

For Workers Revolution to Smash Apartheid!

MARCH 1—In the wake of its recent military victory, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is now consolidating a bourgeois regime. The Luanda government is currently negotiating with Diamang, the giant diamond company owned by Portuguese, British, South African, American and Belgian capital, over its huge mining concessions. Diamang has requested a partnership with the new government in order to boost falling productivity in the mines (*New York Times*, 24 February).

The MPLA is also mending fences with heretofore antagonistic neighboring governments. On February 28, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto concluded an agreement with Mobutu Sese Seko, president of Zaïre (the ex-Belgian Congo) providing for mutual recognition, exchange of refugees and unimpeded communication. Six thousand former Katangan gendarmes—enemies of Mobutu who have lived for ten years in northeastern Angola where they were allied with the Portuguese and then, after the April 1974 coup in Lisbon, contracted a marriage of convenience with the MPLA—will be "repatriated." Zaïre, in turn, will expel large numbers of Bakongo refugees who had become a drain on its shaky economy. Proving that oil is thicker than blood, Mobutu is also kicking out the National Front for

the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by his tribal kinsman Holden Roberto (*New York Times*, 1 March).

The ignominious defeat of imperialist-backed forces in Angola was a shattering but not necessarily irreversible blow for the plans of white-supremacist South Africa to establish a cross-continent buffer zone of economically dependent black client states. The government of Balthazar Vorster, while intensifying domestic repression and strengthening its military capacity, has simultaneously made new overtures to various African governments in the hopes of working out a deal sealing off the apartheid police state from "contamination" by its black-ruled neighbors.

Despite its "anti-imperialist" bluster, the MPLA is prepared to reach a modus vivendi with the Pretoria regime. Its troops have carefully avoided any military confrontation with the South African army since the latter pulled back from the front lines several weeks ago. In a widely noted interview disclaiming "any intention to undertake nationalizations" at present, Luanda's foreign minister, José Eduardo Dos Santos, opened the door to an arrangement with Vorster: "The Pretoria government must recognize a fact: the

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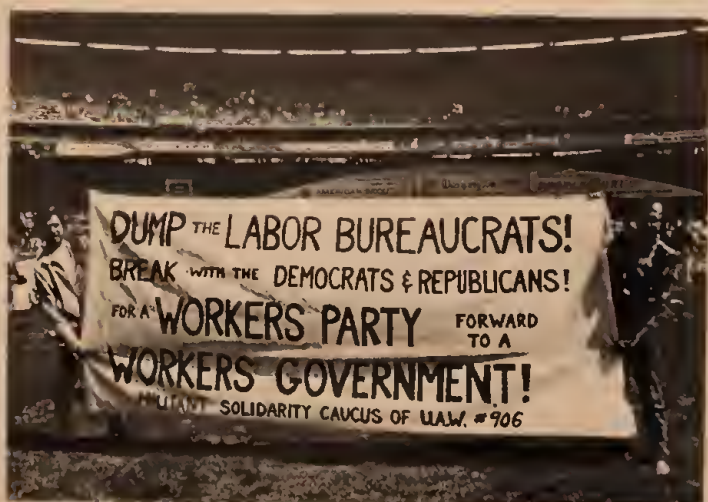


Tanks on parade in Pretoria.

AP

Not a Dime's Worth of Difference in Presidential Primaries

Labor Tails Bosses' Parties



Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 banner at last April's Washington "March for Jobs."

WV Photo

Break With the Democrats — Build a Workers Party!

MARCH 1—Outside factory gates in Massachusetts these days, workers are as likely to find a big-name politician as the coffee vendor. In Boston the "hopeful" bigwig might be as hopeless as Sargent Shriver in his corduroy wind-breaker or denim jean jacket soliloquizing on the good old days of Kennedy's "Camelot." Or it might be "Fred" Harris preaching his neo-populist baloney about "breaking up the big corporations." Or perhaps Morris Udall talking in a similar vein to unemployed shipyard workers in East Boston: "Pretty soon you'll have a few conglomerates running the industry. I want to break up the big conglomerates." Or it might even be President Ford himself, who after years of recession and depression has the audacity to campaign on the basis of

his economic "successes"!

The "working man's vote" in this presidential election year is expected to go to the Democrats, who in the light of those Republican "successes" are expected to be easy winners. Although the Democratic candidates offer just another variety of the same phony "solutions" (and sometimes exactly the same variety), nevertheless the Democratic campaign makes the inevitable appeal to working people as the "party of the workers." That appeal is taken up by such snake-oil salesmen as Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, "Jimmy" Carter, Henry Jackson, "Fred" Harris, that "non-candidate" favorite of the labor tops Hubert Humphrey and, of course, George Wallace.

The Democrats attack Ford saying that "this year the economy is the issue," but each of these imagined saviours of a decaying capitalist order has a program to shore up the economy by further

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WV Photos

"Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?"

WL Slander-Fest Picketed in NYC

NEW YORK, February 28—"Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" The Spartacist League (SL), protesting its exclusion and demanding a stop to the Workers League (WL) slander campaign, picketed a WL "public" meeting on "How the GPU Killed Trotsky" held tonight at New York University. The meeting was the first in a nationwide series planned by the WL to propagate its scurrilous and totally empty charge that Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack were "accomplices" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Trotsky. The inspiration for the smear campaign emanates from the WL's sinister mentor, Gerry Healy of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), who has evidently appointed himself the Vyshinsky of the WL/WRP's ersatz Moscow Trials.

Arriving at the meeting the 50 SL supporters found, as anticipated, that their entry was blocked by a WL goon squad. The SLers proceeded to set up a picket line chanting "Trotsky Died Fighting Stalinist Lies, Healy's Slanders Must Not Get By!" SL signs demanded "Fight Hansen's Reformism Politically, Not with Stalinist Slanders," "Workers League 'Method'—Anti-Democratic Exclusions and the Big Lie" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International."

