

Lisbon Under Siege

**EYEWITNESS
ACCOUNT**



Over 150,000 demonstrate against the 6th provisional government on November 16.

L'Express

From a Special Correspondent

LISBON, November 28—Events of the past week represent a sharp setback for the left in Portugal. The ruling Supreme Revolutionary Council, representing the dominant right wing of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), suspended all basic democratic rights for the first time since the April 1974 overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship. Press, radio and television were suspended in the Lisbon area with the exception of official government broadcasts. Demonstrations were prohibited, preventive arrests authorized, curfew was imposed and a blanket rejection of all wage demands was decreed on the grounds that they constitute an "attack on the economy." The government has announced its intention of purging the administrative and editorial boards of all the mass media before it ends the censorship.

The right-wing officers also scored an important military victory. Using the occupation of Lisbon-area air bases by leftist paratroopers as an excuse, the general staff moved decisively against those military units which have been most closely identified with the civilian

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Liberals Whitewash CIA Assassinations

**Abolish U.S. Spy
Agencies and Secret
Police!**

With the release (over strong presidential objection) of the Senate Select Committee's 347-page report on the Central Intelligence Agency and the release also of the report on Federal Bureau of Investigation threats and harassment against Martin Luther King, the public was treated to the latest round of carefully stage-managed government-sponsored revelations.

There is nothing really new in the Senate committee's report. It simply stamped with official imprimatur the old news that the CIA maintained generalized "assassination capability"—that it plotted, arranged and carried out assassinations. The report further officially acknowledged what was already known about the symbiotic relationship between the CIA and the Mafia; not only did the gangsters help out as hit men for imperialism, the CIA returned the favors for selected Mafia leaders, for instance, tapping phones for Sam Giancana in Nevada. Counterrevolutionary plotting in Chile before and after Allende's election was once again

"revealed," and some of the material on the CIA murder squads in Vietnam that had been in the *Pentagon Papers* was trotted out again.

The report states that the principal targets for assassination had been Cuba's Fidel Castro and Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was the nationalist prime minister of the Congo, murdered in 1961 in Katanga province. Another target for assassination was General René Schneider, Chilean military leader who refused to cooperate in the CIA plan for a military coup to prevent Allende from taking elected office; Schneider was assassinated in an official limousine on 22 October 1970.

The report also demonstrated that the life of a CIA "creature" is not necessarily very secure. Unlike Doctor Frankenstein the CIA is not squeamish when it comes to disposing of its own monsters: those, like Ngo Dinh Diem, who appear less than adequate to the task, or petty dictators like Trujillo who become fractious.

A full third of the report was given over to the persistent bizarre attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro and his two principal associates, Raúl Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara. The report



Patrice Lumumba was considered by U.S. to be too friendly with Russia. Executed.

admits no less than eight plots to kill Castro and numerous schemes to discredit him. The plans included a poisoned pen, poisoned food in a Havana restaurant, poisoned cigars of Castro's favorite brand. The CIA also planned to embarrass Castro by spraying a broadcast studio with a "disorienting chemical" before he was to make a speech with the purpose of getting Castro to talk nonsense. The weirdest of all the schemes involved coating Castro's shoes with a strong chemical depilatory so that his beard would fall out when he touched it. Some CIA hot shot, apparently believing that Castro came to power on the basis of charisma,

hit on the unusual solution of destroying Castro's "macho" image, presumably located Samson-like in his beard.

Were the CIA not so sinister and dangerous an organization these schemes would seem more suited to the comedy film *Bananas* than the spy fantasies of James Bond. But the CIA is no humorous outfit. Despite its bungling, many of its poisoned darts and bullets have reached their targets. The death of Guevara in the Bolivian mountains is a stark reminder that the CIA's plots often do achieve their ugly purposes. In fact, of the CIA's principal

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Down with the Monarchy—No Popular Fronts!

For a Workers Republic in Spain!

Exactly 39 years after the execution of the founder of the fascist Falange movement, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco died on November 20. The unfortunate fact that the end of his rule came as the result of death from natural causes rather than through a proletarian uprising will certainly color the next period in Spain. For the bourgeoisie, which grew fat under Francoism, the *caudillo's* death signalled the activation of various schemes to ensure a peaceful transition while preserving as much as possible of his bonapartist "strong state." Its hopes center on the new king, Juan Carlos de Borhón, Franco's personally designated heir. Franco is dead, but Francoism is yet to be smashed.

The hard-line ultra-rightists (the "Bunker") are urging the monarch to make no concessions to liberalism. Others, most recently the archbishop of Madrid, counsel "democratization" of the regime. But for the working class there can be no possibility of a bourgeois-democratic solution. At the first sign of serious class confrontation, the bourgeoisie will cast aside all democratic pretenses and rush into the arms of the strongest defenders of bourgeois "law and order." For the proletariat, the death of Franco must spur on the socialist revolution, which alone can crush barbaric Francoist rule once and for all, by overthrowing capitalism.

Coming in the wake of deep social upheavals this past winter and spring (an unprecedented strike wave, several nearly totally effective work stoppages in the Basque region), Franco's death leaves the Spanish dictatorship precarious and shaken. As the Generalissimo lay dying, the disparate elements held together by deference to a supreme arbiter began to come unstuck. A macabre dispute ensued centering on

the charge that the doctors, headed by Franco's son-in-law, Martínez-Bordiu, were keeping a corpse alive solely to discredit the soon-to-be king. An aide to Juan Carlos remarked that due to the law of succession, "so long as Martínez-Bordiu holds Franco's body, he can run the country with the Prince as a puppet on a string" (*Newsweek*, 24 November). With the advent of modern technology palace intrigues are no longer based upon possession of the royal scepter but of the ruler's cadaver.

But at present the *continuistas* have no alternative to Juan Carlos. In order to give their figurehead an image of national reconciliation, he has been permitted to promulgate some minor reforms, such as laws permitting the use of Basque, Catalan and Galician languages in printed texts (though not in schools or official documents). At the same time the new king (who has never signed a death sentence, in contrast to Franco, who signed more than 192,000 between 1939 and 1944) issued a pardon for some of the numerous political prisoners in the dictatorship's jails, Mexico, which had favored the Republicans in the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War and never recognized Franco, is now preparing to consider an exchange of ambassadors with the "new" regime in Madrid.

But a few gestures do not change the viciously anti-working-class and utterly undemocratic character of the Francoist dictatorship. In fact, equally or even more significant changes were proposed by Premier Carlos Arias Navarro last December including legalization of political "associations." But, terrified of the explosive potential of the slightest real relaxation of the bonapartist straitjacket, the government actually approved less than a handful of "associations," all made up of supporters of the regime. Then, following the strike wave of the winter and spring, the short-lived reforms were buried as the Cortes (parliament) rushed through "anti-terrorist" legislation which makes virtually any act of opposition a serious criminal offense. Four hundred have been arrested under these laws since September and many more detained in pre-planned police sweeps at the time of Franco's death. Juan Carlos' "pardon" has the same character as Arias Navarro's "legalization" of dissent: a total farce. According to the Madrid Bar Association, the king's amnesty "in practical terms excludes from the benefits almost all the political prisoners and defendants in Spain" (*New York Times*, 29 November).

As Franco was being buried in a crypt (personally selected, like his successor) of the basilica in the cavernous Valley of the Fallen monument he spent 18 years constructing, the dictator's followers had already begun to sense a breeze blowing against the established order of rigid hierarchy, religious obscurantism, glorification of the "Hispanic race,"



Demonstrators in Barcelona demand independence for Spanish Sahara.

exaltation of martial traditions and Hitler-era obsession with the Bolshevik Anti-Christ. As cries of "Franco... Franco" echoed across the valley, an aged blue-shirt remarked uncertainly, "the King will be all right if he knows how to become a strong leader, a *caudillo* who keeps things going the same way as Franco" (*New York Times*, 24 November).

The extra-legal demonstration was called by the association of Civil War veterans whose leader, José Antonio Girón, is one of the several leading ex-Falangists moving rapidly to reinvigorate the decaying fascist movement. Far

working class, whose key centers are well organized even under conditions of clandestinity, has been handcuffed to representatives of the bourgeoisie through class-collaborationist popular fronts. Both the Junta Democrática led by the Communist Party (CP) and the Platform of Democratic Convergence led by the Socialist Party (PSOE) have fulsomely demonstrated their commitment to the maintenance of capitalism.

In recent weeks these betrayers have abandoned one position after another in the hope of achieving negotiations with the new regime. The Junta Democrática (along with the CP) had earlier called



Spanish Prince Juan Carlos (right) greets Chilean military dictator Pinochet in Madrid for Franco funeral.

from expressing any confidence in the king, these terrorist hangmen are already preparing to smash the dissent they see percolating in the fissures of the destabilized regime. "You will die within 24 hours following the death of the Caudillo" reads the calling card sent to suspected leftists by one of these grisly cabals.

While the mobilization of the extreme right—concentrated on the corporatist syndicates (which Franco used as sinecures for unemployed Falangists), the Guardia Civil national police and various political and paramilitary police units—represents a deadly danger to the workers movement, the main obstacles to proletarian revolution in Spain are the traditional reformist misleaders of the workers movement. The militant

for a "national strike" of all social classes. This militant-sounding slogan was actually a call for "national reconciliation" and "a broad coalition government which would group together those who do not want a new civil war but want a pluralistic regime." Such a "broad coalition" could include just about any bourgeois reactionary to the left of Salvador Dalí!

However, in late October the CP still pretended to resist "Francoism without Franco," declaring that it would "not for an instant accept the monarchist solution of the future king Juan Carlos, who will assume the continuity of the Francoist dictatorship" (*Le Monde*, 31 October). The PSOE, on the other hand, was willing to give the playboy black-belt king a chance. Within hours

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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CLUW...

(continued from page 12)

conscious and revolutionary militants among them, to make CLUW a democratic forum where actual solutions to the pressing needs of working women are freely discussed and class-struggle policies implemented? Never! Who knows what embarrassing "excesses" this process might bring about! CLUW is a forum for established trade-union leaders and sympathetic, respectable (i.e., bourgeois) politicians. The minds of the female labor fakers in CLUW travel along the same well-worn channels as those of George Meany and the male labor fakers. Their position on CLUW reduces itself to the old slogan, "Better dead than red!"

It seems certain that Madar's aim is to shove CLUW under the suffocating wing of the AFL-CIO. But, after refusing to endorse CLUW at the recent union federation convention, Meany's terms are clear—get rid of the reds and we may reconsider endorsement. Madar is assiduously attempting to comply by escalating her witchhunt with particular emphasis on excluding dissidents from the convention by every available means. To seal its promise, the CLUW majority is pushing its position requiring that all CLUW activities (strike support, demonstrations, etc.) be explicitly in line with the official policy of the unions involved. What better way to ensure CLUW's role as the docile women's auxiliary!

Nineteen Months to Nowhere

In fact, with the exception of the Spartacist League, the left organizations represented in CLUW have demonstrated over the nineteen months of CLUW's existence that they are not dangerous, but quite domesticated and as willing to work within the framework of the CLUW bureaucrats' appetites as the CLUW bureaucrats are willing to bow before the exigencies of AFL-CIO business-unionist *Realpolitik*.

CLUW has chalked up an unenviable record, consistently refusing to undertake, and sometimes actively sabotaging, even the most elementary actions of class solidarity. The highlights of betrayal have been documented in the pages of *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*. The last CLUW convention itself is indicative and set the tone for sellout. It refused to allow the wives of striking Brookside, Kentucky miners, to address the convention for support in their long and bitter strike in Harlan County, on the grounds that they were not union members. Yet bourgeois politician Bella Abzug has been extended "honorary membership" in CLUW.

