

## Smash the Capitalist Austerity Program!

# Reaction Mounts in Portugal

FEBRUARY 3 "To save the revolution it will undoubtedly be necessary for some heads to roll," said Major Melo Antunes in an interview last November. Shortly afterward, following the crushing defeat of a left-wing military revolt in Lisbon on November 25, the purge began. First to go were the leading "progressive" generals, Fabião (army chief of staff) and Otelo de Carvalho (head of the Lisbon military region). While the top brass were left at liberty, their subordinates were arrested. Soon more than 100 leftist officers were sitting in the Custóias military presidio in the conservative northern center of Porto.

November 25 broke the back of the "military left" in Portugal. The Western bourgeois press hailed this as "A Victory of the Moderates." But in a matter of days the "moderates" became strangely uneasy about their "victory." Antunes, leader of the "Group of Nine" formed last summer, had brought down the Communist Party-backed "fifth provisional government" of General Vasco Gonçalves in September. Now the "far left" military units in the capital district were dissolved. Yet it was not the technocratic-liberal "military politicians" who held the reins of power.

The fruits of victory over the paratrooper uprising went instead to conservative "operational commanders" who had lain low ever since the abortive rightist putsch of March 11. Ramalho Eanes, the new army commander, had been out of the limelight so long that most people in Lisbon weren't sure where he stood politically. Jaime Neves, operational chief of pro-government forces on November 25, once had the confidence of Carvalho; now he shaved off his beard and became the strongman of the right. At a ceremony rendering homage to his unit for the role it played in putting down the rebels, Neves told President Costa Gomes, "The Commandos regiment is not satisfied. It thinks there is still much to do and is firmly determined to follow through to the end."

In his belligerent interview which appeared on the eve of the parachutist revolt Antunes had said, "We are sure that inside the army there is a plan—a Communist plan to systematically disorganize the structures." The day after, in Porto, Socialist Party (PS) leader Mario Soares accused the Communist Party (PCP) of responsibility for the "coup" (*Le Monde*, 25 and 28 November). Now, realizing that it was not they but the right that was capitalizing on November 25, the "moderates" suddenly changed their tune. Antunes declared himself convinced that there was no attempted coup on November 25, and both he and Soares insisted that the PCP must remain in the government.

### Sharp Right Turn

"November 25 was our military victory just as 25 April 1975 was our electoral victory," said a PS leader in early December. Soares & Co. had been demanding for months that there be a reestablishment of discipline in the armed forces, that workers militias be dissolved, that the workers and tenants commissions be regimented. Otherwise,

they said, reaction would profit from growing middle-class desire for order. Earlier, when they were riding high in Lisbon, the PCP sang the same song, denouncing strikes and calling for "winning the battle of production."

Marxists, unlike the reformist social democrats and Stalinists, understand that smashing the germs of dual power and reinforcing the authority of the bourgeois state will kill, not save the revolution. This supposedly "peaceful" road has been traveled many times before, most recently in Chile, resulting in the most bloody defeats for the workers. Only energetic measures attacking the foundations of bourgeois rule, generalized in a transitional program and under the leadership of a Leninist party, can bring the wavering petty bourgeoisie over to the workers' side. Capitulation only paves the way to disaster.

Already a scant three weeks after the leftist revolt, the *New York Times* (14 December) quoted a Socialist Party militant as saying, "The backlash has reached a frightening level. The trouble is that with the recent left-wing purges in the military, the right feels it can do and say what it wants." Thus the ultra-rightist Christian Democratic Party, which disappeared after its leaders were implicated in the March 11 putsch, has raised its head again. The probable presidential candidate of the conservative Democratic Social Center, General Galvão de Melo, said at a rally in the farming town of Rio Maior that "the Communists must be driven to the sea. In our Christian Portugal there is no room for atheistic Communism." Francisco Sá Carneiro, head of the liberal Popular Democrats, put his party on a rightist course by demanding the ouster of the PCP from the cabinet.

The sharpest turn has been in the military where the 12 elected soldiers committees, which appeared in Lisbon-area units by late fall have now been banned and "advisory" unit assemblies dropped. Eanes announced that "politics stops at the barracks door" and selected as his right-hand man Colonel Firmimo Miguel, whom ex-president Spínola unsuccessfully tried to install as prime minister in July 1974. Other notorious right-wing hutchers such as General Kaulza de Arriaga, former commander of Portuguese colonial troops in Mozambique, have been quietly released from jail, while Carvalho, the organizer of the 25 April 1974 "revolution of the carnations," was arrested in late January. Today almost all of the remaining military prisoners are the leftists detained following November 25. Even many of the hated PIDE spies and torturers arrested after April 1974 have been set free.

The other main focus of the rightist offensive was the communications media, and here, too, the positions of the left have been wiped out one after another. Rádio Renascença, taken over by leftists in May, has been returned to the Catholic Church hierarchy. The military editor of *República* resigned in mid-December, whereupon the Maoist/syndicalist coalition that determined editorial policy after printing workers took it over in the early summer



L'Espresso

promptly fell apart and the newspaper stopped publishing. While last summer the Communist Party had dominant influence in all the state-owned newspapers of Lisbon (which came under government control as a result of the nationalization of the banks in March), now it is limited to one.

Meanwhile anti-leftist repression and terror attacks have been mounting daily. When militants demonstrated outside the Custóias prison in Porto on January 1 demanding release of the arrested left-wing soldiers and officers inside, they were fired on by the Republican National Guard (GNR) leaving three dead and 15 injured. In addition civilian anti-communist terrorists have been at work, with over 60 separate assaults on leftists reported this month alone, primarily bombs and burning down offices.

### Generals Tighten the Workers' Belts

Despite some audacious moves by the center-right government and the ultra-right reactionaries their social base of support is still limited, although growing. On November 25 and after, the new military masters of Portugal have been careful to avoid a head-on collision with the militant working class. That they have been able to go so far already is not the result of their strong position but of the failure of the reformist misleaders to put up any serious resistance to the rightist offensive.

Contrary to the myth perpetrated by the capitalist press, that the Portuguese Communist Party attempted a coup on November 25, the Stalinists wanted only

to pressure for more cabinet seats and kept their distance from the paratroopers' action. Thereafter, seeing that conservative officers had gone on the offensive the PCP acquiesced totally in the state of siege instead of calling a general strike which could have swept away the repressive measures and the isolated government in a matter of hours.

In the last two months the government has again managed to stir up widespread opposition to itself by implementing a drastic capitalist "austerity" program. Announcing the day before Christmas that the workers would have to "tighten their belts," Prime Minister Azevedo announced that gasoline would be jacked up to \$2.40 per gallon (the highest price in Europe), with similar increases for meat, potatoes, transit fares and other essential commodities. A genuine communist party could organize the discontent provoked by such anti-working-class measures into a powerful revolutionary offensive. But if there is no resistance—if the capitalist speculators, hoarders and belt-tighteners are able to drive down the living standards of the masses and create chaos in the consumer market—the resulting demoralization of the workers and alienation of the petty bourgeoisie can greatly aid the reactionaries in preparing their bloody work.

During late January two major demonstrations were held against inflation and unemployment, one sponsored by the PCP and the other by the Maoist UDP. However, both failed to provide

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# Editorial Notes

## Algeria, Morocco Clash in West Sahara

Heavy fighting between Moroccan and Algerian troops erupted over the past week along the northeastern border of the former Spanish Sahara, leaving many dead. In addition, guerrilla fighters of the indigenous Polisario Front used Algerian-supplied Russian anti-aircraft missiles to bring down a Moroccan jet fighter.

Intent on realizing his irredentist dreams of a Greater Morocco and to corner the world phosphate market, King Hassan II moved quickly to occupy the northern two thirds of the mineral-rich territory as the last Spanish garrison departed in mid-January. By joint agreement, Mauritania simultaneously grabbed the barren southern section.

However, the rapid-fire invasion was greeted with hostility by the 40,000 to 80,000 inhabitants, mostly blue-robed nomads. In the north, the few towns emptied as young men joined the guerrillas while the women, children and elderly fled to refugee camps in Algeria. To the south, the small port of Dakhla was in contention between the Moroccan and Mauritanian armies. One of the hapless residents told an American reporter: "When the Spaniards were here, we were Spaniards. When the Moroccans came we were Moroccans. Now the Mauritians are here and I guess we will be Mauritians" (*Newsweek*, 26 January).

In order to deny mobility to their guerrilla opponents, the Moroccans have resorted to systematically shooting every camel they come across. The Polisario Front was nevertheless able to blow up a



Gerard Sebag/Sygma

### Polisario guerrillas in the western Sahara

section of the nearly one hundred-mile conveyor belt which transports phosphate ore from inland mines to the coast. The insurgents also gained a propaganda victory by convincing three quarters of the members of a hand-picked colonial assembly of notables to sign a statement calling for independence and recognizing Polisario Front leadership.

In an earlier article ("Morocco Invades Spanish Sahara," *WV* No. 90, 2 January) we recognized the right of self-determination for the population of the territory. However, we also warned that the militarily weak Polisario Front could "only come to power in the baggage cars of the Algerian army, if at all." We added:

"In the event of a military confrontation between Morocco and Algeria over the Spanish Sahara, the victory of either will subordinate the right of self-determination of the Saharan populations, and Trotskyists would call for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, just as in the 1963-64 Morocco-Algerian border war."

The interests of the impoverished inhabitants of the western Sahara desert will not be served by an Algerian victory, which would only set up a puppet regime dependent on Algiers. Only socialist revolution based on the Moroccan and Algerian proletariats and led by a Trotskyist party can overcome reactionary nationalism and unite the oppressed of the Maghreh (northwest Africa) to overthrow their exploiters.

## SWP Waffles on Angola

The Angolan war has provided the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) an opportunity to exhume the worm-eaten crypt of the class-collaborationist anti-Vietnam War movement.

The SWP's social-patriotic campaign to prevent "another Vietnam" in Angola neatly dovetails with the election-year maneuvers of gun-shy Congressional liberals. Imperialist dove John Tunney advises his Senatorial colleagues against pouring "more money down this rathole" (*New York Times*, 19 December 1975). SWP Congressional candidate Pat Wright told a Columbia University audience during a January debate on Angola that "millions of dollars are being poured into a useless war."

These renegades from Trotskyism refuse to take sides in what they disingenuously refer to as a

"fratricidal conflict" and a "factional war." Since late October, one of these "factions"—a shaky coalition of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—has included and been led by CIA operatives, right-wing Portuguese *colons*, and a several-thousand-man South African army expeditionary corps. The other "faction" in this thoroughly internationalized war consists of Russian equipment and advisors, Cuban officers and soldiers, and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

But the reformists of the SWP can only wring their hands and scratch their heads. In an authoritative SWP Political Committee report to its National Committee plenum, Angola "expert" Tony Thomas studied ignorance from top to toe: "It is difficult at this distance to assess all the ins and outs of the factional war between the three groups. But we have no difficulty in seeing what our main job is, as Fred [Halstead] and other comrades said. This is to organize opposition to American imperialist intervention..." (*Militant*, 23 January). Those SWPers who sought further enlightenment received no more help from the less-than-profound contribution of SWP leader emeritus Joseph Hansen: "Whatever one's opinions may be of the issues at stake in the conflict between the MPLA, the FNLA and UNITA, it is clear that the main enemy in Angola is imperialism" (*Militant*, 26 December 1975).