The WL had cynically misled the socialist public about the meeting, which was advertised in the *Village Voice* as an apparent exposé of the GPU's murder of Trotsky. Ads in the WL's *Bulletin* announced the real topic: "Joseph Hansen and George Novack, Accomplices of the GPU Unmasked." The WL ranks had been closeted inside the auditorium early to prevent their exposure to the SL demonstration. But others got a taste of what the WL/WRP calls "Security and the Fourth International" as the paranoid WL interrogated everyone unknown to them to root out suspected "secret-Spartas."

Inside the sanitized forum (in which no time was allotted for floor discussion in any case), *Bulletin* editor Jeff Sebastian and new WL national secretary David North proceeded to regurgitate endless fake-factual minutiae and insinuations about Trotsky's assassination designed to convince the naive that, incomprehensible though it all seems, it must prove *something*. In fact the WL has produced not one shred of evidence

against Hansen or Novack. A leaflet distributed outside by the SL noted that "Hansen's current role as chief ideologue for the reformist program of the no-longer-revolutionary SWP in no ways alters this simple fact: the WL/WRP have produced exactly nothing to call into question this man's fundamental integrity—as a Trotskyist in 1940."

The featured speaker—one Harold Robins, former head of security at Trotsky's house in Coyoacan, Mexico—carefully avoided backing up the WL on allegations pivotal to the WL's slander barrage. At no time did Robins state or infer that Hansen or Novack were "accomplices of the GPU." Nor did he echo the WL's insinuations about Robert Sheldon Harte, an SWP member and Coyoacan guard who was killed in an earlier GPU machine-gun raid on the house. Throughout his long and rambling remarks, Robins was clearly most concerned to protect himself from any charges of negligence. For Robins to lend himself to a campaign whose central thrust is to libel Hansen, apparently without endorsing the accusations against Hansen, demonstrates either criminal cynicism or incredible political malice—or perhaps both.

At the forum, North read from the SL leaflet which protested the Stalin-style slanders. He accused the SL of being the SWP's attorney. But it is no accident that the SWP turned down the SL's invitation to join a demonstration against the despicable vilification of the SWP's own leaders. It falls to the Spartacist League to defend the revolutionary history of the SWP, the party which at the time of Trotsky's death was the revolutionary U.S. section of the Fourth International.

The SL leaflet noted that the WL's mud-slinging is an attack not only against Hansen and Novack, "but at bottom against the revolutionary SWP of 1940, against Trotsky and the Fourth International. At the time of the assassination it was the Stalinists who charged that Trotsky had been killed by one of 'his own' in a falling out among thieves. The attempt to portray the FI as a morally degenerate gang was part and parcel of Stalin's central task: to discredit Trotsky and the FI as the legitimate continuators of the revolutionary tradition of Lenin. Now the WL has made itself an 'accomplice' of this despicable method." ■

Letters

New York
2 March 1976

Dear Editor,

In "Western European Stalinists Delete 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'" part 1 in *WV* No. 97 you state: "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." This truncates the actual historical process through which Trotsky judged the Stalinized Comintern to be politically bankrupt. From its inception until 1933 the International Left Opposition considered itself an expelled faction of the Comintern. Trotsky fought against sectarians and impatient comrades within his own ranks who demanded an earlier definitive break from the bureaucratized Comintern which seemed capable only of treachery and defeat. Trotsky argued that the bankruptcy of the Comintern could be finally judged only through a decisive historic test.

That decisive historic test for the entire Comintern was twofold: the failure of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) to oppose the Nazi triumph and the failure of the other sections to oppose *even after the Nazi victory* the Stalinist policies which had led to that triumph. On 30 January 1933 Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor; on 27 February the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag and used their own provocation to suspend constitutional guarantees; on 5 March the Nazi government won a "vote of confidence" from the Reichstag. Trotsky considered March 5 to be the "August 4" of the Comintern. But between March 5 and July he called for a new party only in Germany. On 12 March Trotsky wrote:

"Here it is natural to ask how we act toward the other sections of the Comintern and the Third International as a whole. Do we break with them immediately? In my opinion, it would be incorrect to give a rigid answer—yes, we break with them. The collapse of the KPD diminishes the chances for the regeneration of the Comintern. But on the other hand the catastrophe itself could provoke a healthy reaction in some of the sections. We must be ready to help this process. The question has not been settled for the USSR, where proclamation of the slogan of the second party would be incorrect. We are calling today for the creation of a new

party in Germany, to seize the Comintern from the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a question of the creation of the Fourth International hut of salvaging the Third."

Writings, 1932-33

But by July it was clear that the Nazi triumph would not "provoke a healthy reaction in some of the sections." In "It is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew" (dated 15 July 1933) Trotsky wrote:

"Theoretically, the collapse of the KPD still left two courses open to the Stalinist bureaucracy: either a complete review of the politics and the regime; or, on the contrary, a complete strangulation of all signs of life in the sections of the Comintern. The Left Opposition was guided by this theoretical possibility when, after advancing the slogan of a new party for Germany, it still left open the question of the fate of the Comintern. It was clear, however, that the next few weeks would bring an answer and there was far too little hope that the answer would be a favorable one. "Everything that has taken place since March 5...testifies conclusively that the fate of not only the KPD but also the entire Comintern was decided in Germany."

—*Ibid.*

Thus it was both the Nazi triumph and the Comintern's shameful passing off of this world historic defeat for the international proletariat as a "victory" in the following weeks which conclusively demonstrated the political bankruptcy of the Comintern. On a *historic scale* the mission of proletarian revolution then demanded a new instrument and clean banner, the Fourth International.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

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Rizzo Fronts for Bankers

Philadelphia Municipal Workers Protest Hospital Closure

PHILADELPHIA, February 28—Over 3,000 municipal workers and residents marched three miles from Philadelphia General Hospital (PGH) to city hall last Wednesday, demanding that this city's only public hospital remain open. Chanting "Keep PGH Open," most of the predominantly black demonstrators were members of District Councils 33 and 47 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The labor protest involved nearly all maintenance workers at the hospital and a high percentage of PGH nurses, lab workers and therapists. In a welcome display of solidarity, two divisions of sanitation workers, the tow-truck operators and street repairmen joined the march, thereby crippling their respective city departments. Upon arrival at city hall they directed their anger at Mayor Frank Rizzo. The protestors called on the ex-police commissioner to step outside and explain the projected PGH closure. Despite his bull-dog reputation, "His Honor" was nowhere to be seen.