CLUW elected as its president a strikebreaker, Olga Madar, a former UAW vice president. She is known for helping to organize the 1,000-member goon squad of UAW officials which broke the Mack Avenue sit-down strike in Detroit in August 1973. And the CLUW bureaucrats' adamant "neutrality" in refusing to endorse the organizing drive of the United Farm Workers union (amounting to de facto endorsement of Teamster strikebreaking) will not soon be forgotten. The CLUW leaders staged a virtual Donnybrook to prevent passage of such a convention resolution in order not to alienate the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' leadership and its representatives in CLUW.

CLUW's hallmark is simple do-nothingism. In the face of massive layoffs and unemployment the CLUW leadership has remained criminally passive. CLUW's "program of action," recently put forward at a Detroit CLUW speak-out by Edith Van Horn, a UAW International representative, amounts to nothing more than the old labor fakers' standard excuse to derail militancy: rely on the bourgeois political process—oust the Republican adminis-

S.F. Demonstration Against Spínola

SAN FRANCISCO, December 1—Winding up his North American tour to rally support for a counterrevolutionary coup in Portugal, General António de Spínola addressed the S.F. World Affairs Council, hysterically forecasting the imminent demise of Western civilization at the hands of a Moscow-directed conspiracy.

About 150 militant demonstrators outside picketed the St. Francis Hotel where Spínola was speaking. With the largest contingent, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) comprised about a quarter of the demonstration. The SL/SYL had initiated the action, for which calls were also issued by the International Socialists (I.S.) and its creature, the Portugal Solidarity Committee (PSC). Indicative of their political unseriousness was a PSC member dressed up in a Santa Claus suit, shouting "Merry Christmas" as he distributed a leaflet calling for democracy in Portugal. In a typical display of Stalinist sectarianism, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) contingent tried to dominate the protest through the use of heavy sound equipment with which it sought to drown out SL/SYL slogans such as "Break with the MFA, Workers to Power!" and "Down with the Generals, Arm the Workers Now!" The Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party and Maoist organizations were conspicuous by their absence.

In his speech, Spínola posed a third world war as something the West might be "forced into" to halt the advance of "Communism." He denounced détente as a subtle new strategy by which the West has tied "the noose for our own lynching." Spínola claimed the West had failed to develop a "defined ideology" because of "the purity of its commitment to democratic ideals"! This

two-hit anti-communist demagogue clearly views himself as the Messiah who will step into the breach to rescue imperialism.

In addition to whipping up anti-communist patriotic fervor among Portuguese in the U.S., Spínola has used his tour to speak to influential leaders of bourgeois opinion, at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York and the World Peace Foundation in Boston (see box). Spínola's San Francisco host, the World Affairs Council, is a similar reactionary group of wealthy businessmen (its current president is a former president of the CIA-funded Asia Foundation).

In the question period most of the comments were hostile to Spínola, coming from representatives of the left press. To a question from a *WV* reporter about where his terrorist organization gets its money, Spínola said the "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP) is financed by anti-communist Portuguese around the world, but added: "This doesn't mean that we don't have non-Portuguese contributors." Chief among these "non-Portuguese contributors" is the CIA, which has bankrolled the operations of MDLP mercenaries working hand-in-glove with South Africa in Angola.

But the real questions were addressed by the militants who protested outside against the butcher of Angola and his reactionary crusade for an anti-communist coup in Portugal. Solidarity with our Portuguese class brothers demands the vigorous exposure of Spínola's evil schemes of drowning the workers movement in blood. Forward to the construction of proletarian vanguard parties in Portugal and the U.S.—Forward to the reforging of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution! ■

What Is the World Peace Foundation?

According to the *Boston Phoenix* (25 November), the World Peace Foundation, the organization which sponsored Spínola's appearance in Boston, has an exclusive membership of 120 government-oriented academics and top corporate leaders. Its Board of Trustees is top-heavy with people linked to the CIA and U.S. foreign-policy apparatus. Among them are: Robert R. Bowie—employed at the Center for International Affairs, the Harvard operation which produced Henry Kissinger and is notorious for its many CIA-funded projects.

Edward A. Gullien—Dean of Harvard's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, former U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam.

I. Milton Sacks—Brandeis University professor who received several contracts from the Agency for International Development to go to South Vietnam and produce studies to aid U.S. policy planners; also a member of the State Department policy group on Vietnam. George P. Lodge—Harvard Business School professor who helped direct international trade-union programs and the Harvard International Management Institute, which received CIA money for the training of foreign anti-communist leaders.

The Foundation's next guest speaker is none other than William Colby, director of the CIA.

tration and support Democratic "friends of labor."

The "revolutionaries'" record of grovelling opportunist prostration before the CLUW leadership is quite despicable. Delighted by the prospect of an arena in which to simultaneously exercise both their feminism and their workerism, the fake lefts enthusiastically and uncritically welcomed the advent of CLUW, buried themselves and their politics to make CLUW a "success" and capitulated in every confrontation. In contrast, the Spartacist League has fought for its class-struggle program, politically exposed the bureaucrats at every opportunity, and pointed out that:

"CLUW is not a temporary stage on the road to socialist consciousness, but rather a roadblock which will be transformed or smashed as an obstacle as the proletariat develops revolutionary consciousness."

Women and Revolution No. 6, Summer 1974

Oust the Bureaucrats!

From the first, the SL has characterized CLUW as a fraud, a "dead-end for working women." Beginning with its earliest meetings, CLUW exposed itself

as the captive creature of the labor bureaucracy. The role of these traitors is to throttle working-class struggles—to guarantee that working people will pay for the bankruptcy of capitalism in decline. They are the purveyors of bourgeois ideology within the workers movement, responsible for confining labor's struggles within the limitations of capitalism and for sabotaging the actions undertaken. They derive their power and privilege from their service to the employers in pitting the workers against each other, at the expense above all of the most exploited.

In the last analysis, the CLUW bureaucrats share with the bosses the responsibility for discrimination against women workers. The labor bureaucracy's stranglehold on the workers movement must be shattered by the construction of oppositional tendencies within the unions based on a program of militant class struggle which can weld the entire labor movement into a fighting force for the fundamental interests of all the oppressed.

Women workers' resistance to their degradation under capitalism is of vital concern to revolutionists. But CLUW was never a real vehicle for this resistance. Born as a cynical division of labor within the union bureaucracy, CLUW in its death throes represents no real loss for working women, but highlights again the vacuum of class-struggle leadership which must be resolved in order that the light for the emancipation of the working class can be seriously undertaken. ■

NOTICE

During December *Workers Vanguard* will be published bi-weekly, the next issue being dated December 19. Beginning with the 2 January 1976 issue *WV* will resume weekly publication.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUM

B.C. Election: No Vote to NDP Strikebreakers!

Speaker: TOM RILEY
Trotskyist League
Central Committee

Saturday, December 6
at 8:00 p.m.

Fisherman's Hall
138 East Cordova

VANCOUVER, B.C.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Angola—Mao's Bloc with CIA

Speaker:
CHARLES O'BRIEN
Spartacist League Central
Committee,
Editor, *Young Spartacus*

Saturday, December 13
at 7:30 p.m.

306A Barnard Hall
Barnard College

NEW YORK

Donation: \$1

For more information: 925-5665

Support Calhoun, Guyton Court Suits Against Killer Cops!

Police Terror in the Streets of Oakland

OAKLAND On August 19, Floyd Calhoun, 23 years old and black, was gunned down on the streets of East Oakland. He was hit in the back, neck and legs as he ran from trigger-happy cops who claim he committed a robbery and refused to halt at their command. Calhoun was executed without arrest, without trial, without a conviction. He was a victim of the racist cop "justice"—indiscriminate repression unleashed by a bloodthirsty occupying army—which kills hundreds of innocent people every year in the decaying ghettos of the United States.

Eyewitnesses to the Calhoun slaying point to the arbitrary savagery of the massive police overkill: the street was blocked off, four shotgun-toting cops were only a few yards behind their victim and several police cars were in the vicinity, at least a dozen arriving immediately after the shooting (*Black Panther*, 15 September). Police bullets pierced the windows and fences of houses in the neighborhood and Calhoun, who was unarmed, was shot not once but twice. His life was taken for the suspected crime of stealing \$23...and being black.

The Calhoun killing is a tragic instance of the cop terror which is on the rise nationally and throughout the Bay Area. S.F. Mayor Alioto's racist "Operation Zebra" sweep last year was only one of the most dramatic examples of this ominous trend. In 1973, 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton was shot by Emeryville police while running from an allegedly stolen car; earlier this year Dennis Kortum was shot dead by police while fleeing from a commercial establishment in Pleasant Hill; in Oakland so far in 1975 there have been five other killings by police officers, in addition to that of Calhoun, all of them ruled "justifiable homicide." And these are only the few cases reported in the local newspapers or taken to court. Meanwhile Richard Nixon (the executioner of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese) and Nelson Rockefeller (the Butcher of Attica) go free. This is the racist bourgeois "justice" that black people justifiably fear and hate.

What are the legal grounds for these "out-of-court settlements" where cops dispense sentences of capital punishment simply by pulling the trigger? The California state penal code defines "justifiable homicide by public officers" as any instance where killing is "neces-

sary" in "retaking felons," or when "necessarily committed in arresting persons charged with felony and who are fleeing from justice or resisting such arrest..." A killing by the cops is also ruled "justifiable" when "necessarily committed in overcoming actual resistance to the execution of some legal process, or in the discharge of any other legal duty." Of course, the cop is always "doing his duty" when he shoots ghetto youth!

In response to outcries against police brutality, some "restrictions" to this law have been added by police chiefs of some cities. In Oakland, the departmental regulations prohibit shooting people under the age of 18 and those suspected of auto theft or burglary, except where allegedly in defense of the cop's life. Naturally, the police always claim their lives are in danger and usually get a sympathetic hearing from review boards and the courts. Furthermore, these restrictions on the "discretionary powers" of the cops must be legally validated in court. When policemen in Long Beach took their chief to court, his directives were declared invalid.

In any case, the point of such "restrictions" is less to limit cop terror than to provide a legal cover for it. Thus the brutal slaughter of Floyd Calhoun was *entirely within the limits* of the "restricted" Oakland policy, not to mention the California law and similar state law elsewhere. It is clear that the capitalist state provides legal protection for its domestic armed forces, not defense of democratic rights and protection of life it claims to offer its citizens.

Floyd Calhoun's relatives have done more than mourn his death. They have formed the Justice for the Calhoun Family Committee, and their attorney has filed suit against the Oakland Police Department for negligence. The lawyer is also considering a federal suit under the Civil Rights Act in order to have the present police firearms laws declared unconstitutional, as these codes clearly violate the right to due process of law, the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty and the right to protection against cruel and unusual punishment. In a similar legal action, the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton was formed following his death at the hands of the police and for two years has sought an indictment against the killers—without success. However, in May 1974 a demonstration to protest Guyton's execution drew 2,500 supporters from throughout the Bay Area.

The actions of the Calhoun and Guyton Committees in suing the police are definitely supportable. They should be given wide publicity in the fight against cop brutality in the ghetto. But the capitalist class will not voluntarily disarm its hired guns, who are likely to be given *more* rather than less latitude by the courts as the ruling class begins to feel the heat from smoldering anger in the depressed ghettos. Legal procedures alone will not stop the killer cops, and relying on the courts can create dangerous illusions about the possibility of obtaining real justice under capitalism.