What is the correct position for Marxists to take on the present stage of the Angolan war? Military victory to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the U.S./South Africa-led coalition; siding with the USSR in the proxy war with American imperialism? Not for the SWP, if you please. Replying to the Spartacus Youth League spokesman during the debate at Columbia, SWPer Pat Wright asked "Do we want to take into the streets a lot of talk about what the FNLA does, what the MPLA does, what UNITA does and so forth or what the Soviet Union does? People who are being laid off, who are being affected by the budget cuts in this country, especially blacks and Puerto Ricans, I don't think if we bring all this information and confusing terms to them that they will be able to understand and be ready to move."

Such vile philistinism is an attempt to hide the SWP's criminal abstentionism. But no amount of political gymnastics will get the SWP off the hook. Employing a device worn thin from years of unprincipled factional maneuvering, the National Committee report raises orthodox-sounding criticisms of the SWP's opponents within the "United" Secretariat (USec), who give *political support* to the MPLA, in order to deflect criticisms from its own refusal to call for military defense of the Soviet/Cuban/MPLA forces under imperialist attack.

But the SWP's stock has sunk so low in the deeply divided USec that even its normal bloc partner, the ultra-reformist Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) of Argentina, has come out for the victory of the MPLA forces in the battlefield confrontation with the imperialist-led coalition. It is a measure of the pervasive cynicism of the USec that the PST, which stands in its far *right* wing, should most closely approximate a revolutionary line on Angola.

The SWP's feigned ignorance approaches almost heroic proportions in Thomas' report: "Because of the South African censorship and the efforts of the FNLA and UNITA to cover up the South African moves, it is not clear at the moment which field of [South African troop] operations is primary, pursuit of SWAPO [the South-West African nationalist guerrillas], occupation of the Cunene valley [southern Angola site of a South African financed hydroelectric power plant], or military thrusts against the MPLA." This "analysis" was written *two months* after a motorized South African column, UNITA camp followers in tow, led a major drive up the coast as far as Lohito and Benguela and fanned out along the entire southern front. Perhaps Thomas is still reading last year's UNITA press releases describing the pale-blond soldiers with Afrikaans accents as "Norwegians" (*New York Times*, 8 December 1975).

Aping the Maoist line of calling for "superpowers out" and "a government of national unity," Thomas attempts to distill a winning combination by betting on all the domestic contestants. First, his report argues that all three Angolan nationalist formations "follow procapitalist, anti-working-class and class-collaborationist policies"—a correct statement which should lay to rest the hoary SWP dictum that "consistent nationalism equals socialism."

Second, Thomas maintains that each group "maneuvers with imperialism" and "is willing to make political and economic concessions to gain imperialist

support." Right again! But in the next breath, we learn that all three are "real nationalist movements with mass support; consequently they are not dependent on imperialism!" This conclusion is a thousand times wrong.

For the pseudo-Marxist pundits, imperialist control over Angola does not result from the dominance of the world market and the absence of a revolutionary proletarian party which could break the stranglehold of imperialism by smashing capitalism. Rather, what is needed according to the SWP is simply unity among three "procapitalist, anti-working-class" nationalist organizations. While calling on all three to unite (in order to get on with the job of stabilizing a strikebreaking bourgeois regime), the SWP closes its eyes to the fact that the FNLA and UNITA are not simply recipients of "aid from abroad," but are militarily subordinated to imperialist powers.

The SWP line shares another characteristic of the Maoist position. Its neutrality on paper is a smoke-screen designed to conceal its political sympathies for the FNLA. Vigorously defending the FNLA against old MPLA charges that it was a "tool of Western imperialism and of Tshombe's regime in the Congo," Thomas conveniently omits mention of FNLA head Holden Roberto's long history of funding by the CIA. Decrying the MPLA's threat to turn the Bakongo tribal areas into "another Biafra," Thomas overlooks Roberto's threat to "kill every Communist in Luanda." Criticisms of the MPLA are abundant, harsh and



London Daily Mail-Eschave Associates

### Cuban soldiers in Angola

largely accurate. Criticisms of the FNLA are few and generally abstract statements applying to all three formations. Crudest of all is Thomas' attempt to simultaneously condemn UNITA and the FNLA "for blocking with the South Africans," while arguing away the political significance of this bloc.

Leaving no stone unturned, Thomas and company even toy with a revolutionary defensist policy, albeit without specifying on *which* side: "If the imperialist intervention increases, as seems quite likely, we may decide to favor the victory of one or another of the groups on tactical grounds...." Perhaps if the Portuguese Liberation Army and 5,000 South African troops are replaced by thousands of "our boys," the SWP would then finally call for smashing the imperialist-led coalition? Militants who recall the SWP's Vietnam war policies of wallowing in the trough of bourgeois pacifism and "guns or butter" liberalism will rightly scoff at the prospect of the SWP ever forthrightly calling for the military defeat of U.S. imperialism.

While veteran SWP peacenik Fred Halstead is busily dusting off his "Out Now" button, a "Bring the Boys Home Movement" is growing apace in South Africa. The white supremacist regime of Prime Minister John Vorster is under extreme pressure from the right to withdraw its troops from Angola. Like the SWP, the "Out Now" forces in South Africa support none of the nationalist groups. In a widely-publicized letter advising his son to resign from the military if forced to serve in Angola, a Transvaal doctor wrote that "even a single drop of Afrikaner blood is too much" for "helping one Communist black terrorist gang against another" (*Washington Post*, 10 January).

Now these, admittedly, are not the views of the SWP. They are merely expressions of the racist, isolationist and anti-communist ideology of bourgeois elements not different in kind from those whom the SWP consistently conciliated in the antiwar movement. Thomas' proposed slogan of "Not one penny, not one bullet, not a single adviser or soldier into Angola" can be as suitable for South African racists as for American social-democratic opportunists.



## RSL: Russia Always Capitalist?

# Dunce Caps for State Caps

On January 31 the clique-crippled Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) came limping into New York on the last leg of its "national" tour (venturing as far west as... St. Louis). Speaking on "State Capitalism and the Fight for Socialism," RSL boss Ron Taber was forced to bring an entourage of supporters with him, since the New York RSL leadership around Sy Landy and Walter Dahl had just been expelled while their New York supporters remaining in the RSL have revolted against Taber in the third (!) clique fight to rend this dwindling sect. With its New York local rapidly disintegrating the RSL local organizer last Wednesday informed the Spartacist League that the RSL was withdrawing from the long-planned RSL-SL debate on busing. Permit us to recall that the RSL demanded this debate and then threw a tantrum in its *Torch* blaming the SL for a delay caused by their own organizational foul up!

At the forum the pompous Taber spewed drivel about "state capitalism" which carried the political odor of renegades of the past like Max Shachtman and James Burnham. In his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy Leon Trotsky contemptuously dismissed all attempts to portray the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, as "state capitalism." In the USSR the bourgeoisie has been economically expropriated in a social revolution which established over the principal means of production collectivized property forms corresponding to the class rule of the proletariat. But the Russian proletariat has been politically expropriated by the Stalinist bureaucracy which destroyed the revolutionary Bolshevik party and the soviets, establishing an anti-proletarian regime parasitically feeding upon the social conquests of the October Revolution.

Strutting as a self-annointed "creative Marxist" and even a "Trotskyist," Taber resurrected the Burnhamite clap-trap that German fascism, the Scandinavian welfare state and various "Third World" bonapartist regimes resting upon nationalized economies (such as Burma) all represented societies "along the way" to the "pure type of state capitalism" existing in the USSR today. For the

RSL, "state capitalism" emerged in backward Russia under Stalin when the workers lost all "control" and "leverage" over the state (allegedly during the Moscow Trials of 1936-38). Yet Taber simultaneously implied that the Soviet economy all along had been capitalist! Even though "all the laws of capitalism have always applied" and the "law of value applied all through this process," the only difference between Russia under Lenin and Stalin was that under Lenin the workers at least exercised "control" over the state. With the rise of Stalinism Russia "slowly but surely" became "a fully developed capitalist state."

Sounding like an anarcho-syndicalist New Left moralist Taber railed at "production for the sake of accumulation" and "proved" that the USSR was a capitalist society by histrionically decrying that the Russian workers must work for wages while the state appropriates the surplus value produced.

In the "discussion" period, when the RSL would recognize only two SL speakers, the first SL supporter ridiculed Taber's bombast which could not discover in the planned Russian economy any of the fundamental features of capitalism, such as competition between capitalist enterprises, production for the sake of profit, cyclical crises resulting from the tendential decline in the profit rate and the compulsion to export capital to realize monopoly super-profits.

The SL speaker pointed out that the RSL, like Shachtman and all social democrats, must trample over the Marxist understanding of the state in order to glorify abstract "democracy." In the Soviet Union workers democracy based upon soviets was destroyed by the Stalinist counterrevolution in 1924, not 1936-38; but the Soviet state—armed bodies of men defending the prevailing nationalized property forms—was not overturned. Only petty-bourgeois democrats like the RSL could contend that a social counterrevolution does not require the smashing of the state but only the erosion of democracy—even workers democracy—"slowly but surely."

The SL speaker added that with its petty-bourgeois moralism on wages and "workers control" the RSL would have opposed the Bolshevik government under Lenin. In the early years of the Russian workers state, production certainly was "for the sake of accumulation" and the state indeed appropriated the surplus product while "forcing the workers to work for wages." Finally, the SL speaker blasted the RSL for its opportunist spasms in adapting to those Stalinist-led forces which are popular in petty-bourgeois radical milieus. For example, like the International Socialists, its parent Shachtmanite organization, the RSL supported the victory of the Indochinese Stalinists, even though according to its "state capitalist" schema the Stalinist-led armies were bourgeois forces no different than the Saigon/Phnom Penh cabal and their Russian overlords were "imperialists" no different than the U.S. The second SL speaker pointed out that the RSL, while wailing about democracy in the USSR, refuses to support elementary democratic de-

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Ann Foreman and Mary Jo Risher (right).

## Stop Discrimination Against Homosexuals!

# Texas Courts Take Child from Lesbian Mother

On December 23 a jury in a Dallas, Texas, Domestic Relations Court took custody of Mary Jo Risher's nine-year-old son, Richard, away from her in a 10-2 verdict. Risher's former husband, from whom she was divorced five years ago, brought her to court to gain custody of Richard, charging that her lifestyle was not conducive to the young boy's proper upbringing. Actually, the lifestyle which the self-righteous guardians of bourgeois propriety find so objectionable is led in a four-bedroom house in suburban Garland and is not much different than in the neighboring homes. Except for one thing: the household unit consists of two divorced women and two children.

Evidence that Mary Jo Risher, 38 and a homosexual, is an "unfit mother" is nil. To the contrary, courtroom witnesses, including several psychologists, repeatedly observed that Richard's home life is "excellent, happy and normal." The chaplain of the hospital where Mary Jo Risher works as a nurse described her as "hard working, very compassionate, very sensitive." As a guest in her home he described "a relaxed, loving relationship among all members of the family."

Such public scrutiny and judgment of the character and lifestyle of Mary Jo Risher and her companion, Ann Foreman, is a gross violation of their privacy and democratic rights. The father's concern for Richard's emotional well-being is pure pretense. In the first place, the child wants to remain with his mother. And if anything is designed to cause emotional damage to Richard, it is the atmosphere of public scandal surrounding the court proceedings.

The testimony of the father, Doug Risher, and an older son, 17-year-old Jimmy, against Mary Jo Risher is focused on her lesbianism, which Jimmy finds an embarrassment. Such bigotry must be fought, not used as an excuse to deny the democratic right of sexual choice. Unfortunately, however, Jimmy's "shame" results from genuine social pressures exerted by a society that treats sexual non-conformity with revulsion.