Faced with an \$80 million budget deficit, Rizzo has recently announced a drastic austerity program of cuts in jobs and social services for the working class and poor people of Philadelphia. While he hopes to save \$12 million a year by closing PGH, the hospital shutdown is but the tip of the iceberg. The Rizzo plan includes a steep hike in the regressive city wage tax, increases in real estate levies and a hard stance against local AFSCME and AFT affiliates in upcoming contract negotiations this summer.

For millions of tourists, a few selected areas of the "Bicentennial City" will be the center of this year's super-patriotic celebration of 200 years of bourgeois rule. For the working people and impoverished residents of the fourth largest U.S. metropolis, already inadequate social services will be slashed and wages further eroded through higher taxes and inflation. Only three months after being re-elected on the slogans "He's Held the Line on Taxes" and "He Fights for You," the notoriously corrupt Democrat has dramatically reaffirmed

that the only interests he fights for are his own and those of the capitalist bloodsuckers for whom he administers Philadelphia.

Closing PGH would mean that many of the city's poorest residents would be denied even the skimpy medical services presently available to them. The hospital complex annually services an estimated 200,000 out-patients and 100,000 emergency cases (mainly from Philadelphia's large black population). It also has an 800-bed facility for the chronically ill. Temple University Hospital's emergency room, the area's second busiest, handles only half as many accident victims as does PGH (*Philadelphia Bulletin*, 18 February). And PGH, like many municipal hospitals across the country, admits patients that no private facility will take, notably those without financial means or medical insurance.

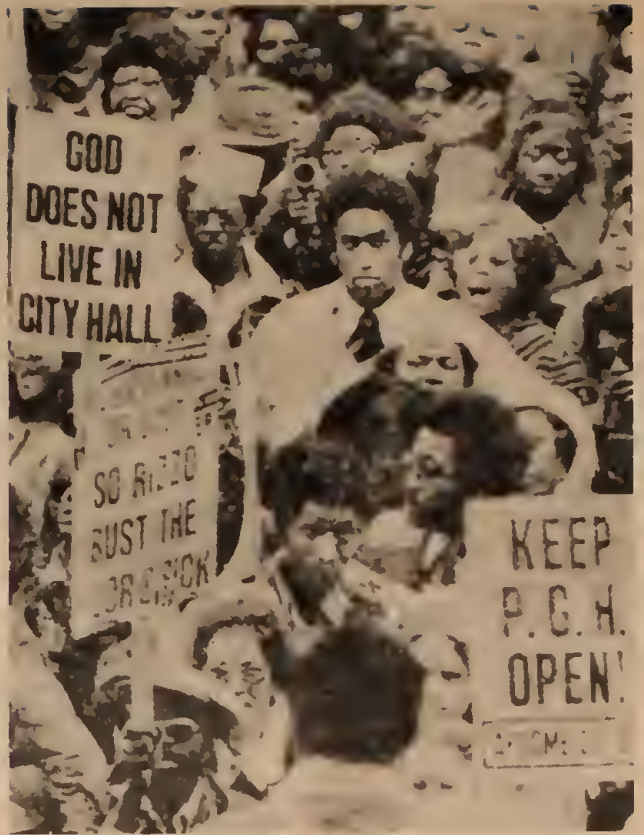
The mayor and the city managing director, Hillel Levinson, have vowed that PGH will be closed "within a year." The precipitous speed of the phase-out is not coincidental. If Philadelphia General is closed, a hotel complex is planned to occupy the lucrative site.

While PGH should obviously be kept open, its medical facilities are notoriously poor. Only the complete socialization of medicine can open the way to adequate health care. As part of a massive public works program at union wages, more and better hospitals must be constructed to alleviate overcrowding and to provide more jobs.

The reaction of the municipal union bureaucrats to the threatened closing of PGH has revealed their total inability to defeat the Rizzo austerity plan. While leaders of District Councils 33 and 47 initiated Wednesday's rally against the mayor, they supported the cop candidate last November in return for a measly 12.5 percent pay hike. Though now verbally opposed to Rizzo, they are still tied to the capitalist politicians by their support for "independent" Charles Bowser, who spoke at the rally. Their "answer" to the closure is to push lawyer Bowser's court suit claiming that the administration is violating the city charter.

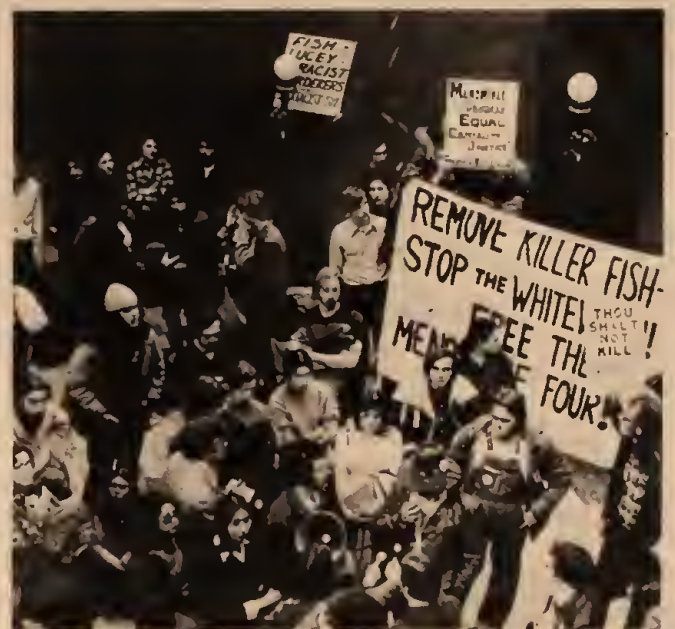
Bowser, for his part, is cynically using the city workers' hostility to the "austerity" cutbacks to further his own position in the Democratic Party. Although the Communist Party has been lauding his "independent" Philadelphia Party, Bowser has endorsed Morris Udall for U.S. president and ran for mayor against Rizzo last year on a similar austerity program.

