

## Despite Stalinist Sabotage

# Workers Struggles Roll Across Spain

*For Amnesty, Freedom of the Press, Trade-Union Liberty, a Constituent Assembly!  
Smash Francoist Corporatism Through Proletarian Revolution!*

FEBRUARY 16 — During January, post-Franco Spain experienced its largest strike wave in 36 years, involving at its height more than 200,000 workers in the Madrid area alone. The government sought to break the back of labor unrest by a combination of selective repression and pressure on the employers to hold out, but as the strikes in the capital were folding, new contingents of the working class continued to join battle against their exploiters. Early this month the focus of popular agitation shifted to the northern industrial center of Barcelona where tens of thousands of demonstrators braved police bludgeons in two successive Sundays of anti-government demonstrations.

Meanwhile the government of Carlos Arias Navarro continued its policy of appeasing the hard-line Francoist "hunker," thereby driving even the most conservative Christian Democrats into opposition. In his major policy speech on January 28 to the corporatist Cortes ("parliament") the Prime Minister went into ecstasy in praise of the two-month-old monarchy—the "indestructible" basis on which the architecture of our constitutional order is based—while refusing to specify reforms other than a vague promise of "free" elections...by the spring of 1977.

### **Militant Demonstrations in Barcelona**

Three days after the speech, in response to the government's obvious stalling on key issues such as amnesty for the more than 1,200 political prisoners still rotting in Francoist jails and autonomy for the non-Castilian-speaking regions, the streets of Barcelona were turned into a battleground. Marchers on February 1 were met by massive contingents of police who immediately attacked the demonstration with great ferocity, firing tear gas and rubber bullets, and brutally clubbing anyone they caught. The central streets and squares of the Catalan capital were filled with marchers chanting "Llibertat, amnistia...i estatut d'autonomia," as a cavalcade of cars sounded horns in unison and banners proclaimed "a people united will never be defeated" (*Le Monde*, 3 February and *Cambio* 16, 9-15 February).

The following Sunday Barcelona was

*continued on page 8*



Spanish police club demonstrators in Barcelona, February 8.

Manuel Armengol Cervera



Georges Marchais

Alain Dejean/Sygma

### Tailoring Program to Practice

## West European Stalinists Delete "Dictatorship of Proletariat" ..... 6



# Editorial Notes

## Nixon's the One in Peking

Fortunately for "tricky" Dick Nixon there are still those who love him. The world's most discredited living capitalist politician is going to China as the special invited guest of the Peking rulers. There he can enjoy a reputation he has nowhere else in the world. The despised Watergate criminal and huteher of Indochina, who would enrage crowds in almost any U.S. city, will be most welcome in Peking. The solicitous Maoist bureaucrats have even assured him that after they send a plane by to fly him over, he will get the full treatment of a visiting dignitary including a full-time medical team with an ample supply of his blood type.

Behind the Nixon visit is more than the "warm personal relations" established with Mao during those nights when they "toasted" each other while the bombs fell on Indochina. For Nixon is certainly more than "simply another of the thousands of Americans who have visited China recently" as Gerald Ford's mouth-piece Ron Nessen stated in a defensive press statement



Daily News

Nixon and Mao meet in Peking, February 1972.

about the planned visit. Nixon's visit at this time has political meaning both for the U.S. and China, if only of a symbolic character.

First of all, the trip was scheduled to begin on February 21, just three days before the New Hampshire primary. This is not welcomed by Ford. Hard-pressed by Republican contender Ronald Reagan, the Nixon-appointed president is less than enthusiastic about his former mentor's re-emergence into the limelight just before the bellwether New Hampshire vote. The son of Watergate would prefer that the culprit remain in modest obscurity at San Clemente, writing his memoirs and doctoring his income tax forms. Ford fears that straight-laced Yankee voters will be reminded of his Nixon pardon which proved that crime *does* pay, so long as one's hand-picked successor can act as judge and jury.

But the administration hurriedly assured the press that Nixon's Peking visit is a very private affair. "There is no significance attached to the trip by the White House," said Nessen. He described it as "a private visit by a private citizen," adding that "it is not expected to have an impact on the United States-Chinese relations and is not expected to have any domestic consequences" (*New York Times*, 7 February). Just a weekend outing with Pat, no doubt!

If in the U.S. Nixon is the symbol of capitalist corruption, in China the bureaucrats portray him as the symbol of the Maoist alliance with U.S. imperialism against the "No. One" enemy, "Soviet Social-Imperialism." China's rulers always believed that Nixon got a raw deal and expressed their dismay when his dirty tricks and brazen violations of bourgeois legality were exposed, forcing his resignation. According to the *New York Times* (5 December 1974), Chou En-lai sent a message of felicitation and get-well flowers to the sulking, ailing Nixon.

Subsequently, Mao wrote Nixon personally inviting him to visit China again, as though this paranoid crook were still a head of state (*New York Times*, 14 August 1975). Throughout the Watergate exposures hundreds of millions of Chinese, who are permitted to read only the official Maoist press, were kept ignorant of Nixon's crimes. As Nixon became too sullied even for the Republican Party, the Maoist bureaucrats kept their invitations coming, most recently sent via Julie Eisenhower.

In both countries the Nixon trip has become understood as a criticism of the Kissinger-Ford policy of "détente" with the Soviet Union. The liberal spokesmen of the *New York Times* in an 8 February

editorial entitled "Mischievous Visit" diagnosed the reason for China's "open door policy" toward Mr. Nixon as dissatisfaction with "the slow pace at which the Chinese-American relationship has been developing, especially in the context of Soviet-American détente." The editors of the *New York Times* then asked Nixon not to go to China lest he be an embarrassment to Ford and also to Kissinger's current policy. Appealing to his "dignity" (!) they suggest he "make a dignified and appropriate change in his own immediate travel plans." But Nixon has plans of his own and they include more than travel. In a statement to his former staff writer and now *New York Times* columnist William Safire, Nixon lines up behind the criticism of U.S.-Soviet "détente":

"In 1972, I went to the People's Republic of China because I concluded that a new and constructive relationship between the U.S. and the P.R.C. [People's Republic of China] is indispensable if we are to have lasting peace in the Pacific and in the world. I believe that this relationship is, if anything, more important today than it was four years ago."

*New York Times*, 8 February

Nixon, surely no stranger to bureaucratic machinations, will also play a minor supporting role in the Stalinist purge currently on stage in Peking. The purged ex-U.S. president will be greeted by Hua Kuo-feng, the new Chinese prime minister, in his first official public act. China-watchers had expected former deputy premier Teng Hsiao-ping and not Hua to fill the position left vacant by Chou En-lai's death.

Not only was Teng denied the post of prime minister, but Mao's latest ex-her apparent has suddenly become the object of a mushrooming campaign of big character wall posters. Although rehabilitated in 1973, Teng was a major victim of Mao's earlier purges in 1967. The posters, reminiscent of the bureaucratically-initiated "Cultural Revolution" in which Mao's faction attacked his opponents in the party central committee,



Workers Vanguard/VG

Maoist Whitewash: Peking Brings the Bum Back!

denounce "Confucian disciples," "reactivated rightists," and particularly "an old capitalist roader who formed cliques around himself" (*New York Times*, 13 February).

Nixon fits neatly into the bureaucratic intrigues of the Chinese. Certainly, he can't be accused of being "soft on Russia," the main criterion of "capitalist-roading" in the Mao-speak dictionary. Official political values in China have become so far removed from socialist principles that the former No. One imperialist butcher of the world can become a symbolic axe with which Maoists chop down their factional foes.

Nixon has a friend in Peking, and U.S. Maoists like the Revolutionary Communist Party with its stupid populist slogan, "Throw the Bum Out," ought to be embarrassed. If they had the slightest impulse for class struggle they might now direct their "throw the bum out" slogan at Mao.

They won't, of course. For those who explained Nixon's 1972 visit as "state relations," this visit is easily set down in the little red book of contradictions and homilies as "personal relations." Having described the earlier ping-pong visit as if the "super-power" president were a pilgrim bearing tribute on his hands and knees, American Maoists must now explain the attempt by the "Great Helmsman" to rehabilitate this justly scorned imperialist murderer they once described as a fascist.

For their part, the Peking bureaucrats couldn't care less about such minor problems. They have always

ignored their warring American sycophants, leaving them to twist and turn, manufacturing tortured apologies for each new phase of Chinese policy. For those who "explain" why it is in the interest of the international proletariat to shoot down Cuban soldiers on the battlefields of Angola, what problems can be posed by a little junket by an unpopular imperialist?

## Healy's Workers Press Folds

LONDON, February 14—The English radical movement is buzzing over the news that *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy, is going under. The bourgeois press yesterday broke the story, followed by the publication in today's *Workers Press* of a front-page "Final Edition" statement which salutes "the continuous daily publication" of *Workers Press* as "a magnificent achievement" but presents no plan for the resumption of any public organ, daily or otherwise.

A brief report in the *Daily Telegraph* (13 February) stated that *Workers Press* would

"cease publication after tomorrow due to severe financial difficulty, it was announced last night Mr.



Gerry Healy

Workers Press

Alex Mitchell, editor, said the paper had to close because its printer, Plough Press Ltd., would cease trading from midnight tonight. He emphasized that the printers were not going into liquidation, and all financial obligations will be met in full. *Workers Press*... began daily publication in September 1969 as a competitor with the Communist *Morning Star*. Since last September it has been losing an average of £6,500 a month.

A somewhat longer story in the Manchester *Guardian* (13 February) noted that the WRP "has never fully recovered from the defection last year of Alan 'The Mole' Thorne" (now head of the Workers Socialist League (WSL)), one of its key supporters in the trade unions. The £50,000 crisis appeal which the WRP launched last year to keep the newspaper afloat is still £14,000 short of its target.

The financial crisis of the WRP/*Workers Press*/Plough Press is political in nature. The Healyites' unsavoury reputation for political chicanery extends into the financial arena, and rumours of the most lurid sort are rampant. But at bottom the ignominious debacle of the self-baptised "first Trotskyist daily in the world" is a linear product of the much-vaunted Healyite "method." This method can be roughly summarized as: pretend you're a mass party, dupe as many people as you can into believing it and you will become one. After all, nothing succeeds like "success." (Even the claim to be "first" is a phony. To our knowledge, the first Trotskyist daily newspaper was the Vietnamese-language *Tia Sang* published in Saigon by the Internationalist Communist League in the late 1930's.)