In an interview with a *WV* reporter Mary Jo Risher, presently on tour to gain support for her appeal of the decision, described two incidents the psychologist testifying for the petitioner brought out to indicate her "bad judgment" as a mother. First, she had allowed Richard to wear a YWCA t-shirt. Her reason: "Richard is, indeed, a member of the YWCA," where he takes a gymnastics class with other children, male and female. Secondly, she had dressed Richard in a girl's hand-me-downs. Anne Foreman's 11-year-old daughter outgrew a pair of jeans and denim jacket, fashionable for both boys and girls, and Richard inherited them!

This is the rubbish which constitutes the case for taking Richard away from his mother. It is hard to imagine such ridiculous "evidence" not being laughed out of court. Mary Jo Risher thinks it would be in another region, as on the West Coast where judges recently ruled in favor of lesbian mothers in two similar cases. She connects the jury's decision to the fundamentalist Baptist mentality of the "Bible Belt."

While the South may be more notorious for bigotry than other sections of the country, discrimination against homosexuals is pervasive in bourgeois society, for the nuclear family institution is important to the maintenance of capitalism. Mary Jo Risher is the victim of reactionary persecution and needs the support of class-conscious militants in her appeal. Sexual choice is a basic democratic right—End discrimination against homosexuals! Stop this victimization! Donations for legal expenses, expected to require \$30,000, can be sent to: Friends of Mary Jo Risher, P.O. Box 174, Dallas, Texas 75221. ■

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# OCI Resurrects the London Bureau

The international incarnation of the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) has proudly proclaimed the abandonment of even its previously minimal pretenses to upholding the Trotskyist program as the basis for its political existence. With triumphant fanfare, OCI-aligned Latin American groups recently called for a conference "for organizing anti-imperialist unity" which would be open to all Latin American tendencies which recognize the "class independence of the laboring masses"; closer to home base, the OCI is now engaged in a blossoming romance with the organization Trotsky castigated as the epitome of centrism, the Spanish POUM.

A communiqué dated 6 November 1975 reported the results of the Second Latin American Conference held under the auspices of the OCI-led Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) on November 1-6. The communiqué proclaimed that "over-all agreement" was reached "concerning the tasks implied by the struggle for the construction of revolutionary parties in each country, integrated into the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International."

However, what is really being undertaken by the OCRFI and its Latin American adherents (Bolivian POR, Argentine Política Obrera, Mexican LOM, Peruvian POMR, Chilean POMR and a Venezuelan group) is not the reforging of the Fourth International. It is the inauguration of another "London Bureau"—a rotten bloc of the sort Trotsky fought in the 1930's as the most dangerous centrist roadblock to the struggle for the Fourth International.

The real political thrust of the Latin American Conference can be seen from the communiqué's enumeration of the political conditions projected for a future conference

"of all organizations, tendencies and currents who in Latin America take a position in favor of the following three points:

- "(1) for organizing anti-imperialist unity,
- "(2) for the class independence of the laboring masses and the workers organizations;
- "(3) for organizing anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles in conformity with the motto of the Workingmen's International [First International]: 'the emancipation of the toilers will be the task of the toilers themselves'."

*Correo Internacional*, December 1975

What is being proposed here is nothing but an international Kuomintang, simply a more dishonest version of the class-collaborationist "anti-imperialist" alliances with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists constantly being pushed by the Mao, Castro and Brezhnev Stalinists.

But bourgeois forces would certainly not agree to the "class independence of the laboring masses and the workers' organizations," the OCI will doubtless reply. On the contrary, bourgeois leftist demagogues are not only prepared to sign such statements, especially when they are out of power, but one among their number—a certain General Juan José Torres, ex-president of Bolivia—has already gone the OCI one better and signed a document calling for the "hegemony of the proletariat."

This was the declaration of the Bolivian Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front (FRA), which the OCI will well recall since it wrote of the FRA that, "Even Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang joined the Third International" (*La Verité* No. 557, July 1972). At the time the OCI implicitly criticized the Bolivian POR's accolades to transcendental virtues of the FRA; now, however, the OCI is on the prowl

looking for its own Banzers and Chiangs, and has evidently already signed up the Venezuelan MIR.

The Latin American Conference brings the OCI's rhetoric into line with its opportunist practice, breaking with past verbal claims to Trotskyist orthodoxy. Previously, it had insisted—correctly, if formalistically—that the Transitional Program is primary. After breaking with its former British cohort, Gerry Healy, in 1971, the OCI had stressed the need to

"cement together the authentically Trotskyist elements, groups and organizations, however few they may be.... "We know that it is not an easy thing to bring about a principled and organizational regroupment...but precisely because this is difficult, it should be undertaken only with those who want to remain faithful to the [Trotskyist] program and who are not afraid to break with Pabloite liquidationism."

—Correspondance Internationale, June 1972

## OCI-SWP Rapprochement

Ironically, according to the minutes of an October 1974 meeting between the OCI and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the OCI's Pierre Lambert had stated:

"If there weren't any link with the Fourth International founded by Trotsky, each of us [i.e., the OCRFI and the United Secretariat, with which the SWP is politically linked] would be nothing but London Bureaus. Neither of us are London Bureaus since we claim the authority of Trotsky."

To be sure, appeals to the authority of Trotsky are an insufficient criterion for defining authentic Trotskyism. But the Latin American Conference has formalized the unprincipled practice of the OCI with unprecedented clarity. It has transcended earlier vacillations and capitulations in favor of frankly advocating a loose conglomeration of "anti-imperialists" without any reference

Moreno-Coral, then solidly in line with the SWP. Relations between PO and the PST appear to have improved considerably; recently the PST has even proposed a fusion of their respective youth groups this March (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 December 1975).

Oddly enough, while the OCI and PST have been romancing, rumors of dissension between the PST and SWP over Portugal and Angola have been circulating in Europe. These have now been confirmed with regard to Angola: the SWP's *Militant* (23 January) claims that the PST agrees with the USec majority position of support to the MPLA as against the SWP's "neutrality." Further USec reshuffling may put the OCI—which originally had expressed nothing but scorn for the PST while flattering the SWP outrageously—in a quandary.

## OCI Chases the POUM

The OCI has spent more than twenty years professing "orthodox Trotskyism" and "anti-revisionism." It is no accident that its sharp right turn on French political terrain—support to the popular-front candidate in the 1974 presidential elections—is linked with an equally sharp right turn internationally. The question of popular frontism is the axis around which the OCI's intensifying degeneration turns.

In Europe, after the OCI lost its Spanish group to the Vargaite sect, it increasingly adopted political positions identical to those of the Spanish POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity)—an organization which historically has expressed the quintessence of capitulation to popular frontism. For at least the past six months, the OCI has limited itself to raising central slogans for Spain which are identical with those of the

coup; it is quite another to advocate the formation of a bourgeois republic.

## POUM's Record of Betrayal

In 1936, Trotsky broke with the Communist Left of Andrés Nin over its unification with Maurin's Workers and Peasants Bloc to form the POUM. Subsequent events rapidly confirmed Trotsky's evaluation of the POUM as a centrist obstacle to proletarian revolution. In the crucible of the revolutionary situation, the POUM abdicated to the reformist misleaders and ultimately allowed the bourgeoisie to recapture political control through the popular front, thereby objectively ensuring the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the victory of the Francoist forces.

In typical centrist fashion, after months of campaigning against a coalition with the Spanish bourgeoisie, the POUM overnight entered the electoral coalition of February 1936 in Catalonia. After the elections, it would of course renounce the coalition. But on the very eve of the civil war the POUM again capitulated, calling for "an authentic government of the popular front, with the direct participation of the Socialist and Communist Parties (*La Batalla*, 17 July 1936). Instead of demanding that the reformists assume governmental power without their bourgeois partners (thus the Bolsheviks' June 1917 slogan, "Down with the ten capitalist ministers"), at the critical moments the POUM showed itself incapable of putting teeth into its periodic verbal opposition to the popular front.

On 7 September 1936 Nin made a speech criticizing the Madrid coalition with the bourgeoisie, raising the slogan "Down with the bourgeois ministers." But on 18 September *La Batalla* published a resolution declaring:

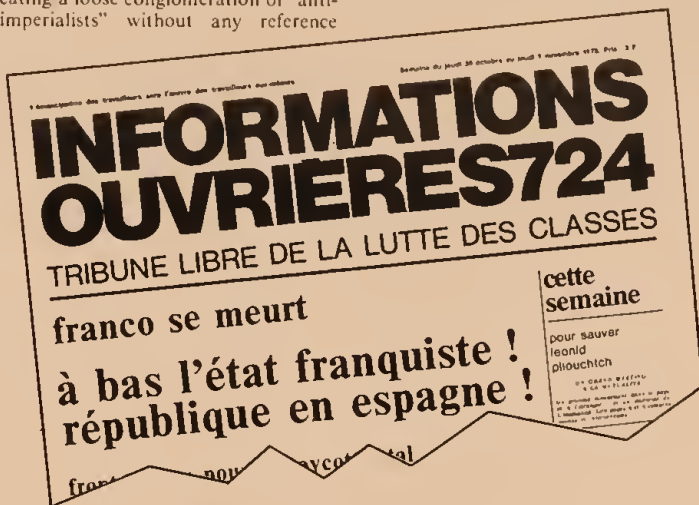
"The Central Committee believes now, as always, that this government must be exclusively composed of representatives of the workers parties and trade-union organizations. But if this point of view is not shared by the other workers organizations, we are willing to leave the question open."

On 12 December 1936 the POUM showed what was really meant by "leaving the question open"—it entered the bourgeois government of Catalonia!

The POUM's political capitulation to popular-front coalitionism was decisive confirmation of the correctness of Trotsky's bitter struggle. The central thrust of the POUM's disorientation, rendering it impotent to provide revolutionary leadership, was the same inability to pose a proletarian program aimed at the independent mobilization of the working class counterposed to the bourgeois state apparatus. The POUM in practice opposed the central task facing revolutionists in an incipient dual power situation: the creation of soviets.

In the armed forces, the POUM forbade the election of soldiers committees. It acquiesced to the militarization and mobilization decrees of September and October 1936 providing for the conscription of regular regiments ruled by the old military code. On 27 October 1936 *La Batalla* published without comment the bourgeois state's decree disarming the workers.

Nin explicitly justified the abandonment of the Leninist conception of soviets, referring to the absence of democratic traditions in Russia. "Our proletariat, however, had its unions, its parties, its own organizations. For this reason, the soviets have not arisen among us" (*Batalla*, 27 April 1937). What this statement reflected was Nin's long-standing refusal to contest with the reformist anarchist bureaucracy of the CNT for leadership of the organized workers. When the CNT joined the popular front, so did the POUM; when



OCI newspaper headline reads: "Down with Francosim! For a Republic in Spain!"

whatsoever to Trotskyism. By its own admission, the OCRFI is fostering nothing but another London Bureau.

The OCI supplanted its long-standing hostility to the SWP by suddenly discovering in 1973 that the SWP is "Trotskyist" and "not centrist." The OCI plunged headlong into its pursuit of Joseph Hansen & Co., unrestrained by the full flowering of the SWP's social-democratic appetites placing the SWP in the right wing of the United Secretariat (USec). In the period preceding the USec's 1974 World Congress, the OCI advised any supporters it might have or acquire within the USec to join the SWP-led right-oppositional minority, the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

Even before the SWP-OCI meeting in October 1974, the OCI's Argentine affiliate, Política Obrera (PO), stated its readiness to enter into extensive discussions with the Argentine PST of

POUM: "Down with the monarchy," "For a Spanish republic." "For a constituent assembly." These slogans embody the Menshevik notion of two rigidly separated stages of revolution at bottom, an attempt to justify political confidence in bourgeois democracy during the supposed "first" stage.