City workers must reject the dead-end of the capitalist parties. Only the independent mobilization of Philadelphia labor, not impotent bourgeois court suits, can defeat Rizzo's job-slashing attacks. Albert Johnson (president of AFSCME Local 488 at Philadelphia General) and the rest of the union bureaucracy must be dumped in the struggle to build a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government capable of doing away with the murderous cops and draconian cutbacks that beset the decaying capitalist cities. ■



William F. Steinmetz/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia city workers at rally last week.



WV Photo

Madison Sit-In to Defend Menominee 4

Demonstrators at the Wisconsin state capitol building in Madison on Tuesday, February 24 protested the killing of two Menominee Indians by County Sheriff Kenneth Fish, and demanded that charges be dropped against four Menominee Warrior Society supporters involved in the armed occupation of an estate belonging to a Catholic religious order in January 1975.

The rally was part of a week of mass demonstrations and sit-ins at the state capitol in which 150-250 students from the University of Wisconsin participated. Spartacus Youth League (SYL) supporters participated daily with signs, leaflets and speeches demanding the jailing of Fish and exposing the role of the racist cops and courts.

While SYL proposals for broadening the protest activities won wide support from the demonstrators, its proposal to enlarge the Support Committee (which consists mainly of the social-democratic Wisconsin Alliance and independent liberals) to include representatives of all other groups active in the demonstrations was blocked by anti-communism and race-baiting from the Committee.

Tuesday was the last big sit-in, with cops dragging students from the building. Since then, the Support Committee has retreated to passive nightly vigils with a token handful of supporters held in the capitol with police permission.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Washington Post Strike: Anatomy of a Defeat

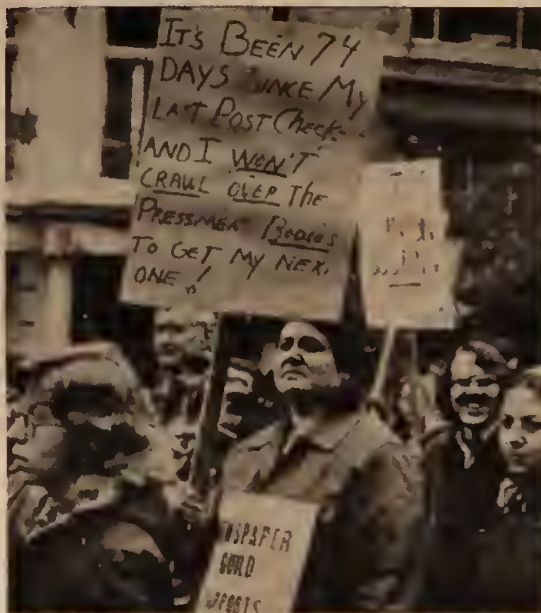
FEBRUARY 29—The live-month strike of craft employees at the *Washington Post* has disintegrated in a wave of scabbing. The defeat virtually ensures the destruction of the pressmen's union and leaves the other *Post* unions severely weakened as well.

As if to remind militants that the class struggle is indeed a war between fundamentally counterposed classes—labor and capital—*Post* general manager Mark J. Meagher exulted: "you have one union dead on the battlefield, and others that have been chastened by the combat" (*New York Times*, 29 February). Meagher explained that the *Post* management had pursued an aggressive strategy of so-called corporate militancy (to "take" a strike and win it by "brute strength") consisting of preparing, provoking and enduring a possibly damaging work stoppage in order to defeat once and for all printing trades' unionism at the *Post*.

If only the leaders of American labor would avail themselves of a similarly long-term strategy! As it was, the protracted dispute cost the *Post* bosses relatively little (the paper was able to continue production uninterrupted except for one day) and the inconveniences will be more than offset by the disastrous settlements forced on the striking unions. Most important, the effects of the defeat inflicted on trade unionism at the *Post* will be felt throughout the Washington-Baltimore area labor movement and by printing workers nationally.

On February 16 the mailers, by a vote of 129-58, ratified a new contract with the *Post*. The next day they returned to work, along with the printers who as fellow members of the International Typographers Union (ITU) had been supporting the mailers' strike. When the ITU members—who had made up over 50 percent of the union employees refusing to work—crossed the picket lines on February 17, the strike was dealt its death blow. Out of the steadily shrinking minority of Newspaper Guild members (reporters, editors and commercial employees) who had respected the picket lines, 100 more defected. The following day the photoengravers agreed to a new contract. This left the pressmen, some smaller unions (machinists and operating engineers) who have yet to negotiate a new contract and a smattering of other individuals refusing to cross the picket lines.

The pressmen, who are staying out in the face of management's determination to replace them permanently, are understandably bitter at their desertion by most of the labor movement. On



Militant/Ed Mattos

February 20 twenty-six pressmen had occupied the national headquarters of the AFL-CIO demanding unequivocal support from the labor federation. On orders from AFL-CIO head George Meany (then at an executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida) the militant pressmen were arrested.

In a statement issued three days later from Florida, the AFL-CIO claimed to support the pressmen, but announced it could not sanction a national boycott of the *Post*, which would hurt members of AFL-CIO unions which now have "valid contracts" with the *Post*. This refusal of even symbolic solidarity with the victims of the *Post's* declarations of open season on unionism amounted to official AFL-CIO support for scabbing by union members.