Solidarity in opposition to police killings is vitally necessary in the struggle to prevent the occurrence of

more Calhouns and Guytons. We call for unity against racist cop terror and support to the legal actions against the police! This common unified outrage, however, is not necessarily reflected in programmatic agreement on *how* to end cop brutality. For instance, the SL views the cops as the domestic armed might of the capitalist class—a force that cannot be reformed or "controlled" but which must be smashed by workers rule. The Calhoun committee has different opinions on this issue.

In a recent leaflet the committee raised several demands which express confidence in the very police apparatus that is under attack in their court suit. For instance it states: "The OPD should only be allowed to fire their guns when lives are threatened"—this is nearly the letter of the law as it now stands. "Community oriented training and screening of Oakland Police" is a demand for community controlled cops which creates illusions that a "blacker" police force will be less repressive in the ghetto. The fact is that a cop is a cop with a dirty job to do for his capitalist bosses. The ghetto cannot "control, train and screen" the cops who are put there to slaughter its youth. Not community control of the cops, but cops out of the ghetto!

The defense committee also demands: "Equal protection for all Oakland neighborhoods." This demand ignores the racist and class character of American society and blurs the role of the police. Cops do not protect black and working people. There is a reason why they protect the lives and property in rich neighborhoods like Oakland Hills and terrorize the ghetto—that is their job. The only extension of "equal protection" under capitalism can be the extension of police terror!

Other demands recently put forward by the Calhoun committee—"Public disclosure of all facts in the 1975 killings by the OPD" and "Stop harassment of minority communities—are fully supportable. The SL and PDC, despite their disagreements with some of the Calhoun committee's propaganda, are firmly determined to work alongside all those committed to opposing the cops and protesting these racist atrocities.

Tyrone Guyton is dead. Floyd Calhoun is dead. But the cops' racist terror continues unabated. Every uncontested act of police brutality only opens the way for the next one. The victims are those shot dead in the streets. The real criminals are those who do the shooting, the police, and those whose interests are protected by this racist and class repression: the capitalists. Only by overthrowing the bloody rule of the exploiters can racist cop terror be finally eliminated and the conditions created for ending the brutal oppression of minorities.

For more information on the cases, and to send messages of support and financial contributions, contact:

—Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family
P.O. Box 5454
Oakland, CA 94605
—Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton
3310 Grove Street
Oakland, CA 94609

NAACP Asks Courts to Close South Boston High

BOSTON, December 1—South Boston High School remains in the center of the struggle over school busing here. At the NAACP annual awards banquet on November 15, Boston branch president Thomas Atkins announced plans to ask federal judge Arthur Garrity, who presides over the desegregation suit, to close the school because of repeated assaults, harassment and discrimination against black students. The motion also requested removal hearings for two white teachers and a transitional aide accused of racist actions.

The hearings, which began on November 22, have riveted public attention in this racially polarized city. Tensions have run high between black and white spectators, most of whom were unable to get inside the packed courtroom. On the first day, police used nightsticks to push back a number of black people clustered outside the courtroom. The cops provoked a scuffle, then arrested five blacks who had come to attend the hearing.

The NAACP attorneys introduced affidavits from black students that describe the intolerable conditions they face daily at South Boston High School. One such affidavit said:

"Frequently, one or two black students have been attacked by a much larger group of white students, without provocation. More often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the black students involved in the incident but only one or two white students. The black students are disciplined for defending themselves from an unprovoked attack while numbers of the white attackers escape any disciplinary measures."

Many of these attacks have been instigated by anonymous racist leaflets distributed around the school.

The NAACP accused two teachers and an aide of harassing black students. Black students testified that one teacher stood on his desk and made ape-like gestures and sounds to ridicule them. A football coach is charged with blocking efforts of black students to join the team and, when that failed, inciting the white players to attack their black teammates. The aide was charged with kicking a black student in the head, but the plaintiffs dropped the accusation when they were unable to produce the victim of the alleged assault and when all the transitional aides, a third of them black, disputed the charge.

But the NAACP motion is no defense against the racist terror in Boston's schools. Closing South Boston High School is an attempt to evade the racist offensive. It would mean a duplication of the same problem in other schools and, in the context of education budget cuts, would represent a cutback in school facilities. And it is an attack on the union and teachers' job security.

WORKERS VANGUARD

PUBLIC MEETING Stop Racist Police Terror!

Speakers:

JOYCE CALHOUN

Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family

MATTIE SHEPHERD

Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton

ELLERY ALLEN

Philip L. Allen Defense Committee

Friday, December 5 at 7:30 p.m.
Laney College Room D-200
OAKLAND, California

Sponsored by the
Partisan Defense Committee

It is indicative of the NAACP's treacherous reliance on the capitalist state that, while demanding that the racist school administration get rid of three Boston Teachers Union (BTU) members, it has not even initiated legal proceedings against the cops. While attempting to cajole the bourgeoisie into reforming itself at a snail's pace, the NAACP eagerly latches onto ruling class assaults on the labor movement. In September it urged Judge Garrity to issue a federal injunction against the BTU when it went on strike to protect teachers' wages from inflation, to maintain class size restrictions and to extend special education programs.

The accusations against the three BTU members are indeed serious and require investigation. But not by the school administrators and courts, defenders of the racist status quo! The union itself must hold open hearings in cooperation with parents and students on all charges of racist practices by teachers and aides. While defending its members' jobs, the BTU must clearly assert its determination to root out racist practices and must drop its countersuit for libel against the NAACP. The countersuit suggests that the union leadership is far more interested in "getting" the NAACP and squealing any investigation than in cleaning up its own house, free from union-busting interference by the bosses' government. The BTU must take an unequivocal stand for implementation of housing and work with anti-racist parents and students to organize integrated defense teams to replace the cops who have turned South Boston High School into a virtual concentration camp for black and white students alike. ■

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For Mass Militant Labor Action

Stop Nazi Demonstrations in Chicago!

No Sectarian Exclusion—No Appeals to Bosses' Cops!

CHICAGO, November 27 White racist violence on Chicago's southwest side is escalating as the Nazis (National Socialist White People's Party), based in Marquette Park, have launched increasingly aggressive attacks on blacks in neighboring West Englewood. The Nazi-inspired campaign of arson, fire-bombing, window-smashing and threats against black children included the vicious beating of a black reporter last August. Now this fascist filth is becoming ever bolder in its savage forays into the black community.

Over the last four years the Nazis have held some 40 rallies on the southwest side. Last February they ran four candidates in the city's elections for alderman, racking up 16 percent of the vote in one ward. Nazi head Frank Collin, the "White Man's Candidate," ran a race-hate campaign to "Stop the Black Invasion" of Marquette Park, an all-white neighborhood composed largely of Lithuanian and other East European-derived lower-income whites, also including an estimated 3,000 policemen. This is the neighborhood where Martin Luther King was stoned during a 1966 civil rights march.

The Nazis are preying on the backward social views and racial fears of the whites who have put their savings into the brick homes which make up Marquette Park. They have achieved a wide measure of toleration for their murderous racial poison and are becoming increasingly audacious in their night-riding attacks on black families buying homes on the borderline between West Englewood and Marquette Park.

Mayor Daley, interested in preserving Chicago's eroding image as a city "that works" and his own reputation as a tough guy who does not allow things to get "out of hand," would prefer to keep the lid on the seething racist cauldron. In addition, Daley was no doubt concerned to keep the Nazis from mucking around in Marquette Park, one of several lily-white areas of southwest Chicago which have been known as his electoral hailiwickies. The city administration recently prevented a Nazi rally by requiring a \$500,000 bond as insurance on a city-owned house where the Nazis were planning to meet. On October 12, Frank Collin and some 30 of his degenerate supporters were arrested as they attempted to rampage into West Englewood where a militant anti-Nazi rally was being held with a wide range of socialist, black and labor organizations (see "Chicago Rally Against Nazi Provocation," *WV* No. 82, 24 October).

But only the most pathetically naive liberal or hardened cynic could claim to believe that the Daley machine is interested in the plight of oppressed racial minorities or can be "pressured" into defending the terrorized black families. This is the same Mayor Daley whose cops, in concert with the FBI, staged a 1969 pre-dawn raid on a Chicago Black Panther Party apartment, executing Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a hail of machine gun bullets while the Panther leaders lay in

bed asleep. This is the Mayor Daley who openly laughs at press conferences when asked about discrimination in Chicago, whose administration is riddled with corruption, whose police department has had millions of dollars of federal revenue-sharing funds withheld because of its discriminatory practices, whose public schools have been denied aid because of segregation.

Daley and his brutal cops are the tools of the capitalists who feed on the overcrowded misery of Chicago's expanding black ghetto. Daley's machine is the servant of the local mortgage companies who make a quick profit on rapid turnover when black families cannot afford to meet their exorbitant payments. These callous manipulators of the lives and livelihood of black working people exemplify the inhuman racist system which ensures the continued poverty and degradation of the black masses.

The infamous Daley machine and its ruthless police department want to run Chicago their way, without "help" from Nazi vigilantes. But should the "normal" mechanisms of capitalist control prove insufficient, the bourgeoisie will turn in an instant to these shock troops of reaction to uphold the tyranny of capital. A prime source for the human garbage which will swell the fascists' ranks will be the police themselves. An older black policeman in the district covering Marquette Park admitted to a *WV* reporter that many cops in the area are already today active Nazi supporters.

Yet despite the purulent corruption and virulent racist brutality of Chicago's cops, it is precisely to these thugs that the Chicago Urban League and self-styled West Englewood "community leader" Willie Curtis have turned, pleading for more police "protection" for black people.

The Urban League has extensively documented over 40 incidents of tear-gas bombings, brick-throwing, arson, vandalism and threats against black families. The Chicago police have repeatedly turned a blind eye to these attacks. In fact, police spokesman Sgt. Myron Trunk claimed there have been "no serious incidents to justify" round-the-clock police details at individual homes (*Chicago Tribune*, 19 October). Willie Curtis was quick to respond, "If



WV photo

October 12 anti-Nazi rally, Chicago.

the police can't do the job, we'll do whatever is necessary." And what is necessary? Curtis obligingly specified: "going to the state for help or filing suit in Federal Court."

Curtis was a featured speaker at the Student Coalition Against Racism meeting here on November 22. His policy of pressuring the capitalist government naturally delighted the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which dominates the group, although his blatant sexism and vehement polemics against integration caused less hardened SWP supporters to openly eringe. Curtis denounced the October 12 anti-Nazi rally, claiming that "any group of people have the right to demonstrate peacefully" and that blacks are being "used" by the left. Robert Williams of the Chicago Urban League is pushing the same threadbare anti-communist line: "The Nazis and those leftist groups are just trying to use people—black and white—who have a lot in common, and the police aren't doing enough to stop them" (*Chicago Tribune*, 19 October).

The SWP's perspective of relying on cops and federal troops to protect blacks leads it to cover up militant self-defense efforts. Since the SWP refuses to admit that independent labor-black defense is possible, therefore it is forced to deny that exemplary work in mobilizing resistance to racist attacks is actually taking place! For example, the *Militant* (21 November) carried an article on the Nazis' activities not even mentioning the

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Cleaver Comes Home to "Paradise"

Panthers Rot in Prison Hellholes

DECEMBER 1—Former Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver returned last week to the imperialist "Babylon" he left as a fugitive seven years ago. One of the most prominent opponents of racist American capitalism during the sixties, Cleaver "came home" to renounce his past militancy in a disgusting display of cynicism that is a slap in the face to the masses of black people who still confront cop terror and racist mob violence, and to the dozens of present or former Panthers who still rot behind bars. Turning his back on them, Cleaver whines, "Here I stand outside of the paradise I once scorned, begging to be let back in" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 November).