In a civil war situation the workers movement must give military support to bourgeois democracy against bonapartist and fascist reaction (thus the Bolsheviks fought alongside Kerensky against Kornilov). But the proletariat never subordinates its independent organizations and program to such military blocs because it places no political confidence in the bourgeoisie. The slogans of the POUM/OCI for Spain today are openly reformist. It was one thing to fight on the side of the endangered Spanish republic against the Francoist generals'





During Barcelona "May Days" in 1937 Spanish Trotskyists called for general strike and revolutionary proletarian front (right). POUM called on workers to lay down their arms.

the CNT called on the workers to lay down their arms before ferocious bourgeois and Stalinist repression, the POUM did likewise.

After the leftist Barcelona section of the POUM voted for the immediate organizing of soviets on 15 April 1937 the POUM leadership undertook massive bureaucratic repressive measures against its left wing, including the expulsion of dissidents (charged with being Trotskyists) brought back from the front under guard.

The final step was predictable. In early May the Barcelona working class had taken over the city in response to a Stalinist-led attempt by the republic's Assault Guards to take control of the Telefonica workers. Alone among the left groups, the Trotskyists (the Bolshevik-Leninist Section of Spain) and the left-anarchist "Friends of Durruti" issued leaflets on May 4 calling for a general strike, disarming the Assault Guards and the formation of a revolutionary proletarian front. But *La Batalla* (6 May 1937) told the workers to "leave the streets" and "return to work." At the instruction of their leadership, the POUM militants abandoned the barricades. This betrayal was instrumental in causing the defeat of the heroic May Days uprising. Such are the "differences" between genuine Bolshevism and centrist betrayal.

#### The POUM's Apologists

At the time of his intransigent political fight against the centrist POUM, Trotsky also had to combat a considerable appetite for softness toward the POUM's political line within organizations formally claiming to stand for the Fourth International.

In July 1936, Trotsky wrote a letter to the Dutch RSAP attacking its sympathetic attitude toward the POUM and its reluctance to take any position on the London Bureau, of which the POUM was a mainstay. Trotsky wrote:

"One does not fight for the Fourth International by flirting with them [the POUM and its allies] in a closed room, by attendance on them, by parlor visits to them, etc.... no, one fights for the Fourth International only by pitilessly exposing these little gentlemen and calling them by their right name."

In the same letter, Trotsky took up the POUM's policies:

"The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The Left Centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to practice their little business in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best

criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism... All the People's Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian People's Front of 1917..."

*Writings, 1935-36*

After World War II, the POUM also played a major role in the Shachtmanite "International," the bizarre regroupment of those who had broken to the right from the Fourth International. In addition to the Shachtman group, which had split from the SWP in 1940 in opposition to the Trotskyist policy of military defensism of the Soviet Union, this international centrist swamp encompassed the German IKD (which authored the Menshevik "Three Theses" in 1941 advocating a "democratic" revolution against Hitler rule), the post-war Goldman-Morrow split from the SWP and the right breakaway from the French POI led by Parisot and Demazière. This is the historical tradition to which the OCI is returning.

#### OCI Rewrites History

Not content to cuddle up to the POUM today, the OCI is also busily attempting to prettify the POUM's capitulationist role in the 1930's. Pierre Broué, the OCI's leading historian, has recently edited a large volume of Trotsky's writings on Spain. Broué's footnotes and commentary go to great lengths to "explain" (i.e., justify) the POUM's policies.

Broué is particularly positive about the Maurin wing's trade-union policies and the founding of the POUM, which Trotsky opposed. According to Broué, the POUM was constituted by the "common struggle for the workers united front" between the Workers and Peasants Bloc (Maurin) and the Communist Left (Nin). Broué terms "coherent" POUM leader Juan Andrade's explanation for the founding of the POUM and quotes Andrade and other POUM leaders at length and approvingly concerning their differences with Trotsky.

In the context of editing Trotsky's Spain writings, Broué has gone as far as it is possible for an ostensible Trotskyist to go (he cannot, of course, openly repudiate Trotsky's struggle against the POUM) to justify the POUM against Trotsky. He implicitly solidarizes with the vacillators who wanted to associate themselves with Trotsky's trenchant analyses while shrinking from the iron necessity for pitiless political struggle against the centrists, obliquely noting that Trotsky's "often fierce" polemics against the POUM were "often consid-

*continued on page 10*

# Free Dennis Banks!



Dennis Banks, left, with Russell Means. Banks, executive director of the American Indian Movement, faces a possible 15-year sentence.

Dennis Banks, a founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was arrested as a fugitive on January 24 at the home of a friend in El Cerrito, California. A heavily armed FBI unit surrounded the house of Lehman (Lee) Brightman, a Sioux Indian from South Dakota, and gave the two unarmed men just one minute to surrender (presumably before the cops would go in shooting). Banks and Brightman both surrendered peacefully.

Brightman, who heads the Native American Program at Contra Costa Junior College, now faces federal charges of harboring a fugitive who crossed state lines. He has since been released on his own recognizance.

Banks, however, is wanted on two separate sets of charges and remains in jail on \$100,000 bond. In Portland, Oregon, where authorities claim he was one of two men who fired at a state trooper last November, Banks was indicted for illegal possession of destructive devices and firearms. In South Dakota he is wanted on state and federal charges dating back to February 1973.

In late January of that year, a gang of white youths in Custer, S.D., abducted a young Indian from a dance, tortured and stabbed him to death. When the Indian youth's accused assailant was simply charged with second-degree manslaughter, clearly about to get off scot-free, Banks declared February 6 a national day of Indian rights and called for a demonstration in Custer to protest this racist injustice.

The protest grew into what Banks called a police riot, during which the Custer County Courthouse and the Chamber of Commerce were burned down, a bar was ripped up and several police cars were destroyed. Convicted on riot and assault charges stemming from this incident, Banks faced a 15-year prison term. Banks failed to appear for sentencing last August. After Banks' recent arrest in California his attorney said that, "Being sent back to South Dakota might mean his death" in the racist prisons.

Dennis Banks and Russell Means were the main leaders of the Wounded Knee occupation at Pine Ridge Reservation (South Dakota) which began shortly after the Custer incident in 1973. Although the government's trumped-up charges resulting from the occupation were later dismissed, state and federal authorities have not dropped their vendetta against the AIM leaders.

A coalition of Indian organizations have formed the Dennis Banks Bicentennial Legal Offense Fund to raise bail for Banks by February 9, when a judge will rule on whether to remove him to Portland to stand trial. The coalition, which plans a campaign to pressure the governor to block extradition to South Dakota, has scheduled a march to the California state capitol for February 6. The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee urge support for Dennis Banks against these frame-up charges. Contributions for his defense can be sent to: Dennis Banks Bicentennial Legal Offense Fund, P.O. Box 601, Oakland, California 94604.



## From Bandung to NATO

# Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal

The New Left Maoists' hostility to Brezhnev's Russia flowed from a leftist impulse: the Kremlin was seen (correctly) as betraying the colonial masses for the sake of collusion with U.S. imperialism. But outside the radical student milieu, a powerful objective basis has always existed for Maoist anti-USSR rhetoric to intersect an anti-communist strategy.

In West Europe, the only popular basis of support for U.S. imperialism is

the legacy of Nazism and the anti-Comintern pact.

The relation of U.S. Maoism to national chauvinism is less extreme. The U.S. is the guardian of capitalism on a world scale, so that anti-communist attitudes have a general form not solely focused on the Soviet Union. Yet the American masses see Russia as the main enemy, the only nation capable of destroying the U.S.; China and the colonial world appear remote. American Maoism can take advantage of this greater popular fear of the USSR. A youth joining a Maoist organization will have less trouble from his conventionally-minded family and friends if he is pro-Chinese rather than pro-Russian. The former seems faddish and idiosyncratic; the latter is really dangerous.

### "Khrushchevism Under the Gun"

One does not really become a social democrat, syndicalist, Stalinist or Trotskyist simply by joining an organization and believing in its general principles. Individuals become the living embodiments of political tendencies only through serving them during great historical experiences.

In this sense, Western Maoism does not begin in the late 1960's when student-centered radicals became overwhelmingly enamored of the Little Red Book. Rather, the New Leftists became Maoists in the 1971-72 period by abandoning their former subjective principles out of loyalty to Peking. Many of the New Left Maoists did not make that jump. Some dropped out of serious organized politics entirely; some rejected Stalinism outright and joined groups claiming to stand in the Trotskyist tradition; others broke with Peking to become eclectic "Marxist-Leninists."

To be sure, there was never anything revolutionary about Mao's policies in the 1960's. The fundamental ideology of Maoism—like its tamer twin, Khrushchevism—has always been "Socialism in One Country": the Stalinist

bureaucracy's nationalist justification for sacrificing the international revolution in favor of diplomatic deals aimed at taking the pressure off its own deformed workers state.

China's willingness to shore up reactionary nationalist military regimes against their own working masses had been amply demonstrated at the "Asian-African Solidarity Conference" held at Bandung, Indonesia in 1954, where Chou En-lai had propounded the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," including a pledge to refrain from exerting pressure on other nations to change their economic systems. Peking's diplomatic agreements with regimes such as the Congo (Brazzaville) or Tanzania, and its applauding of Boumedienne's reactionary coup in Algeria, were apt implementations of the "Spirit of Bandung." The "anti-imperialist" rationale for such betrayals was exposed as threadbare by the Maoists' simultaneous policy of peaceful coexistence with Japan, the imperialist powerhouse of Asia.

The foreign policy aspirations of the Chinese were never basically different from those of the Russian Stalinists: the greater verbal militancy of the Mao regime flowed from China's far more limited ability, due to American intransigence, to put its sellout appetites into effect.

Militant Maoism was "Khrushchevism under the gun." It was a more or less simple product of the far greater pressure which the Chinese state—diplomatically more isolated and industrially/militarily far weaker than the Soviet Union—suffered from U.S. imperialism in the 1960's. The pro-Chinese Western radicals who accepted Mao's "revolutionary" bromides as good coin can be condemned for light-mindedness and, to a certain extent, for cynicism. But those who followed Mao through the increasingly transparent and immediate betrayals and now line up behind U.S. imperialism against the USSR have undergone a corrosive

process which made them much different political animals than formerly inhabited the New Left zoo.

### Toward the New Alliance

It was in 1971 that the Mao regime's right turn manifested itself in nakedly counterrevolutionary foreign policy moves. The Bandaranaike regime in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) had pretensions to being among the leaders of the "non-aligned Third World." In the spring of 1971, the radical Sinhalese-nationalist JVP attempted a rural-based uprising which was put down with wanton savagery by the government. To maintain Bandaranaike's good will in competition with Washington and Moscow, the Chinese denounced the JVP as objectively counterrevolutionary and solidarized with its bloody suppression.

In late 1971 the Bengali masses rose up in a struggle for national independence against the Punjabi-centered military regime of Yahya Khan in Pakistan. The Pakistani regime responded with a campaign of mass terror comparable to the worst nationalist atrocities of this century. Since Pakistan was the main rival of Indira Gandhi's India, the most important Soviet ally in South Asia, Mao's China fulsomely endorsed Yahya Khan's murderous efforts to maintain Pakistan's territorial integrity. The Maoists demonstrated that they would not be outdone in treachery by the Russians, who had earlier militarily backed India in its border war against China.

