a black "independent" running on the "Philadelphia Party" ticket. Having spent \$1.2 million to defeat a rival Democratic machine candidate in last May's primary and an equal amount this election, Rizzo took a three-to-two lead over the combined total of his opponents with the voting, as usual, following ethnic lines. Rizzo ran not only as the candidate of the cops but also with the support of the bulk of Philadelphia's organized labor movement. As in 1971 the corrupt and reactionary ex-police chief successfully waged his standard "law and order" campaign, designed to channel the fear and discontent of the beleaguered residents of this rotting metropolis away from the source of their oppression and to turn it against each other.

Racism and Repression

Philadelphia's black and Puerto Rican population have already had a bellyful of Rizzo's racist Gestapo methods during his first term. In the last four years over 200 black youth were

slain in gang warfare on the "safe" streets of Philadelphia, where the cops carry out summary executions with impunity. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration said last year that the city's crime rate figures were falsified, with one of every five serious crimes left off police reports, and the Pennsylvania Crime Commission has reported widespread and systematic corruption in the police department. In a period of two weeks in late August, cops killed five "suspects," including an unarmed black youth shot in the back and an epileptic shot during a seizure by a cop who thought he was drunk. The district attorney exonerated the cop on the basis of his mistaken impression.

Encouraged by the blatant racism of the city administration, reactionary forces have created the same atmosphere of racial polarization and violence that provided the backdrop for elections in Boston, Cleveland and other cities. Court-ordered busing has been met with anti-busing rallies, while the City Council and Board of Education drag their feet to avoid implementing a plan for next fall. Racist attacks are growing more frequent and vicious. This summer, for example, a black family that moved into an all-white section of Upper Darby was terrorized by neighborhood racists.

In the most recent outrage, the home of Radamés Santiago, a Puerto Rican, was firebombed in the predominantly white Feltonville section. At 3 a.m. on Sunday, October 5, a Molotov cocktail was thrown into the house around which gasoline had been poured. Someone reporting the blaze to the fire department gave the wrong address, and the house was almost totally incinerated by the time firemen arrived. Santiago, who worked two jobs and had saved for years to buy the house eight months ago, was partially blinded and his wife, three of his children and a neighbor boy were burned to death. A white youth and a Democratic committeeman were indicted for these racist murders. Ten days previously Santiago's car had been firebombed. He said the cops' response to his report was "to threaten me and search my home when it was I that was the accuser" (*Militant*, 31 October).

Machine Politics

Even the old Democratic Party machine, run by Rizzo's arch-rival, Peter Camiel, has gotten a taste of the Mayor's brand of "law and order." Rizzo operated a 33-member personal

police squad during his first term, ostensibly to investigate corruption, but, in fact, primarily to spy on his political enemies. At a May 1974 Democratic banquet, pro-Rizzo toughs crashed the gate, overturned tables and



Charles Bowser

heat up a 60-year old man. After winning the Democratic primary in the spring, Rizzo moved quickly to break Camiel's power and has made it clear that he will use this election victory to complete the party purge. He used the same gangster tactics against Bowser, the black candidate, who complained that his campaign workers were threatened, harassed and beaten by Rizzo's thugs (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 November).

The self-styled "toughest cop in America" runs an administration riddled with graft and political patronage. Last April a grand jury indicted city managing director Hillel Levinson, who had been Rizzo's candidate for district attorney, on 35 criminal counts stemming from awards of city contracts to architects and engineers who had made large political contributions. The previous August the mayor flunked a lie detector test answering charges by now-deposed Democratic boss Camiel that he had granted city contracts in exchange for political support to Levinson's campaign. A home that Rizzo was having built at a cost to him of \$112,000 was found to have an actual value of \$400,000, prompting the press to muse over such "unusual largesse by the contractor." Non-plussed by charges of shady deals, during the primary the mayor stalked the city's white ethnic neighborhoods asking his supporters, "Would Frank Rizzo lie to you?" (*New York Times*, 18 May).

Despite his record of racist bigotry, corruption and strong-arm tactics, Rizzo was able to win a big victory by capitalizing on the garrison mentality of the white ethnic neighborhoods. At a time when nothing short of a working-class assault on capitalism can begin to deal with the problems that immiserate the poor and working people of the cities, the best that the Mayor's bourgeois political opponents could come up with was Charles Bowser, a former vice-mayor under Rizzo's similarly corrupt predecessor. The Philadelphia Party's insipid program for neighborhood "revitalization" seeks only to spread municipal funding into neighborhood business districts, while Rizzo wants to

keep the money in the center city.

Bowser's position on busing, typical of black liberal politicians like Detroit mayor Coleman Young, who supported his campaign, was to hack off before the racist mobs and leave the issue up to the courts. Endorsed by the local CBS television station and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Bowser's Philadelphia Party represents no real break from the Democratic Party, but is merely a capitalist third-party pressure group. Bowser ran in the May Democratic primary.

Alongside the names of corporation executives supporting Bowser as a showcase black mayor were the endorsements of Hospital Workers Local 1199, The Retail Clerks and the American Federation of Teachers, bitter after Rizzo's vicious assault during the 1972 teachers strike, also favored Bowser. But lacking even the rudiments of a working-class challenge to the capitalist parties, this tepid populist campaign could not pose a political alternative to Rizzo's demagogic racist appeal to the backwardness of white working-class neighborhoods, once again demonstrating the bankruptcy of the liberal bureaucrats' policy of championing the "lesser evil" among the capitalist parties. The reformists of the Communist Party likewise jumped on the bandwagon of this phony independent, and reportedly even helped write the Philadelphia Party's program.

As in 1971, the majority of the labor bureaucracy backed Rizzo and threw the support of the 225,000-member Philadelphia AFL-CIO behind his campaign. Thus they must bear responsibility for every atrocity he commits in office. Their criminal betrayal fuels the fires of race war. At a time when the working class and black masses desperately need a program and leadership to fight racial division and the continuing erosion of their standard of living, these self-serving bureaucratic fakers represent the major obstacle to the working people taking up political struggle in their own name. Labor must break with the Democratic and Republican parties and with bourgeois "third party" candidates like Bowser. A class-struggle leadership is required to dump the reactionary bureaucrats and build a workers party. ■



Frank Rizzo with "Labor for Rizzo" supporters in 1971.



Revolution

In 1970 Rizzo personally led a raid on Black Panther headquarters, forcing militants to strip and jeering them in front of police and newsmen.

FORUM:

Portugal On The Brink

Speaker:

RICHARD CRAMER
Spartacist League

DETROIT

Sunday, November 16
at 7:30 p.m.
Wayne State University
S.C.B. Hillberry A

ANN ARBOR

Tuesday, November 18
at 7:30 p.m.
University of Michigan
East Quad, Room 124

Maurice Thorez: The Making of a Stalinist

by John Sharpe

REVIEW: *Maurice Thorez, vie secrète et vie publique* by Philippe Robrieux

Joseph Stalin climbed to the summit of the Comintern over a mountain of strangled revolutions and massacred proletarians. Maurice Thorez rose to the top of the French Communist Party by utter prostration before the counterrevolutionary policies of that "great organizer of defeats." Early in his career Thorez demonstrated the gutlessness and pliability demanded by the Comintern in the period of its Stalinization. His moment of glory came in the period immediately following World War II, when he personally led the CP's all-out offensive against the militancy of the French working class, thereby putting a tottering French capitalist system on its feet again.

Thorez rose to prominence in the CP during the early 1920's. Despite having been closely identified with Stalin, which became a political liability after 1953, Thorez lasted through the period of "de-Stalinization" and remained at the helm of the CP until shortly prior to his death in 1964. In the course of these forty years, only once did Thorez wage a determined fight against his Kremlin mentors: his battle against de-Stalinization and the "Khrushchev revelations."