From lumpen convict to Black Muslim to a leader of the organization which was the most militant expression of black nationalism, Cleaver during the late 1960's was pitted in a fight against black oppression. Although lacking a program to challenge capitalist rule, his sharp denunciations of racism and open defiance of bourgeois state authority marked him in the eyes of the bourgeoisie as someone to get. Implicated in a shoot-out with Oakland, California, cops in April 1968 (during which 16-year-old BPP member Bobby Hutton was killed), Cleaver's parole was revoked and he fled the country to avoid a return to prison.

Viewing the ghetto rebellions of the sixties not as unorganized reactions to racial oppression and police violence, but rather as revolutionary battles directed toward the overthrow of capitalism, Cleaver was the main exponent of the urban-guerrillaist "pick-up-the-gun" strategy. The Panthers saw the dispossessed lumpen as the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard, ignoring the vast social power of black workers as an integral part of the American industrial proletariat. The contradictions inherent in this nationalist, lumpen-based strategy eventually led to a split between the explicitly reformist Newton wing and the guerrillaist Cleaverites.

In exile in Algiers and isolated by the Newton majority of the party, Cleaver's ability to exert any influence over the black movement here rapidly ebbed. As he grew increasingly disillusioned with the bourgeois "left" nationalist leaders of Algeria and subsequently with the Stalinist bureaucrats in Havana and Peking, Cleaver lapsed into a long period of silent inactivity. Yet he was not politically naive, and no degree of disillusionment can justify the viciously



Jean-Pierre Tartra/Gamma-Liaison

Eldridge Cleaver

anti-communist and pro-imperialist course he has now taken. Interviewed in *Rolling Stone* (11 September), Cleaver admonishes the same imperialist state which organized and carried out the legal lynching of so many of his ex-comrades to be "second to none militarily." He pleads with the murderers of Indochinese workers and peasants "to be truly the force for democracy... we have an obligation to help in the disintegration of the totalitarian Soviet regime."

Copping a plea, saying he only wants "a day in court," Cleaver cynically claims that U.S. society has improved for black people, thereby spitting on the memory of all those Black Panther Party martyrs whose "day in court" was a midnight raid where cops exercised instant "justice" by on-the-spot executions. Documents relinquished by the FBI in 1973 describe a national campaign (part of Cointelpro) to disrupt the Black Panther Party and other black nationalist groups beginning in 1967. The documents suggest that "...entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader.... pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders (for) their ineptness or personal escapades... indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids... revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds" (*Chicago Daily News*, 22 May).

But even more ominous forms of "disruption" are indicated by the FBI's deep implication in the 1969 assassination of Illinois BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a pre-dawn police raid. The raid was set up by William O'Neal, a paid informer infil-

trated by the FBI into the Chicago Panthers. And this was no isolated incident of local police on the rampage. In the last nine months of 1969, police conducted 15 other surprise raids on BPP offices and apartments throughout the country. At least 28 Panthers had been victims of police killings by 1971. Others, like Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins were shot down by members of the right-wing cultural nationalist U.S. organization led by Ron Karenga, now a self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist."

In the 1971 split the New York leadership was most closely identified with Cleaver's urban guerrilla line. Twenty-one New York Panthers were arrested in April 1969 and charged with conspiracy in a patently phony bomb plot. Acquitted after spending nearly two years in jail, most of the Panther 21 were back in prison shortly on other charges. The burning desire of the ruling class to frame up these black rebels was shown in the recently concluded hearing of Robert Collier, one of the 21, who following his acquittal in the 1969-71 trial was spied on day and night by an undercover cop working for the New York Police Department's Bureau of Special Services. The BOSS agent produced 500 pages of reports for his employers, but this mass of paper did not prove "illegal activities" by Collier but only BOSS' persecution of black militants.

Some of the other Panther 21 were instrumental in the formation of the ill-fated Black Liberation Army (BLA), a loosely organized group that engaged in random attacks on the police and other manifestations of bourgeois repression in order to keep alive the spirit of ghetto rebellion. Alleged BLAers still in prison include Joanne Chesimard, Herman Bell, Fred Hilton, Henry Brown, Albert Washington, Richard Moore and Clark Squire. Squire, in particular, faces a sentence of life plus 24 to 30 years!

On the West Coast, San Quentin Prison houses Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, former Southern California BPP Minister of Defense. Pratt, charged with assault and murder, was arrested last year with Panther Ronald Freeman. Freeman is up on a charge of conspiracy. Another Panther, Johnny Larry Spain, is one of the San Quentin Six. Spain is taken into the courtroom daily, bound in chains and shackled to his chair, to face charges stemming from the August 1971 "escape attempt" apparently engineered by prison authorities as a pretext for the cold-blooded execution of BPP leader George Jackson.

Lance Bell and Bradley Green were arrested on charges of murder stemming from a shoot-out in Chicago in 1969. The police attack on them was viewed by many as a dress rehearsal by Daley's cops for the massacre of Hampton and Clark. Another Chicago Panther, Arthur Lee, is also in jail.

Veron "T.C." Benton, a Black Panther Party member in Houston, is in jail on charges of armed robbery. Robert Heard, Oakland Black Panther leader, is serving one to five years on an assault conviction in Oakland. David Rice and Ed Poindexter, leaders of the Panther-supported National Committee to Combat Fascism, are serving life sentences in Omaha for the 1970 bombing death of a cop. The New York-based National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, which includes the NYC Black Panther Party, lists other "prisoners of war" including Michael Alston, Thomas McCreary,

Harold Simmons, Oscar Washington, William Owens, Robert Malik Brown and Joseph Bowen.

Unlike various New Left-liberal guilt-tripping groups like the International Socialists and the Revolutionary Union, the Spartacist League never hid criticisms of the Panthers' nationalist ideology and adventurist tactics. We attempted to win these potentially valuable cadre through political struggle to a working-class orientation as the only road to black liberation. At the same time, we have always stood in the forefront of those forces fighting for the freedom of Black Panther Party political prisoners victimized by the racist capitalist state.

Our tasks are no less clear in relation to lumpen-militarists and self-proclaimed advocates of guerrilla struggle such as the BLA. It is the duty of communists to defend militants imprisoned for acts of violence against the police and symbols of capitalist oppression, committed with the intention of striking a blow on behalf of the oppressed. However wrong-headed and self-defeating the tactics of individual political terrorism may be, many of these would-be guerrilla warriors have fought and died in the hope of bringing down the murderous capitalist system. This is particularly important today since many fake socialists are no longer concerned with the elementary task of proletarian solidarity now that the BPP has lost its hegemony among black organizations on the left.

Cleaver's grovelling may yet win him the lighter sentence and "respectability" he so desperately craves from this racist "force for democracy." Other quislings have already traveled his path. But the bourgeoisie does not grant general amnesties in the class war. One or two prominent sellouts like Cleaver are quite sufficient for public relations purposes. Freedom for imprisoned black militants will not be doled out in return for "changes of heart" and exemplary rehabilitation in prison hell-holes. It can only be won as part of the struggle to smash racial oppression through proletarian revolution. ■

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UAW Militants Win Right to Leaflet

We publish below an interview with Lisa Diamond, an assembly worker at Ford's plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, and a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 906. The MSC recently won a decision before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) striking down a company rule which had prohibited the Caucus from distributing its literature to union members on company property.

The union leadership had been permitted by the company to distribute its own material inside the plant gates, and expressed no interest in fighting for oppositional groups to have the same right. Repeatedly refused permission by Ford to distribute on company property, the MSC filed suit against the company under the National Labor Relations Act. A hearing was held, and the findings of the Administrative Law Judge were later upheld by the NLRB. The decision was reported in the Bergen County Record, the New York Times, and on WABC and WCBS radio.

The right to effectively distribute literature to one's fellow employees—which usually means at or in the workplace—is central to the right to organize unions, which was fought for and finally won by the workers in bitter struggles. The Supreme Court interpreted the right to distribute literature as part of the right to organize in a decision in 1973, granting union officials the right to distribute literature, which by no coincidence also ensures that anti-union elements would be given free reign to propagandize against unions without interference. But subsequent NLRB decisions in dozens of cases have confirmed the right to distribute on company property for pro-union groups opposed to the existing labor misleaders. However, the luck of a general union struggle to realize this right for the bulk of union members has allowed it to remain completely ignored in most plants and industries.

WV: You just won a victory for the right to distribute literature on company property. What do you see as the importance of your struggle for distribution rights to the workers at Mahwah, the United Auto Workers and labor as a whole?

Diamond: This decision gives the members of our Local the right to distribute literature at the inner gates, or in the cafeteria, or some other "non-working area" of the plant, instead of having to stand on the highway ramps, off company property, where cars are speeding by. This right is vital for any oppositionist or union member seeking to influence the membership and policies of the union, since it is obviously impossible to reach the members from the highway. A union can only advance if its membership is allowed to hammer out the merits of different courses of action. It is now possible that members with oppositional views will not fear to put them forward. This will not be to the advantage of our present union leaders, either here or in Detroit, which is why they didn't do anything to win it.

The right to communicate militant and oppositional ideas to the members is vital to the unions themselves, and to the workers' right to organize. It's no surprise that the courts and NLRB do not recognize the unrestricted right of free speech on company property, since the "right" of private property is fundamental to capitalism. But thanks to the bitter struggles by the working class during the 1930's and 1940's, the right to organize unions was forcibly extracted from the capitalists. Because of this, and in spite of the reactionary labor laws, the NLRB was forced to

grant us a ruling that Ford's refusal to let us leaflet on company property was illegal.

Naturally, we do not expect Ford Motor Company to go along with this decision without further attempts to stop us and smash our democratic rights. The Militant Solidarity Caucus has a far-reaching program of class struggle against Ford and the rest of the giant corporations that rule this country and the world, and we intend to begin exercising our right to put it forward. Already, twice as many workers are receiving our leaflets as before!

WV: You mentioned that the Militant Solidarity Caucus has a far-reaching program of class struggle. I understand the lawyer for Ford tried to show in the hearing that your leaflets were irrelevant to workers in the plant because they dealt with unemployment, ending restrictions on wages, expropriation of industry and other broad social issues and demands!

Diamond: Of course the company lawyer tried to make our program seem irrelevant. The company program is that workers should shut up, do their work and let the companies and their politicians run society! Our leaflets are immediately relevant to events at Mahwah and to the UAW. One that came up in the hearing was about a company attempt to schedule overtime in violation of the contract. Ford did this by declaring that Mahwah was a "new" plant just because it was producing a new model! This trickery enabled them to get through a loophole in the last contract, the one Woodcock claimed prevented overtime. Our local officials were ignoring this violation.

So our leaflet called for resistance to forced overtime throughout the entire industry and in our plant through strike action. We also called for an industry-wide strike to win a substantial wage hike, a full cost-of-living escalator



Lisa Diamond

WV photo

clause and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make more work for all. Why should one plant work overtime when thousands of auto workers and other workers are laid off? On another occasion when our plant faced layoffs, we called for use of sit-down strikes to stop layoffs.

It's not hard to see why Ford wants to say our program is "irrelevant" to workers at Mahwah! The answer to lousy working conditions comes down to the question of who owns and controls the factories. We call for expropriating industry and establishing a planned economy controlled by a workers government.