War at the Post

The *Washington Post* strike began last September 30 when the contracts of several craft unions expired. Management's major target was the pressmen's union (Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union), which has been the most militant of the *Post* unions. The company's demands—which included elimination of current overtime provisions, reduction of 63 workers to "floater" status, abolition of virtually all shop-floor control by the union, freedom to bring in non-union labor—were deliberate provocations. The company was

prepared for a long strike, having cross-trained more than 100 employees over a two-year period in craft operations at a notorious newspaper industry scab-training facility in Oklahoma.

The strike began with some minor damage done to the presses, allegedly in retaliation for the company's massive preparations for the use of scabs. While this response to the *Post's* union-busting drive was understandable, as later events proved, it was almost totally ineffectual in impeding production of the paper; further, management cynically used it to scandalize the union and give weak-kneed union members an excuse to scab.

From the beginning of the strike the majority of the members of the *Post* unit of the Newspaper Guild defied their union leadership and scabbed. Assured of a steady supply of copy, utilizing carefully trained scabs in craft operations and fortifying itself with anti-picketing injunctions, management was in a strong position. The strikers' inability to prevent the *Post* from publishing led to demoralization and the final, shameful end of the tenuous solidarity among the craft unions.

When ITU members crawled across the picket lines to reclaim their jobs on February 17, they not only ensured the destruction of the pressmen's union but also sounded the death knell of trade unionism at the *Post*. While unions will continue to exist, they will do so only at the sufferance of the *Post* management—so long as liberal editor Kathryn Graham deems that whatever the surviving unions dare to demand is not too high a price to pay for a union bug. The divisive craft union set-up would make employee unity difficult to achieve under the best of circumstances, but the disastrous collapse of the strike will now make it virtually impossible.

Already management has begun to shove its victory down the throats of the returning workers. Ray Collins, secretary-treasurer of pressmen's Local 6, told *Workers Vanguard* that the contract the mailers agreed to on February 16 was inferior to the one originally offered. The new contract involves a reduction in manning scales and permits Sunday advertising supplements to be inserted by non-union labor outside the newspaper plant. Collins reports that when the ITU returned to



Post publisher Katherine Graham

Maroon

work, one of its shop representatives was immediately fired (the firing was later reduced to disciplinary layoff) for questioning management directives—a company atrocity which would not have been tolerated in the past.

Scabs Conciliated

The scabbing at the *Post* by union members, unprecedented in the Washington area, is having reverberations throughout the labor movement. The Newspaper Guild leaders, whose conservatism and parochialism have since the very beginning eroded the labor solidarity which would have been the only way to stave off disaster at the *Post*, now find themselves confronted by scabs who have taken the offensive. The union tops' response is utterly typical in its gutlessness.

On January 29 the international executive board of the Guild voted nine to six to overturn any disciplinary action taken by its Washington-Baltimore local against scab Guild members. Local charges brought against scabs had called for penalties including suspension from union membership and fines of up to 125 percent of salaries earned while working. These sanctions had been averted initially by a court order postponing all disciplinary action until after Guild elections at the *Post* unit.

In the elections Don Baker, a reporter who had crossed picket lines since the first day, was elected chairman of the Guild *Post* unit by a two-to-one margin over strike supporter John Hanrahan. The scabs have also obtained enough signatures to file for an NLRB bargaining election that would decertify the Guild at the *Post*. The spineless International, panicky over the prospect of losing the dues of the 843 Guild members at the *Post*, knuckled under to the scabs' blackmail. Not only did it agree to let the scabs off scot-free, but it acceded to their demand that Brian Flores—administrator of the Washington-Baltimore local and an anti-scab spokesman—be replaced as chief negotiator for the *Post* Guild.

The election of a new president of the Washington-Baltimore Guild unit was another testament to the suicidal anti-solidarity sentiment which is running rampant. Tom Grubisich, a *Post* employee whose principal hacking came from his own strikebreaking unit, was chosen over International executive board member Warren Howard. Although Grubisich himself had respected the picket lines, he was considered a moderate compared to the incumbent, who had demanded sharp disciplinary measures against the scabs.

If the Guild International had had any semblance of backbone, it would have expelled the scabs early in the

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Michigan AFL-CIO News

Ford's limousine crossed picket line to get a copy of the scab *Post*.

Jail Murderers of Hampton and Clark!

CHICAGO—At 4:40 a.m. on 4 December 1969, eight cops broke into a five-room apartment on Chicago's West Side, their machine guns blasting more than 90 rounds into the bedrooms of Black Panther Party (BPP) members who lived there. The assassination team, a special squad under the direction of Illinois State Attorney Edward Hanrahan, left 21-year-old BPP Chicago chairman Fred Hampton dead in a bloodsoaked bed, two bullets in his brain. In addition, Peoria, Illinois, Panther leader Mark Clark was shot to death in his sleep and four more party members, men and women, were wounded in what was probably the most savage government murder raid in modern U.S. history.

Hanrahan and 27 other local, state and federal officials are defendants in a \$47.7 million civil damages suit trial now in its eighth week before the U.S. district court here. The suit was brought by the seven survivors of the raid and by relatives of Hampton and Clark. The workers movement is interested in seeing the surviving victims of this ruling-class butchery receive every cent in redress they can from the killers and the state that dispatched them. We also demand that the murderers of Hampton and Clark be immediately jailed!

Put Chicago Police and FBI on Trial for Murder

It is outrageous that Hanrahan's raiders and their accomplices are facing only civil charges for their murderous crimes. A people's tribunal in a workers state would deal out summary justice to these stormtrooper executioners, who are clearly guilty even under bourgeois law. In a 1972 bench trial (without jury), Hanrahan and other law enforcement officials faced criminal charges of covering up evidence against the cops who were the actual trigger-men on the job. But the judge, like Hanrahan a product of Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine, dismissed the charges.

The damages suit has brought out the vast array of racist, anti-communist secret police apparatuses thrown against the Black Panthers in Chicago and elsewhere. The FBI (with its COINTELPRO disruption program and a special "Racial Matters Division" in Chicago), the Chicago Police Department (particularly its Gang Intelligence Unit and Red Squad) and Army intelligence (through its connections with local police and right-wing terrorists in the notorious "Legion of Justice") are all squirming in the spotlight.