The collapse of the WRP's Potemkin Village merely demonstrates once again the fallacy of get-rich-quick charades. *Workers Press* editor Mitchell himself described the paper's circulation as never having exceeded 20,000 (*Guardian*, 13 February). It should be recalled that the American Communist Party required a fund of at least a million dollars before launching its *Daily World* in 1968, recognizing that only such a fund (and several thousand guaranteed subscriptions from Soviet libraries) could cushion the financial drain of a daily paper not supported by a mass base.

The Healyite organization simply does not have the

WORKERS VANGUARD



cadres, resources or influence among the advanced workers to sustain a daily press financially—or to justify such an undertaking politically. When a party has deep roots in the workers movement and the advanced workers daily look to it for leadership in their struggles, then a daily newspaper becomes not merely justified, but obligatory. But for an organization of the WRP's modest size to seek to sustain a daily on the basis of the "unstinting devotion and sacrifice of its readers, supporters and subscribers" (*Workers Press*, 14 February) is consummate cynicism.

The essence of Healy's "method" has always been to use crisis-mongering combined with appeals to revolutionary voluntarism to wring every last ounce of energy (and shilling) out of his supporters, tossing aside the burnt-out and bitter shells. But pyramid swindles (an old financial con game, in which the investments of new clients are used to pay dividends to the old ones) are dependent upon an ever-expanding base, and always collapse in the end.

The abrupt suspension of *Workers Press* seems to have caught Healy's international co-thinkers by surprise. The U.S. Workers League (WL), always secure in the knowledge that the best way to please Gerry is to imitate his every gyrations, announced less than two weeks ago its intention to launch "the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the United States in 1977" (*Bulletin*, 6 February 1976); the Australian Healyites are already on record singing a similar tune. The grandiose pretensions of the American grouping are typically out of phase with its real situation; having purged its founding head, Tim Wohlforth, the WL has just recently made another switch in National Secretary, with David North taking over after Fred Mazelis' brief moment in the sun.

A thought-provoking sidelight on the *Workers Press* affair is the concomitant escalation of the Healyites' campaign of slanders against Joseph Hansen, ideologue of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the U.S. The WRP's descent into paranoid witchhunting began somewhat earlier, with Healy's personal instigation of the "Nancy Fields case" which succeeded in driving Wohlforth out of his WL in solidarity with his friend Fields. Healy accused his long-time American lackey of deliberately covering up Fields' alleged family connections with the CIA. After the ensuing dogfight (whose outcome was never in doubt) the pages of *Workers Press* and the *Bulletin* were filled with veiled accusations against Fields. In typical Healyite fashion, the articles were careful to



The real "first Trotskyist daily in the world." Tia Sang was published in Saigon in the 1930's by the Internationalist Communist League.

note that the WL inquisition had found Fields innocent of any involvement with the CIA, thereby protecting against any possible legal action for slander, then proceeded to pile on paragraph after paragraph of insinuations.

In recent months the WRP and its international clique have been indulging in a disgusting orgy of slanderous personal vilification directed at long-time SWP spokesman Joseph Hansen. Entitled "Security and the Fourth International," a seemingly endless series of *Workers Press* centerfolds has sought to smear Hansen as possessing guilty knowledge of the assassination of Trotsky by the GPU in 1940. The technique is to present masses of both true and unproven factual minutiae about the circumstances of the assassination followed by a series of rhetorical questions directed at Hansen; the implication is that Hansen deliberately covered up facts in his possession and misdirected those who sought to protect Trotsky and then to unmask the GPU network which had murdered him. As in the Fields case, *Workers Press*

craftily avoided direct statements, contenting itself with the sheer bulk of the campaign and the cleverly worded "question" to convey the slanderous content.

But in the last weeks, the WRP has thrown caution to the winds. It has been mass distributing a throwaway, reprinted from *Workers Press*, which leaves little to the readers' imagination. The two articles reprinted in the handbill, "We Challenge the IMG" (*Workers Press*, 3 February) and "We Challenge the WSL (Thornett Group)" (*Workers Press*, 4 February), publish photos of Hansen and a rather less prominent SWP spokesman, George Novack, provocatively captioned in bold letters: "Accomplices of the GPU."

The WRP knows full well that the reformist SWP would not in principle shrink from using the bourgeois courts against left-wing opponents (indeed, the Healyites have crossed the class line in such a fashion on at least one occasion). Perhaps as *Workers Press*' parting shot, Healy has committed this outrageous and criminal libel, figuring that now he's got no press left to lose! In view of the years-long political handiwork of the Healy tendency, the present slander campaign and its current escalation are a not inappropriate swan-song for *Workers Press*.

As of now, there is no basis for speculation about the future press plans of the WRP. But there can be no doubt that the suspension of *Workers Press* is a grave blow to the organizational pretensions of the Healyites both in England and internationally. Just as Stalinists glory in their identification with a bureaucracy administering state power, so have the Healyites flaunted the WRP's daily, their crown jewel.

We do not want to gloat over the spectacular failure of the WRP's financial/political adventure. Revolutionary politics is not a safe "business," and there are many mishaps that can befall an organization even in normal times. Bourgeois legal repression, ebbs in the class struggle, honest miscalculations of the economic and political conjuncture can have disastrous consequences for a socialist organization. But there is little similarity between the wrenching leaps that a serious Marxist organization finds itself compelled to undertake and the cynical contortions into which the Healyites propelled themselves when they launched the daily *Workers Press*. An authentically Trotskyist daily newspaper—an undertaking which awaits the future mass proletarian party, whose nucleus we are today struggling to build—will have little in common with *Workers Press*.

# Letters

## UAW Skilled Trades

February 13, 1976  
Dearborn, Michigan

Editor,  
*Workers Vanguard*

In your article on the UAW skilled trades (WV 96 [13 February]) I believe there were several minor factual errors.

In 1973, Ford craftsmen were rightly incensed by [UAW vice president] Ken Bannion's selective "letter of understanding" with the company that allowed for the company to take work away when skilled tradesmen opted out

of overtime work. You mention that "non-UAW" workers were to be used. While contracting out to non-UAW workers was included in the secret letter, the skilled trades' major objection in 1973 was to a proviso for use of production workers that could only undercut their jobs as well as undermine the apprenticeship program.

You state that a skilled tradesman was shot at the Michigan Casting Center in 1973. In the incident in question, David Mundy (then unit president of the Michigan Casting Center, located in Flat Rock, Michigan) chased a skilled tradesman several blocks from the Local 600 hall in Dearborn (where a protest demonstration of UAW craftsmen was going on) and shot him through the window of a gas station. Mundy has since been both convicted and defeated for re-election.

The article refers to the reactionary union-husting group trying to sever UAW skilled tradesmen from their brothers in production as the "Independent Society of Skilled Craftsmen" (ISSC). While this shady group may well go by a number of pseudonyms, it is most well known as the "International Society of Skilled Trades" (ISST). Incidentally, the January 15 *Wall Street Journal* cites the president of the ISST as claiming to have already obtained sufficient signatures from skilled tradesmen covered by the United Rubber Workers to file for NLRB decertification elections in the next few weeks.

Finally, you criticized Al Gardner (head of the Independent Skilled Trades Council and a major United National Caucus spokesman) for raising the

slogan "Jobs for American Workers" in his unsuccessful re-election bid at the Local 600 Tool and Die Unit. Actually, Gardner's extension of his earlier "Ford Work for Ford Workers" slogan was even more blatantly chauvinist—his campaign literature blared: "American Work for American Workers!"

For class-struggle leadership,  
A supporter at Local 600

## Panama Canal

February 9, 1976  
Kent, Ohio

Dear Editor:

I read with interest your enlightening article on the U.S.-Panama negotiations concerning the Canal zone (*Workers Vanguard* No. 95 [6 February]). However, there were some misleading statements in the article. First, and perhaps just a misprint was the mention of the "Pratt Amendment." The correct spelling is the Platt Amendment, which was ended in 1934 under Franklin Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy. That brings me to the second and more important mistake. The article refers to Teddy Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy. I. Roosevelt's policy toward Latin America came to be known, rightly so, as the Big Stick. Under this policy and the Dollar Diplomacy of Taft, the U.S. intervened in Latin America continually under the Roosevelt (Teddy) Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. This corollary was to prevent the European nations from intervening

in the U.S. sphere of Latin America to collect debts. To do so the U.S. intervened and often took over the finances of the republics involved. This policy of armed intervention continued into the Wilson (Mexican Revolution invasion), Harding and Coolidge Administration.

The Good Neighbor policy had its roots in the Clark Memorandum (under Coolidge) and in Hoover's policies. FDR continued the policy in his administration. Under FDR all military troops that had intervened and often controlled governments were withdrawn from Latin America. After the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo in 1933 FDR gave up the right of unilateral intervention and in 1934 abolished the Platt Amendment [to the Cuban constitution]. In 1936 the U.S. and Panama signed a treaty in which the U.S. gave up its rights to intervene in Panama's affairs; but in notes exchanged in 1939 Panama agreed to allow the U.S. to act unilaterally to defend the canal "in emergencies." However good neighborly the policy was, economically the countries of Latin America were still tied to the U.S. The primary purpose of the Good Neighbor policy was to open up Latin American markets to the U.S. in an effort to relieve the depression, because exports to Latin America had dropped by 25 percent by 1933. Many of the other acts of the policy were attempts to aid the British and French in their war efforts and set up a system of hemispheric isolation in fear of German or Japanese attacks.

Yours,  
Tim Smith

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Bridges Cancels ILWU Local 10 Elections

SAN FRANCISCO, February 14 — In a surprise eleventh-hour move, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Harry Bridges personally ordered the cancellation of Local 10 primary elections due to take place today. The vote had been scheduled when S.F. longshoremen refused to accept the results of an earlier "election" in which several Bridges opponents Larry Wing, Herh Milk and Andrew Dulaney had been arbitrarily ruled off the ballot by Local 10 acting president Bill Watkins and secretary-treasurer Carl Smith. The angry ranks had ordered these candidates placed on the ballot and a new election held.