The French CP under Thorez faithfully followed every twist and turn of Kremlin policy: from the sectarian "third period" to the popular-front romance with the bourgeoisie; from the Hitler-Stalin pact to the nauseating French chauvinism of "to each his Kraut" after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent disarming of the working class which allowed De Gaulle to re-establish bourgeois control after the war; from the post-war "battle of production" during which strikes were declared "the arm of the trusts" to the senseless street confrontations (Ridgeway demonstration) of the 1950's.

The undoubted high point of Thorez's public political career was his participation, as one of the CP ministers of De Gaulle's post-war government, in the restabilization of French capitalism. In France and throughout Western Europe, only the Stalinist and social-democratic parties, in which the masses

of the working people placed their confidence, could heat hack the militancy and revolutionary aspirations of the advanced workers. Thorez personally intervened as the spearhead of the CP's strikebreaking campaign. In July 1945 he addressed 2,000 striking pro-Communist miners and declared:

"In the name of the Central Committee, in the name of the entire Party, in the name of all the workers, I say to you: The eyes of all France are upon you. All of France awaits a new and great effort from you. . . . The least defiance on your part would assist the campaigns of the enemies of the people against you yourselves, against the working class, against the nationalizations, against democracy, against France. . . . I am certain that the call of our Party will be heeded. I am certain that we will win the battle of production as we won the battle of the Liberation."

Debunking Stalinist "History"

Thorez's career illustrates the evolution of a Communist militant into a cynical Stalinist hack loyal above all to the preservation of his position as chief of a reformist workers party. Philippe Robrieux's informative biography (Paris: Fayard, 1975) provides a revealing look at the internal mechanisms of a Stalinist party as it seeks to balance between maintaining the loyalty of its working-class base and upholding the line dictated by the bureaucracy of the Russian degenerated workers state.

Philippe Robrieux was the General Secretary of the CP's student organization in 1959-60 when he was caught up in and eliminated in the Casanova-Servin affair, the last of the Stalinist purges directed by Thorez. Casanova and Servin were popular long-time leaders, sympathetic to the Italian CP and Khrushchev's "reforms," who wanted a certain "liberalization" in the CP, and in particular a more militant policy against the Algerian war. Robrieux's "crime" was to have criticized Thorez at a Central Committee meeting on the basis of parallel positions. He subsequently "had his eyes opened" by Pierre Broué, of the ostensibly Trotskyist OCI. Due to his former position and personal contacts with one-time members of the CP's leading committees, Robrieux is in a position to detail the functioning of the Stalinist bureaucratic machine.

The book strips away the layers of prettification which official CP sources apply to even small matters. One indicative anecdote is the story of Thorez's 1929 arrest. For years Thorez was portrayed as a heroic victim of base treachery; the real chain of events was not even hinted at until after Thorez's death. In June 1929 Thorez, subject to arrest since 1927 for his anti-militarist articles, attended a clandestine meeting of the Central Committee at a château on the outskirts of Paris. Because of the danger of a police raid, careful escape preparations had been made in advance for the three "illegals"—Thorez, Ferrat and Duclos. But when the cops arrived, Thorez lost his head. The other two followed instructions and successfully effected their escape according to plan; Thorez was found cowering in the darkness, having locked himself in a closet.

He was duly arrested. The CP—as part of a "third-period" policy of refusing to legitimize bourgeois authority—had a policy that comrades were to stay in jail rather than pay their fines. It was up to the Political Bureau to decide if a comrade's usefulness on the outside justified an exception to this procedure. But in April 1930 Thorez unilaterally secured his release by paying the required sum. (Since he had refused to follow the CP's accepted procedure that functionaries were not entitled to draw their salaries while in prison, it would appear that Thorez even used party money to violate party policy!)

A more important falsification concerns Thorez's wartime history. Thorez was in the army when in late September 1939, as a consequence of the Hitler-

Stalin pact, the Comintern proclaimed the new policy of "revolutionary defeatism." With breathtaking suddenness, opposition to the imperialist war replaced the old line of "anti-fascism." The CP began to make hasty preparations to preserve its apparatus, which had been swallowed up by the mobilization of the armed forces. It instructed its leaders to desert. Thorez wanted to remain "with the masses" to defend France against Hitler's Germany, but on Dimitroff's insistence he dutifully deserted on October 4, only a month after he had enthusiastically answered the mobilization to defend the French fatherland.

On 25 November Thorez was sentenced in his absence to six years' imprisonment; on 17 February 1940 he was deprived of his French citizenship. He made his way to Moscow, where he seems to have been kept on a rather tight leash; he completely disappeared from the public eye until his signature appeared on the May 1943 proclamation by which Stalin dissolved the Comintern in order to reassure the Soviet Union's nervous imperialist allies.

"Revolutionary defeatism" had been only an episode in the line of the French CP. As soon as Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the CPs of every country rushed to align themselves with the imperialist "democracies," glorifying this turn in an orgy of sickening patriotic fervor. This made Thorez's Comintern-ordered desertion an embarrassing encumbrance, and so the CP concocted the tale that as late as 1943 Thorez was still hiding in France, hoping to pass him off as some kind of underground resistance hero. After the "liberation" of Paris an amnesty was declared for deserters, but it required considerable haggling between De Gaulle and Moscow before the French government would agree to restore Thorez's citizenship.

Thorez vs. De-Stalinization

A cowardly bureaucrat, the only time in his long career that Thorez fought a sustained political battle was during his ten-year struggle against de-Stalinization, from 1953 to his death.

After Khrushchev's revelations at the 1956 Twentieth Congress, Thorez linked up with the pro-Stalin bloc led by Molotov and Kaganovich in Russia and internationally by the Chinese. Robrieux is certainly correct when he observes that, whereas the Russians could point to historical scapegoats (e.g., Stalin, Beria), Thorez as the "First Stalinist of France" would have had to take responsibility for the role he himself had played in inner-party purges (the Barbé-Celor affair in 1931, the Marty-Tillon affair in 1952) and in enforcing the class-collaborationist policies of the Kremlin which time after time sold out potentially revolutionary opportunities for the French proletariat.

Robrieux captures what must have been Thorez's reasoning—and, with appropriate modifications, that of countless other Stalinist bureaucrats—when he writes:

"To admit the truth of Khrushchev's diatribe was to admit at the very least that the USSR was far from socialism and that, in a certain sense, everything had to be done over. Then too, didn't Khrushchev go so far as to insinuate that Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev were not guilty of the crimes of which they were accused? Would he go so far as to rehabilitate them? Then we would have to go back to the years of our youth and turn back to the old masters. Souvarine, Monatte and all the other comrades, slandered, dragged through the mire, crushed, expelled, on whom he had spit, and say to them: you were right!"

In February 1956, therefore, Thorez suppressed Khrushchev's secret report. When that had become impossible, he systematically attempted to cushion its impact, for example by criticizing Stalin's "errors" but refusing to let the

continued on page 8



Maurice Thorez

Keystone



Informations Ouvrières

From Left: Léon Blum, Thorez, Salengro during 1936 French general strike.

Long Live the October Revolution!

"The Provisional Government is overthrown. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies—the Military-Revolutionary Committee, standing at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people have struggled—immediate declaration of a democratic peace, abolition of landed property, workers control of production, the creation of a Soviet government—this cause is assured."

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

—V. I. Lenin, "To the Citizens of Russia!" 7 November 1917



Trotsky and Lenin at Second Congress of Comintern.

SAN FRANCISCO, November 8—Last night over 75 people attended a Spartacist League forum celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution. Speaking on the topic "October 1917" SL speaker George Foster stressed that the October Revolution was unique in that it was a *proletarian* revolution, and that it would not have occurred without the leadership of the Bolshevik party.