For almost seven years the Chicago cops and courts have been denying what was clear from the beginning. Even the initial grand jury, which failed to return any indictments, found the police departmental investigation "so seriously deficient that it suggests purposeful malfeasance" (*New York Times*, 13 February 1974). The grand jury saved its sharpest attack for the BPP, condemning its "display of weapons" and "distrust of the law enforcement system." But why were the Panthers

"distrustful" of capitalist "law and order"? Because that system was out to murder them in their beds!

That there was a deliberate government conspiracy involved has been repeatedly confirmed. With the release in 1973 of documents of the FBI's secret COINTELPRO, it became known that the Black Panther Party in Chicago was infiltrated by an FBI informer named William O'Neal. (The infiltrator and his control agent, Roy Mitchell, are among the defendants in the damages suit.) O'Neal, who had a police record before being recruited by the FBI, had risen to become the Chicago BPP's "chief of security" and Hampton's personal bodyguard. According to a deposition he gave in January 1974, at one point O'Neal built a home-made electric chair to scare informers.

Ever since the bloody pre-dawn raid



UPI

Fred Hampton

in 1969 the cops have said that they were "looking for illegal weapons." However, less than two weeks earlier O'Neal had reported that the guns kept by the Chicago Panthers were legally owned; in fact, one of his jobs as BPP "chief of security" was to see that all weapons were properly registered. Moreover, the informer had filed a report with his FBI bosses stating that the Panthers would be out of their apartment on December 3. If the government was really looking for illegal weapons, as it claimed, it could have carried out a search the night before their raid without danger of bloodshed. O'Neal had also provided Hanrahan's special cops with a complete floor plan of the apartment, including the spot where Hampton's bed would be.

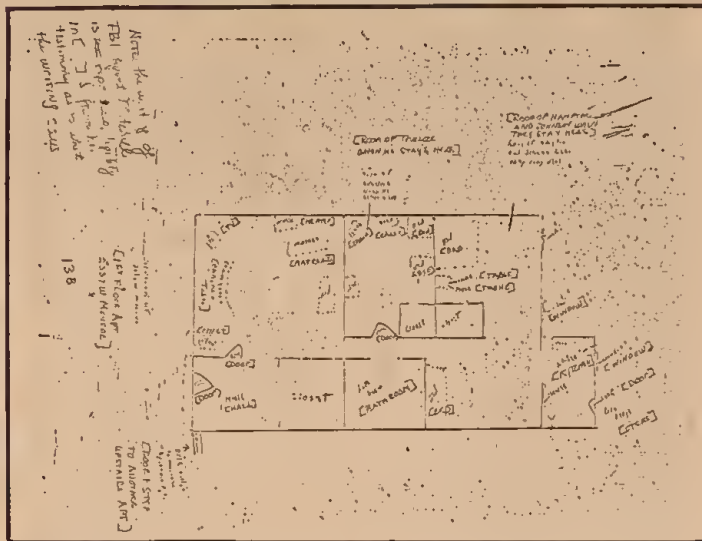
So the warrant for a weapons raid on the BPP apartment was obtained on false pretenses. However, police sergeant Daniel Groth who led the raid says he was told by a "reliable informant" that there were illegal arms in the apartment. Just who is this informant? That is the question now being asked in the Panther damages suit, but Judge Perry (who in an earlier related trial had dismissed all charges against the major defendants in this case) has refused to demand that the cops produce the name of their informant, claiming that it would "endanger the life of an undercover agent," etc.

In other words, either there is an informer/provocateur still "in place" who supplied bogus information leading to a double murder or, more likely,

Fred Hampton's bed after raid on Chicago Panther headquarters by police in December 1969.



John White/Chicago Daily News



Monad Press

Floor plan of Panther headquarters in FBI files, compiled from information supplied by government informer.

there never was any such information and the "illegal arms" story was simply invented. In any case, there is clearly sufficient evidence to require a new trial and the jailing of Hanrahan and FBI officials on the charge of conspiracy to murder Hampton and Clark. But it will not be the "law enforcement system" that demands a criminal trial, for government officials up to the highest levels are implicated in the conspiracy and subsequent cover-up.

"Neutralize" the Panthers

The well-orchestrated federal campaign to "get" the Panthers has been amply corroborated by the COINTELPRO documents and the unfolding court testimony of the agents involved. Of all the black political groups in the 1960's, the Black Panther Party was seen by the ruling class (and its megalomaniacal watchdog J. Edgar Hoover) as the most dangerous because of its significant popular appeal nationwide and its emphasis on armed self-defense against cop terror. In the two years prior to the Hampton/Clark murder, 26 other Panthers were gunned down by the police. The Chicago BPP chapter, as the second-largest in the country, was a particular target and in the months immediately before and after the raid its members were hit by 95 arrests.

COINTELPRO directives laid out a policy of hounding, harassing and, if necessary, "hitting" black militants in an attempt to "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify,

the militant black nationalist movement" (directive from J. Edgar Hoover, dated 4 March 1968). Forty-one FBI field offices were ordered, in Hooveresque "death-talk" euphemisms, to "Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups...[by] pinpoint[ing] potential troublemakers and neutraliz[ing] them before they can exercise their potential for violence." According to one of the Panther lawyers:

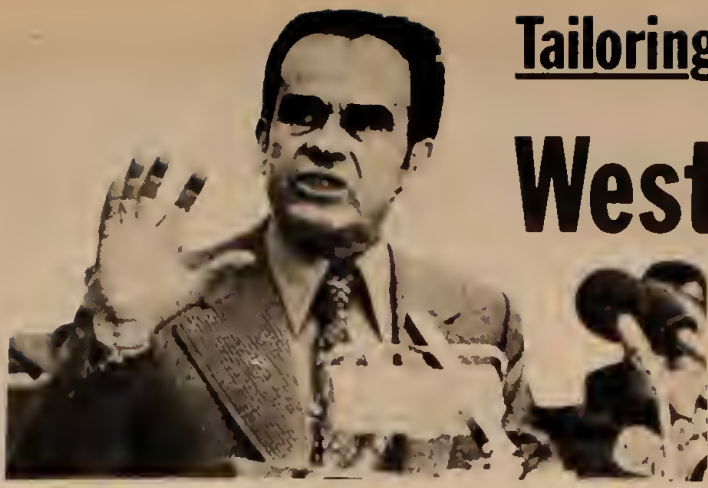
"With the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King already accomplished and much of the Panther Party leadership in jail or in exile, Fred Hampton became to the agents of the government... 'Number One' on the Hit Parade; and thus he met his end."