Capping Peking's counterrevolutionary policies was the new alliance: China and the United States. In February 1972, while Nixon's planes were bombing Hanoi, the imperialist chieftain was effusively welcomed in Peking.

### Angola

The Maoists who accepted Bandaranaike, Yahya Khan and Richard Nixon as friends of China (and many did not) had become more



Mrs. Bandaranaike received diplomatic and military support from Peking as her government carried out the 1971 massacre of JVP youth rebels in Sri Lanka.





Daily News



AP

Left: Nixon and Chou En-lai toast "peaceful coexistence." Right: American B-52's drop bombs on North Vietnam.

hardened and cynical; the New Left naïveté and enthusiasm had been ground off. The events of 1971-72 were important steps toward State Department Maoism, but they were not the final plunge. Chinese policy had limits and ambiguities which allowed Maoists to claim—not just for public consumption but also to assuage their own consciences—that they were still committed to liberating the toiling masses of the world from the domination of both "superpowers."

China's support to the reactionary butchers of the "Third World" was diplomatic in character. Likewise China's subsequent campaign to strengthen NATO was mainly limited to oblique references in the pages of *Peking Review* and private encouragement from Chi-

nese leaders to their American and West European "colleagues." China's withdrawal of aid from the Omani rebels in order to befriend the Shah of Iran, and from the Eritrean liberation fighters in order to conciliate the Ethiopian junta, are more substantive betrayals; the oppressed masses pay for these acts with their blood here and now. Yet these, too, remained negative acts. Chinese pilots are not strafing PFLOAG camps and Chinese advisors are not telling the Ethiopian regime how to take Asmara.

But Chinese intervention in Angola is direct and active military support to counterrevolution. Maoists who could swallow Yahya Khan's butchery in East Bengal cannot stomach the South African army in Angola. The scale of Chinese aid to the anti-MPLA bloc required direct collusion of Peking's agents with those of the imperialist powers. Chinese military attachés must have attended meetings with CIA agents. South African officers and Portuguese colonialist politicians in which they planned the capture of Luanda, knowing full well that the annihilation of the Cuban soldiers and the most advanced elements of the Angolan working class would follow. In addition, the battle over Angola is grabbing front-page headlines throughout the world, making China's support for the U.S./South Africa axis an international scandal which cannot be covered up.

For those who, fully realizing the nature of Chinese involvement in Angola, still choose to support it, nothing will now be impermissible for the sake of China's alliance with the U.S. Post-Angola hard Maoists should logically be able to inform to the FBI on

CP members and other leftists, to break strikes at Boeing or General Dynamics for the sake of "national security," to serve in America's colonial wars without experiencing any inner moral crisis. Once again, Stalinism will have taken subjectively revolutionary militants and twisted them into willing servants of counterrevolution.

### The Future of Radical Maoism

Unlike the Maoist movement, Stalin's degenerated Comintern could still claim direct descent from the world's first socialist revolution, had the material support of the USSR and was rooted in mass parties. Stalin's atrocities in Russia and monumental betrayals of revolutionary struggles internationally generated hundreds of thousands of embittered ex-CPers, but the "Stalin-tern" retained its unified mass character. In a looser fashion, a Kremlin-led world movement continues to this day.

In contrast, the international Maoist movement is organizationally weak, has always been faction-ridden, receives little material (or other) support from Peking and is much more dependent upon ideological loyalty. If China continues its all-out and overt alliance with U.S. imperialism, it is doubtful whether Maoism can remain a significant political force. Except where there is an indigenous basis for left-wing anti-Sovietism, as in West Germany, the hard-line pro-Peking groups will deteriorate into isolated and despised sects.

Since 1971-72, there has been a tendency for Maoist organizations to break with Peking and become nationally limited formations espousing their own idiosyncratic brands of "Marxism-Leninism." In the U.S., the Progressive

Labor Party, loyal only to Milt Rosen's bizarre apothecosis of Joseph Stalin, is a good example of this phenomenon. The West German Kommunistischer Bund (Nord) is another such organization, now seeking to develop positions to the left of mainstream Maoism but still based on Stalinist doctrine.

The tendency of Maoism to be displaced by centrist eclecticism is, understandably enough, most developed in Portugal. There are several substantial groups to the left of the pro-

"Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal" is the introduction to the recently published Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, "China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism," available for \$1.00 from Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street P.O., New York, N.Y. 10013.

Moscow PCP. Yet the Peking-loyal Maoists (the PCP-ML) are a small minority, hopelessly and justly isolated from the most militant workers. While the Chinese maintain that the main enemy in Portugal today is "Soviet social-imperialism"—and are willing to align with anyone from Mario Soares' Socialists to openly fascist forces against the PCP—the only Portuguese Maoists who have attained a mass following are those who have broken with this line. The MRPP claims that fascism and "social fascism" (the PCP) are equal dangers, publicly acknowledging differences with Peking on this score, and the larger UDP openly tails after the PCP.

Thus the main challenge to Trotskyism will come not from the dwindling band of post-Angola hard-line Maoists, but from the critical Maoists, dissident Maoists and ex-Maoists. A main orientation of Trotskyists at present must be to prevent the deep crisis of Maoism from dissipating itself in a new layer of nationally limited, impressionistic, inherently unstable Stalinoid formations.

It is not enough to dissent from the outright counterrevolutionary acts of Chinese foreign policy. It is not enough to support whatever forces appear to be battling imperialism or domestic reaction at any given moment. The counterrevolutionary policies emanating from Peking and Moscow must be destroyed at their root. And that root is the rule of a privileged bureaucracy which "defends" collectivized (proletarian) property relations by intriguing with imperialism—in a word, Stalinism. It is the historic task of Trotskyism, and no other tendency, to lead the working class to the overthrow of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and place the enormous resources of the Sino-Soviet states totally in the service of world revolution. ■

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# Extend the Busing— Smash the Racist Roadblock to the Suburbs! Token Desegregation in Detroit

DETROIT, January 29—A court-ordered school busing program opened in Detroit this week with only minimal disruption. The plan, virtually tailor-made to the racists' objections, neutralized resistance from the city's white neighborhoods by minimizing desegregation.

In a last-ditch effort to whip up anti-busing hysteria, a caravan of more than 250 cars converged on downtown Detroit last Sunday and circled the City-County building, honking their horns. However, the most prominent anti-busing organization, Mothers Alert Detroit, was unable to sustain a school boycott (labeled the "yellow flu" in reference to the school buses). Within two days absenteeism declined from about 40 percent to a "near normal" 17 percent.

The uneventful implementation of Detroit's busing plan, in contrast to the violent racist backlash in Boston and Louisville, is not hard to fathom: it is one of the most limited in the country, and consequently no major figure in city politics has called for active opposition.

Unlike busing in Boston, which (although confined to city limits) has sharply changed the racial composition of the public schools, and Louisville's plan of desegregating both city and suburban schools, the Detroit busing program involves fewer than 10 percent of the city's 247,500 school children and leaves vast stretches of the predominantly black inner city untouched.

The plan affects only 107 out of a total of 280 schools and is aimed primarily at altering the racial balance of those few schools which were over 70 percent white. Even C.L. Golightly, president of the school board, who had previously opposed the NAACP plan for extensive cross-district busing, assailed the current scheme as "minimal tokenism."

This hollow mockery of school integration fits squarely into the increasingly reactionary mood of bourgeois opinion on busing and the race question in general. It was drawn up by federal judge Robert DeMascio after the 1974 Supreme Court ruling prohibiting cross-district busing except where it can be shown that suburban schools share the responsibility for existing school segregation. That ruling overturned a broad metropolitan-wide plan ordered four years ago by a federal district court. Judge DeMascio himself is notorious for his racist conduct of the trial of Detroit cops accused of murdering three young black men at the Algiers Motel during the 1967 Detroit ghetto uprising.

DeMascio's final court order contained a strong appeal to white parents to accept the plan as the absolute minimum which the Supreme Court would permit. The judge said that he was "fully aware" of the opposition to the "burdens imposed" by busing, adding that he had made certain that no student would be moved to a school "which is not comparable in all respects" to the school he previously attended (*Detroit Free Press*, 5 November 1975). For example, none of the student transfers which had been protested by white parents in the Denby High School area on the northeast side were included in the final plan. In contrast, the burden imposed on black students forced to attend run-down ghetto schools because of "de facto" housing segregation along

race and class lines was not the concern of Judge DeMascio and the capitalist courts.

The NAACP responded to this setback in typically legalistic fashion by filing an appeal of the DeMascio plan and initiating a new suit seeking to prove the complicity of surrounding suburbs in enforcing segregation in the metropolitan area. Numerous suburbs have already filed counter briefs asking to be dismissed from the suit, claiming no responsibility for the existing pattern of segregation. At this pace, the whole process will take years, and in the present political context it is hardly likely to produce a decision in favor of cross-district busing.

## Racists Undaunted

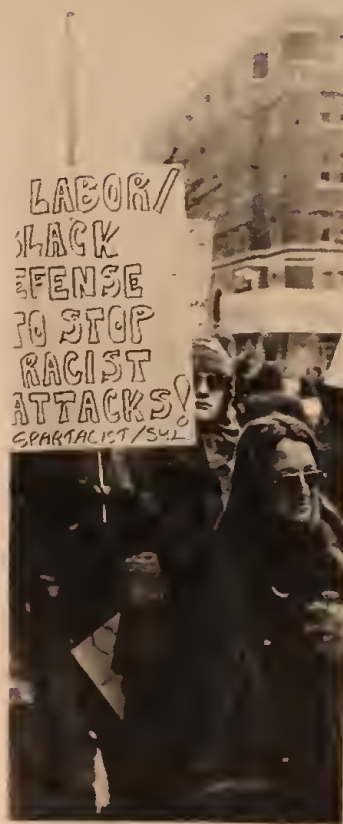
While the limited nature of the Detroit plan and the majority black population in the city have so far deterred violent opposition, the racists were hard at work in the period leading up to implementation of the plan. Mothers Alert Detroit, whose origins are traceable to the ultra-right Break-through organization, earlier conducted partially successful school boycotts against busing. Last November it turned two rump school board meetings in predominantly white northeast Detroit into thinly veiled anti-busing rallies. At one of the meetings, pro-busing members of the Communist Labor Party were assaulted by racists and escorted from the meeting by reluctant local police. As a result of its activities in recent months, the Mothers Alert group has swelled in membership to 4,000.

Even more serious is a series of attacks over the last few months against black families living on the northeast side. The attacks have included threatening phone calls and letters signed by the Ku Klux Klan, assaults on black school children, cross-burnings and several serious shooting incidents. Evidence points to collusion between the police and young white thugs in the area. The cops have been extremely reluctant to even report these attacks, much less issue warrants for the arrest of those identified as participants.

## Mobilize Labor to Extend Busing

A busing plan confined to Detroit alone can barely begin to ameliorate the segregation inherent in a system of decaying all-black schools. Since 1970 the city has become predominantly black due to the phenomenon of "white flight" to the suburbs. Among families with school-age children, the phenomenon is even more pronounced, producing a school system over 70 percent black. At the same time, the ring of suburbs surrounding the city remains virtually all-white. Years of "red-lining" by real estate agencies, barely disguised discrimination and outright physical intimidation have produced the rigidly segregated conditions which exist in the area. As the exodus of whites from the city continues, the race line increasingly coincides with the city limits.