In contrast, Foster pointed to the examples of the Yugoslav, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, led by petty-bourgeois Stalinist formations standing at the head of peasant-based guerrilla armies. Although these revolutions succeeded in overturning capitalist property relations, the regimes which issued out of them were *deformed*, ruled by bureaucratic castes not qualitatively different from the Stalin regime which issued out of the *degeneration* of the October Revolution.

Despite the overwhelming numerical preponderance of the peasantry in tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik party of Lenin did not for one minute consider basing itself upon the peasantry, as the Maoists later did in China. In fact, the Russian Marxists cut their teeth in a bitter struggle with the populist Narodniks, who looked to the peasantry rather than the proletariat as the agency for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrade Foster discussed the 1903 Bolshevik/Menshevik split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Behind the dispute between Lenin and Martov over the conditions of party membership lay counterposed conceptions of the party. Lenin sought a *programmatically coherent, disciplined* combat party of professional revolutionists; the Mensheviks envisaged a "party of the whole class" where revolutionaries, centrist vacillators and opportunists could peacefully coexist. Martov's view implied a social-democratic minimum/maximum program—i.e., a "lowest common denominator" set of reformist demands plus ritualistic calls for "socialism" trotted out for Sunday speechifying.

The test of the 1903 split came in 1917: "The Bolsheviks brought the Russian



Red soldiers in Moscow demonstration, 1917: banner says "COMMUNISM."

working class to victory in October 1917, while the Mensheviks tailed the liberal bourgeoisie and joined the reaction in opposing the revolution."

In closing, Comrade Foster stressed that the task of international proletarian revolution taken up by the Bolsheviks in the construction of the Communist International remains for us to fulfill. He called for restoration of the political rule of the working class in the Soviet Union through *political revolution*. He emphasized the need for an international party of the working class to lead the overturn of imperialist capitalism as the only way to ultimately safeguard and extend the historic gains of the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

*Long Live the October Revolution!
For revolutionary defensism of the
deformed workers states against imperialism
and capitalist restoration!*

*For political revolution to oust the
Stalinist bureaucracies—For the restoration
of proletarian democracy and rule
through workers' soviets!*

*Extend the gains of October—For
international proletarian revolution!*

*Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth
International!*

"The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik Party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of workers and peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate commissars, secretaries and GPU agents.

"But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might."

—L. D. Trotsky, "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," 23 April 1940

Indian Pabloists Apologize for Indira Gandhi

Last July Prime Minister Indira Gandhi posed an acid test for all self-proclaimed socialist organizations in India by decreeing sweeping political repression against her opponents, both on the right and the left. Confronted during the last year with a mushrooming mass anti-corruption movement which was able to topple two state governments, then suddenly faced with possible removal from office after a conviction for election misconduct, Gandhi conjured up the bogey of "rightist conspiracy" as a pretext to abrogate civil liberties. The clear task of a revolutionary vanguard was to denounce her "left" demagoguery and fight the draconian "emergency powers."

Predictably the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), for years a pillar of political support to the

"progressive" Congress Party regime, lined up behind the police-state repression and enthusiastically cheered the government's denunciation of "CIA plots" and "fascists." This situation could have been utilized by the ostensibly Trotskyist Communist League of India (CLI) to aggressively expose the Stalinists. Instead, the CLI gives backhanded support to Gandhi, lending credence to her trumped-up allegations by calling for an even better "anti-fascist" campaign.

Cosmetics for Gandhi's Left Face

Its response to Gandhi's bonapartist crackdown came in a printed Hindi-language statement, entitled "The Danger of the CIA," issued by the CLI Uttar Pradesh state committee. Echoing the chorus of Congress/CPI supporters,

an important mining region in the north of France, Thorez supported Trotsky's views on the struggle in the Russian party, as presented in the theoretical journal of the French CP, then edited by Boris Souvarine. In the spring of 1924 Thorez, then an alternate member of the Central Committee, indicated his willingness to sign the opposition statement. He personally contributed money for the publication in France of Trotsky's "New Course." At first Thorez thought he could swing a majority of the Executive Committee of Pas de Calais, but on 25 May 1924 the pro-troika (Stalin) majority motion was passed without opposition. Unable to endure the prospect of isolation in a tiny minority, Thorez took refuge in an abstention.

After this decisive capitulation Thorez hardened rapidly as a rightist element; in fact, he was aligned more with Zinoviev and then Bukharin than with Stalin in the 1925-29 period. His rapid rise in the French party from 1924 on (he was elevated to the Political Bureau in mid-1926) was due largely to his willingness to turn on his former allies—a trait which, combined with his undoubted organizational talents, made him particularly useful to the emerging Kremlin bureaucracy. Whatever hesitations he may subsequently have had, he had already demonstrated to Stalin's Comintern representatives that he could be counted on to capitulate and could be used as a token "oppositionist" to lend credence to the bureaucracy's "good faith." In short, Thorez owed his ascension to his malleability—that is, to his lack of principle.

In the framework of a meticulous empirical account of the career of Maurice Thorez, Robrieux has presented an objectively devastating indictment of Stalinist class treason. As the personification of the French CP, Thorez personally played a heavy role in breaking the 1936 general strike, which swept the country in a wave of militancy punctuated by countless factory occupations. It was in this context that Thorez on 11 June 1936 made his most famous remark, "It is necessary to know how to end a strike." It is perhaps this sentence which best sums up Thorez's "contribution" to the working-class movement.■

Thorez...

(continued from page 6)

CP press use the terms of Khrushchev's report, which referred to Stalin's "crimes." As late as November 1956, Thorez publicly stated that "Stalinism did not exist." Robrieux quotes Thorez's remark to a trusted Italian collaborator that Khrushchev had "dirtied a splendid, shining, heroic past."

Forced to pay lip-service to de-Stalinization, the Thorez regime continued in force, although without some of the more grotesque excesses of the Stalin era. In 1960-61, when the impulse for an Italian-style "liberalization" reared its ugly head in Thorez's personal fiefdom, the Central Committee, he was more than ready to purge Casanova and Servin, whom he held responsible.

Robrieux himself seems to feed illusions in the de-Stalinizers, both Khrushchev and the French "reformers," as honest men unfortunately hemmed in and limited by the pro-Stalin forces. This is also the central flaw in the book's presentation of Thorez's long Stalinist career. Thorez is presented as an "honest militant" with healthy political instincts, drawn into the Stalinist apparatus due to lack of character. Robrieux refuses to characterize Thorez as a full-blown Stalinist until after World War II and refers to him as "cynical" only after 1956.

Lessons in Betrayal

The detailed description of the manner in which Stalin and his agents accustomed Thorez to betrayal in carefully increasing doses is no doubt accurate; it gives weight to the Russian poet Behel's 1937 observation, quoted by Robrieux, that "Stalin doesn't like spotless biographies." Many Communists paralleled Thorez's evolution from a weak, inexperienced and confused militant into a hardened Stalinist. In that sense, Thorez's biography is the history writ large of countless others.

But the key to Thorez's later evolution into the embodiment of French Stalinism is his first capitulation, which was qualitative. In late 1923, as Secretary of the CP in Pas de Calais,



Indira Gandhi.

Keystone

the statement goes so far as to express concern for the Prime Minister's personal safety. Nowhere does it indict Gandhi for the brutal government repression which has left thousands of leftist prisoners rotting in jails for years and, while citing the assassination of cabinet minister L. N. Mishra as an example of rightist plotting, neglects to mention the savage anti-working-class repression unleashed by Mishra to break the 1974 rail strike. The declaration does not even suggest the urgent need for working-class-led mass mobilization against the Gandhi regime and its comment on the "emergency powers" was the weak-kneed statement that:

"We have expressed our views on the danger of fascism, about which the Communist Party of India and Mrs. Gandhi have warned the people. It is our strong belief that only an organized people's force can combat the danger of CIA conspiracies or even fascism and that freedom of speech and unimpaired criticism are necessary for organizing people's power in a vigorous way."