It has been reported that at a Local 10 executive board meeting Wednesday Watkins read a letter from Bridges upholding objections from the Local's ballot committee, which denied the membership's right to overturn the previous election. If the Local had a gripe, Bridges reportedly wrote, it could take up the matter with the International Executive Board at a March meeting in Hawaii! Watkins thereupon peremptorily declared the new vote canceled.

It now appears that elections for

Local 10 officers and committeemen will be delayed indefinitely, leaving the International's flunkies in control of the key West Coast longshore local. Bridges' high-handed action, the kind of autocratic maneuver which has become his trademark, came close on the heels of a stinging rebuff to the International when the Local voted last month for a strike action against a new rule which would have forced 20 to 25 percent of S.F. dockers off the PGP (a "guaranteed pay" supplement to offset lack of work due to automation).

Backing down in the face of the union ranks' fury, Bridges and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association were forced to "suspend" the rule. However, pro-Bridges Local officers had joined the protests at the last minute in order to head off an even more violent response from the volatile membership. Together with "moderate" oppositionists, they managed to keep the struggle limited to this single point, ignoring an earlier executive board vote for a coast-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Thus with the contract still intact, every dispatch category in Local 10 is now working only two to three shifts (or less) per week and the PGP has become a way of life for all but Bridges' favored "section 9.43" steady-men.

Meanwhile an article entitled "Behind Dockers Election Dispute" in the West Coast Communist Party (CP) weekly *People's World* (14 February) described the January 15 Local 10 membership meeting, which threw out the earlier balloting, but significantly failed to mention the vote for a strike against attempted PGP eligibility cutbacks. Within the Local, Archie Brown, a prominent spokesman for CP views and long-time Bridges' supporter, has lately been posing as an opposition to the increasingly discredited International leadership, while simultaneously lashing out at those who favor strike action.

In contrast, recent issues of *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition newsletter published by Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, have warned that only a strategy to win jobs and defend union control of hiring by militant labor action can protect the ILWU from further employer attacks. Gow and Keylor call for a struggle to reopen the contract and a fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages, to provide real protection against inflation and unemployment.

Local 10 must decisively reject Bridges' latest attacks, asserting the right of the union members to democratically elect their own leadership without bureaucratic interference and broadening the struggle into an all-sided attack on the capitalists and their henchmen in the labor movement. ■

## SWP, WL Forums

# Against Stalin-Style Exclusions, Slanders!

FEBRUARY 16—Yesterday's "public" meeting of the trade-union front group of the Workers League (WL) was marked by two characteristics: bottomless political banality and grossly anti-democratic exclusionism. In other words, this "Conference of City Workers" at New York's Marc Ballroom, sponsored by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), ran true to form for the cynical WL opportunists.

The featured speaker was Dennis Cribben, long-standing WL supporter in the SSEU (welfare workers union). Then the floor was opened for a two-hour "discussion period." Most of the discussion was lackluster indeed, with the chairman finding it necessary to repeatedly urge people to get up and talk about "their experiences"—or something.

But the attempt of a young woman from Toronto to raise some left criticisms unleashed a swift and vicious reaction. She managed to state her name and where she was from, and began to criticize the WL's orientation to the labor party. She was immediately pulled away from the microphone and dragged into the hallway, protesting "I'm a member of the international Spartacist tendency." Some of the audience became visibly uneasy. The next speaker, a postal worker, objected to this blatantly undemocratic exclusion. The chair replied by claiming that "these people always disrupt our meetings." This did not satisfy the militant, and Fred Mazelis (recently deposed WL National Secretary) had to lay down the law: no Spartacists are allowed in WL "public" meetings, and that is that.

But the WL goons were not satisfied. As the so-called discussion continued, a unionist who was in line to speak was abruptly confronted and accused of being a Spartacist; when he insisted on his right to present his opinions he was grabbed, shoved out the door, slammed against a wall and roughed up in the hallway out of sight of the meeting. The rest of the audience apparently got the message; there were no more protests and the proposed resolutions were all passed unanimously.

Two days earlier, the WL had gotten a taste of its own medicine, by being excluded from a forum on Angola at Columbia University sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Supporters of the Spartacist League vociferously protested this violation of the principle of workers democracy outside the auditorium, and the first SL speaker recognized during the question period began his remarks by denouncing the exclusion. He noted that the SWP is on record as supporting the "right" of free speech for fascists but denies this right to oppositional tendencies within the left movement. The SL speaker also took vigorous exception to the WL's preposterous slanders of the SWP's Joseph Hansen, while noting that such charges—however scurrilous—should be openly debated and answered before the working-class public.

The WL's brutal expulsion of Spartacist supporters from its "public" meetings, like the SWP's exclusion of the WL from its Angola forum, must be actively opposed by socialist militants. These fake-Trotskyists' use of heavy-handed suppression of opponent groups exposes their political bankruptcy. In the tradition of Leon Trotsky, we demand that these cowardly violations of workers democracy be stopped.

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Members of the Menominee Warrior Society arrested after January 1975 occupation of Catholic novitate in Wisconsin.

Guardian

## Racist Killings in Wisconsin

# Sheriff Slaughters Indian Militants

MADISON -On February 3, John Wauhanasum, one of five Menominee Indians slated to stand trial for the 1975 armed occupation of a Catholic novitate near Gresham, Wisconsin, was gunned down together with a friend by the Menominee Sheriff's Department.

Details of the shootout remain clouded by a local and state police cover-up. However, leaked details of an autopsy confirm a witness' report that Wauhanasum and Harlan Pamanet, a visitor in his home, were both shot-gunned in the back. The county sheriff, Kenneth Fish, a political appointee of the Democratic governor, claims he and several deputies were "ambushed" at Wauhanasum's home.

A February 6 demonstration in Madison, called by a coalition of radical groups protesting the brutal killings, attracted over 200 in a march on the state capitol to demand that Sheriff Fish be jailed.

The shootings marked the first anniversary of the end of the occupation of the novitate. On 1 January 1975, 40 armed Indians, mostly members of the Menominee Warrior Society, took over the mansion, demanding that it be turned over to the tribe for use as a hospital. The Alexian Brothers religious order, owners of the property, agreed to give the building and grounds to the Menominees for \$1 in order to end the occupation. When the Warrior Society left the premises, however, the price went up to \$750,000.

Waubanasum and four other Menominees were later charged with armed robbery, burglary and false imprisonment for their part in the takeover. The trial had been scheduled to begin on April 1.

Despite nationwide publicity from the 34-day occupation, conditions for the 2,500 Menominee Indians living in the county have not improved. The lack of medical facilities remains a central problem, and residents must still travel up to 50 miles to the nearest hospital in

Shawano County. Nearly one quarter of the Menominees currently receive AFDC welfare payments, with many more on the state dole and receiving food stamps.

In conditions typical for the impoverished area, Waubanasum, his wife and six children lived in a home without hot water, heated by an old space heater and with outside toilet facilities. The family had been evicted from federal housing when he was released by the Marine Corps four years ago.

While the general poverty and lack of health facilities have not been alleviated following the novitate occupation, Menominees have reported more racist hostility from local whites and stepped-up police violence during the last year. Although 19 affidavits have been collected detailing the sheriff's chronic drunken harassment of the Indians, Fish remains on duty and the Menominee County Sheriff's Department has become the most heavily armed local police unit in the state. Furthermore, according to an assistant to Ada Deer, chairman of the Reservation Committee (the tribe's interim governing body), Fish and several deputies are being trained by the U.S. government to become federal law officers when the county reverts to tribal status, as established by the Menominee Restoration Act of January 1973 (*Capitol Times* [Madison], 10 and 11 February).

The reaction of the left to last year's novitate takeover was generally mindless enthusiasm for the Indian militants. On the University of Wisconsin campus here, the sub-reformist Wisconsin Alliance unconditionally supported the Warriors Society leaders while the Revolutionary Student Brigade hailed the occupation as an act of "righteous struggle." On the other hand, in a characteristic act of confidence in the bourgeois state, the Young Socialist Alliance tailed after "moderate" Indian leaders and cheered the arrival of the National Guard, supposedly to protect

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## Witchhunt at University of Wisconsin

# Defend David Fine!

MADISON After successfully evading police for over five years, David Fine, accused of participating in the 1970 bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC) at the University of Wisconsin (UW), was captured January 7 in San Rafael, California.

Fine has been on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list for most of the time since the bombing, and following his capture bail was set at \$1 million. After arriving in Madison and being arraigned on federal charges, Fine was released on a reduced bail of \$30,000 which his parents had raised, only to be re-arrested 20 minutes later on state charges. He then entered pleas of not guilty in state court and was again released on a \$75,000 recognizance bond. A trial date of June 1 has been set for the federal charges, which include sabotage and unlawful flight.

The AMRC was established in 1955 when the UW won an Army contract, and continues to exist today (although now moved to the top of a building far from the center of campus). It is the only such center funded by the U.S. Army. The AMRC was involved in Project Michigan, a Defense Department project to develop an "electronic battlefield" through use of radar and other sensors. These techniques were put to deadly use in Indochina, and were also used to help Bolivian rangers track down and murder Che Guevara in 1967.

In the months preceding the AMRC bombing, thousands of students protested the presence of the imperialist armed forces on campus. Local military targets were repeatedly firebombed. Then in the early morning of 24 August 1970, a massive explosion ripped through Sterling Hall, which housed the Research Center at that time. Although the bombers phoned a warning, the building was not evacuated in time and a physics researcher not connected with the AMRC was killed in the blast.

Fine is the second of four men indicted in 1970 in connection with the bombing to be captured. In early 1972, Karl Armstrong was arrested in Toronto, Canada, and extradited to Madison where he pleaded guilty to all charges. He is now serving a 23-year sentence at Waupun State Prison. In addition, Dwight Armstrong, his brother and also indicted for the bombing, was arrested last December 12 for shoplifting in California, but was released before his identity was discovered. The fourth, Leo Burt, is still at liberty.

### Witchhunt on Campus

Both the UW student government, the Wisconsin Student Association (WSA), and the student newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*, made hesitant efforts to support the Fine defense. The WSA had voted on February 5 to donate \$2,000. However, a petition campaign given extensive publicity in the local media collected over 4,000 student signatures to force a referendum to bar the WSA from using funds "for the defense of David Fine, or any other political cause, without proper referendum of the students."

Instead of denouncing this reactionary proposal, whose purpose is to restrict the appropriation of money for left-wing political causes and groupings, the WSA retreated. Rather than risk defeat in the referendum, it voted at a February 12 meeting to rescind the contribution to Fine's defense.