The labor movement has the social power and particular responsibility to lead the fight against the oppression of black people. The United Auto Workers (UAW), representing several hundred thousand black workers in the Detroit region, must fight for a sweeping city-



WV Photo

Participants in January 23 Detroit pro-busing demonstration.

wide desegregation program and the extension of busing to the suburbs. This would mark an important victory against racial discrimination as well as threaten to undercut segregation in housing which now forces black people to live in miserable conditions of the economically and physically devastated inner city.

Yet the "socially conscious" UAW bureaucracy has utterly capitulated before the racist mobilization nationally and in Detroit. Despite a traditionally "progressive" paper stance on the race question, the UAW leadership has not lifted a finger to actively support busing. Maintaining a diplomatic silence while the cross-district plan was before the Supreme Court, the bureaucrats explained after the 1974 decision that, while they were of course in favor of a metropolitan busing plan, they could not support a Detroit-only plan. This back-handed support to the racists became even more explicit last fall when aspiring UAW presidential hopeful Douglas Fraser indicated that the union was reconsidering its tepid support to busing because it was a "losing issue" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 November 1975). The struggle for the democratic rights of black people cannot depend on the likes of Fraser or UAW head Leonard Woodcock who slavishly tail every twist and turn of bourgeois opinion.

## Phony "Leftists" Tail Racists and Liberals

The reformists nibbling at the fringes of the bureaucracy are little better. The misnamed Revolutionary Communist Party—which applauds the "fight-back" of Klan-inspired racists in Louis-

ville and Boston—was obviously disappointed by the absence of howling lynch mobs in the streets of Detroit. Substituting themselves for the racists, these Jim Crow Maoists and their front group, the "Committee to Fight the Attacks on Our Schools," held a pathetic anti-busing demonstration at the Schools Center Building on the first day of the busing program.

In Boston the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attempted to outdo the liberals with calls for reliance on the imperialist army and racist local cops to protect black school children. But in Detroit, where the bourgeois political establishment lined up behind peaceful implementation of the token DeMascio plan, making it unnecessary for the racists to go beyond pro-forma placid protests, the ex-Trotskyist SWP and its Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) quickly fell into step with the "city fathers." SCAR demonstrations called prior to the initiation of the busing plan were notable for the absence of any call for the extension of busing to the suburbs, or even criticisms of the minimal DeMascio plan. SWP and SCAR members volunteered, along with local clergy and 32 police department chaplains, to act as monitors at bus stops throughout the city.

Only the crystallization of a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement can take forward the battle for racial equality. The struggle for the liberation of racial minorities (for democratic demands as well as an end to capitalist social and economic oppression) must be welded to the proletarian struggle for power. The greatest obstacles to this course are labor's present misleaders and their opportunist would-be successors. ■

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# Not Torrijos, But Workers Revolution in Panama!

## Drive Uncle Sam Out of the Canal Zone!

Last month, Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos paid a state visit to Cuba in an effort to shore up his sagging image, which has suffered as a result of the present deadlock in negotiations over the fate of the Panama Canal. Castro was only too willing to pledge his government's unconditional support to the "progressive" general, but cautioned patience in negotiating a new treaty with the United States. Fidel reminded Torrijos that the U.S. still occupies Guantanamo Bay, part of Cuban territory, adding that "We are not in a hurry" to recover it (*New York Times*, 13 January). Soothing words for Torrijos but hardly comforting to the masses of exploited Panamanians, half of whom live in squalid slums clustered at either end of the 10-mile-wide strip of U.S.-owned land which literally cuts their country in two!

The popular mood in Panama is far from patient. Opposition to the bonapartist Torrijos regime has been mounting on all sides and rumors have been circulating of plans for a right-wing coup to oust him. In response, Torrijos exiled 14 prominent conservatives to Ecuador on January 20, charging them with "plotting to undermine the economy and the current Panama Canal negotiations with the United States." A government statement linked the expelled men to U.S. presidential candidate Ronald Reagan and exiled Panamanian ex-president Arnulfo Arias. The statement referred to a meeting in December in Miami where Arias reportedly promised Reagan that he would be more flexible than Torrijos over the canal issue if Reagan would promote his cause (*Washington Post*, 22 January).

Reaction from business interests to the expulsions was swift. A successful lock-out was organized, shutting down banks, stores and some factories. The two largest banks, Chase Manhattan and First National City, closed completely. (One of the exiled businessmen was Rubén Darío Charles, Jr., local vice president of Chase Manhattan.) According to news reports, within a few days 60 percent of the economy was paralyzed. In response, workers' and students' organizations threatened to reopen the banks and stores by force unless the lock-out was ended. Clearly shaken, the Torrijos regime quickly capitulated and allowed the 14 exiles to return.

### An Imperialist Cancer

The nub of the recent crisis in Panama—and the overriding political question in the country since its creation—is the status of the canal, now wholly in the hands of the U.S. government. The present "negotiations" (begun 11 years ago!) concern the drawing up of a new pact to replace the gunboat-imposed treaty of 1903 which is still in effect. This treaty turned Panama—which had just separated itself from Colombia through a "revolution" engineered by Teddy Roosevelt and backed by the Marines as part of his "Good Neighbor" policy—into a semi-colony of the United States. Barely two weeks old, the tiny "republic" signed a treaty with the U.S. turning over the projected canal and the land around it to the imperialist colossus "in perpetuity."

The U.S. first saw the need for the

waterway during the Spanish-American War of 1898, when the battleship *Oregon* had to sail all the way around Cape Horn to get from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Protecting the canal has remained a major military objective of U.S. foreign policy ever since, despite the fact that modern supertankers cannot squeeze through it. The entire Canal Zone and most of the 40,000 U.S. citizens who live there are intimately linked to the ability of American imperialism to make war.

Since 1949 the U.S. Army has operated at Fort Gulick in the Zone the infamous "School of the Americas," prototype of the "counterinsurgency" torture school shown in the movie *State of Siege*. This murder academy has turned out thousands of officers, dictators and CIA agents for Latin America, including the killers of Che Guevara who were trained by Green Berets there. The blood-stained Chilean junta boasts at least six graduates among its top generals and admirals. Another notable product of this school is none other than General Torrijos himself!

The presence of the U.S. and a 15,000-man American army in the Canal Zone has been a festering cancer for the 1.5 million people of Panama and a major target of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America for decades. The movement to throw out the U.S. was given impetus in 1964 when a clash erupted between Panamanian students attempting to raise their national flag outside Balboa High School and American students who tore it down. This led to mass demonstrations in the Zone of over 5,000 Panamanian leftists. At that point the U.S. Army was called in to put down the demonstrators, killing over 20 students and wounding 200 more.

This brutal display of "Yankee" muscle was so revolting that even the pro-American government was forced to make a show of breaking off diplomatic relations with the U.S. After these incidents, negotiations to revise the 1903 treaty began "in earnest." Since 1964 there have been many protest actions against the U.S. occupiers, mainly by the large and politically important Revolutionary Student

Front (FER) dominated by the pro-Moscow People's Party. During Kissinger's visit to Panama in 1974 Torrijos permitted the FER to stage a demonstration which drew over 20,000 people. The students shouted, "Get tough with the Americans, Omar!"

### Torrijos "Negotiates" With Kissinger

Getting "tough" is not exactly what Torrijos had in mind. This phony nationalist demagogue is occasionally given to outbursts of bluff and bluster, hoping to wring a few concessions from the Americans by summoning up the spectre of revolution. Last July when he accused U.S. president Ford of stalling negotiations, Torrijos suggested that any further delay would bring about a student uprising, and in that case "we have two alternatives, to smash it or to lead it, and I'm not going to smash it" (*New York Times*, 21 August 1975). Yet, as one Panamanian oppositionist said, "the Government desperately needs the money from a new treaty in order to stay alive.... So instead of the United States, Panama is making the concession in the negotiations." A social democrat added that "a system of joint defense will strengthen Panamanian militarism in the name of defending the canal" (*New York Times*, 8 October).

Torrijos made his intentions clear when he signed a pact with Kissinger in 1974—the "Joint Statement of Principles"—which abolished the hated "in perpetuity" clause of the original treaty but granted the U.S. "the right to use the lands, waters and airspace which may be necessary for the operation, maintenance, protection and defense of the canal and transit of ships" (*Panama Canal Spillway*, 15 February 1974). The general insists, however, that his policy is to "liberate" the Zone eventually. "2000 A.D." is the magic number according to this "anti-imperialist"!

General Torrijos came to power at the head of the National Guard in a 1968 coup by toppling the venal, virtual puppet regime of Arias. The general's political stance was captured by a widely displayed government billboard: "Every



New York Times

people has its aspirin. Neither with the left nor with the right; with Panama! Torrijos." Upon taking over he immediately banned political parties, abolished freedom of the press and closed down the university for one year. Some 50 radical students suddenly disappeared from the campus.

If Torrijos has a reputation of being "anti-American" and "for the little people" it is solely due to public relations efforts by the Stalinist People's Party, which supported the 1968 coup and is today the only legal party in Panama, and the left cover given by Castro. Torrijos' occasional rhetorical flourishes (e.g., "when all peaceful roads are closed to the people, they must resort to the liberation struggle as Ho Chi Minh did") are nothing but eyewash to hide his subordination to the oligarchy of bankers and landowners who control the country, and who are themselves tied bag and baggage to U.S. imperialism. His timid land reform, one of the complaints of the rightists temporarily exiled in January, goes no further than settling a few thousand landless peasants on uncultivated land belonging to United Brands (the ex-United Fruit which dominates the economy of most of the Central American states).

### U.S. Out of the Canal!

Panama is today a semi-colony of the U.S., with the Canal Zone representing an imperialist encroachment on the order of Western enclaves in China in the early years of this century or the Pratt Amendment limiting Cuban "independence" after the Spanish-American War. Communists must unhesitatingly demand the immediate expropriation of the canal from the imperialists and the removal of all U.S. bases in Panama! Placing no confidence in the Panamanian generals and oligarchs, revolutionaries call on the working class to take the initiative in kicking Uncle Sam out of the Canal Zone—abolishing American "sovereignty" and seizing the Panama Canal Company and all other U.S. installations—as part of the broader struggle for workers power by expropriating the pitiful "branch office bourgeoisie" which currently ministers to imperialist interests in Panama.

Should Torrijos or some other capitalist ruler eventually nationalize the canal under pressure from the masses, class-conscious workers would defend this limited measure against attempts to reverse it, just as the Spartacist League defended Nasser's 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal against the ensuing French-British-Israeli attack. But this does not mean that revolutionaries would in the slightest degree slacken their defense of the wages and working conditions of the canal workers, sure to be one of the first objects of attack following a bourgeois nationalization. A foretaste of what a Torrijos nationalization would mean

continued on page 10



AP

Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos visited Fidel Castro in Havana last month.