WV: How did the NLRB Administrative Law Judge draw a distinction between the leaflets he said were protected, and the one on the elections

and workers party that wasn't?

Diamond: The judge's position is that protected leaflets must speak to conditions in the plant. Evidently he would like the workers to think that politics does not affect conditions in the plant. We pointed out in the hearing that what takes place in Washington has a good deal of relevance to conditions in the plant, through taxes, economic policy, labor laws, wage controls and so on and on. The judge's ruling would allow discussion of these issues only where it is "social commentary" contained in leaflets dealing with "plant issues." It should be clear that the courts and Labor Board are tools of the ruling class and cannot be counted on to protect the

I'll give you an example of how this works out. During last November's elections our officials campaigned in the parking lot for Byrne for New Jersey governor. They said he would be a "friend of labor." So Byrne's first official act in office was to try to smash the New Jersey State College teachers strike. Our Local was aiding this strike by letting the strikers use our union hall, while the man our officials helped elect is trying to break it! And the judge won't defend our right to distribute a leaflet denouncing him and calling for a workers party supposedly because it's irrelevant! If class-struggle militants had the same rights to oppose the Democrats as the bureaucrats do to



WVphoto

Militant Solidarity Caucus leafletting at inner-plant gate after NLRB decision.

rights of the workers. In fact, numerous other cases have already established the right to leaflet on company property, and yet this right is ignored in the vast majority of plants and industries. It's mainly because of the inaction of the union leadership that this right remains largely dormant.

There's another point, related to our court suit, that I want to bring out. Because the union tops don't fight, union militants and oppositionists can sometimes make small gains by going to the courts or Labor Board against the companies or against the government itself. But a lot of militants extend this to include taking unions or their leaders to court for various bureaucratic abuses. This is a disastrous error which we firmly oppose. It can only lead to greater control by the bosses' government over the labor movement.

WV: What has been the role of the UAW bureaucracy on the leafletting issue?

Diamond: Our local officials were completely uninterested in filing a grievance or in any way taking up this struggle, so we had to take the company to the NLRB on our own. The UAW leadership likes to pay lip service to union democracy, but in fact they're not interested at all in having a free and open debate on strategy for labor within the membership. If they ever had a free debate in the UAW, Woodcock would run the danger of having his sellout policies exposed and he and his flunkies might be tossed out!

The officials like to have the opposition out on the highway while they hand out their leaflets in the plant. The company will rope off a section of the parking lot anytime they ask, just so that union officials can hand out propaganda for the Democratic Party. But when we want to hand out a leaflet demanding a break with both capitalist parties and for a workers party based on the trade unions, the answer is "no." As a matter of fact, the answer is still "no," since the judge turned down our right to distribute a leaflet solely on this issue, saying it infringed on Ford's property rights!

support them, it would be much harder the next time for the union officials to get away with pushing the next phony Democrat that comes along.

WV: The union officials enjoy a privileged position, enhanced by the company, through which they attempt to appear as the only legitimate representatives of the workers.

Diamond: Sure, the officials like having us out on the highway because it makes us appear to be "outsiders" while they are the "voice of the membership." Two years ago we had a spontaneous, unofficial strike over the firing of a popular union vice-president who was

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Lisbon...

(continued from page 1)

"far left" and with General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, until Wednesday head of the COPCON security forces and military governor of the Lisbon region. Immediate steps were taken against the military police regiment (RPM) and the Lisbon light artillery regiment (RALIS), both of which have large numbers of soldiers to the left of the Communist Party (CP) and which the high command has been unable to control for months. Soldiers from these units had been clearly in evidence at demonstrations defending strikes, such as the construction workers' siege of the Constituent Assembly and Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo in São Bento Palace for a day and a half earlier this month.

Although neither the RPM nor RALIS took more than defensive action during Tuesday's military revolt in the capital, it was against them that the government moved. The paratroopers, who launched the revolt and have until recently been aligned with the right, were allowed to retreat in order. The only firefight of the entire crisis took place about 9 a.m. Wednesday morning at Belem Palace (residence of President Francisco da Costa Gomes) when Commandos from the Amadora regiment headed by notorious right winger Jaime Neves opened up on the hopelessly outgunned military police. One MP was killed as were three Commandos. The RPM, RALIS and several other military units of the Lisbon district (including the paratroopers) have now been disarmed and dishanded, or dispersed to different bases around the country.

Equally significant, at the top levels of the military virtually all leftist and ostensibly radical officers have been purged. Most prominent, of course, are Carvalho and Carlos Fahião, army chief of staff, both of whom were allowed to resign their posts. Not so fortunate were 51 others who were arrested, several of them transferred immediately to the Custodias prison in Porto. Among those reportedly arrested were Major Dinis de Almeida (operational commander of RALIS), Commanders Campos Andrada and Tome (chief and deputy chief of the RPM) and several members of the former Fifth Division (a CP-dominated agit-prop unit dissolved last summer). In addition, about an equal number of soldiers were arrested in Porto for joining a rally against the massive repression in Lisbon.

Role of the Socialist Party

With the large-scale purge of the left in the armed forces, the "moderates" of the MFA have for the first time since the appearance of the sixth provisional government in mid-September consolidated a considerable margin for maneuver for the right-center regime. Last week's confrontation graphically revealed the absence of both a revolutionary party capable of leading masses forward and a soviet organization which could centralize resistance to the rightist crackdown. The tremendous disorganization of the left and deep divisions in the working class were laid bare. As a result of the treacherous policies of both the CP and Socialist Party (SP) leaderships, which snipe at each other while tying the masses to class-collaborationist popular-front governments, the combative workers and soldiers simply did not know how to respond to the right-wing power play.

While most followers of the Socialist Party probably believed claims that the CP was attempting a coup to impose a dictatorship, there was widespread unease over the total suspension of democratic rights by the vicious "moderates." Crowds gathered daily throughout Lisbon to debate the situation, but without any sense of direction,

By and large people were just wandering around in confusion. The SP conspicuously refrained from any active part in the events, providing its supporters with no leadership. It issued a brief communiqué Wednesday morning in the form of a leaflet stating that the:

"... SP has, with its mass mobilizations and its network of news, played a decisive role in the movements of the democratic forces, cooperating with the military forces loyal to the government, the Revolutionary Council and the president."

Saying nothing about the clampdown on the press (including pro-SP papers) and broadcast media, the statement appealed only for "firmness, revolutionary vigilance and serenity of all democrats."

This restraint was in marked contrast to Mario Soares' increasingly inflammatory rhetoric of recent days. The SP leader repeatedly challenged the Communist Party to civil war, including in his speech at the mass rally held in Lisbon on Sunday, November 23. The rally, which added fuel to the developing crisis, was attended by some 60,000-80,000 people, largely petty-bourgeois in composition and intensely anti-CP. There were neither leftist soldiers' nor organized workers' contingents present. Speakers hailed Jaime Neves and his Commandos, while demanding the ouster of Carvalho as a traitor.

The tenor of the crowd was indicated by their chants. One of the more graphic was, "The hammer and sickle in the head of Otelo!" Carvalho had become the focus of rightist vituperation particularly due to his refusal to break up the construction workers' demonstration and because (under pressure from leftist units in the capital) he briefly resisted the Revolutionary Council's attempt to dismiss him as commander of the Lisbon Military Region. Other slogans included: "Death to Cunha! [head of the CP], death to Carvalho!" "Communists to Siberia!" and—using Maoist terminology for the pro-Moscow Stalinists—"Down with social-fascism!" One of the right-wing Angolan refugee groups had mobilized its supporters for the Socialist demonstration, and at one point a section of the crowd cried "Down with the MPLA!"

But despite this kind of fire-and-brimstone build-up, the SP was passive during and after November 25. Its failure to call for demonstrations of support for the SP-dominated sixth government was certainly influenced by the fact that while Soares has aligned himself far to the right, the party's working-class supporters are anti-fascist and pro-socialist. Among the ranks there was undoubtedly opposition to the suppression of democratic rights and blanket freeze on wage increases. Another reason for the SP's restraint was a deliberate government policy of avoiding any decisive test of strength with the workers—a demonstration of just how fragile the center-right regime considers its hold on the country to be.

A Cautious Repression

Portugal's rulers avoided confrontations with proletarian strongholds last week. We can safely say that while the workers suffered an important defeat during the crisis, it is far from decisive. The major points of working-class resistance were the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards, Siderurgia Nacional steel plant, Sorefume and several other Lisbon-area factories, all of which struck against the declaration of a state of emergency and the attack on the leftist military units. The government made absolutely no move against the strikes, which occurred on Wednesday and Thursday. When workers under Communist Party leadership marched out of Lisnave at 10 a.m. Wednesday morning to go to the town of Setúbal to defend the garrison there, no one was arrested. And although all demonstrations are now illegal, a rally by the Maoist Popular Democratic Union



Jaime Neves (left) and Otelo Carvalho

Der Spiegel

(UDP) at the railway station near Lisbon airport lasted for two days without being attacked (it reputedly drew several thousand people).

A similar note of caution was exercised in suppressing the press. The CP and SP totally capitulated to the ban, each issuing only one leaflet as of today. However, newspapers of the UDP and the Reorganizing Movement of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), another Maoist group, appeared all over the city daily. The MRPP produced and distributed its regular edition of *Luta Popular* late Wednesday afternoon, a full 18 hours after the state of emergency was imposed. In the absence of the bourgeois press and the SP/CP presses, all day long crowds gathered to read leftist communiqués.

At no time were pro-government troops in sight in Lisbon, although by Wednesday afternoon (after the paras had retreated from the air bases) jets and old prop fighter bombers made periodic runs over the city. There was also no attempt made to close or occupy leftist offices, except for a small number of troops from the Republican National Guard (GNR), a paramilitary police force, which surrounded *República* newspaper. One reason for this sparse use of military force is that, according to various reports, the government has no more than 1,000 reliable troops in the immediate vicinity of Lisbon, and a smaller number of GNR and other militarized police. Thus all the available "loyalist" troops were tied up in the confrontations with the left-wing regiments the government was attempting to disarm.

To have any chance of success the high command had to move quickly and decisively, which it did. Late Tuesday evening the state of emergency was declared and TV and radio stations were retaken from the very small number of leftist troops who had occupied them. Wednesday morning the military police regiment was surrounded and attacked. By that afternoon the paratroopers had pulled out of the Montijo, Monsanto and Monte Real air bases. On Thursday the RALIS officers surrendered and only in the evening, after being abandoned by their leaders, did the non-commissioned officers and ranks of the artillery unit submit.

One interesting and significant event occurred in the appearance of Costa Gomes on television late Wednesday to denounce the leftists' "counterrevolutionary coup" and appeal to the insurgent troops to surrender. General Carvalho who demonstrated his worth to the bourgeoisie by remaining silent throughout the fracas, while troops loyal to him waited for encour-

agement and direction—appeared ostentatiously at the president's side during the telecast! Although Carvalho's career has clearly received a setback, this demonstration of loyalty to the officer corps meant that he is still a free man today while his subordinates are locked up.

Stalinist Treachery

Jaime Neves, the field commander of the pro-government forces (which essentially consisted of nothing more than his Commandos), was able to obtain victory due to the lack of common organization of the leftist forces and because of the utterly despicable treachery of the Communist Party. Numerically the left-wing military units were far superior in the capital region. By all accounts, in terms of armaments the paratroopers are the equal of the Commandos, and RALIS is the best-armed unit in the district. Yet they lacked the central command and even basic communication to know what each was doing, thus allowing Neves to pick them off one by one. And judging from the absence of any massive anti-government demonstration or other show of working-class force (barriades, for instance), it is evident that there was even less coordination with civilian leftists.