The *Daily Cardinal*, where David Fine was once a staff member, had similarly voted a \$5,000 contribution to his defense in January. This was

overruled on February 4 by a vote of the paper's faculty advisors, who are appointed by the university chancellor. Although initially threatening a strike if the donation was not approved, the *Cardinal* staff later reached a compromise with the faculty board members. In return for lifting the veto, it was agreed to increase faculty representation on the Board of Control of the newspaper. If the measure is approved in a student referendum in April, its sponsors assert that the new board, with a student majority, will vote to approve the contribution.

The increase in faculty representatives on the Board of Control is sought by the university administration as a means of achieving greater leverage over the *Cardinal*. This further incursion of the administration into student affairs must be opposed and all administration faculty interference with the student newspaper cease. The maneuverings of liberal student politicians, willing to trade off control over the student newspaper for a small (and only potential) donation, will not further David Fine's defense. An effective defense cannot be constructed by making deals with the UW administration, the same representatives of bourgeois interests who support the continued existence of the AMRC!

### Abolish AMRC—Free David Fine!

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) have vast political differences with those accused of participating in the AMRC bombing, as was shown when the *Berkeler Barb* last summer quoted Dwight Armstrong as saying in a clandestine interview that Spartacists "are just as fascist as the ruling class." The SL/SYL reject individual terrorism as a means of overthrowing capitalism. The blood-soaked imperialists will not be swept from the stage of history by isolated acts of violence, but only through the victorious struggle of the working masses, guided by a Leninist party.

Nonetheless, it is the duty of the workers movement to defend from repression by the bourgeois state those accused of bombing the AMRC and of other acts directed against targets symbolic of imperialism. The Spartacus Youth League demanded that Karl Armstrong be released and the charges against him be dropped, and demands also that David Fine be freed. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that contributions be sent to the David Fine Freedom Committee, Box 93, Madison, WI 53701. ■

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## Tailoring Program to Practice

# West European Stalinists Delete "Dictatorship of Proletariat"

On January 7, Georges Marchais dropped a bombshell during a television talk show. In his opinion, said the leader of the French Communist Party (PCF), the notion of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" must be abandoned.

"Well, today the word 'dictatorship' does not correspond to what we want... Even the word 'proletariat' is no longer appropriate, since we want to bring together, along with the working class, the majority of wage earners. But that does not mean we are abandoning our objective: socialism in French colors."

—Le Monde, 9 January 1976

He added that there were differences between the PCF and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on the question of socialist democracy.

Coming in the middle of inner-party discussion preceding the PCF's 22nd

by the PCF's support for Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch, recently freed by the Russian authorities (see "Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in USSR!" *WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976). In December, on the same day the political bureau of the PCF unanimously condemned conditions in Russian prison camps, PCF leader Paul Laurent declared: "From now on we completely assume the principle of alternation of power. That is, we admit that the installation of socialism in France might not be irreversible. We should bow before an unfavorable verdict of the electors" (*L'Express*, 22-28 December 1975).

The issue is not classless "democra-

the Christian heritage in its most positive aspects..." The audience at the federal conference was not convinced. One militant replied: "Are you going to throw an anathema on homosexuals or those who masturbate?... The CP is taking on the tahoos set up by Christian ideology, by the ruling ideology" (*Le Monde*, 20 January). By a vote of 101 to 79, the delegates adopted an amendment striking the passage of the conference document condemning immorality.

Concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, discussion was considerably more restrained, particularly since the PCF tops had made clear they were determined to push through this "dele-

of the proletariat" (*Le Monde*, 5 February). The term was not mentioned in the political bureau's document, and the PCF leader proposed eliminating the party statutes' reference to it at the next congress.

While the general secretary did not bother to defend this "up-to-date" revisionism theoretically, in the discussion central committee member François Billoux attempted to deal with a question which was hotting many serious party militants: if the PCF is no longer in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then what has become of the "21 conditions" set by Lenin at the second congress of the Communist International, and which were the political basis for the split of the French Communists from the Socialist Party at the Congress of Tours in 1920? Billoux presented an "explanation" which was breathtaking in its cynicism:

"It is because we came out of the dictatorship of the proletariat 55 years ago that we can say today that it no longer corresponds to the situation. We are not changing our house."

—Le Monde, 7 February

There was no open opposition to

## Part 1 of 2

congress, held in a Paris suburb last week, this seemingly off-hand remark touched off a furor which has dominated French newspaper headlines for a month. What was the meaning of this change of position, confirmed at the congress? Was it simply a ruse, as *Time* magazine implied? Or did this mean that the "French CP Vets Sharply To the Right," as the *Healyite Bulletin* (10 February) proclaimed in a headline?

Actually, the French Communist Party ceased to be communist decades ago. For the handmaidens of the Kremlin bureaucracy who made up the Stalinized Comintern, their failure to lift a finger to stop Hitler's march to power represented the crossing of the Rubicon, the decisive passing over to the side of the bourgeoisie, comparable in magnitude to the social democrats' support for their "own" capitalist rulers during World War I. The unopposed Nazi triumph, said Leon Trotsky, meant that the Third International was dead as a revolutionary force; a new, Fourth International had to be built.

But the formal abandonment of fundamental Marxist principles is not unimportant. It brings the PCF's formal program into line with its overtly reformist practice, a step which may open the eyes of revolutionary-minded militants who have not yet broken with Stalinism. And the Stalinists' unambiguous promises to work within the framework of the bourgeois state are both a warning of the lengths to which the pro-capitalist leaders of bourgeois workers parties will go to maintain the rule of the exploiters and an indication of the pressure they feel from increasing working-class militancy. The wave of class-collaborationist popular-front alliances since the early 1970's is part of the same phenomenon, and the response to it by ostensibly Marxist tendencies is an important test of their ability to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership which is the main obstacle to socialist revolution in the world today.

### Dictatorship and "Immorality"

In defending the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as their aim, French Communist Party leaders make much of their commitment to "democracy." This was further stressed



The 22nd congress of the French Communist Party.

Der Spiegel

cy," however, but parliamentary cretinism, bourgeois nationalism and... puritanism. As for democracy, the whole experience of the "debate" over the dictatorship of the proletariat shows how little the leaders of the PCF care about democratic norms in their own party. Barely a week after his remark on the "Téléjournal," and before any of the party's *département* federations had voted on the question, Marchais announced to a press conference that "almost the entire party" was in agreement that the reference to working-class dictatorship must be deleted from the PCF statutes.

After this display of "democracy" by telepathy, the PCF leader went on to raise another issue in the party congress discussion, "immorality" or, to be more specific, pornography. "I am a normal man," said the general secretary. "I like to see a pretty woman, even nude. But I say that pornography is immoral..." (*Le Monde*, 16 January). Not even hothotting to back up this bald assertion with scientific arguments, Marchais simply remarked that one day in a cinema an anonymous couple had offered him a chocolate ice cream bar to thank him for declaring that pornographic works are immoral! This bizarre appeal to middle-class morality was obviously occasioned by Marchais' effort to broaden the PCF's "voter appeal."

During the three weeks that followed, there were a few flickerings of dissent within the party. In the Moselle district, PB member Jean Colpin ran into some difficulty after declaring that "we enrich

tion" at all costs. In the discussion column of *L'Humanité*, PCF philosopher Etienne Baliha (co-author with Louis Althusser of *Reading Capital*) raised an impassioned plea: "Comrades, do not lightly reject the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Let us, more than ever, be Communists, both in theory and practice!" A group of rank-and-file members put out an oppositional journal, *Le Communiste*, and objected to Marchais' totally anti-democratic procedure of launching the "discussion" outside the party only a few weeks before the congress. But these were only voices in the wilderness.

### PCF Congress

The congress, which opened in the Paris "red belt" working-class suburb of Saint Ouen on February 4, stressed the theme of "socialism in French colors." The backdrop was artistically draped with the blue-white-red tricolor for the occasion and the convention document called for not simply the "Union of the Left" (the popular front formed by the PCF, the Socialist Party and the bourgeois Left Radicals in 1972), but "The union of the people of France, [which] is the grouping of all democrats, of all patriots."

In his report, Marchais asserted that the word "'dictatorship' automatically brings to mind the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco.... It is therefore evident that one cannot call what we offer to the working people, to our people, the 'dictatorship

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Georges Marchais

L'Express

"deleting" the dictatorship of the proletariat expressed from the floor of the congress, and the political resolution was adopted without controversy. But some of those listed as officially present were less than happy: the "fraternal" delegations, particularly the one from the CPSU, headed by Andrei Kirilenko. None of the foreign delegates were permitted to speak during the proceedings (after all, they aren't part of the people of France!), and the CPSU political bureau member was only allowed to open his mouth at a courtesy meeting in the city hall of another "red" suburb, Nanterre.

Speaking to a sympathetic audience, which thunderously shouted "Long live the Soviet Union!" Kirilenko said nothing about the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and instead focused on the theme of combating anti-Sovietism. His message was the disingenuous assertion that Soviet

Communist Party's several recent public attacks on the treatment of Russian dissidents. (This theme was also raised at the PCF congress in a report from a central committee member, who simply waved aside the usual objection that any criticisms of the USSR will be used by the bourgeoisie.) As a consequence, some issues of *L'Humanité* have reportedly been banned for sale in Moscow, and Marchais will not be travelling to the Soviet capital for an upcoming meeting of European party leaders!

#### "Italianization" of the PCF?

For many years, the French Communist Party had the reputation of the most Moscow-loyal of the mass Stalinist parties outside the Soviet bloc. In contrast, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) was the author, in the late 1950's, of the thesis of "polycentrism" and

absolutely explicit with the assertion that "The arrival of the laboring classes at the head of the state" was conceived of only in the framework of "democratic institutions fully representative of popular sovereignty" and "the free exercise of universal suffrage, proportional and direct." The need to smash the bourgeois state, the class dictatorship of the capitalists, which Marx said was the chief lesson of the Paris Commune, is totally ignored.