Especially in India, where bourgeois democracy has always been brittle, Trotskyists should always defend and strive to expand democratic rights for the toiling masses, while at every step linking this fight to the class struggle against capitalist dictatorship. This has nothing in common with the CLI's vague and classless call for a "people's force," which is purposely undifferentiated from the "people's movement" of Jaya Prakash Narayan and similar populist rhetoric of Gandhi herself. Thus in spelling out its "anti-fascist" program the CLI demands:

"Cotton, wool, jute, leather, engineering, chemicals, sugar, cement and other industries should be nationalized, foreign capital should be confiscated and state control over foreign and domestic trade should be established."

At most these policies represent only a quantitative extension of the "socialist" program hypocritically espoused by the Congress Party for the last five years. In contrast, Trotskyists call for the expropriation of industry, trade, landlords' holdings and foreign capital without compensation, as tasks of a workers government which would institute a rationally planned economy. As the run-down economy of neighboring Burma demonstrates, nationalizations and controls by a bourgeois state (even where they are extensive) cannot provide a solution to the brutal exploitation of the masses.

Indian Trotskyists Must Reject Pabloist Revisionism

The CLI, Indian section of the revisionist United Secretariat (USec), is extremely heterogeneous. Issued by one state committee, the "Danger of the CIA" statement may not necessarily represent the majority sentiment in the CLI. (On the other hand, the Uttar Pradesh state committee also publishes the CLI's main press organ, the Hindi-language *Mazdār Kisan Krānti*, so its declaration is presumably authorita-

tive.) It is also worth noting that although the CLI leadership is under the influence of the reformist minority of the USec led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the line of this leaflet is counterposed to that of its international mentors. In a major article entitled "Is Democracy Worth Fighting For?" (*Militant*, 15 August 1975), SWP leader Joseph Hansen describes socialism as merely an extension of bourgeois democracy and denounces "such a scandalous action as Moscow's approval of Gandhi's coup."

But behind the contradiction between these two lines—the CLI's critical support to Gandhi's "anti-rightist" campaign and the SWP's opposition to her "coup"—is a common methodology, reformist capitulation each to its own bourgeoisie. The tasks of a revolutionary vanguard in India are staggering, yet the ostensibly Trotskyist forces are pitifully weak and seriously disoriented. Only a struggle among the subjectively revolutionary cadres for the program of authentic Trotskyism, upheld today by the international Spartacist tendency, can resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership which allows the suffering and degradation of the hundreds of millions of toilers on the Indian subcontinent to continue. Reject the revisionist United Secretariat—Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!■

Dubious Figure...

(continued from page 4)

ism and Communism with Stalinism, I wanted to fight against them. So what?" —*Bulletin International*, No. 5, January 1974

Our second major objection to the "basis" of the Commission of Inquiry is that it accepts not only the LIRQI as a member, but also its French section, the OCI-fraction LIRQI. While for tactical reasons the LIRQI would no doubt not want to have *all* its sections on the Workers Commission (that would not look very good), it appears to have no principled objection to establishing a commission some of whose members are already open partisans of one side—their own.

The international Spartacist tendency can take no part in a "Commission of Inquiry" which proclaims Varga's innocence as the "basis" for its deliberations and in which the accused sits in judgment of himself through the inclusion of his political friends among the judges. We cannot take part in a cynical operation totally devoid of the most minimal democratic principles, whose only aim appears to be to whitewash Varga in the hope of factional advantage against the OCI. We are equally against frame-ups and whitewashes.

Interim Secretariat
international Spartacist tendency
New York, 3 November 1975

Maoists Bloc with CIA “Anti-Imperialists” in Angola

Ever since Nixon was feted by Chairman Mao in the Great Hall of the Peoples to the tune of “America the Beautiful,” Chinese foreign policy has concentrated on cementing its own version of détente with Western imperialism. China’s description of the Soviet Union as “far more dangerous” than the U.S. (*Hsinhua Weekly*, 7 July 1975) and Mao’s vituperation against the Soviet Union’s “dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type” shows the real target of Chinese attacks on the “superpowers.” If Peking’s barely veiled support to NATO and recent friendly advice to Kissinger against going militarily soft on the Kremlin were not sufficient proof of the necessarily reactionary consequences of this “united front” with U.S. capitalism, then Chinese policy in Angola certainly should be.

Going to any lengths to defeat “Soviet social imperialism,” the Chinese have switched from an early flirtation with Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA to supplying massive weaponry and advisors to a better military bet, the American-backed FNLA. What UNITA and the FNLA have in common is a far greater hatred for the Russian-supported MPLA than they have for colonialism. Mao’s linking of arms with the CIA and Washington’s “man-in-Africa,” President Mobutu of Zaïre, to prop up the FNLA has been giving American Maoists some extra practice in fast-footwork and shameless bending of the spinal vertebrae.

The October League Parrots Peking

Without a word in the Chinese press to explain the shift, some American adherents of Mao Thought, the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union) and the Communist Labor Party, have preferred an embarrassed silence on the red-hot situation in Angola to the unenviable task of explaining China’s behavior. Others are more adept.

Always eager to swallow the meager crumbs that fall from the barren table of Chinese-brand Stalinist ideology, the October League (OL) most faithfully follows Peking’s maneuvers. When vice-premier Li Hsien-nien disingenuously announced at a banquet on September 13 that, “we have always treated the three organizations for the liberation of Angola with equality and with the same friendly attitude...” and condemned Soviet intervention (while China was arming the FNLA to the teeth!) the OL got the picture. November’s *Call* blamed the “superpowers” for “aggravating

differences and wrecking moods toward unity among the Angolan liberation movements.” The OL declared that “the civil war is not ‘necessary’ to the Angolan people, but it is necessary to the imperialist superpowers, especially to the USSR” (our emphasis), implying that the Soviet Union is mainly interested in an “inside track of the fabulous wealth of Angola.” The fact of, and the motives for, Chinese support for the FNLA went unexplained.

UNITA Attracts CAP, CIA

In contrast to the OL’s absurd suggestion that the civil war in Angola is caused by Russian profit-lust for diamonds and oil, and its slimy generalities, the Congress of Afrikan Peoples (CAP)



Jonas Savimbi, right, head of UNITA, with right winger Fernando Falcão.

loudly declares itself 100 percent behind Savimbi’s UNITA, the always-on-the-market recipient of CIA and South African affection. Savimbi, labeled “man of the hour” by the white racist *Johannesburg Star*, is hailed by CAP as the “leader of UNITA, the liberation movement in Angola which is taking the correct political line...” (*Unity and Struggle*, June 1975). Amiri Baraka’s subscription to *Peking Review* must have lapsed; CAP seems unaware that China long ago switched its support from UNITA to FNLA.

CAP praises UNITA for its Mao-like policy of “serving the people”—“you could find a soldier with a gun in the right hand and a hoe in the left”—and for its struggle to unify the three opponent armies. In one breath CAP notes with pride UNITA’s “leading role in diplomacy that helped form a transitional governing body with MPLA and FNLA,” and the next denounces the coalition as “ridden with imperialist instigated conflicts, which are causing MPLA (Soviet Social Imperialists) and FNLA (U.S. Imperialists) to play out the same collusion and contention confrontation as their masters.” But if the MPLA and FNLA are both imperialist agents, why was UNITA correct in trying to bring them together and unite them in a coalition government?

In reality, all three groups are petty-bourgeois nationalist movements which, once in power, would strive to become an exploitative bourgeoisie. In praising purported unity attempts among these nationalists, CAP simply reveals its blatant disregard for the interests of the Angolan proletariat.

UNITA’s “Anti-Imperialist” History

Baraka’s fondness for Jonas Savimbi has a real basis: their common nationalist opportunism. When UNITA was founded in May 1966, its pronouncements were filled to the brim with Maoist catchwords and verbiage, drawn from the banal homilies of the Little Red Book. Baraka discovered these pearls of wisdom somewhat later, but

evidently now admires Savimbi’s ability to quote The Book.