Meanwhile, the CP was protecting Neves' rear and flanks by making it clear that it would not resist the state of emergency in any way. Late Tuesday evening when Costa Gomes was just beginning to make his move, the Stalinists issued their statement. The central committee declaration warned of bloody confrontations between "forces and sectors that themselves work for the revolutionary process" and called for a "political solution" while significantly omitting a specific call for the ouster of the PPD from the government (the focus of its agitation in recent weeks)! Thus the CP leadership in effect announced that Jaime Neves and the MFA right wing are part of "the revolutionary process" and everything could be solved simply by reshuffling the ministerial portfolios.

The communiqué warned against rightist rule and called for a "government of the left," but it also said that "the forces of the left also committed a grave error in overestimating their own forces and attempting some desperate acts." What were the workers to do in this situation? The statement counseled: "The moment demands great serenity and great confidence in the future." In other words, sit on your hands! Meanwhile, with both the Stalinists and social democrats calling for "serenity," Jaime

Neves was serenely arresting and disarming leftist troops.

Through the course of the crisis the Stalinists kept their word. Pro-CP officers reportedly urged leftist officers to surrender. The strikes which occurred in strategic plants—while certainly done with the Communist Party's knowledge and probably toleration, since with the exception of Lisnave these plants are CP-dominated—were kept isolated. The navy, reputedly the most Stalinist-influenced branch of the armed forces, remained conspicuously out of sight. And, so far at least, the purge in the navy has been much less extensive than elsewhere.

While the world bourgeois press as well as the SP and MRPP here have claimed that the Communist Party played a direct role in the military revolt (which they term an attempted coup), the facts indicate otherwise. Rather, through bureaucratic maneuvers designed to replace the sixth government with a seventh somewhat more to the left, the CP sparked a series of events which got out of hand, forcing it to repudiate them. Simply from an organizational standpoint the party has demonstrated several times in the past its capacity for rapid and coordinated action, something that was wholly absent among leftist units in Lisbon last week.

A look at the construction workers



Der Spiegel

Pro-government troops after the November 25 military revolt in Lisbon.

strike earlier this month shows what the CP was up to. It evidently built the strike, focusing purely on wage demands (although for a substantial 45 percent), and was behind the mobilization of tens of thousands of Lisbon-area workers to a strike support demonstration on November 12. But at the same time that it sought to turn the construction strike into a demonstration that the country could not be governed without the support of the CP, it also limited the political perspective to calls for a "government of the left" (demonstrators chanted "Vasco, Vasco, Vasco!" referring to the deposed head of the fifth government). The CP sought to distance itself from the highly risky siege of the constituent assembly, without much effect, but did succeed in seeing to it that the construction strike was not generalized.

A revolutionary leadership, taking advantage of the support for the strike among the entire Lisbon working class (who are being hard hit by inflation), would have called a general strike for a substantial across-the-board raise equal to that demanded by the construction workers and for a sliding scale of wages. SP workers could have been drawn to such a call, thus facilitating working-class unity in struggle against the bosses. Such a strike could also have served as the springboard for establishing a central workers council representing all the workers commissions, a step which is so desperately needed in the face of the tragic division of the Portuguese proletariat, today aligned behind two equally

treacherous reformist parties. Recognizing Lisbon's relative isolation from more backward sections of the country, and the fact that the siege of the constituent assembly directly posed the question of state power in the absence of a revolutionary party recognized by the masses as their leadership, a Trotskyist nucleus would have warned against adventurist actions. It would have posed instead the need for mass mobilizations around far-reaching transitional demands capable of joining together the industrial workers of the Lisbon suburbs, the agricultural workers of the south, the white collar government and commercial employees of the capital and the exploited poor peasants of the north. Such demands would include expropriation of industry, commerce and all large landholdings, and the institution of rational economic planning under a workers government based on soviet organs of proletarian power.

The Sorry Role of the "Far Left"

In response to the Socialist Party's violently anti-Communist rally Sunday, the next day (November 24) the CP-led provisional secretariat of the workers commissions of Lisbon's industrial belt hastily called a two-hour general strike. Among its demands were opposition to any rightward move in the capital district (i.e., to the threatened destitution of Carvalho), for a government of

the proletariat and leading it forward with both audacity and vigilance. A centralized council, representing the hundreds of workers, soldiers and neighborhood commissions—a national workers assembly—could have coordinated the leftists' defense. It might also have stopped the debacle in the first place by hindering precipitous, isolated actions. Detecting moods of adventurism among politically less experienced and more volatile sections of the troops, a revolutionary nucleus could have challenged these tendencies to open debate in a representative soviet, so that impatient elements might be educated in advance instead of through the bitter lessons of abject defeat.

Yet there is no central workers and soldiers council in Portugal today, due in large part to the sectarianism and the political capitulation before the MFA of most of the so-called "far left." Among the Maoists, the two largest groups (UDP and MRPP) both publicly challenged the state of emergency and called for centralization of the workers commissions in response to the crisis. Yet neither called explicitly for the immediate formation of a central soviet and neither presented a program leading to proletarian revolution.

The MRPP considers the CP "social-fascist" and states flatly that the present clash was precipitated at the direction of the Kremlin in order to unleash a counterrevolutionary civil war. With this policy toward the Communist Party, the MRPP has precluded any possibility of reaching the CP's ranks with appeals for united-front action. (The MRPP rejects united fronts even among the several Maoist groups.) During the summer the MRPP further hardened the organizational barriers by hailing, and according to several accounts participating in, right-wing terror attacks on CP offices.

Now, faced with the government's draconian crackdown in the aftermath of November 25, *they refused to call for the repeal of the state of emergency or for the fall of the sixth government!* In fact, given the leadership of some of the units involved (the military police officers sympathetic to the UDP, RALIS influenced by both the PRP and CP), the MRPP also *refused to call for defense of the leftist units from government attack.* Class-conscious workers will not forget such backstabbing treachery.

The UDP is softer on the Communist Party in comparison to the MRPP, and instead of concentrating its fire exclusively on the CP did warn of dangers of a fascist coup; it also called for a general strike. But like the MRPP, the UDP calls for a "popular democratic" and not a socialist revolution, thus revealing its fundamental Stalinist reformism, qualitatively no different from the pro-Moscow party or the CIA-financed SP. In fact, the UDP's politics are not too different from those of various organizations in the so-called "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR), such as the PRP or the social-democratic Left Socialist Movement (MES). The main reason the UDP is not in the FUR at this moment is not because the latter gave support to the bourgeois fifth government or calls for an alliance with the bourgeois officer corps (this is only natural for a "popular democratic" stage of a Menshevik "two-stage" schema), but because of the presence of a "Trotskyist" group in the FUR.

For a Trotskyist Party in Portugal!

There are two main organizations in Portugal claiming to represent Trotskyism, the Internationalist Communist League (LCI) and the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). The LCI is the sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat (USec) and lines up politically with Mandel's European majority, while the PRT is not formally

affiliated with the USec and aligns itself with the reformist minority headed by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and the Argentine PST. During the coup the LCI seemed badly disoriented. While they distributed leaflets and did produce an issue of its irregular newspaper, LCI cadre were clearly taken aback by the adventurism of some of their FUR colleagues. As a result there was a certain organizational paralysis.

This immobility is deepened by what are known to be deep splits within the LCI itself, with a sector favoring guerrillaism of the PRP BR type, another remaining mainstream Mandeliste (that is, retaining a certain veneer of ostensible Trotskyism as opposed to the PRP's blatant MIR-like eclecticism), and a third favoring the PRT. While the LCI called for a general strike, centralizing of workers and neighborhood commissions for self defense, etc., it pointedly did not criticize the bourgeois character of the CP-dominated fifth government, which in large measure prepared the present crisis with its temporizing and conciliation of rightist forces. In essence, though the CP is now out of the FUR and former premier Gonçalves has since fallen, the LCI has not broken from the politics which made it a left cover for the MFA when it signed the August 25 communiqué inaugurating the FUR.

During the last year the PRT has oscillated no less wildly than the unstable LCI. After opposing the Armed Forces Movement as a bourgeois political formation ever since April 1974, suddenly last summer it discovered the MFA to be "petty-bourgeois" with a "semi-soviet" sector (namely General Carvalho). Then the PRT veered back toward more ostensibly orthodox Trotskyist positions in late August by correctly labelling the FUR "popular-frontist." It is the only major group which during the recent crisis called for an elected soviet of workers and soldiers councils. But while the PRT called for a government elected by such a body, it did not explicitly call for a workers government counterposed to the government of the bourgeoisie, instead simply stressing the democratic aspect of elections. This is no doubt closely related to its call, during the spring 1975 elections, for a "workers and people's government... which would then call a sovereign Constituent Assembly!"

While representing a major setback to the workers movement, the defeat of November 25 and its aftermath was not the final and decisive blow. Given the continuing weakness of the bonapartist regime, it will have to garner some measure of popular support by eventually restoring certain bourgeois democratic liberties. (The government, which called off its "strike" following the military command's ouster of left-wing officers, has announced it will restore television and radio by December 3, although the daily newspapers will not be permitted to reopen until purged of pro-CP elements.)

The rapid growth of both major bourgeois workers parties over the last year means that their ranks are not hardened and are susceptible to propaganda and proposals for united action from an alternative leadership with a coherent revolutionary program. A glimpse of the possibilities was seen during the state of emergency when both the CP and SP took a dive, and the "far left" parties attempted to fill the vacuum. But none of them possessed a revolutionary program of intransigent struggle against the reformist misleaders combined with principled united-front action which alone could galvanize the tens of thousands of combative workers into a powerful revolutionary vanguard. Such a Trotskyist party can only be constructed as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International as a unified world party of socialist revolution. ■

CIA...

(continued from page 1)

targets listed in the report, only Castro and his brother remain alive.

The FBI and Martin Luther King

The Senate Committee also turned up the information that the FBI had maintained a campaign of slanders and harassment against black militants and civil-rights activists. Officials and lawyers indicated the style of FBI wrecking operations—the FBI told how, concentrating its fire on race-sex relations, it sent letters to the husbands and wives of civil-rights activists alleging that their spouses were having sexual relations with blacks, or alternatively with whites. This race-baiting is a standard disruptive tactic for the FBI. A few days before King was assassinated the FBI leaked the story (printed in the local press) that King was staying in a "white-owned" hotel in Memphis during a boycott of white merchants.

It is clear that the FBI wanted King "out of the way" and it is no wonder that some are now calling for a re-opening of the assassination case to see what role might have been played by government agencies for whom character assassination may not have been enough. The assassinations of Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and others must also be re-examined—but not by government whitewash committees!

Like the liberals who pretend that CIA assassinations went on only in the past, black liberals are now expressing shock and dismay at the exposure of the FBI's crimes. Jesse Jackson of PUSH pronounced the revelations "utterly appalling and in conflict with every American ideal and principle of democratic government." But there is nothing at all unpredictable or inconsistent in the behavior of the FBI and its notoriously racist chief! Today it continues its persecution of black militants.

Jesse Jackson, schooled by King, sees no irony in the fact that it was the FBI to which King turned to protect black people in the South. "Dr. King said the FBI was not doing its job" Jackson said in an interview with the *Amsterdam News* (3 December). But harassing black militants was precisely the job of the U.S. government's political police and continues to be today. The Dr. Pangloss-style reformism of King and Jackson only makes life more dangerous for those who follow these peddlers of the "American ideal."