# PL Thugs Assault Trade Unionists at Conference

SAN FRANCISCO, January 27 The West Coast "International Trade Union Conference" held here last weekend by Progressive Labor Party (PL) was supposed to be built around "the need and opportunity to organize a communist-led revolutionary trade union movement in the United States to win immediate demands for the workers and to smash the bosses' profit system and establish socialism." While the militant-sounding statement of purpose may have been expected to send a small shiver of apprehension up the spine of the hidebound pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the conference provided no guidance to militant unionists seeking to smash that bureaucracy. In fact, the only significant event of the two days of otherwise boring sessions was the brutal exclusion of class-struggle militants of the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

These unionists, four members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of San Francisco's CWA Local 9410, had responded to a verbal invitation to the conference made by a member of the PLP Phone Club in the union meeting. (Public PL literature had furthermore "urge[d] all *Challenge-Desafio* readers to attend" the conference.) But when they arrived, two of the MAC members were seized without pretext, dragged through the conference room and pulled and pushed down a flight of concrete fire-escape stairs. Two others were hustled out the front of the posh Jack Tar Hotel (site of the conference), where PLers threatened to throw hot coffee in their faces. One PLer, with a hotel manager in tow, tried to flag down a San Francisco police prowl car to get aid in tossing the MAC members off hotel property!

After such a display of vicious gangsterism, in which the conference leaders aped the trade-union bureaucracy in suppressing all visible signs of dissent, it is little wonder that many people who patiently sat through the meeting came away with more questions than answers.

### Toilet Paper and Socialism

According to one trade unionist who attended the conference, "PL's theory of building party leadership consists of combining demands for toilet paper and air conditioners with calls for socialism. People were constantly raising questions of how PL planned to get from demands for toilet paper to revolution. The answer they gave was, 'Tell the workers, even if we get something like toilet paper today the capitalists will take it away tomorrow!'"

The keynote speaker at the conference, Epifanio Camacho, was billed as one of the original organizers of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union. His speech was a critique of the pacifist, class-collaborationist strategy of the UFW leadership of Cesar Chavez & Co., but he failed to spell out a counterposed strategy. His only advice was, "Build PL to smash the bosses"—hardly a sufficient guide to action for mobilizing large numbers of workers behind a program of workers power.

The rest of the conference was more of the same. Workshop leaders kept discussion at a very low level, not really

going beyond the ABC's of simple trade unionism. Key questions from the floor went unanswered. PL leaders ducked discussion about going to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) to fight sexual discrimination in employment. They also failed to respond to a speaker who urged support for police strikes and union organization of cops. The question of how to fight job discrimination while opposing government control of the unions apparently is of no concern to these "revolutionaries," and ditto for treacherous proposals to include strikebreaking hired guns of the capitalist class in the labor movement!

The trade unions, their structure and bureaucracy were hardly mentioned throughout the conference. The core of PL's present course is instead to *substitute* itself for the unions, the only existing mass organizations of the working class, rather than to struggle for revolutionary leadership within them. This is clear from PL's record of sparking an endless stream of ill-prepared wildcat strikes which usually result in little more than firing of the leaders.

The theme of the conference was building PL-led "communist caucuses" at the workplace. A general formula of self-criticism—"If we hadn't hidden the party in our struggles we would have a much larger party now and be closer to smashing capitalism"—simply dismissed out of hand years of PL's earlier "work" in the trade unions. For most of the 1970's, PL supporters in the unions were organized around a three-point program for "30 for 40," largely through the Workers Action Movement (WAM). Now a new lurch to the left is being undertaken: both "30 for 40" and WAM went completely unmentioned at the conference.

### PL Zigs and Zags

Such zig-zags are nothing new for PL. In 1973 we printed an article by two ex-PL members, Art Carling and Jay Franklin, who incorporated considerable experience in PL trade-union and

army work. They reported that after years of unrewarding sub-reformist campaigns in the 1960's (fighting to change meal times in the cafeteria and set up plant softball teams),

"there was a sharp 'rectification' in early 1970. Two lessons were drawn from these [earlier] failures: the job of communists is to fight for the proletarian dictatorship, not to initiate reform fights or reform organizations, and most PLers from middle-class backgrounds should be pulled out of the unions...."

Bt No. 18, April 1973

During the 1970-71 "left" period PL went on an adventurist hinge in which it equated the unions with the class enemy, blaring forth headlines like "Battle GM-KKK-UAW Gang-Up" (*Challenge*, 14 September 1970).

It was after this that PL again shifted gears and set up WAM around the single theme of "30 for 40," trying to "implement" this demand by recruiting union officials and running reformist electoral campaigns. Among the favored bureaucrats were fakers like Dennis Serrette of New York's CWA Local 1101 and IUE Local 201 president Farnham at the Lynn, Massachusetts, General Electric plant. If PL had continued on this course it would probably now be in the arms of the top leaderships of the United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers, both of which are now mouthing watery versions of "30 for 40!"

But Progressive Labor once again temporarily applied the brakes on its fundamental reformist impulses, demonstrating that its "leftist" sectarianism is merely opportunism standing in fear of its own shadow. How many times has PL leader Milt Rosen already discovered that past PL work has been characterized by "hiding the party from the masses"? How many times has the response been to scuttle PL's opportunist front groups such as WAM in favor of "open communist" work in the unions? By now even veteran PLers—the few that are left after endless years of demoralizing line shifts—must have lost count.

In reality, PL has changed little. Whether it be a WAM conference or one on "a new communist movement in the unions," PL offers the same tired formulas for mindless militancy, sub-reformist demands and brutal gangster attacks on other working-class organizations. PL's current "left" swing will surely be short-lived, to be followed by a long period of new reformist gimmickry, as Rosen & Co. lurch drunkenly down the road to oblivion.

PL's veering between idiot adventurism and the most abject reformism, with a minimum of resistance from the party membership (dissidents being generally obliged to vote with their feet, by leaving PL), does not build a cadre capable of organizing and leading the working class in a successful struggle for socialism. It only builds cynicism and anti-communism, burning out good militants who mistook PL for a communist organization. For this reason PL must be subjected to merciless criticism and exposure: revolutionary-minded militants are too valuable to be thrown away by the Rosen school of treachery. ■

## Panama Canal...

(continued from page 9)

was his 1973 move to grant special permission to a Panamanian-registered company, Del Cargo, to employ stevedores on the canal for substantially lower wages than the National Maritime Union (NMU) longshoremen whose jobs they were taking.

A real attack on imperialism cannot be mounted by the pusillanimous bourgeois nationalists but only by powerful international working-class action. In the NMU, which represents many of the Panamanian canal workers, a program for such militant class struggle has been put forward by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC). During the 1973 campaign for NMU president, the Caucus actively took its campaign to union members in Panama, calling for expropriation of the canal and the extension of full U.S.-level pay and standards to canal workers.

In a press release issued on 4 February 1974, following the signing of the Kissinger-Torrijos pact, the M-SC denounced the "Joint Statement of Principles," demanding nationalization of the canal and a "government run by the workers" of Panama. Pointing out that workers are denied the right to strike both in Panama and the Canal Zone, the Caucus called for militant action for the right to strike and full union-scale wages. Tying this to the issue of "runaway ships," the statement declared, "The slave wages and working conditions aboard Panamanian flag vessels are the direct result of Torrijos' collaboration with the very same capitalists who control the Canal." The Caucus calls for organizing all seamen, canal and dock workers into a single international maritime union, an important step toward organizing the world working class against its common capitalist enemies.

Vital international means of communication and transport such as the Panama Canal can be wrested from the imperialists and made to serve the interests of the working people not by relying on bourgeois demagogues of the Torrijos stripe, which is the policy of the Stalinists, but only through common working-class struggle—for a Socialist United States of Latin America and world proletarian revolution! ■

## OCI...

(continued from page 5)

ered excessive even by many of Trotsky's partisans."

And he has not stopped there. In at least one important instance, Broué's volume truncates the section of Trotsky's letter to the RSAP dealing with Spain so that a central component of the polemic against the POUM (in particular the passage we have quoted above) concerning its capitulation to the popular front is eliminated.

Broué's evident embarrassment over Trotsky's struggle against the POUM was not shared by the Fourth International, whose founding document, the 1938 Transitional Program (with which the OCI cannot claim to be unacquainted!) forthrightly states:

"Intermediate centrist organizations centered about the London Bureau represent merely 'left' appendages of Social Democracy or of the Comintern. They have displayed a complete inability to make head or tail of the political situation and draw revolutionary conclusions from it. Their highest point was the Spanish POUM, which under revolutionary conditions proved completely incapable of following a revolutionary line."

The OCI's rapprochement with the POUM cannot be taken as a mere flirtation, for the OCI has put its money

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where its mouth is. Its publicity for an autumn 1975 fund drive (for "international solidarity" and to "reconstruct the Fourth International") centered on two organizations: Política Obrera (which has had a number of militants imprisoned and killed by the Perón regime) and the POUM. Occasional caveats concerning "differences" with the POUM aside, the OCI obviously believes the POUM can be an important element in its reconstructed "Fourth International." Thus it states its support for the POUM, which "fought in the Spanish revolution, bearing the brunt of the blows by the coalition of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists (Nin's assassination by the GPU) and which is continuing this fight against the Franco regime on its deathbed" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10 September 1975).

The OCI repeatedly presents its fund-raising campaign as being, "via its support to the POUM, an act of militant solidarity with the proletariat and the peoples of Spain. Their fight is ours" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 6 November 1975). Clearly, the OCI looks to the POUM as toward a Spanish section of its organization, as the conduit for its political line. For the OCI leadership, the POUM's betrayal in the decisive days of 1936-37 no longer exists. The POUM is presented as fully deserving of the confidence of the Spanish workers—and incidentally of a share of the almost \$120,000 collected by the OCI.

The OCI's claims to represent authentic Trotskyism and the struggle to uphold the Trotskyist program against revisionism stand exposed. Far from the principled regroupment it once proclaimed its intention to embody, the OCRFI is an unprincipled conglomeration of inveterate centrists whose dominant organization lusts after consummating its relationship with the reformist SWP. The Fourth International must be reformed as the world party of proletarian revolution, tempered in the class struggle and tested in the vital political combat against those who would refound the London Bureau. ■

## State Caps...

(continued from page 3)

mands in the U.S., such as busing to end desegregation in education, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

In "reply" Taber huffed and puffed about Lenin's references to "state capitalism" in Russia as "proof" that "all the laws of capitalism" operate in the USSR. But even the blowhard Taber knows that Lenin sharply distinguished between the planned sector of the Soviet economy and the state-supervised "state capitalist" sector, including the foreign concessions, the joint enterprises and the agricultural cooperatives. And the RSL also knows well that the "state

capitalism" of the New Economic Policy was phased out by state-owned industries even before the First Five Year Plan.

Next Taber dumbfounded the audience by blurring out that the Soviet trusts are locked in fierce "capitalist competition"... under the rigid control of the central state plan! As for "capitalist crises" in the USSR, Taber, the pupil of economic charlatans like Lyn Marcus and Paul Sweezy, asserted that just as the monopolized Western economies have enjoyed crisis-free prosperity for decades (!), so the completely monopolized Soviet Union for the last four decades has managed to "push off" into the future "all capitalist crises!"

When the RSL split from the IS on a cliquish basis, the SL warned that its refusal to re-examine and reject its anti-Marxist position on the degenerated and deformed workers states would drag the RSL into disintegration. Hardening into cynicism after recurrent cannibalistic clique warfare, the RSL now flaunts crude distortions of fact and history and flirts with the worst traditions of anti-communist anti-Sovietism. Steeped in anti-Leninist political functioning and motivated by liberal anti-communist hostility toward Russia, the RSL cadres today crawl the same path to social democracy and the State Department blazed by renegades such as Shachtman and Burnham. ■

## Journalists...

(continued from page 12)

charade of investigations, has been busy trying to sweep the dirt back under the rug.