But UNITA’s rhetorical left face was quickly abandoned for a different kind of prose. The 8-21 July 1974 *Afrique-Asie* reproduces 1972 correspondence between Savimbi and various colonial military authorities who were then busy slaughtering nationalist militants. Savimbi offered to General Luz Cunha (commander-in-chief of Portuguese forces in Angola) and Lieutenant Colonel de Oliveira (chief-of-staff of the eastern military zone) information on MPLA positions and deals for gradual decolonization and peace on Portuguese terms.

Savimbi preferred writing the Portuguese to fighting them. As late as April 1974, UNITA counted in its ranks merely “a few hundreds of men, who, with the complicity of the colonial army, had above all combatted the MPLA...” (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1975). After the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship, Savimbi courted the now fearful Portuguese settlers in Angola, engaging in negotiations in the summer of 1974 with right-wing colon leader Fernando Falcão.

UNITA continued to be a minor military force until it seemed a useful counterbalance to the MPLA. Savimbi was cited in the 30 October *Le Monde* as saying that until his group began to fight against the MPLA on August 5 “we did not have a single cannon. Today, we receive arms from everywhere, with the exception of the Soviet Bloc.” The braggart is more honest than his admirers.

Baraka and his Maoist friends shrug off disclosures by the *New York Times* in early September that the growing military strength of UNITA and FNLA coincided with the availability of CIA money and arms. This is not simply because Baraka got his start in Newark organizing with funds from Prudential Insurance Co. Rather, it is because the Maoists and the U.S. government share the same anti-Soviet appetites. Undersecretary of State Joseph Sisco and CIA Director William Colby admitted in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week that the U.S. was hacking the FNLA and UNITA to counter Soviet influence with the MPLA.

The Maoists’ anti-Soviet hysteria binds them to an unholy alliance of the CIA, Mobutu, colon mercenaries and South African white supremacists. Should the FNLA, or its bloc partner UNITA, succeed in carrying out threats to massacre “every single communist” in Luanda, the bloodstains will be on the hands of those who cheered China’s self-serving treachery. ■

Angola...

(continued from page 1)

dence. But under present circumstances the left-nationalist MPLA is fighting not merely against the FNLA and UNITA, but against an imperialist/colonialist-led anti-communist coalition which, if successful, would install a puppet regime in Luanda essentially subordinate to South Africa and the U.S. The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time, therefore, is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed, South African-organized offensive. Smash the imperialist power play in Angola!

Balkanization of Angola?

In addition to victory or defeat for the MPLA in this struggle there is a third possibility, namely the disintegration of the country. The FNLA and UNITA in particular are essentially regionalist, tribally-centered movements which could achieve national power only through military conquest. Given the popular support for the MPLA in Luanda and the military weakness of FNLA/UNITA, it is unlikely that the latter could conquer the capital without even more substantial imperialist intervention. If the current mercenary-led drive on Luanda fails, a likely result of the stalemate would be “balkanization”—the breaking up of Angola.

The two rightist nationalist groups have already agreed (in July) to a secret plan for just such a division of the spoils (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1975). Thus the coffee-rich north would be de facto incorporated into Zaïre; while in the south a UNITA regime would in effect be a joint Zambian-South African protectorate. This would give Zaïre a more secure outlet to the sea, provide Zambia a pliant regime controlling its rail link to the Atlantic, and enable South Africa to eliminate the base areas of the MPLA-backed South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas.

In addition to the struggle for Angola proper, there is also a many-sided conflict over the oil-rich Cabinda enclave, part of the former Portuguese colony but separated by a strip of Zaïre territory and the Zaïre (formerly Congo) River. While the enclave is currently held by the MPLA’s best troops, Zaïre president Mobutu (brother-in-law of the FNLA’s Roberto) has massed some thousands of soldiers on the border preparing to march in and install the Gulf Oil-backed Cabindan secessionist movement as a puppet government.

Unlike the petty-bourgeois Angolan nationalists, Marxists recognize that the existing state boundaries—arbitrarily drawn by the imperialists at Berlin in 1885—divide the Bakongo people in the north from tribal relatives in Zaïre. In addition, given the fact that all three of the nationalist groups have tribal bases (even the non-tribalist MPLA), there is a tremendous potential for genocidal conflict in Angola. That is why Marxists would grant regional autonomy for the different tribes, and why we are not committed to the present state configuration in central Africa. But the balkanization presently posed is the creation of a South African protectorate in the south and a Gulf Oil-controlled Cabindan oil field in the north. This kind of division of Angola—colonial rule in a thinly disguised form—must be resolutely opposed.

The MPLA

Since the bulk of the European and American left gives either political or unconditional military support to the MPLA, it is useful to look more closely at its history to understand why such a policy is contrary to the interests of the working class. The basis for the wide-

continued on next page

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 10, Fall 1975

- Early Communist Work Among Women: The Bolsheviks
- CLUW’s Had It
- The Legend of “Red Emma”
- The Oppression of Muslim Women

Subscription rate:
\$2 for 4 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

Kleine Bibliothek der
Kommunistischen
Korrespondenz
I.

Leo Trotzki

Drei Konzeptionen der Russischen Revolution

herausgegeben von der
Trotzkistischen Liga Deutschlands,
Sektion der internationalen
Spartacist Tendenz

Bestellungen an

1 Berlin 120

Postlagerkarte A 051 429

Postschekkonto Berlin West:

503 57 — 107 (Wolfgang

Hohmann)

0,70 DM

Angola...

(continued from page 9)

spread radical sympathy toward the MPLA is its "revolutionary" nationalist policies, which can be explained by its origin among socialist intellectuals of the small Angolan Communist Party (PCA). As Mario de Andrade, leader of the MPLA until 1962, wrote: "the young Marxists of the former Angolan Communist Party, the leaders of the PLUA [a nationalist group with "an action program similar to that of the PCA"], and other patriots rapidly founded the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) in December 1956" (quoted in John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*).

The Portuguese-educated intellectuals who founded the movement began to rapidly extend their influence among the *mucceques* (slums) surrounding the capital city, particularly through clandestine mobile schools (according to the 1958 census the literacy rate of Africans in Angola was less than 1 percent, a telling comment on Portugal's "civilizing mission"). In February 1961 the MPLA attempted an uprising, attacking the prisons, the broadcasting station and a military barracks in Luanda. For three days the battle raged, with 5,000 Africans killed on one day alone, but the revolt in the capital was brutally crushed. Despite this defeat, however, the MPLA continued to enjoy widespread support among the detribalized plebeian population of the port cities, and among *mestiços* and left-wing whites as well.

The MPLA was also, during the late 1960's and early 1970's, the group which carried the brunt of the guerrilla struggle against the Portuguese, and the only one of the nationalist groups to have a national extension beyond the confines of a single dominant tribe. It alone made a serious effort to politically educate its followers in a left-populist program, including ritual references to the end of "exploitation of man by man." Because of its leftism, militants of the MPLA in the Congo were harassed, suppressed and even murdered by the FNLA with the complicity of successive right-wing regimes in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa).

At the same time, the MPLA is quite



Zones of influence reflect conditions as of early November, 1975. Arrow indicates mercenary-led FNLA/UNITA column.

ports. Predictably the governing MPLA used its authority against the strike. The MPLA-dominated union, SINTAPA, denounced the longshore strike as a wildcat and called upon the government to take adequate measures to restore law and order. In power by itself the MPLA would without a doubt move quickly to subordinate the unions to the state, as similar left-nationalists did in Guinea, Ghana and Tanzania in the early 1960's. Its instrument for doing so would be the peasant guerrilla army which is removed from and uncontrolled by the urban masses.