Exposure/Confession/Cover-up

The exposure/confession/cover-up cycle has been routine in Washington since Watergate. After a web of CIA/FBI atrocities is leaked to the press, usually by ex-agents or CIA officials looking for organizational streamlining, it is summarily denied by the government agency involved; then there is an investigation by a government committee and a confession; finally, a few reforms are suggested. But these days the CIA/FBI denials are simply not believed. The credibility of the government is so low and the dirty tricks so well-known that the charges can no longer be dismissed as paranoid delusions. The exposure of the vast extent of CIA/FBI illegal operations has given new meaning to the modern saying: even paranoids have enemies.

But Gerald Ford objects. "Public release of these official materials and information will do grievous damage to our country," he wails (*New York Times*, 21 November). The Senate committee has nothing of the sort in mind. Sen. Frank Church has learned his lesson from the Watergate scandal and wants some cosmetic reforms of the CIA/FBI. He and his committee are not in favor of dismantling even the clan-



Wide World

Martin Luther King with Rev. Jesse Jackson (PUSH) shortly before King's assassination. FBI tried to drive King to suicide. Poison pen letter said, "There is but one way out for you."

destine operations of the CIA/FBI, but the committee will suggest a law against assassination plots! Certainly Church is not for damaging the so-called national interest, and when confronted on this point by President Ford, he answered that "foreigners proudly admired the ability of the United States 'to look at what's gone wrong'" (*New York Times*, 10 November). The Voice of America, U.S. international propaganda radio news program, apparently has the same view, for on November 20 the VOA opened its dinner-hour broadcast with the following item:

"In Washington a Senate investigation reveals that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was involved in several plots to kill foreign leaders."

The liberals wait expectantly for approving pats on the head in recognition of their up-front style.

The post-Watergate liberals opt for the confessional Voice of America while Ford and the "intelligence community" try to maintain radio silence. But the differences between the presidential hopeful Church and President Ford are differences over how to handle the fact that the exposures have already been made and are believed. It is not that Church is trying to expose the CIA while Ford is trying to cover up. Church only represents a less artless cover-up while Ford and some CIA agents insist on trying to brazen it out.

In fact, the entire confession melodrama really is an elaborate cover-up for present CIA/FBI policies. One government committee elicits the confessions of another agency, implying and often asserting that the present regime has nothing in common with this sordid past. The Select Committee report takes the opportunity to "condemn the use of assassination as a tool of foreign policy," adding that such practice "violates moral precepts fundamental to our way of life."

The Committee "found no evidence that any foreign leader was killed as a result of assassination plots initiated by officers of the United States" (!) and further that no president of the United States had directly ordered the killing of a foreign leader. Instead, the report finds the presidents "guilty" only of a sort of abstract bureaucratic responsibility, saying that former presidents "should have known about the plots." The report is an obvious attempt to whitewash the oval office and the reputation of U.S. foreign policy.

Direct responsibility for assassinations and other illegal activities is documented in the ambiguous language of "plausible denial." The Church Committee wants the public to believe that top U.S. officials were not part of the decisions to assassinate foreign

leaders. Yet the testimony indicates that Eisenhower was directly involved in the plot to kill Lumumba, and Kennedy in the plot to kill Castro.

The Church Committee finds no "direct orders" because the entire intelligence apparatus talks and writes in a cynical code, a kind of *death speak* in which references are made to "doing something" about Castro when the clear intention is to assassinate him. One report refers to a 1960 National Security meeting in which there were suggestions that "direct positive action" be taken against Castro and his close associates. When pressed about such terms as "getting rid of" and "actions against," former CIA director Richard Helms was finally forced to acknowledge that he interpreted them as "conveying authority for assassinations" (*New York Times*, 21 November).

While Ford announces that constant exposure and the Senate report threaten "national security," the disclosures seem to have caused only minor problems. Some U.S. corporations are less likely to provide cover jobs for CIA operatives; besides lowered morale, there is a general confusion in the field about how to cover up. According to a *New York Times* (10 November) CIA source, the field operatives now have "to check back home" to find out what is permissible. To the extent that the effectiveness of this organized counterrevolutionary assassination corps can be undercut, so much the better. But for the most part the dirty work goes on as usual.

The hearings must be opened to the public with full TV coverage and no closed sessions so that all might see the investigation of the CIA/FBI and know what questions are *not* asked as well as

"Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply."

—CIA document

what questions are not answered. In every confession it is crucial to know what is confessed. The Senate report mentions the assassination of dictator Trujillo, for instance, but does not deal with the U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic. Likewise it completely ignores the massive domestic CIA disruption program called *Operation Chaos*.

Today, while liberal investigators and cooperative CIA witnesses admit the "errors" of the ways of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, the Ford administration is creating and backing right-wing terror in Portugal. While pious confessions of well-known past sins are listed, the CIA is right now pouring millions of dollars into the coffers of anti-communist groups in Angola, to pay for weapons, mercenaries and eventually genocidal massacre. While FBI witnesses "blame" the dead Hoover and claim a "racially balanced" policy under Kelly, the snooping, bugging and disruption go on, the list of thousands to "detain" in a "national emergency" remains ready for use. These plans must be stopped! Liars by routine and criminals even by their



Camera Press

Che Guevara, murdered by U.S. intelligence operatives after capture in Bolivia in 1967.

own standards of law, the burglars, forgers, blackmailers and even murderers in the service of "the national interest" continue at the job. The present "revelations" should not be misunderstood. The government liberals and the CIA/FBI want some reforms only to make their assassination squads more efficient. As long as capitalism exists in the U.S. they will maintain them. The lethal activities of overt and clandestine ruling-class terror will continue until confronted head-on by the tribunals of the victorious proletarian revolution. Down with the CIA/FBI! ■

Charges Dropped Against Michael Zinzun

LOS ANGELES—On November 18 in Pasadena Municipal Court all charges were effectively dropped against Michael Zinzun and three others of the "Pasadena Seven." The charges against Zinzun, a black community activist and leader of the Pasadena Community Information Center (PCIC), stemmed from systematic police harassment in the ghetto. On August 21 the cops culminated their racist campaign with a raid on PCIC offices. A dozen cars pulled up and 30 police brutalized PCIC supporters and even residents of neighboring homes. The cops sent seven people to the hospital and then to jail, charging Zinzun with "inciting to riot," "carrying a dangerous weapon" and "disturbing the peace." That these charges have been dropped is a victory. The Zinzun defense has been supported by the Partisan Defense Committee.

The late-night assault on PCIC headquarters was part of the cop terror prevalent in Pasadena, including the notorious "Operation B.A.D." (Burglary Abatement Campaign). In an "Operation Zebra"-style roundup, Operation B.A.D. arrested all "suspicious-looking persons," jailing 400 black and Chicano men during the first five days. Also in Pasadena, uniformed Nazis have freely roamed the streets, and on September 16 fascist night-riders terrorized a pro-busing minister in a symbolic lynching.

Although the PCIC is engaged mainly in reformist community service work like free breakfasts and free roach exterminations, it has also been active in combatting the racist police rampages and Nazi mobilizations. It no doubt incurred the wrath of the local police department by fighting the "Operation B.A.D." program. While Zinzun often follows opportunist, classless, exclusively legalist defense policies espoused by reformists like the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, at an anti-racist rally on October 26 his contingent chanted, "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan!" while the SWP limited itself to the tepid call for "justice" for the victim of the fascists' symbolic lynching. Asked by *WV* whether he, like the SWP, favored free speech for fascists, Michael Zinzun responded, "Hell, no!"

The lessons learned and the momentum gathered in the successful defense of Zinzun must be applied to the case of Philip Allen and many other victims of Southern California cop "justice." Moreover, three of the Pasadena Seven still face serious charges. Steven Martin, charged with "resisting arrest," comes to trial December 2. Michael Thompson and Ricky Grayes, charged with "assault and battery on a police officer," are scheduled to come to trial in mid-January. Drop all charges against the Pasadena Seven! ■

Spain...

(continued from page 2)

this purported difference between the CP and PSOF disappeared, as the Junta and the Platform issued a joint statement altogether ignoring the question of Juan Carlos and demanding vaguely "the realization of a democratic break by opening a constituent period leading... to a definitive solution on the form of the state and the government" (*Le Monde*, 4 November). Having earlier stated that if the Spanish people did indeed opt for a monarchy, it would support the Count of Barcelona—Don Juan de Borbón (father of the new king), whose political advisor Calvo Serrero is a leader of the Junta Democrática—CP leader Santiago Carrillo now proclaims himself willing to accept Juan Carlos if elections are promised within 12 to 18 months.

The CP's capitulation is so complete



Franco with Hiller in 1940.

that the Carlist pretender to the throne has been able to come out to the left of the Stalinists! Evidently frustrated in the task of redressing Ferdinand VII's discarding of the Salic Laws and of Don Carlos in 1834, Prince Carlos Hugo de Borbón-Parma has pledged the Carlist party to "social revolution based on the principle of class struggle" and "self-managing socialism expressing itself above all through the trade unions." "My cousin Juan Carlos wants to succeed Franco," this "class-struggle" prince announces, but "I and those with me wish to make a revolution" (*Le Monde*, 2-3 November). Yet the "revolutionary monarchists" are equally seduced by the siren song of class collaboration, it appears, for the Carlist party is part of the Platform of Democratic Convergence, which wants to give Juan Carlos a chance.

If the Spanish social democrats and Stalinists have been stumbling over each other trying to appear the most reasonable agent to sell out the workers to the "new" regime, the despicable behavior of the Chinese and Cuban deformed workers states almost defies belief. In Peking, Chu Teh, chairman of the permanent committee of the National People's Assembly, along with Chou En-lai sent a message of condolence to the Spanish embassy on the occasion of Franco's death! Their pious solicitude was accompanied with funeral wreaths (*Le Monde*, 23-24 November). We eagerly await the obituaries of Franco in the U.S. Maoist press and, in particular, the "theoretical" justifications for this treachery in the terms of Mao-Thought.

The prize for disgusting toadyism must without doubt be awarded to Cuba, which declared *three days of national mourning for the death of the Spanish dictator*. In addition, Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticos reportedly sent a message of condolences to Spain and the foreign minister, Raúl Roa, visited the Spanish embassy in Havana where he reportedly recognized "the political and human values of General Franco" (*Vanguardia Española*, quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 27 November 4 December). The advantage furnished to Cuba by Franco's refusal to

submit to the U.S.-imposed embargo of trade with Cuba was significant, and Trotskyists do not begrudge Castro his trade with Spain. On the contrary, we demand that the U.S. blockade be ended immediately. The Bolsheviks, too, were forced to make diplomatic deals with reactionary powers, playing upon inter-imperialist rivalries.

But Castro's condolences on the death of one of the most bloody hangmen of the twentieth century are a despicable insult to the almost half a million Spanish worker and peasant militants who died heroically in the 1936-39 civil war fighting this butcher, or were subsequently executed by the Generalissimo. This is the logic of Stalinist betrayal, from Stalin's praise of Chiang Kai-shek to Mao's wreaths for Franco and Fidel's days of mourning in homage to a mass murderer.

Trotskyists must demand: *Smash Francoism! Down with the monarchy—No popular fronts! For a workers republic in Spain!* ■

Chicago Nazi Demos...

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successful October 12 demonstration, which drew over 150 militant participants. Instead, it headlined as "Chicago Blacks fight racist attacks" Willie Curtis' attempts to pressure community aldermen and to send a delegation to visit Mayor Daley.