All the talk by West European Communist parties of dropping references to the dictatorship of the proletariat prompted the CPSU last summer to call on one of their kept parrots of

it" is not an affirmation of a revolutionary will to replace the domination of the bourgeoisie with that of the working class. Still less is it a commitment to workers' democracy, which for Marx and Lenin was the aim of the proletariat's struggle. Instead, they are defending the continued suppression of soviet liberties for the citizens of the USSR, even after Stalin had falsely announced the attainment of socialism (in 1936) and his heirs proclaimed the Soviet Union to be a "state of the whole people" (in 1961).

In turn, the West European parties, by rejecting the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," are not defending "democ-

"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

—Karl Marx, Letter to Wedemeyer, 20 February 1852

Stalinized "orthodoxy," Konstantin Zarodov, the editor of the Moscow-line international journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. In a 6 August *Pravda* article on "Lenin's Strategy and Tactics in Revolutionary Struggle," Zarodov criticized the "majority fetishism" of parliamentarists. In a "personal, not official" interview with the Italian news magazine *L'Espresso* (7 December 1975), another CPSU leader, central committee member Alexei Rumiantsev, was even more explicit.

"We respect the opinions of the individual Communist parties, but we repeat that the dictatorship of the proletariat is and remains the basic principle which we have in common."

This kind of talk has led professional "Kremlin watchers" such as Victor Zorza to speculate about a supposed "left turn" in the Russian leadership recently. Actually, it is nothing of the kind. For the CPSU leaders, defense of the phrase "dictatorship of the proletari-

archy" but rather capitalist rule. Thus the Union of the Left has agreed to abide by the Gaullist constitution of the Fifth French Republic, probably the most bonapartist of any of the imperialist "democracies," and PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer has committed his party to accepting Italian membership in NATO until there is a simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Pact! Yet there is no difference here with the Soviet bureaucrats. When asked by the *L'Espresso* interviewer whether the CPSU objected to the PCI's strategy of a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, Rumiantsev replied: "I don't see why there should be incompatibility." The bureaucrats commanding the Russian deformed workers state and their counterparts who control the bulk of French and Italian organized labor are in agreement that the West European workers must be bound hand and foot to the class enemy.

TO BE CONTINUED

Russian delegates at the recent French CP congress.



L'Express

laws "clearly define and guarantee in a sure manner individual rights such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of conscience and religious belief, inviolability of the person and the home" (*Le Monde*, 8-9 February).

The Soviet press similarly reflected irritation over the PCF congress. The section on the dictatorship of the proletariat was deliberately deleted from *Pravda's* lengthy published text of Marchais' report, for example. But the most sensitive topic for the Kremlin was hardly the rejection of a key element of the Marxist program. Brezhnev is at least as opposed to a proletarian revolution in France as is Marchais.

With the logic of a nationalist bureaucratic caste concerned above all to maintain its own privileged position, the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union were upset mainly by the French

independence from Kremlin dictates. Now, however, under the regime of Georges Marchais, the PCF has been moving increasingly close to the Italian party. This realignment was signalled by the signing of a joint PCI-PCF document last November.

The statement described socialism in completely classless terms which could easily have been agreed to by Karl Kautsky and other social democrats:

"The Italian and French Communists consider that the march to socialism and the construction of a socialist society must be realized in the framework of a continuous democratization of economic, social and political life. Socialism constitutes a higher stage of democracy and liberty, democracy carried through to the end."

*Le Monde*, 19 November 1975

The bourgeois parliamentary cretinism implied by this statement was made



Enrico Berlinguer

Il Mondo



# Spain...

(continued from page 1)

again the scene of bloody confrontations with police. When one contingent of marchers was broken up, harricades were thrown up and other contingents regrouped in another section of the city. This continued all day, with the city under a virtual state of siege as police, mounted and in jeeps, tried in vain to fight through heavy traffic as again, thousands of cars jammed the streets. At one point red-and-yellow-striped Catalan flags were draped over a statue commemorating Franco's Civil War victory while hundreds cheered.

The demonstrations, called by the Federation of Neighborhood Associations, were reportedly supported by virtually all sectors of the local population. According to the *New York Times* (9 February), "Bankers and factory workers, office employees and peasants. Communists and conservatives made common cause affirming their Catalan identity..." However, reports in left-wing newspapers emphasized the general democratic, as opposed to regionalist nationalist character of the demonstrations, stressing that the bulk of the more than 70,000 demonstrators on February 1 came from the working-class suburbs of Barcelona, where Castilian-speaking immigrants from the south constitute a heavy majority (*Lotta Continua*, 6 February). The same sources also reported that disputes broke out among the marchers when representatives of the PSUC (United Socialist Party of Catalonia, a section of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE]) attempted to stop demonstrators from resisting the bloody police onslaught.

## Toleration for Christian Democrats and Social Democrats

The first Barcelona protest on February 1 came as Spanish Christian Democrats wound up their three-day conference in Madrid, the first open political convention in 36 years. But while the Barcelona neighborhood associations were denied permission to demonstrate, the Christian Democrats simply informed the DGS (government "security" office) of the meeting and there was no police interference. While a contingent of anti-riot police was stationed outside the theater (on the main avenue of Madrid) at the beginning, by the end of the conference the "grey-coats" had been withdrawn, obviously on orders from the minister of the interior.

Although the only legal party remains the Falangist National Movement, and the law of "political association" makes it virtually impossible for any opposition group to operate freely, the death of the bloody dictator brought forth a rapid proliferation of bourgeois political groupings of all shadings, more than 200 at last count.

As during the days of the Spanish Republic in the 1930's, the various conservative bourgeois forces continue to be deeply splintered. Thus the Madrid conference brought together five different Christian Democratic organizations under the name of the "Christian Democratic Group of the Spanish State." This included the Democratic Left (led by Joaquim Ruiz Gimenez), the Popular Democratic Federation (José María Gil Robles), the Democratic Union of Valencia, the Democratic Union of Catalonia and the Basque Nationalist Party. Several hundred people attended including a number of foreign Christian Democratic observers.

The outcome of the Madrid meeting was a reaffirmation of the "democratic breakthrough" agreed upon by the two popular fronts, the Junta Democrática (dominated by the PCE) and the Democratic Convergence (led by the Socialists and supported by the Chris-

tian Democrats). This policy is essentially to pressure the government rather than to smash it. Ruiz Gimenez said at this meeting, "we are for a democratic breakthrough, which doesn't mean breaking glass, or even less, breaking heads." He proceeded to thank the government for its "tolerance" (*Cambio 16*, 2-8 February).

After a brief period of acquiescence, the government has gone over to a policy of repressing mass mobilizations, combined with selective toleration of conservative and above all anti-communist groups. Thus on February 1 in the Basque city of San Sebastián several thousand demonstrators were met with smoke bombs and police nightsticks. But a few days later a meeting on the Balearic Islands of liberal and reformist opposition groups from Catalan-speaking areas (Catalonia, Valencia and the islands) was de facto approved. The sponsors of the meeting, primarily the popular-front Consell de Forces Polítiques de Catalunya, attempting to show their respectability, invited to lunch some inspectors of the secret police (BIS) who had been sent by the government to "observe."

While the government has repeatedly emphasized its fear of "Communist subversion," the Spanish Communist Party, the most right-wing of the West European Stalinist parties, underlined at a public news conference in Madrid on January 28 the non-revolutionary character of the "democratic breakthrough." The spokesman quoted a declaration by the PCE executive committee (*Mundo Obrero*, 14 January 1976) stating that, "This breakthrough will not affect either the armed forces, government officials or the existing social system." The speaker insisted on the party's independence from Moscow.

## Stalinists Sabotage Strikes

While the major opposition parties are united on the "breakthrough" policy of pressuring the government, the PCE has a special role to play—keeping the workers from getting "out of line." In addition to the government/employer hard-line refusal to negotiate, it was above all Stalinist sabotage which forced the combative Madrid proletariat back to work at the end of January.

We have already reported how the PCE, seeking to dissipate demands for a general strike against the Francoist regime into local one-day actions ("jornadas de lucha"), went so far as to sabotage its own general strike call in mid-December. The most militant sectors were not so easily manipulated, however, and the coincidence of another scheduled "jornada" in Madrid on January 18 with a metal workers' strike escalated the struggle.

Since then strikes have spread out to the provinces, and at present several tens of thousands of Asturias coal miners have shut down the pits. In Valladolid, FASA-Renault workers walked out on January 26 demanding a cost of living increase and reinstatement of the more than 120 fired militants. But key to the labor situation are the industrial suburbs ringing the capital—particularly Getafe where Standard Eléctrica (owned by ITT) is located and Villaverde (Chrysler)—and the Bajo Llobregat factory district near Barcelona, which was shut down by a two-week general strike of more than 26,000 workers strike in late January.

At Chrysler the company tried to reopen in mid-January but only 500 of the 10,000 workers reported. Despite the absence of any strike fund and the workers' obvious hardships, they voted in the third week of the strike that "not one worker will set foot in the plant until there are guarantees that sanctions will be lifted" (*New York Times*, 16 February). More than 100 workers had been dismissed by management. On January 29, after a Madrid court dismissed charges against four alleged "ringlead-

ers" among the stewards ("jurados") of the state-run "vertical unions" (the CNS), the company agreed to lift all sanctions, rehire the fired workers and raise wages by \$76 a month. However, Chrysler workers are now complaining that they were tricked by their leaders into going back, since the court proceedings against militants have not been dropped.

## "No Alliances With Class Enemies"

At both Chrysler and Standard Eléctrica, the "workers commissions" are controlled by the PCE. Since last spring, the personnel of these illegal unions has largely overlapped with the "jurados" of the CNS, as a result of reforms to partially democratize the lowest levels of the corporatist syndicates. In December, strikes broke out at both plants despite the lack of leadership from the Stalinists.

At Standard, the biggest private employer in the Madrid area with 12,500 workers, the strike was in its fifth



Workers commission meeting in Barcelona.

week when the metal industry employers announced they would only negotiate on a plant-by-plant basis. At that point, the head of the "jurados" Adolfo Piñedo (who is also closely associated with the workers commission) declared that "re-establishing unity" with other Madrid workers who had gone back to work earlier could only be done by "taking a step backwards." But in an interview with the liberal news magazine *Cambio 16*, other militants totally disagreed with Piñedo (who in turn denounced them as "ultra-leftists"), arguing that it was the retreat which caused subsequent demoralization. The back-to-work movement began on January 22, and while the "jurados" initially tried to carry out four-hour daily work stoppages, this was later reduced to token slowdowns.