Nor can we rely on Neto to pursue an "anti-imperialist" foreign policy. Neto has repeatedly asserted that he is not committed to the Soviet bloc (most recently seeking favor with the tin-pot dictator Idi Amin), and tried (with but limited success) to reduce dependency

tribal areas. Despite its non-tribalist program, the unification of Angola under MPLA rule would undoubtedly involve outbreaks of simple tribal warfare and atrocities against the Bakongo people. However, because of the MPLA's plebeian support in Luanda, the victory of either of the tribal-centered groups (UNITA or FNLA) would lead directly to the mass murder of the flower of the small working class and the most advanced elements of the urban population.

Thus in the course of defending the working population of Luanda against a tribalist pogrom, an independent working-class organization (union or party) would be forced to conclude temporary military blocs with the MPLA. Yet simply to suggest this possibility emphasizes once again the anti-proletarian character of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movements. In its need for mass popular support the MPLA would find incipient independent class organizations no less threatening than would the FNLA and UNITA, and would therefore rapidly unite with the other nationalists to crush any embryo of proletarian strength.

The FNLA

After being expelled from Luanda in July, the FNLA threatened that it would massacre "every single communist" (*African Development*, November 1975). This statement gives an idea of what rule by the FNLA, the favored instrument of the CIA and Mao, would mean.

The FNLA is essentially a tribal movement. Its leader, Holden Roberto, is the elected heir to the traditional chieftanship of the Bakongos. This tribe has a long history of resistance to the Portuguese, including a major peasant rebellion in 1913-14. (Most of the colony was not actually occupied by the Portuguese until the early 20th century.) The traditions of Bakongo separatism were still alive in the 1950's when the tribal chiefs appealed to Eisenhower and the UN to restore the ancient Kongo kingdom. It is therefore indicative that Holden Roberto's first organization was called the Union of the Populations of North Angola. It was only a few years later that he adopted an even ostensibly pan-Angolan perspective.

It is, of course, true that Roberto and the FNLA have been the recipients of CIA funds for years (the *New York Times* spoke of "reactivating" him). But

while Roberto and his crew have appealed to tribalist sentiments, have threatened to kill all communists, work hand-in-glove with U.S. imperialism, etc., it would be wrong to dismiss the FNLA as simply CIA puppets. They are nationalists living on handouts.

Thus, while in later years the MPLA evidently did carry out the bulk of the fighting against the Portuguese, in the 1961 uprising it was the UPA (Roberto's group) which bore the brunt of the struggle. After the brief Luanda revolt had been put down, the Bakongo rose up and for a time most of northern Angola was in rebel hands. The Portuguese resorted to limitless terror, killing as many as 50,000 Africans, and the region was deliberately depopulated. More than half a million Bakongos were driven into the Congo (now Zaire). While the MPLA's urban cells were virtually destroyed by the 1961 blood-bath, Roberto simply removed himself a few miles across the border to Leopoldville where he had a solid base among the Bakongo exile population and the prestige of leading a great rebellion against colonial rule. In 1962 he set up the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile and two years later was officially recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The international recognition accorded Roberto's "government-in-exile" induced some non-Bakongo Angolan politicians to join it, most notably the Ovimbundu leader Jonas Savimbi, who became foreign minister in the phantom regime. However, Savimbi broke with Roberto in 1964, accusing him of one-man rule and tribalism, as well as documenting the CIA connections of the FNLA. And particularly after 1965, when Mobutu came to power in Leopoldville, Roberto's group became increasingly venal, increasingly dependent upon Washington and increasingly uninterested in fighting the Portuguese. Now a wealthy businessman in Kinshasa, he is an anti-communist demagogue of a type to excite the ghosts of Joseph McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover. "People's power leads to people's dictatorship, and the population of Angola, which is Christian, actively rejects communism," he has been quoted as saying (*Africa Research Bulletin*, 15 May 1975).

The left-nationalist MPLA and its international supporters generally try to make Roberto appear as a simple puppet of Washington, while arguing that he has no base of support. But in fact there is no doubt about the support of the Bakongo peasants to their



From left: Agostinho Neto (MPLA), Holden Roberto (FNLA) and Jonas Savimbi (UNITA).

definitely not the "Marxist-Leninist" organization portrayed in the Western bourgeois press. Its long-time leader, Agostinho Neto, has taken great pains to emphasize the nationalist, non-socialist nature of the MPLA. "[I] am not a communist, I am not a socialist, I am first of all a patriot," he told the *New York Times* (21 April 1975). And in this he is entirely correct. The MPLA stands outside the workers movement, and while it has a close relationship to the labor federation (UNTA), the relation is that of master to servant.

Thus after the setting up of a "transitional government" early this year, the expectations of independence induced a major strike wave among pro-MPLA workers, notably a dock strike which completely shut down Angola's

on Russian arms. This year he proved the truth of these promises by the MPLA's close collaboration with the Portuguese government. If Kissinger moves away from the FNLA, Neto is quite capable of pulling an Anwar Sadat-style switch, leaving Brezhnev to sue for breach-of-contract. No doubt that is why the Chinese bureaucracy recently invited an MPLA representative to Peking, along with the currently favored UNITA and FNLA.

There is, however, an important distinction between the MPLA and the other two nationalist groups. Because of the defection of one of its main commanders, Daniel Chipenda, to Roberto in the summer of 1974, the MPLA's support outside the capital has been largely reduced to the Mbundu

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

traditional chief. Thus when Luis Almeida, the MPLA's director of information, proclaimed that his movement was preparing for an "eight-month war" against "Biafra-type secessionists" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 4 October), what he was calling for was mass tribal massacres of the population of northern Angola, a war of annihilation.

The tribal identification of the three contending nationalist groups—the FNLA with the Bakongo, the MPLA with the Mbundu and UNITA with the Ovimbundu—poses the threat of massive, even genocidal tribal conflict in Angola. Marxists, of course, see no national legitimacy in the colonial state boundaries in Africa and no historically progressive character in their preservation; nor, on the other hand, do we support the further balkanization of Africa along tribal lines. But in this context it is vital to emphasize that nationalist pan-Africanist slogans or even "socialist" slogans must not be allowed to cover for the oppression of tribal or national minorities. Thus while pan-Africanists saw the Biafran secession as a threat to the Nigerian nation, we supported the Ibos' struggle against genocidal attack and thus gave military support to Biafra in its war of independence. In the more backward Angolan situation a revolutionary workers state in southern Africa would grant regional autonomy to the principal tribes as the Soviets did in tribal regions of Siberia.

Neither China nor Katanga

In the Chinese civil war in the 1920's, the nationalist Kuomintang sought to unify the country against the northern warlords. Trotsky, while vehemently opposing Stalin's liquidationist policies and the Comintern's political support to Chiang Kai-shek, nonetheless advocated military support to the Kuomintang against the warlords, who represented feudal reaction and were the clients of the various imperialist powers. The imperialist penetration of China had divided the pre-capitalist nation-state

MAC...

(continued from page 12)

fate would have the pension funds invest about \$2 billion in new MAC bonds while accepting lower interest rates and extended payment dates on the securities they already hold. This brainchild of MAC chairman Felix Rohatyn simply amounts to selective default on the outstanding debt obligations: full payment to the banks and outright robbery of the unions. Similar plans are being floated to protect four state agencies threatened with default as a direct result of the city crisis. The bureaucrats' scandalous gambling with retirement money must be resisted by municipal workers.