Congressional liberals are fast reaching a consensus with die-hard CIA loyalists on the need to protect the CIA from painful exposure. The House of Representatives voted on January 30 by an overwhelming majority not to make public its Intelligence Committee's report. Otis Pike, the Committee's chairman, said that the Committee's report for publication already contained changes to "obscure intelligence gathering techniques." Further, he told reporters that "deletions were made to prevent the public exposure of CIA operatives, to avoid embarrassing the United States diplomatically and to tone down criticism of members of the Ford Administration" (*New York Times*, 24 January). But although the House of Representatives voted to suppress the report, even in expurgated form, the *New York Times* has already published substantial portions received via a "leak."

After a year of investigation the Pike Committee is closing up shop, to be followed shortly by the Church Committee in the Senate. The Senate, which did publish a (whitewash) report, said not one word about the Phoenix project which assassinated upwards of 30,000 in Vietnam. If the U.S. public is to become wiser about such matters, the information is likely to come from the press and not from Congress. What is most ominous in all of this is the concerted drive for some sort of "official secrets act," perhaps as part of the dreadful Senate bill No. 1. Such an act would give an aspiring bonapartist executive the legal sanction to dam up the leaks with stiff jail sentences—giving the CIA the needed cover of darkness in which to incubate its dirty tricks. ■

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# Free the Wilmington 10!

The Wilmington Ten were denied bail last Friday by Logan Howell, magistrate of U.S. District Court in North Carolina. Facing sentences totalling 282 years, they must immediately begin serving their terms rather than being released during an appeal to the U.S. District Court.

Convicted in 1972 on arson and conspiracy charges, the Wilmington Ten have been fighting a vicious frame-up which grew out of the 1971 "Siege of Wilmington." For four days, racist vigilantes and local police carried out an armed attack on black youth who had barricaded themselves in the Gregory Congregational Church for safety. The church had been the center of pro-integration rallies and an organizing center for a boycott of schools prompted by racist treatment received by blacks.

During the siege city officials ignored the black community's plea for a curfew to keep vigilantes at bay, and emboldened Klansmen rode by the church firing shots which wounded at least ten people. A young black student was shot at and killed when he tried to leave the church; no one has ever been charged with the murder.

That same night a nearby white-owned grocery store caught fire, and during intense crossfire from the vigilantes the next morning a racist who had driven his truck right up to the church barricades was killed. Only after this death did the city enforce a curfew and call for the National Guard. When the Guard stormed the church they found it evacuated by the students and their supporters.

For a year after this shootout, Wilmington was run by an organization called Rights of White People (ROWP) whose leader said its members would shoot down black people "like rabbits." Both police and vigilantes continued

their attacks on blacks, and a judge commented from the bench: "Maybe we should have brought in Lt. Calley to clean the place up."

Defense attorneys were successful in having the trial of the Wilmington Ten moved to the next county, but the ten were eventually found guilty of arson and conspiracy in connection with the burning of the grocery store. Initially a jury of 10 blacks and 2 whites was seated, but following a long illness of the prosecutor a new jury of 10 whites and 2 blacks was selected with the judge hocking defense questions about racial prejudice during the selection process.

No evidence was presented about the setting of the fire, and the only evidence against the Wilmington Ten was testimony from two men who had once been part of the integration efforts, but also faced long prison sentences themselves. One tried to physically attack Rev. Ben Chavis—leader of the defendants—and his attorney while in court.

After they were railroaded in the trial court, an appeal by the Wilmington Ten to the North Carolina Court of Appeals was denied. State and U.S. Supreme Courts have subsequently refused to hear appeals on their case.

The defense of the Wilmington Ten has been a focus for the Communist Party-dominated National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, which has called for the dropping of charges and recently for telegrams of protest against the bail denial. The Partisan Defense Committee has telegraphed North Carolina officials demanding release of these frame-up victims, and urges *WV* readers to do likewise. Telegrams demanding freedom and immediate granting of bail for the Wilmington Ten can be sent to: Attorney General Rufus Edmisten, State Capitol, Raleigh, NC 26602. ■

## Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

the working class with the necessary political direction which could spell success for a campaign to smash the capitalist austerity program. Instead of vague slogans against inflation, it was necessary to call for price/supply committees based on the unions and workers commissions, the only effective means of stopping inflation and hoarding. Instead of abstractly denouncing unemployment it was necessary to call for a drastically shortened workweek, with no loss in pay, to absorb the nearly 20 percent of the labor force currently without jobs. But neither the social

democrats, the PCP nor the several Maoist groups are prepared to raise such transitional demands.

The reason is clear: to do so means to pose the question of state power, and all of them are committed to preserving capitalist rule through one or another form of "people's power" or "left government" with the "progressive" officers. Only a workers government based on democratically elected workers and soldiers councils can implement an economic program which answers the needs of the laboring masses of Portugal. Only by fighting to build a Portuguese Trotskyist party, in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, can such a revolutionary government be instituted. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## CIA : "All the News That's Fit to Fix"

# Journalists for Hire

**Walter Huddleston (Senate Committee on Intelligence):** Have [we] been the victims of our own [CIA] media efforts within this country?

**David Phillips (former CIA official):** That has happened.

**"Most of the material that you were dealing with had no connection with anything in the real world, not even the kind of connection that is contained in a direct lie."**

—George Orwell, 1984

Orwell's fictional description of the falsification of news within the depths of deceit of the "Ministry of Truth" has been outstripped by reality, and long before the year 1984. The latest round of exposures and investigations has turned up the news that the CIA often writes the news—fifteen major news-gathering organizations cooperated in providing journalistic cover to CIA operatives.

As the CIA's adventures in news distortion have become widely known, the agency has provided the "reassurance" that it maintains a special department devoted to notifying U.S. "key policymakers" when they have been taken in by a false news story planted by the CIA's vast covert propaganda network. The false or exaggerated "news" strewn throughout the world press by CIA agents disguised as journalists, and by bought and cooperative journalists, is known in the intelligence community as "disinformation." When "disinformation" sown in the foreign press blooms in the United States media, the agency calls it "contamination." The new coordinating committee created to intervene in this process with key policymakers were he called the Ministry of De-Disinformation.

Of course, there are limits to the amount of un-contamination the agency would like, even for "key policy makers." As the CIA steps up its efforts to stuff up the leaks to the truth about its counterrevolutionary assassination business, the work of this coordinating committee entrusted with the record of the agency's deliberate lies will come under sharp scrutiny and control... by the CIA. The CIA will try to prevent this committee—which guards against disinformation that has gone too far—from itself going too far. Perhaps the result of all of this will be the addition of a new word to the triple-think lexicon of the CIA: "un-de-disinformation."

### The CIA and the Fourth Estate

To be named as a CIA journalist no longer represents enhanced prestige for

bourgeois pundits and a little extra spending cash. Not only is the CIA a discredited institution, but the public has a pretty fair idea of the scope of the "disinformation" business as well as what a journalist on the CIA take is likely to do.

Former CIA director Colby's Senate testimony in November claimed that the CIA had stopped using "full-time journalists" in 1973, but admitted that about 30 part-time "stringers" were still under contract. Now the *New York Times* (23 January) has recently reported that "as of last year, 11 full-time officers of the Central Intelligence Agency were posing as journalists overseas."

Colby had said that the CIA journalists were used "primarily for intelligence gathering" and to "make contacts," but in fact the techniques used in the disinformation game are no different than those used by other branches of "special operations"—not only infiltration and lying but a convenient cover for its dirty tricks. Moreover, after 1973 when all of this was supposed to have stopped according to Colby, the CIA continued to subsidize a London-based news feature service called Forum World Features which claimed in 1974 to supply six articles per week to 150 newspapers in 50 countries.

In an article in the *Washington Post* (17 January) Walter Pincus detailed how the CIA disinfomed the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960's, and "incidentally" led to "contamination" of the U.S. media. CIA-sponsored radio stations on Taiwan and elsewhere in Asia broadcast attacks on Russian leaders as though they had originated from China. The broadcasts monitored in Hong Kong would be picked up and replayed to an unwitting world media. A further technique of the Far East covert operation, Pincus reports, "involved reprinting entire issues of mainland Chinese newspapers after first removing one story and replacing it with a false one written by CIA employees. The real newspapers, held up in cooperating post offices, were then replaced by the doctored ones and mailed to subscribers all over the world."

No wonder television's two heaviest anchormen, Walter Cronkite and NBC's John Chancellor, were upset about charges that they had cooperated with the CIA. Both of these symbols of broadcast journalism's purity came before the cameras to solemnly swear that they were not now, nor had they ever been, CIA agents. They were accused by newsmen and admitted FBI informer Sam Jaffe (now engaged in a game of "I'm one—you're one too") who claims that the names of these two journalists, along with 20 to 200 more, appear on a list of those in the pay of the CIA.

What Chancellor for one cannot deny is that during the height of the Vietnam



William F. Buckley

Newsweek

war he was the director of the official U.S. propaganda radio, Voice of America (although he quit in protest). In any case, the long cohabitation of the CIA and the bourgeois press is not to be doubted, and the U.S. press is rife with former agents. Recently the *New York Times* book review section reviewed former (?) CIA agent William Buckley's new novel about a CIA agent. The review was written by former CIA man, now *New York Times* writer, Walter Goodman. This is nothing new. As one top CIA official recently told the *Washington Post*, "Don't tell me about the glory and purity of the press. I'm not impressed."

### Ye Shall Know the Truth, etc.

The recent clamor over CIA journalists reflects the intricate and sometimes ironic relationship that exists between the U.S. government and its "free press." For it is this same press, whose Clark Kents are daily won to the idea of becoming imperialism's supermen, that is also largely responsible for the trouble that the CIA is presently experiencing through public exposure. The relationship between the CIA and the press, containing those elements of payoff, loyalty and hostility, most resembles in tone the relationship that sometimes exists between a big-time pimp and his string of prostitutes.

There is in fact a strong tradition in the U.S. for an independent press, and an even stronger ideological self-censoring mechanism exercised by reporters who work for the increasingly monopolized publishing industry. It was not only the CIA which resisted the Federal registration of all the journalists it had under contract, but also major publishers and newspaper executives.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his book *A Thousand Days*, relates how this informal system of self-censorship worked during the Kennedy administration.

Just before the Bay of Pigs invasion both the *New Republic* and the *New York Times* received stories from the field on the CIA's recruitment for the covert operation saying that an invasion was imminent. But in those days there was a place for the shining knights of the press at the round tables of the liberal Camelot: the *New Republic* checked with Schlesinger, who checked with Kennedy, who "hoped" that the story wouldn't appear; the *New York Times* checked with its house censor, James Reston, who was of the same opinion. Both publications decided to kill the stories in what Schlesinger later describes as "patriotic acts."

The *New York Times* decided to publish the "Pentagon Papers" because it did not think such publication conflicted with the national interest, which it identified with getting out of Vietnam. Had an equally damning document detailing U.S. CIA involvement in the Near East fallen into their hands the publishers of the *New York Times* would likely have decided not to print it. One thing, however, is certain. If the Nixon gang had had the legal apparatus to get away with it, it would have prevented the publication of that embarrassing document.

Socialists are opposed to government control of the press. Particularly threatening are present attempts by the executive and the CIA to stop the leaks to the newspapers through infiltration, intimidation of the press and ultimately an official secrets act. So while the CIA tries to heg, borrow and huy access to the press, it is also constantly at war with an independent press.

Certainly journalists like Seymour Hersh are a more likely conduit for leaks than the Congress. Through all of the post-Watergate disclosures, it has been muckraking reporters who have dug up the dirt on the CIA. Congress, in a

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