In the Barcelona area, delegates from the workers commissions met on January 25, in the first such regional meeting since the last strike wave in the Bajo Llobregat during April 1975. More than 500 delegates attended, hearing the Stalinist leadership greet the formation of the popular-front Council of Political Forces of Catalonia. However, reporters present wrote that "a large group, more than 100 people, demonstrated their disagreement: they did not want to hear anything of alliances with the 'class enemies'" (*Cambio 16*, 9-15 February). It was also reported that "the large companies of the metal-working sector did not join the strike, despite the breakdown of contract negotiations at SEAT" (one of the largest and most militant factories, where PCE influence is strong). Here also, the strikes were called off at the beginning of February as the Stalinists argued that "an orderly retreat is necessary."

## Bogus Reforms

Despite the continuing strikes and massive anti-government demonstrations, Arias says the government will go ahead with "serene determination" toward "Spanish democracy," not giving in to either "impatience" or "resistance," and warning that Spain must avoid "the chaos of neighboring

Portugal."

In his speech to the Cortes, the Prime Minister outlined a program for a two-chamber Parliament with a "freely elected" lower house, while the upper chamber will be what is now the corporatist National Council, some of whose members were appointed by Franco for life. Elections have been put off for 15 months from the original March deadline, supposedly allowing the government to enact new election laws.

In every respect, Arias' "reforms" were extremely circumscribed and purposely vague. Although promising a "widening" of the right of assembly and new laws to legalize political parties, the Communist party and "subversives" will still remain illegal. And while prior authorization for public meetings held indoors would no longer be required as long as they were held for "legal ends" authorization for all outdoor rallies would still be needed.

In response to demands to repeal the draconian "anti-terrorist" law enacted

last August, the government made only superficial changes, transferring some cases from military courts to civilian ones. However, Arias made the government's true policy crystal clear: "neither those who promote social dissolution, in all forms of anarchism, nor those who threaten the sacred unity of the Fatherland with one or another form of separatism, nor those who aspire with foreign aid and unscrupulous methods to establish totalitarian communism" can hope to obtain liberties. The fact that no significant democratic changes benefitting the working class of Spain will come from the corporatist Cortes and the Francoist government was underlined by the composition of the joint commission which is drawing up these so-called reforms: it is packed with members of the old-guard "bunker."

## Democratic Demands and Class Independence

The reformist Spanish Communist Party has been calling for "unity of the democratic opposition" and forming one class-collaborationist popular front after another with bourgeois politicians and parties (first the Pact for Liberty and the Assembly of Catalonia; then the Junta Democrática, the Basque Democratic Assembly, Councils of Political Forces of Catalonia and Galicia, and now proposals to unite the Junta with the Platform of Democratic Convergence). In contrast, revolutionary Trotskyists emphasize that it is proletarian, not bourgeois, revolution that must be the aim of the Spanish working class today. Thus our article following the death of Franco was entitled: "Down with the Monarchy—No Popular Fronts! For a Workers Republic in Spain!"

Yet today tens of thousands are demonstrating in the streets of Barcelona for democratic rights and freedoms most of which can be found in the Declaration of the Rights of Man of the French bourgeois revolution. What is the attitude of Bolsheviks to such democratic demands?

It is, after all, not surprising that the



Spanish masses should focus on democratic demands at this time. After 37 years under the boot of the Francoist dictatorship, their first cries are for "freedom!" Authentic communists do not dismiss this powerful impulse. Instead they must resolutely lead the struggle for democratic rights and liberties, linking them closely with the class demands of the workers' struggles and constantly explaining that real freedom for the exploited can only be secured through socialist revolution.

There are numerous democratic demands which can be raised by Marxists in Spain today. Thus, while prior censorship of the press has been lifted, even conservative bourgeois newspapers have had numerous issues seized by the police and all socialist papers are still hanned. It is necessary to demand an end to censorship and complete freedom of the press. There are also reportedly government plans to permit some demonstrations (the press reports that they may be limited to Saturday and Sunday evenings, however). Socialists demand freedom of assembly, with no requirement for government authorization!

In the face of widespread strikes and increasingly massive demonstrations, repressive actions by the Francoist regime have actually increased. Rather than assuring the hated "grey coats" that "there is no feeling of revenge" toward them, as does the PCE (*Mundo Obrero*, 14 January), revolutionists must demand the dissolution of all special militarized police units, spy agencies, political police, etc. (the DGS, Guardia Civil, Political-Social Brigade [BPS] and others) and the trial of Franco's torturers by democratically elected people's tribunals. The anti-terrorist law must be abolished, not amended; instead of the "indulto insulto" (insulting pardon) there must be unconditional, immediate amnesty for all victims of the Francoist terror. The oppressed nationalities of the Spanish state must have the right of self-determination.

#### Constituent Assembly and a Transitional Program

The working class must also demand complete freedom of association and of political parties, without exception. A major conflict with the regime may be sparked by its determination not to permit the legalization of the PCE. Another key demand is for trade-union freedom from state control; not the democratization of the corporatist syndicates, as a sector of the PCE leadership reportedly wants, but their destruction. This must be accompanied by the unhindered right to strike, and

the immediate rehiring of all fired militants.

To fully accomplish these partial demands, the regime itself must be brought down. Unlike the PCE, which writes that "the democratic breakthrough can be accomplished with a simple decree annulling the institutions and laws which currently hinder the exercise of civil rights," nr renegades from Trotskyism like the French OCI, which calls for a "Republic in Spain," the Spartacist tendency defends the communist perspective of working-class action to overthrow the Francoist dictatorship.

However, faced with Arias Navarro's nervous attempts to put off elections for a parliament until the Greek calendar perhaps in 1977 or the year after, with a corporatist upper house, with all "communists" hanned from the hallot, etc.—revolutionary socialists raise the demands for immediate, democratic elections for a constituent assembly.

Such a demand is not a substitute for the necessary call for soviets and the overthrow of the entire capitalist state, and must not be linked to a reformist "stagist" conception in which the first stage is a bourgeois republic. If, as occurred in Russia, soviet power is achieved before a constituent assembly meets, then Marxists would demand that the assembly either recognize the revolutionary workers government or be dissolved. Democratic demands are subordinate to the needs of socialist revolution.

Nonetheless, a powerful struggle against the Francoist dictatorship could develop around the demand for a constituent assembly. It would be foolish sectarianism for socialists to stand apart from a fight to smash bonapartist absolutism. Our task, rather, is to deepen that struggle into a fight to smash capitalism.

This requires the joining of democratic demands with transitional demands which go beyond the limits of capitalism. The workers' answer to unemployment and inflation must be to fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours. In the course of strike struggles, such as at Chrysler and Standard-ITT, revolutionists must call for democratically elected strike and factory committees, and work toward the formation of local, regional and national workers assemblies to establish dual power. Instead of a bourgeois "Army, surrounded by national respect and support" (PCE declaration). Marxists call for workers defense guards and militias.

These demands, in their totality, constitute the essentials of the indispensable transitional program which offers the only road forward for the working people of Spain. The victorious struggle for this program requires above all the construction of a Spanish Trotskyist party, built in the battle to reforge the Fourth International, to lead these struggles forward to a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula, as part of a united socialist states of Europe! ■

# Free Hernán Cuentas!

Hernán Cuentas, general secretary of the miners' federation of Cuajone, a district in southern Peru, has been arrested along with other leaders of the union. The detentions began last December and have been met by massive protest actions, demonstrations and work stoppages in the region.

As well as being the leader of a union he helped organize in one of the key sectors of U.S. investment in Peru, Cuentas is a leader of the POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) and a member of the International Bureau of the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth

International," led by the French OCI. Along with Ricardo Napuri, he was a founder of the POMR in 1971.

In April 1972, the miners at Southern Peru Company in Cuajone struck against the firing of 700 workers. They marched on the provincial capital of Arequipa, where they convinced local workers to call a general strike. In May 1973 the miners struck again against threatened firings. This time the government, using pretexts supplied by Stalinist leaders of the CTRP labor federation, arrested and immediately deported Cuentas (*Revolución Proletaria*, January 1976). In the same period, the demagogic nationalist regime of General Velasco Alvarado arrested other ostensible Trotskyists, including members of the Liga Comunista (affiliated with the Healyite "International Committee"), and deported Napuri, Hugo Blanco and countless others (see "End the Witchhunt in Peru," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973).

After the fall of Velasco last August, Cuentas, along with many other exiles, returned to Peru. According to the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (15-22 January 1976), he was greeted by a massive spontaneous outpouring of mine workers when he arrived in Cuajone. When a miners' delegation went to the new president, Morales Bermudez, to demand that Cuentas be rehired, they were reportedly greeted with the ultimatum: "Choose between me and Cuentas!" Soon afterwards, the union leader was arrested as part of a repressive campaign aimed at militant miners in the region. The arrested labor leaders are reportedly being held at a prison camp in the jungle region of Amazonas.

In keeping with our policy of class-struggle defense, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee call for the immediate release of Hernán Cuentas and all the victimized Peruvian militants. There is additional urgency in this case, for Cuentas—unlike well-known former guerrillaists such as Hector Bejar and the erstwhile Pabloist leader Ismael Frias—did not capitulate to the "anti-imperialist" pretensions of the Velasco/Morales regimes and has been jailed for his working-class opposition.

The savage repression in Cuajone is aimed at breaking the back of the workers' resistance to exploitation by the U.S. imperialists. This traditionally militant sector of the Peruvian working class must be defended! Free Hernán Cuentas! ■



Informations Ouvrières

Hernán Cuentas

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# MPLA Offers Deal to South Africa

FEBRUARY 17—United Press International reported yesterday that three Johannesburg newspapers, the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Transvaaler* and *Beeld*, announced the imminent opening of peace negotiations between white-supremacist South Africa and the Soviet-backed regime of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). In light of the severe press censorship during the Angolan war, and particularly of the *Transvaaler's* close relations with the regime of Balthazar Vorster, these reports represent an authoritative confirmation, despite official government silence, that the path is open to a deal between Luanda and Pretoria.

According to the dispatch, Johannesburg papers said that the danger of major military confrontation between the 5,500 South African troops entrenched in Angola and MPLA forces was "receding." The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Vorster will insist on several conditions "including guarantees for South African property" before withdrawing the troops from a 30-mile-wide strip of southern Angola that they occupy. The soldiers patrol the \$185 million Calueque hydroelectric dam and supervise four camps containing 11,000 war refugees.