The potentially explosive nature of this issue is evident to anyone who recalls the powerful two-day strike in June 1971, when members of the Teamsters union and DC 37 nearly brought the city to a standstill in order to prevent the state legislature from vetoing a new pension agreement negotiated with the city. Increased pension benefits, with their deferred costs, have long been used by both unions and the city as a source of compromise settlements. Now they are a prime target for bourgeois politicians from Ford on down. *Hands off the pension funds!*

New York labor must wage a unified struggle against all the union-busters. A city-wide general strike is necessary to stop these attacks on the working people and their defensive organizations. *Smash the capitalists' austerity plans! Cancel the debt—Expropriate the banks! Break with the Democratic and Republican parties—Build a workers party! Forward to a workers government and a planned economy!*

14 NOVEMBER 1975



D. R.

Demonstration of MPLA supporters.

into spheres of influence; regional warlordism was in the 1920's the principal method of imperialist domination over China. Thus the unification of the country, even under bourgeois rule, was historically progressive.

The same could not be said of Angola after the de facto ceasefire with the Portuguese forces was achieved in August of last year. All three contending movements were petty-bourgeois nationalists, some aided by the U.S. and South Africa, others aided by the USSR. But military aid alone is not the decisive question. A policy of military support is called for only in the case of a qualitative difference between the contending sides, as now episodically exists in Angola where the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA faces the imperialist-led coalition.

In Katanga, Moïse Tshombe headed an "independent" secessionist regime which was in fact nothing more than a puppet of the Belgian mining company, the Union Minière. In contrast, the FNLA is a genuine, although fairly tawdry, nationalist group with some history of struggle against Portuguese colonial domination. It has its own ethnic peasant base, and if Kissinger decides to dump Roherto the FNLA will continue to exist and will seek international support elsewhere.

There is, however, a situation analogous to Katanga in the Angolan situation and that is Cabinda. As Katanga was prized by the imperialists for its copper and other minerals, so Cabinda is coveted for its oil. And the so-called Cabinda Liberation Front (FLEC) is essentially a creation of U.S. imperialism designed to preserve a particularly valuable piece of real estate. It amounts to a black mercenary force in the pay of Gulf Oil Co. There is no tradition of nor basis for Cabindan independence: its people are ethnically related to those in both Zaïre and Congo (Brazzaville). FLEC was founded in

1963 as a U.S. counter to Angolan nationalism. Its main leader was/is Ranque Franque, a businessman formerly employed by Gulf and today comfortably installed in Kinshasa. Needless to say the FLEC never fired so much as one bullet at a Portuguese soldier; its real enemy was Angolan nationalism. An "independent Cabinda" would be and could only be the property of Gulf Oil. In any armed conflict between the Cabindan secessionists and the MPLA (which currently occupies the enclave), Marxists would give military support to the latter.

Marxists uncompromisingly oppose colonial rule and support the right of self-determination of nations. But we give no support to the anti-proletarian ideology of nationalism. National oppression in the epoch of imperialist decay cannot be eliminated without overturning capitalism, which maintains the scarcity and exploitative relations of production that lie at the heart of national wars.

Only the taking of power by the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, can wrest the African masses from the domination of imperialism. The key to breaking the back of capitalism in southern Africa is above all the revolutionary victory of the industrial and mining proletariat of South Africa, under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party, which combats imperialism and its lackeys from the standpoint of an internationalist program. ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- For Workers' Revolution in Spain!
- Eldridge Cleaver: A Political Obituary
- SYL Campaigns Against Chilean Junta's Collaborators
- NSCAR Demands More Cops in Boston
- China Withholds Support for Puerto Rican Independence
- Peking Promotes Ethiopian Junta
- New Left Antiques at Berkeley Bazaar
- SYP/YSA and Cops Assault Leftists to Protect Platform for Racists

SUBSCRIBE NOW! \$2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____ 85

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____ 85

includes SPARTACIST

- ☐ Enclosed is \$5 for 48 issues (1 year)
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

Letters

27 October 1975

Comrades,

My belated congratulations on your move to a weekly *WV*. Your insightful and concise analysis of national and world events is a unique and refreshing departure (and needed intervention) from the usual Maoist dogma and reformist commentary that abounds in leftist reading material. As I follow your reporting of class-struggle trade union activities and movements of the world proletariat I know, too, that I am receiving a rare and valid account of the progressing world socialist revolution!

Onward to the 4th International!

A.B.

New York
9 November 1975

Comrade Editor,

In the article "Hundreds Demonstrate Against Nazi Swine in Pasadena" (*WV* No. 84) you correctly stated that the "Communist Labor Party (CLP)... carries the SWP's policy to its logical conclusion by calling on the capitalist government to ban the fascist organizations." At the same time it is important to note some important differences between the two, even though their programs converge on the question of pressuring the racist capitalist state into "fighting fascism."

The arch-Stalinists of the CLP have demonstrated an impulse, though inevitably deformed in practice, to struggle against fascism. Last month the CLP, despite its virulent anti-Trotskyism, participated in a united-front rally along with the SL/SYL and other radical and black organizations to stop the Nazis from holding a "White Power" march in a black community in Chicago. The SWP chose not to engage in such an "undemocratic" action which would deny "free speech" to fascists!

Contrary to its more radical impulses, the CLP's utter confusion on the nature of the bourgeois state leads it to advocate policies absolutely contrary to the interests of black and working people. Not only does the CLP call on the capitalist state to outlaw fascism, but in a recent leaflet distributed in Boston in support of busing the CLP demands "that the federal and state governments make it a capital crime to willfully harm either a schoolchild or parent involved in a busing and integration program at public schools."

Since when do so-called Marxists credit the ruling-class exploiters with the ability to dispense "justice" through their courts and penal codes?! Since when do they endorse the class enemy's power to mete out death as a punishment? Capital punishment in the hands of the capitalists means institutionalized murder, with black people the principal victims!

Given organization and militant class-struggle leadership, the labor movement is uniquely capable of protecting school children and pro-busing supporters. Labor/black defense guards are also the best possible guarantee against misdirected acts of violence on the part of the oppressed. The task is not to grant the state and its kangaroo courts increased repressive powers but to prepare the day when the racist attackers of school children will be dealt with by a class-conscious proletariat.

Comradely,

Gerald Smith

MAC Goes After Pension Funds, CUNY

NOVEMBER 9—As New York City, the financial capital of U.S. imperialism, daily lurches closer to bankruptcy, Congressional Democratic leaders are conducting eleventh-hour negotiations to persuade Gerald Ford that the national and international repercussions likely to follow default are grave enough to warrant revising his demagogic anti-urban campaign pitched to the "Middle America" vote. The ideological intransigence behind Ford's opposition to the Democrats' proposals for a federal "bail-out" flows from his efforts to pull the rug out from under the Reagan wing of the Republican Party. The severance of former N.Y. governor Nelson Rockefeller, deeply implicated in the city's fiscal deficit, from Ford's '76 ticket is another step toward bolstering the latter's claim to the Republican nomination.

To back up Congressional proponents of federal guarantees for New York securities, spokesmen for "sin city" are now taking turns promising ever more drastic fiscal austerity measures in order to retire the municipal budget deficit over three years. Since the bourgeois politicians are all agreed that the city must remain chained to its mountainous debt to the banks and other major investors, "trimming the fat" spells increased misery, and in many cases, literal destitution, malnutrition and even death for the city's poor and working people. The victims of capitalist exploitation inevitably bear the brunt of job losses, cuts in welfare and other subsistence payments. To this must be added the lack of public health care, higher rents and prices, curtailment of public education at all levels and deepening social decay and disorganization—from fires that destroy entire neighborhoods to skyrocketing crime rates.

Closing the Colleges and Clinics

Every day the city's ravaged population is jolted by announcements of new budget cuts. City College president Robert Marshak grabbed the front pages last week with his announcement that the City University system (CUNY) was considering closing six colleges. While heatedly denying Marshak's statement, CUNY chancellor Robert Kibbee suggested other ways the university will save the \$60 million cut from its spring budget. Layoffs of 1,500 full-time faculty members are in the works along with the destruction of remedial programs, stricter admissions standards and uniform "rates of progress" that add up to the end of the five-year-old "open admissions" program.