—Chicago Defender, 12 August 1975

The present trial confirms that the Hampton/Clark raid was the bloodiest, but far from the only government attack in a concerted effort to destroy the Chicago BPP. In testimony from the witness stand, one of the FBI defendants told how the local FBI had formed a special "Racial Matters Division" to oversee the murderous COINTELPRO assignment. Another defendant, Marlin Johnson, who headed the Chicago FBI office at the time (and now heads the Chicago Police Board), admitted to authoring an "anonymous" letter to Jeff Fort, leader of the powerful Blackstone Rangers street gang, falsely warning him that the Panthers had "a hit out for you" (quoted in the *Chicago Reader*, 20 February 1976). Johnson disingenuously "defended" this letter, obviously intended to provoke violent retaliation

continued on page 9

The December 4th Committee has called on those sympathetic to its suit to demonstrate their support by attending trial sessions currently being held at the Federal Building, Room 2541, 219 South Dearborn Street, in Chicago.



PCF leader Marchais: "The raised list is not in the French tradition, we are for the extended hand"...

While the speeches on domestic policy at the 25th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) ran true to form, without a murmur of dissent, the "monolithic" unity of Stalinism showed some very large cracks when it came to the remarks of foreign party leaders. CPSU general secretary Leonid Brezhnev had already set the stage by noting in his report that "there can be no question of any ideological convergence between sci-

Part 2 of 2

tific communism and the reformism of the social-democrats..." (*Daily World*, 27 February). This was clearly a slap at the French and Italian CP's, which have recently sought to stress their "moderation" and "commitment to democracy" by a barrage of fanfare disclaiming the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the same elliptical language, Italian Communist Party (PCI) leader Enrico Berlinguer spoke of the PCI's support for "a pluralistic and democratic system" (by which he meant not workers democracy but bourgeois parliamentarianism) and advocated "an Italian foreign policy...in the framework of our country's international alliances" (i.e., maintaining membership in the anti-Soviet NATO alliance). Berlinguer was followed by Guy Plissonnier of the French Communist Party (PCF), standing in for PCF leader Georges Marchais (whose absence was universally regarded as a snub to Brezhnev), highlighting the slogan of "a socialism in the colors of France" (*New York Times*, 28 and 29 February)—i.e., the tricolor of French imperialism's wars against the workers and peasants of Indochina, Algeria, etc.

This "debate" was indicative of important divergences between the Soviet party and what is by now a majority of the West European CP's. The depth of the rift (or at least its public expression) varies—from the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), which for some years was openly spurned by CPSU leaders, to the British Communist Party which has been politely pushing for a relaxation of repression against political dissidents in the Soviet Union. But the themes are the same, and the centrifugal pressures are mounting.

Thus, in addition to the French and Italian parties, we have the following picture:

- The Dutch party has stopped attending international meetings of Moscow-line CP's.
- PCE leader Santiago Carrillo, like Marchais, deliberately boycotted the Moscow congress. In a meeting with a delegation of the PCF at the end of January, the Spanish Communists agreed that the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is "outdated," and in an interview in mid-December Carrillo declared: "There cannot exist a common line between the Communist

Parties of the capitalist countries and the party-states of East Europe.... There cannot be a global strategy. If one existed, it would be a violation of the principle of coexistence..." (*Le Monde*, 17 December).

- The Finnish Communist Party is split between a pro-Russian majority led by chairman Arne Saarinen, and an "independent" minority barely contained within the framework of a single party.

- In Britain, the CP's popular secretary for Scotland James Reid (the leader of the 1971 "work-in" at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and a member of the party's political bureau) resigned asserting that "the democratic credentials of Communists...have not been established in the minds of the people." At the recent Polish Workers Party congress, a member of the British CP leadership openly acknowledged differences with Moscow (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 22 February).

- During negotiations late last year for a projected conference of European Communist Parties, the CPSU wanted the conference to end with the signature of a declaration binding all parties to the same policy line. The French, Italian and Spanish delegations (together with the Yugoslav and Rumanian CP's) opposed this, with the British representatives leaning toward the "independents."

- In a recent survey of West European Communist Parties, the *London Times* (16 February) found even the Icelandic party's loyalty to Moscow "at best fitful, at worst doubtful," and concluded that the only unconditionally pro-Brezhnev party was that of tiny Luxemburg.

Social-Democratization of the Stalinist Parties?

The Russian bureaucracy's concern with these developments is understandable, and last month the official CPSU newspaper, *Pravda* (13 February), published a major article warning that "highly dubious arguments have been advanced in favor of the Union of the Left, and an eventual weakening of the political positions of the Communists is being considered, a 'social-democratization' of the Communist parties."

Are the West European Stalinist parties becoming "social-democratized"? Certainly, their political programs and actions are thoroughly reformist, as is also the case with the mass social-democratic parties of France, Germany, Italy, etc. Increasingly, even their language is the same. Thus in proposing to delete the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" from the party statutes, PCF leader Georges Marchais justified this with the comment:

"dictatorship" automatically brings to mind the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco, that is, the very negation of democracy. This is not what we want."

Le Monde, 5 February

This reference to supposedly classless democracy could have been lifted word-

Tailoring Program to Practice

West European Stalinists

for-word from the writings of Karl Kautsky, who led the chorus of social-democratic pedants condemning the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky for setting up a "dictatorship." Kautsky's crowning argument was: "Literally, the word dictatorship means the abolition of democracy" (*Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, 1918).