An earlier UPI dispatch (15 February) cited an article in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* that "Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller said that the government was studying the 'interesting' offer by his Angolan counterpart, José Eduardo Dos Santos, that the Marxists [sic] would acknowledge South African interests in Angola in exchange for recognition from the South African government."

The Ivory Coast and Mozambique have reportedly acted as intermediaries for the exchange of peace feelers since the South African troops pulled out of the fighting several weeks ago. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* wrote that "South African troops could pull out of Angola within days."

Faced with thousands of highly trained and well-equipped South African troops massed on both sides of the Southwest Africa-Angolan border, the MPLA has gone beyond simple military caution to indicate its willingness, like other nationalist formations, to buy security for its own weak bourgeois regime at the direct expense of anti-imperialist struggles next door. The immediate question is whether the "guarantee" of South African interests

will extend to sealing Angola's 400-mile-long border with Pretoria's Southwest Africa colony.

For years, anti-apartheid guerrilla fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) have used southern Angola as a staging area for operations against South Africa. Now MPLA-head Agostinho Neto was quoted by the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug as having said that he had "no intention of interfering directly in Southwest Africa" (*New York Times*, 15 February). As the price of a settlement, Neto may also stop MPLA aid and refuge to SWAPO guerrillas, just as Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda (once widely hailed as an "anti-imperialist") has closed the Rhodesian border to the Zimbabwe African National Union and arrested several hundred ZANU militants in order to achieve "détente" with the racist regimes south of the Zambezi.

South Africa is rattling its sabres over the Angolan border issue and making its position crystal clear for the People's Movement. UPI reported today from Johannesburg a public threat by defense minister Piet Botha to "respond more sharply than in any previous encounters with Marxist forces in Angola if a new confrontation occurs in Southwest Africa." Botha has backed up these threats with a massive troop call-up and by bolstering his forces inside Southwest Africa. With the buffer of white-dominated territories which separated South Africa from the rest of the continent until last year now gone, and Vorster's plans for an arc of secure black client statelets surrounding a white supremacist *laager* still a pipedream, the apartheid regime is demanding at a minimum that the regime in Luanda accept Pretoria's control over mineral-rich Southwest Africa.

While extending feelers to Pretoria, Neto is also mending fences with neighboring Zambia, the major African backer of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and with the United States. According to syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, the Luanda government forwarded a secret message to Henry Kissinger via an aide to Senator John Tunney. The message (in the form of answers by top MPLA leaders to questions posed by Tunney's aide) includes the following exchange:

"Q. What is the position of the MPLA on the presence of Soviet and Cuban troops and military advisers in Angola?"



South African armored car.

Prensa Latina

"A. We have no desire for a permanent Soviet or Cuban presence. When the other foreign forces withdraw, so too will the Soviets and Cubans."

"Q. Will the MPLA... allow the Soviet Union the use of air and naval facilities in Angola?"

"A. You may assure your government that we will never permit the establishment of any foreign bases on Angola soil, air or naval, including those of the Soviet Union. This is superpower business, and we want none of it."

*New York Post*, 17 February

In addition, Luanda's prime minister Lopo do Nascimento told Western newsmen that rather than a government takeover of the lucrative Cabinda oil fields, "It is up to Gulf to come back as quickly as possible" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 8 February).

While eagerly accepting Moscow's support in its struggle against rival nationalist groups and against the U.S. South Africa axis, the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA aims at constructing a *capitalist* Angola. The aspiring bourgeoisie fully intends to benefit from the country's vast oil, diamond and mineral resources. If the Soviet and Cuban forces prove an impediment to imperialist investment, Neto will turn on his benefactors just as quickly as did Egypt's Anwar Sadat.

As the diplomatic jockeying proceeds apace, the hardest line has been maintained by the U.S., Zaire and "People's China." Ford and Kissinger may soon write off Angola as a loss in an arena of secondary importance to the American bourgeoisie, especially as the MPLA is missing no opportunity to prove that it will be as reliable an agent of imperialism as its rivals.

China and the number one U.S. lackey in Africa, Zaire, verbally continue

their conspiracy to put anti-communist tribal butcher Holden Roberto, head of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in power. A UPI dispatch from Hong Kong on 15 February reported the presence of a high-level Zairean delegation in Peking. At a banquet in their honor, Chinese foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua declared that "The Zaire government has upheld justice and strongly condemned and opposed the aggression and interference of Soviet social-imperialism."

He pledged to support Mobutu, a major recipient of CIA funds, in his "just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism." While racist South Africa continues to have at least 5,500 troops in southern Angola, Chiao brazenly asserted that the USSR "is the most dangerous enemy of the Angolan people and other African people." According to UPI, diplomatic analysts said that Chinese aid will undoubtedly include military aid on a major scale.

However, the FNLA is now finished as a military force: São Salvador, the last FNLA-held town, was taken on Monday. In the south, even with CIA aid, it is doubtful that UNITA can mount much of a guerrilla operation. Nevertheless, the shameless Maoist bureaucrats continue to flatter Mobutu's irredentist designs and ingratiate themselves with perhaps the most reactionary regime in black Africa.

The Stalinists and mindless "Third World" enthusiasts who led the cheers for the MPLA would do well to carefully follow the unfolding deal in southern Africa. While calling for military victory of the Soviet-backed MPLA and Cuban forces against the imperialist-led coalition, the Spartacist League gave no political support to the repressive, strikebreaking MPLA regime in Luanda. We have repeatedly noted that the MPLA has sought to and could reach a *modus vivendi* with U.S. imperialism and its ally, South Africa. Now such a deal is being openly discussed in Luanda, Pretoria and Washington. Only an independent workers party, linked to the powerful South African black proletariat can liberate the worker and peasant masses of Angola. ■



Chinese military advisors with FNLA soldiers.

Soldier of Fortune

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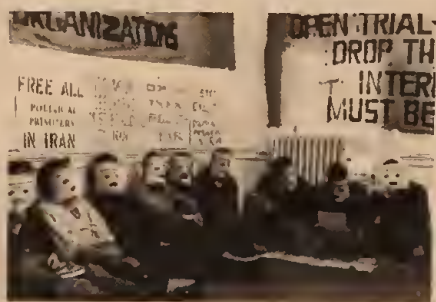
# Butcher Shah Executes Political Prisoners

On January 23 a firing squad riddled with bullets nine political prisoners accused of murder, sabotage, bombing, armed robbery and attempting to overthrow Iran's Shah Riza Pahlevi and his Throne of Blood. After months of hideous torture by the Iranian geshapo (the SAVAK) and a star-chamber "trial" before a military tribunal, these alleged members of the clandestine radical-Islamic Mojahedin Khalgh group had been convicted on charges of assassinating five Iranian officials and three U.S. military advisors. Such U.S. military agents are responsible for training the SAVAK storm-troopers and the Iranian "counterinsurgency" forces currently attempting to liquidate PFLO guerrillas in Oman.

A tenth convicted "terrorist" was sentenced to 15 years solitary confinement, which often is fatal in the dungeons of this barbarous police state. Today more than 40,000 political prisoners languish in Iranian jails, victims of the Shah's "white revolution."

In January the World Confederation of Iranian Students conducted hunger strikes across the U.S. and in Europe demanding annulment of the death sentences and new trials for the ten prisoners. The Spartacist League solidarized with the outrage expressed by the Iranian students' protests and the Partisan Defense Committee sent telegrams to the Iranian government demanding immediate release of the endangered militants. However, we also point out that hunger strikes are not an effective means of protest and that the hunger strikers' incredible failure to demand freedom for the doomed prisoners actually expresses confidence in the possibility of obtaining justice from the murderous Shah. What is needed is a massive campaign of international political protest and militant labor action in defense of the class-war prisoners in Iran.

—Free All Victims of the Shah's White Terror!  
—Crush the Shah and His Reign of Terror Through Proletarian Revolution in Iran!



WV Photo

## Indian Militants...

(continued from page 5)

the Menominees from local racists.

The militant "tribalism" of the Menominee Warriors Society leads to a blind alley. While restoration of tribal rights may result in some immediate relief for the Menominees, socialists fight against the illusion that the interests of Indians can be served by segregation on reservations, outside the mainstream of American society and in a condition of economic stagnation and continual dependence on government relief. The worship of the past which permeates the leadership of the Warriors Society led it to demand, for example, re-establishment of the males' previously dominant role in the tribe.

At a January 1975 support rally in Gresham, a speaker from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) pointed out that occupations such as the ones at Alcatraz, Wounded Knee and the novitiate were powerless to secure jobs, education and health facilities; the publicity they attract coming at the expense of almost inevitable casualties and possible massacres inflicted by the vastly superior armed forces of the capitalist state. Nevertheless, the SYL speaker emphasized, these occupations are desperate acts of self-defense by an oppressed minority, and once undertaken they

must be defended against reprisals by the state and racists.

The SYL spokesman called for a struggle for free quality health and educational facilities for all, to unify the working masses and oppressed Indians against a common enemy, capitalism. Only a socialist society can meet the needs of the oppressed Menominees and permit their voluntary assimilation into a larger economic system on a basis of social equality (see *Young Spartacus*, February 1975).

Events of the last year, culminating in the brutal killing of Waubesaum and Pamanet, tragically reaffirm the SYL's warnings. Material conditions in Menominee County have not improved, cop terror has been stepped up and surviving leaders of the Warriors Society face long and expensive court battles and possible years in prison.

At this point, funds for the legal defense of the remaining defendants are urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, P.O. Box 431, Keshena, WI 54135. ■

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## Racists Riot ...

(continued from page 12)

to the claims of reactionary demagogues to speak for "the little man" pushed around by big government liberals. The anti-busing forces shamelessly play on this theme even though the white, racist cops clearly direct the hunt of their force whenever possible at defenseless black students.

In response to this new outbreak of racist attacks, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid



Boston Globe/Bill Ryerson

Police rout racists with tear gas.

issued a mealy-mouthed "Call to Action" whose only answer was...yet another liberal protest rally:

"This racist mobilization must be met by a countermobilization of the Black community and its allies.... We need rallies, meetings and demonstrations to cut through the news blackout and get out the truth."