The mounting assault on the last vestiges of free higher education coincides with increased class sizes and

massive teacher and staff cuts, which ensure that students coming from the city's public schools will be unable to meet the stricter CUNY standards. Liberals and conservatives are joining hands to sound the death knell of public education in New York City, for generations the main glimmer of hope for impoverished immigrants and minorities pursuing the "American dream" bred in capitalism's epoch of growth and progress.

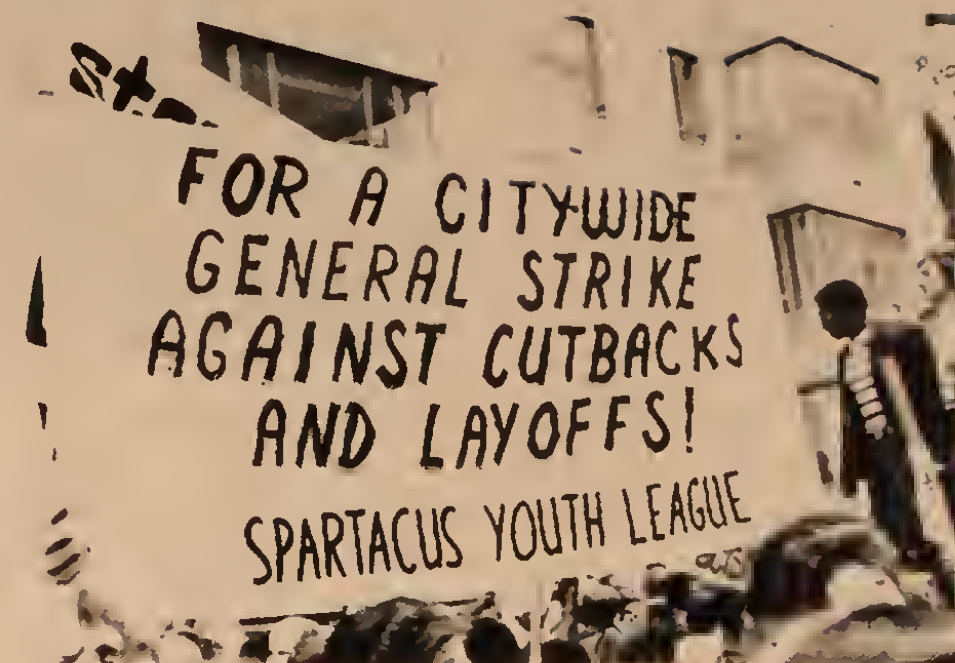
The depths of misery to which the city's working-class and poor population is sinking were indicated by the projected closings of 50 health-care clinics offering pediatric care, family planning, dental care and treatment for venereal disease to the indigent. A spokesman for the Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC) explained that "The reason why we chose to cut the clinics is that they provide services which are not life-saving." While the city's Health Department is supposed to provide minimal preventive medicine no longer available at HHC clinics, the health commissioner announced that it was curtailing the very same services and additionally closing several chest and cardiac clinics (*New York Times*, 6 November). In its determined efforts to protect its investments, the bourgeoisie callously forswears even the most minimal concern for human life.

Labor Skates Take a Dive

Rather than lead a fight to restore jobs and social services, cancel the usurious city debt and rip the banks out of the hands of profit-hungry capitalists, the labor bureaucracy has scurried for cover. Since late June when the first wave of layoffs began, the misleaders of the municipal unions have blustered and threatened, repeatedly capitulating so as to avoid a real conflict with their liberal buddies in City Hall and the State House. Faced with pressures from below, these labor skates have maneuvered and temporized, allowing blow after blow to weaken and demoralize the ranks, who have shown the will to struggle but lack a determined class-struggle leadership.

After sanitationmen wildcatted in early July, union president John DeLury briefly appeared to back the solid walkout and then ordered his membership back to work without obtaining the slightest guarantee against layoffs. Like DeLury, Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), felt compelled to allow a short strike, not to defeat the attacks on city labor but merely to provide a tightly orchestrated outlet for the membership's militancy and to save his own face.

The same craven approach was



obvious in the AFL-CIO's pro forma opposition to a Congressional bill that would "bail-out" New York while placing the city under a federal trusteeship with the authority to unilaterally rip up union contracts and take away pension benefits. Even this flaccid legislative stand was made public not by the labor federation itself but by House Speaker Carl Albert. And just in case anyone on Capitol Hill should take the old labor faker seriously, George Meany's spokesman Albert Zack hastened to make it clear that the AFL-CIO had not committed itself even to much of a lobbying effort against this frontal offensive against New York labor (*New York Times*, 8 November).

Labor's "Friends" Crack the Whip

Liberal union-busting mayor "Abe" Beame graphically described the bureaucracy's treacherous complicity in the bourgeoisie's anti-labor offensive:

"And I was the first one that fired thousands of employees and I was the first Mayor—and I think I may be the only Mayor in this country—who got the unions to give up out of their contracts benefits so that it would equal the amount of civil servants dollarwise that we were going to lay off. In other words, they opposed the laying off of civil servants, we said now we've got to have the money. You got any better way?"

"They came back and they'd given up parts of contracts. And we're going to take more of these parts of contracts out. We think there are abuses in these areas and we're working to do that, we're going to continue that."

—*New York Times*, 6 November

Another so-called "friend of labor," N.Y. governor Hugh Carey, recently called for the elimination of 70,000 city workers' jobs over the next three years.

One aspect of the tactical dispute between Ford, who advocates default as economic shock therapy in retaliation for New York's "years of higher spending, higher deficits, more inflation and more borrowing," and his liberal critics, who fear that default will severely shake the securities market and destroy the

last vestige of their much publicized "economic upturn," is whether to allow the labor bureaucracy the slightest opportunity to maintain some shred of credibility with its own ranks. In preparing new municipal bankruptcy legislation as requested by Ford, a House judiciary subcommittee last week agreed to amend the bill by providing hearings for unions whose hard-won gains are thrown out the window by federal courts.

The Congressional liberals' concerns are obvious. Bronx Democrat Herman Badillo explained that "if a judge could just notify Al Shanker that a contract is cancelled, you'd have serious problems in the city" (*New York Times*, 5 November). Badillo is well aware that Shanker's ability to keep the UFT in line rests on an elaborate charade of back-room deals, legislative lobbying and court suits. The Democrats are afraid that without such pressure valves the labor lieutenants of capital may be overwhelmed in an elemental mass upsurge against the bourgeoisie's attack.

Hands Off the Pension Funds!

The grand finale of bureaucratic belly-crawling is the willful plunder of union pension funds to purchase Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) bonds, while the city teeters on the brink of bankruptcy. Already MAC's financial buccaneers have gone to the well three times in the last three months, extracting a total of nearly \$400 million from the retirement funds in order to avert default. Looting these funds is central to all the desperate eleventh-hour plans drafted by city and state politicians to avoid default. One such proposal would have committed the municipal union pension funds' entire \$8.5 billion in assets as collateral to back \$4 billion in loans. With those loans the pension funds would then purchase \$4 billion in MAC bonds. Thus if the city defaulted, as appears likely, the unions' MAC bond holdings could be drastically devalued and interest payments postponed for years, while the remaining solid assets of the pension funds would be drained to pay off the \$4 billion borrowed from more prudent investors. One of the "architects" of this outrageous giveaway scheme was Victor Gotham, president of District Council 37 of AFSCME. It also got implicit backing from Shanker and from Michael Maye of the Uniformed Firefighters Association (*New York Times*, 31 October).

The current scheme to mortgage city workers' financial security to the city's

continued on page 11

Demonstrate Against CUNY Cutbacks!

Thursday, November 13
at 12 Noon
in front of the Administration
Building, CCNY
138th St. & Convent Ave.

sponsored by the
Spartacus Youth League
for more information call:
(212) 925-5665