The October 12 rally was an important beginning. But subsequently the Communist Labor Party (CLP), which largely initiated the action, has retreated into criminal sectarianism. The CLP, which refuses to work with "Trotskyites" on principle, excluded members of the SL from a November 4 defense work planning meeting as alleged "disrupters" although the meeting had not even begun. The destructive consequences of this policy of political exclusionism were made particularly evident by the CLP's exclusion of a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 from this same meeting. The Caucus' record in building a successful labor, black defense of a co-worker's home recently received front-page coverage in the *Chicago Reader* (14 November). Rev. Sparks, who chaired the October 12 rally, later told *Workers Vanguard* he could not condone this exclusionism and would fight to reverse it.

The Spartacist League supports the perspective of mobilizing the ranks of labor in the broadest possible united front against racist terror. But Chicago's labor movement has been conspicuous by its absence from the campaign to defend the besieged black families, several of which include union members. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH has been equally quiescent; instead, PUSH is busy hosting its annual fancy Black Business Expo and touting the Burger King chain (which recently gave PUSH a day's profits), exploiter of black teenagers at minimum wages in its hamburger joints.

The cynical Willie Curtises and Jesse Jacksons, the do-gooder reformists of the Urban League and their "left" apologists again demonstrate their prostration and defeatism by peddling the perspective of reliance on capitalism's "law enforcement" goons in the face of the Nazi terror campaign. The fascists have announced their intention to launch a "major offensive" against the black community this spring. We must begin preparing now to meet them with the response they deserve: militant, organized, mass-based defense to beat back the ominous threat of mounting mobilization around the Nazi program of anti-working-class terror and anti-black genocide. ■

UAW Militants Win Right to Leaflet

(continued from page 7)

on the outs with the president, Joe Reilly. The union officials sabotaged the strike, waving workers through picket lines and attempting to smear the strike militants, many of whom were left-wing politically, as "outsiders." Large numbers of people were fired and the vice-president never got his job back.

Since then, there has been tremendous fear in the plant. Anyone with views opposed to the official leadership was afraid to open his mouth for fear of getting axed. Winning the right to distribute oppositional material on company property will counteract this fear, but what you really need is for people to make use of it, and we intend to.

Red-hating of oppositionists, particularly against the Militant Solidarity Caucus, also increased since the wildcat. During the last local union elections, an anonymous group said we were trained agents of Cuba, the Vietcong and Russia sent here to subvert American democracy. The union officials went along with this garbage, but we proved that the leaflets had been typed on a Ford company typewriter! They were part of a company attempt to influence the elections. Replacing the traitorous Woodcock flunkies with class-struggle leadership is the key task of all union

militants.

WT: Now that your group has made this gain, what do you see as the next step? *Diamond:* We have implemented this right already, by handing out a leaflet reporting on the victory at the inner gates of the plant, on company property. We were not harassed, although the fight is not over. The company may still appeal, which could mean months or years in which the NLRB decision is held in abeyance pending appeal—after it has already been clearly shown in numerous cases that Ford's regulations against leafletting are illegal! The ranks of labor must be brought into militant action to establish this basic democratic union right, once and for all, not just at Mahwah but at all workplaces in all industries. This is just one small task of union leadership being ignored today by the union bureaucracy of Meany, Fitzsimmons, Woodcock, etc.

The coming year is a contract year for the auto industry. It will be vital for auto workers at Mahwah and throughout the industry to involve themselves in the struggle to smash the pro-company contract we now have and prepare for an industry-wide fight against the companies for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, an end to speedup and harassment of autoworkers, the unrestricted right to strike and numerous other demands. For this we will need class-struggle leadership and a fight within the union to oust Woodcock and his sellout artists from power. We in the Militant Solidarity Caucus will work to assist the development of similar opposition caucuses throughout the UAW. ■



WV photo

Berkeley Students Protest CIA/NSA Recruiters

In recent weeks students of the University of California (UC) have turned out by the hundreds for picket lines, marches and rallies protesting on-campus recruiting by the CIA and National Security Agency (NSA). The NSA—capitalism's largest, best financed and most clandestine spy network, with 120,000 employees and a budget of \$10 billion—was responsible for the murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967, and, along with the CIA, prepared the way for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League, has been in the vanguard of the struggle to drive these imperialist hit-men off campus. At Berkeley, the SYL-initiated "Committee to Stop CIA/NSA Campus Recruitment" held an all-day picket line November 17 attracting over 250 students. The united-front committee was endorsed by several student and labor groups, including AFSCME Local 1695 Executive Board and the Militant Action Caucus of CWA Local 9410. The SYL raised the slogans "Drive the CIA/NSA Off Campus" and "Abolish the CIA/NSA."

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, played its usual liberal/pacifist role, walking off a November 10 picket line at UCLA when the chants got too militant and preferring instead to build a more "respectable" teach-in on November 21. Using some of its own "dirty tricks," behind the backs of other members of an anti-CIA/NSA united-front committee, the YSA solicited speakers from the Los Angeles Police Department, the U.S. State Department and—yes—the CIA!!

The CIA/NSA must be stopped! Although only a victorious proletarian revolution will smash them once and for all, these insidious capitalist secret police and U.S. spy agencies must not be allowed to peddle their murderous intrigues on the campuses.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bureaucrats Gag Program Debate as CLUW Sinks

Open Up CLUW Convention!



United Mine Workers Journal

Brookside miners wives (above), Farah strikers (below). Such women militants, some of the most dedicated fighters for trade unionism, have been denied access to CLUW because they were not members of established union locals. Giving into pressure, CLUW has now slightly revised its membership criteria to include union organizing committees. The Brookside women, jailed for marching the picket lines in defiance of armed scabs, are still ineligible.

NOVEMBER 28 The governing bureaucrats of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) are as aware as their critics that CLUW's second national convention, to be held in Detroit on December 5-7, may well become known, not as its "Constitutional Convention," but as its *last* convention. CLUW's founders, the female union bureaucrats who sought to use the aspirations of working women to further their own careers, have gone about their task of organizing a captive mass base for themselves with a brittleness and autocratic contempt for democratic processes that would embarrass many of their male counterparts entrenched in the labor bureaucracy.

At last a political issue may manage to surface through CLUW's bureaucratic obstacle course. The massive layoffs of the depression economy have, true to form, hit the "last-hired, first-fired" the hardest: women and minority workers. While CLUW leaders initially refused to discuss the question in meetings beyond asserting that affirmative action, defined in the broadest terms, was among CLUW's goals, the layoffs have brought to the surface divergent appetites in the heterogeneous organization. Petty-bourgeois radicals comprising CLUW's loyal "left wing" have sought to avoid fighting layoffs and unemployment by proposing a gimmick that would simply trade one worker's job for another's: preferential layoffs. In essence their scheme would mean firing workers with higher seniority—generally male and white—in order that workers more recently hired in affirmative action programs—women and minorities—would not be laid off.

Women and minority workers have indeed been traditionally discriminated against, and the depression is once again reducing their share of the workforce. But the answer to this historical injustice is to eliminate discriminatory practices and fight for a policy of militant union action to stop *all* layoffs and provide jobs for everyone. The "preferential

layoffs" scheme not only sets up new discrimination (quotas) and attacks the only form of union job protection presently available (the seniority system), but it actually appeals to the capitalist courts to invalidate contracts and take jobs away from older white male workers! Moreover, this anti-union "reform" waves a handful of token jobs in the face of mass unemployment.

CLUW's conservative bureaucrats, like those of the AFL-CIO, are compelled to oppose such undermining of the seniority system and the abrogation of union contracts by government bodies as a threat to the unions. However this opposition is not due to impulses toward labor solidarity or class-struggle policies, but only to a desire to protect their own parasitic privileges. Their callous disregard of racial and sexual oppression, and above all their fear of unleashing the power of the union ranks—who, once mobilized, would not only defend their organizations but also wrest control of the unions from the bureaucrats—lead them to ruthlessly squelch the militant actions (strikes, plant occupations) necessary to prevent layoffs. Minority and women workers' gains must be protected without falling into the trap of attacking the living standards of other workers, making them the scapegoats for the companies' discrimination. Militant working women must demand a shorter workweek at no loss in pay in order to guarantee full employment. All layoffs are discriminatory! Full employment for all!

The implications of the affirmative action dispute could rip CLUW apart. Hoping to sidestep the problem, the "majority" agenda provides no time for political discussion. The "Call to the Constitutional Convention" closes any doors accidentally left open: "The only official business of the Convention shall be adoption of a constitution and election of officers and a governing body." A move spearheaded by the Socialist Workers Party feminists and Houston CLUW, whose policies have thus far been indistinguishable from those of the national CLUW tops, is now underway with the supposed aim of making CLUW a "fighting" organization for "action." An alternative agenda is being proposed which would allot time for discussion on the proposals for affirmative action, ERA and "jobs for all" issues at the convention.

Aside from the agenda, the constitution itself, the "legitimate" issue at this year's convention, promises to produce no small controversy. The CLUW tops are terrified of political discussion, which might expose not only the fact that CLUW has politics never adopted by the membership, but also that they are the conservative, rotten politics of the labor bureaucracy which provide no way forward for women workers. So the CLUW leadership clique has hatched plans to bypass the membership entirely. According to its draft constitution, in the future national conventions will be delegated, as opposed to being based on the "one-

person-one-vote" principle. This proposal is designed to ensure bureaucrats' conventions, hopefully never again marred by dissent and challenges to the CLUW bureaucracy. The CLUW leaders refuse to charter locals they don't control, like Atlanta, and attempt to purge militants in harassment campaigns denying their eligibility for membership, as in the case of the Revolutionary Socialist League's Rhonda Levine. Now they hope to make the National Coordinating Committee proportionally represent the strength of various unions as opposed to the positions of CLUW's membership.

It is little wonder that although CLUW's national membership peaked at around 4,000 last year, fewer and fewer women are hothering to renew their membership. Local chapter meetings indicate decreasing interest. New York City meetings that used to draw several hundred now draw under 20, and recently several national coordinating committee and steering committee meetings have failed to take place for lack of a quorum.

"Better Dead than Red!"

CLUW is in trouble not simply because it was a fraud from the beginning, artificial in conception and unviable in practice, but because the life has been literally choked out of it in the vise-grip of its leadership clique. Terrified to the point of paranoia of radical dissent and militancy that might undermine its respectable image in the eyes of the AFL-CIO and UAW bureaucracies and their bourgeois politician buddies, whose blessing means more to CLUW than any gain for women workers, the CLUW bureaucrats have indeed run a tight little ship—so tight, in fact, that it is seething with factionalism, preoccupied with redbaiting and suffering the consequences of rank-and-file working women's justifiable disinterest in CLUW.

Thus CLUW is a pot of simmering disputes threatening to boil over at this convention, with the agenda in dispute, the constitution in dispute, and the key political question—what course of action, what programmatic goals, must working women adopt to throw off the burdens of discrimination, unemployment and inflation—threatening to surface despite the bureaucrats' best efforts to keep the lid on.

It is ironic that the "best builders" of CLUW, among them those seeking oh-so-properly and discreetly to present agendas and constitutions counterposed to those of the bureaucrats, often tend to be trade-unionist supporters of "leftist" organizations—most notably the Socialist Workers Party, the International Socialists and the October League. It is these "radicals" who most want to ensure CLUW's continued existence: the CLUW bureaucrats would sooner see the organization to up in flames than lose their dictatorial control.

Allow the ranks of militant trade-union women, not to mention class-

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