—Militant, 20 February

This kind of pacifist drivell only emboldens the lynch mobs! The SWP's model is the demonstration called last May 17 by their front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), and the NAACP. "That demonstration," says the candidates' statement, "dealt a blow to the racists." In fact, the anti-busing forces were so little affected that the very next day 3,000 of them rallied against the desegregation plan.

At the May 17 rally, NSCAR honcho Maceo Dixon put forward the "maximum demand" of the liberals and reformists: calling on arch busing foe Gerald Ford to send the U.S. Army, imperialism's mailed fist, into Boston. The Army demonstrated the way it "protects" oppressed minorities by its brutal siege at Wounded Knee in 1974 and the occupation of Detroit in 1967.

The cynical charlatans of the SWP have fought at every turn against the Spartacist League's proposals for the mobilization of the trade unions and black organizations in integrated defense guards to stop racist attacks. The class traitors have no answer: they can only try to rerun their toothless marches led by bourgeois politicians like Atkins and the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus.

Reliance on the liberals and the 82d Airborne Division is not the road to black liberation: at best it ties the oppressed masses to the racist, capitalist state; it could also lead to a massacre of defenseless black people by the same forces the SWP appeals to today. By struggling for independent labor/black defense against the racist mobs, it is the Spartacist League that has warned the working masses that they can only rely on their own strength to win their emancipation. This vital lesson, one of the most fundamental principles of Marxism, is the conclusion of hundreds of years of struggles by the exploited and oppressed. ■

## Boston Layoffs...

(continued from page 12)

though he has indicated that he will now go along with layoffs, just as he approved the School Committee's efforts to break last September's Boston Teachers Union (BTU) strike.

### BTU Leaders Crawl to Garrity

McDonough's attack on Garrity is no isolated incident. The *Boston Globe* reported on January 8 that White's public statements on the fiscal crunch "emphasized the costs related to the Federal school desegregation order, which has become a common rallying point of sorts for the different political factions involved."

This slimy political maneuver only inflames an already dangerous situation and uses the anti-busing movement as a club against the BTU. Instead of lowering class sizes and providing some of the "quality education" that they always jabber about, the racist, anti-working-class politicians react to declining student enrollment (due to "white flight") with plans for mass unemployment of teachers and aides.

The BTU leadership has been just as craven and dishonest as the AFSCME and SEIU bureaucrats. The contract which the Robinson leadership rammed down the members' throats last fall offered no protection against the layoffs of transitional aides or provisional and temporary teachers. The all-white business unionists who run the BTU have scant concern for this younger, more militant layer which contains a significant concentration of black members. Just as Botelho crawls to the City Council, Robinson crawls to Judge Garrity. In a typical display of covering parochialism, the BTU bureaucrats allowed a member's motion for a February 19 demonstration at City Hall to pass only after they had amended out the date. Their excuse was a conflicting engagement in Garrity's court. The real reason was their fear that even a lash-up with the token SEIU demonstration would provide a dangerous precedent of labor unity.

With the mounting evidence that Boston's union tops intend to capitulate without a serious fight, just like their fellow sell-out artists in New York, city workers must demand that their leaders prepare for a city-wide strike to stop the layoffs. The victory of the Massachusetts Alliance (AFSCME and SEIU) in last fall's municipal representation elections shows that Boston workers want a real union with the power to defend themselves.

Only the broadest labor solidarity, not only among the municipal unions but also with the state unions under attack by liberal governor Michael Dukakis, can beat back the capitalist politicians' austerity program. The economic class struggle must be extended onto the political plane by building an independent workers party based on the trade unions. The pro-capitalist bureaucrats, who are the greatest obstacle to working-class unity against the bosses, must be dumped and replaced by a class-struggle leadership committed to the expropriation of capitalist property and to a workers government. ■

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LOS ANGELES



## Racists Riot in South Boston

FEBRUARY 16—Four hundred racist anti-busing marchers battled with police in front of South Boston High School for two hours yesterday.

The light started when the cops stopped a so-called "Fathers March" (most of the anti-busing protests have been predominantly composed of women) on a steep hill near the school. When the racists were not allowed to hold a rally on the building's steps, they threw cherry-bomb firecrackers, frightening the horses of the mounted police. Stones, chunks of concrete, lead pipes and even tear gas canisters were hurled at the police, who drove motorcycles into the crowd and used night-sticks and their own tear gas to force the frenzied marchers down side streets.

The whole incident was a deliberate racist provocation, reportedly organized by the South Boston Marshals, an anti-busing vigilante group, "to let the media and the nation know that the men stand firmly beside their women." It was led by local politicians and a group carrying a large white and blue "Wallace for President" banner. Marshals reportedly used walkie-talkies to warn one another of police movements and to coordinate the confrontation (*Boston Globe*, 16 February).

This full-scale riot was part of a wave of racist terror that has rocked Boston in recent weeks. Last Thursday night, a meeting of about 100 black and white parents of children in the city-wide "magnet" schools was broken up by some 200 jeering anti-busing demonstrators. The racists broke into the

English High School auditorium where the meeting was going on, smashed furniture and threw papers around.

Earlier, on January 21 Hyde Park High School, which had been generally peaceful since the busing program began in the fall of 1974, erupted in a wild melee in which hundreds of black and white students threw chairs at one another and huddled up and down school corridors. The fighting broke out after several hundred black students staged a sit-in in the cafeteria to press grievances over unfair disciplinary treatment.

The co-chairman of the Hyde Park High faculty senate responded to the violence with a demand that 100 uniformed police be "stationed inside the building (to) participate with faculty in corridor sweeps between all periods." As recent court hearings clearly documented, racist cops inside the schools treat black students with arbitrary violence while ignoring numerous provocations and attacks by whites.

A number of white students also demanded a greater police presence in the school as well as a stronger disciplinary code. At a Boston School Committee hearing, the students admitted that their demands were drawn up at a meeting of the Hyde Park Information Center, which is affiliated with the anti-busing ROAR organization.

Black students are not demanding more cops inside the school but rather the assignment of aides reflecting the racial composition of the student body and a nondiscriminatory disciplinary system, "planned by parents represent-



Racists charge police in South Boston last Sunday.

Boston Globe/Ulrke Welsch

ing all ethnic groups" (*Boston Globe*, 23 January).

On the same day that Hyde Park High School blew up, several hundred white students at East Boston High School refused to enter classes as a protest against the planned conversion of the school into a magnet school that will draw an integrated student body from throughout the city. (This year East Boston is exempted from the busing program, and the high school is currently 96 percent white.) The students overturned several cars and then marched to the Sumner Tunnel linking East Boston with the rest of the city where they attempted to block the entrance before being dispersed.

Since "Phase Two" of the court-ordered busing program was initiated last fall, a massive force of state and local police, bolstered by federal marshals, has maintained a tenuous peace in the schools, periodically ruptured by violent outbursts of racist violence. *WV* has consistently pointed out that the armed forces of the racist bourgeois state will not protect black people.

At best they can clamp a lid for a limited period on the simmering racial antagonisms caused by competition for a declining pool of jobs, decent housing and educational opportunities. The police presence even adds ammunition

*continued on page 11*

## Protest City Worker, Teacher Layoffs in Boston

BOSTON, February 16—Wielding the threat of a city budget deficit of \$33 million, Boston's double-talking mayor Kevin White has joined hands with the violently racist School Committee in a savage attack on municipal employees. On January 29, White unveiled an austerity program which will cut social services and throw at least 615 city workers onto the streets. Two days earlier, Moody's Investors Service provided an indication of the "sink or swim" attitude of the capitalist financiers by lowering the rating of Boston municipal bonds, which were already considered less than safe.

On February 10 the School Committee, which administers its own budget, submitted a proposal to close four schools and axe 1,100 of its employees (220 temporary teachers, 300 transitional aides and 600 bus monitors) on March 1. Not satisfied with this drastic measure, White has demanded that up to 600 full-time teaching positions be cut. Although he has not yet approved all the details, liberal judge Arthur Garrity, who oversees the school

desegregation program, has given his blessing to the politicians' job-slashing binge.

Instead of seriously preparing for city-wide strike action, municipal union bureaucrats have responded to this across-the-board attack with bluster and bluff. To let the outraged membership blow off steam, Service Employees (SEIU) Local 285 leaders called for a February 19 protest march on City Hall. As the *Boston Globe* (31 January) noted, Local 285 president Tom Kennedy in announcing the demonstration "stopped just short of threatening a strike."

This week Michael Botelho, area director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) upped the ante slightly with a warning that "If the rule of reason fails, there will be a strike or a work stoppage in Boston." In the next breath, he made it crystal clear that the threatened strike would only be "for one day, or two, whatever"—i.e., little more than a disguised protest rally (*Boston Globe*, 13 February).

A clear indication of the bureaucrats' real intentions is the willingness of Kennedy and Botelho to cooperate with a desperate scheme concocted by White. The mayor wants to pour \$20 million in city workers' retirement funds into municipal bonds, an investment at which the bourgeoisie turns up its nose. A similar swindle was put over last year on New York City's hard-hit workforce after a few ritual peeps from the union bureaucrats.

### Crocodile Tears and Race War

While the labor fakers talk tough to impress the ranks, unscrupulous city politicians attempt to deflect the just anger of city workers with crocodile tears and invitations to race war. At the February 12 Ways and Means Committee hearing, City Council president Louise Day Hicks and others bemoaned the fact that 25 administrators in the Health and Hospitals Department were getting pay raises while 60 department employees were being fired. Of course, Hicks never mentioned the fact, recalled

by reporter Gary McMillan, that "The council has no power to stop the layoffs since they are the result of a budget already approved by the council" (*Boston Globe*, 13 February).

At a time when a new upsurge of racist mobilizations is tearing the city apart and endangering the rights and the very lives of black people, White & Co. try to blame Boston's financial crisis on busing. This year's School Committee budget accounts for nearly two thirds of the projected city-wide deficit. The reason is not that \$20 million was spent for gasoline and bus maintenance. Actually, Garrity's orders, which included some limited educational innovations and hiring more black employees in the school department, have to a certain degree shielded Boston's public schools from the massive cutbacks and layoffs advocated by city big-wigs.

School Committee chairman John McDonough has called Garrity "the real culprit." The liberal judge, hated by the racists because of his desegregation plan, is a convenient scapegoat even

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