To this, Lenin replied that the liberals speak of democracy in general, the Marxists ask "for which class?" Dictatorship does not necessarily mean abolition of democracy for the class that exercises dictatorship over the other classes. Dictatorship is, rather, "rule based directly on force"; "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie..." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 1918). Kautsky rejected revolutionary violence, and thereby the revolution itself. His devotion to supposedly abstract democracy was open support for capitalist rule.

Similarly, in a direct negation of Marx's dictum that "the working men have no country," West European Stalinists (particularly the French and Italians) now pose as the best patriots. In arguing for a policy of ever broader alliances and a "union of the people of France," Marchais declared at the PCF's 22nd congress in early February that "Everything that is national is ours." Curiously, it is precisely this slogan that appears above the masthead of the French monarcho-clericalist newspaper *Action Française* (*Le Monde*, 19 February).

In justification for the overt and fundamental revision of Marxism involved in rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, the PCF general secretary alluded to "new problems" which had arisen since the time of Marx. Other examples of "new answers" to such problems cited by Marchais were: Stalin's discovery of the possibility of socialism in one country, Khrushchev's discovery of the peaceful transition to socialism, and the popular front. This list is quite apt, for in each case the new "discovery" is in fact a justification for class collaboration and betrayal of the interests of the international proletariat. Marchais is quite right to insist that his "deletion" of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consistent with the rest of Stalinist dogma!

It was in struggling against these

betrayals and in defense of Marxist principles that the Trotskyist movement has been forged. Already in 1928, L. D. Trotsky warned:

"If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only after but also before the conquest of power. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will undertake to propound this theory. The draft program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism. The Communist Party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites for the independent construction of a 'complete socialist society,' will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question."

—"The Theory of Socialism in One Country," in *The Third International After Lenin*

The Stalinized Communist Parties have long since passed their August 4; Stalin dissolved the Communist International in 1943 precisely in order to better aid the "war effort" of the imperialist democracies, and the social-patriotism of Marchais leaves little to be desired from the point of view of the bourgeoisie. It is not surprising, therefore, that these reformist fake-Communists should adopt the social-democratic phraseology that fits their actual program.

Family of Reformism

But the social-democratization of a party is not determined simply by a glance at its formal program. Thus Léon Blum and various other left social democrats at the time of the foundation of the Communist International verhalily accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, among West European CP's inclusion of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the party program is not an indication either of the degree of support to Moscow, or of a division into "hard" and "soft" parties. Thus, for example, the Finnish party already dropped the term in 1965, during its participation in an earlier popular-front government; today the party is once again in a popular front



Paris Match

...Portuguese CP's Cunhal (left) raises list, Italian CP's Berlinguer (right) extends hand. M dictatorship of the proletariat, oppose workers revolution.

s Delete "Dictatorship of Proletariat"

and it is precisely the Kremlin-loyal faction of Saarinen that is most committed to maintaining the alliance with its "own" bourgeoisie. Again, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), reputedly the "hardest" CP of West Europe, was the first party during the 1970's to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat from its program (in November 1974), replacing it with the "unity of popular forces in the political struggle." Among the "popular forces" it includes "even sectors of the middle bourgeoisie" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 November 1974).

Moreover, as much as 40 years ago the Stalinists were openly admitting—in fact, crowing—that their aim was not to establish a revolutionary working-class state. In August 1936, the PCF's *L'Humanité* published an article declaring: "The Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republican order, while respecting property" (quoted in Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*). As for Marchais' grotesque superpatriotism, already in the 1936 popular-front elections the PCF was calling for a "union of the French nation"! Those who are shocked by the recent speeches of Marchais and Berlinguer should read what American Communist Party leader Earl Browder was saying during World War II, when the

CPUSA sang the Star Spangled Banner at cell meetings, ran ads for Victory Bonds...and broke strikes for FDR.

Stalinist parties are those who are subservient to—who act as agents of, as transmission belts for—the ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. In Stalin's time, Moscow was the "Third Rome" and there was rigid control from the Kremlin. Today, there are a number of deformed workers states outside the Soviet bloc (e.g., China, Vietnam, Cuba, Yugoslavia) and in the capitalist countries there are

bureaucratic centralism of Stalinism is replaced by the bureaucratic anarchism of "social-democracy" (*Australasian Spartacist*, June 1974).

Bourgeois Workers Parties

In a document concerning the "Evolution of the Communist Parties in Capitalist Europe," the political bureaus of European sections of the self-proclaimed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) wrote of the Stalinist CP's that:

"their political line at any given moment is a reflection of the interests of neither the bourgeoisie nor the petty bourgeoisie, but of the bureaucracy that has usurped power in the workers state of the USSR. It is this allegiance to the USSR, a degenerated workers state, that fundamentally differentiates the CPs from the Social Democratic parties, the objective foundations of whose political orientation consist of conciliation and capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Even when they render historically decisive services to the bourgeoisie, as they did at the time of the Popular Front or in the 1944-1947 period, the CPs do so not because of any allegiance to big capital, but because of the counterrevolutionary policies of the Soviet bureaucracy."

—*Inprecor*, 12 December 1974

The document also refers to the PCI as a "workers party historically marked by Stalinism and more and more inserted into a reformist logic." Elsewhere, the USec has written that "The Spanish and Italian CPs are developing a policy more openly reformist..." (*Rouge*, 26 September 1975). All of these comments are clearly intended to mean that the Communist Parties of Europe are only now becoming reformist, that there is a qualitative difference between them and the social-democratic parties that is currently being bridged.

This is historically false. With the formation of the popular fronts during the 1930's, the parties of the Stalinized Comintern codified their passing into the camp of pro-capitalist reformism. Trotsky called them "Mensheviks of the second mobilization": they were not simply loyal to Moscow, but also to their own bourgeoisies, as they themselves stressed repeatedly. Moreover, the Stalinist parties outside the USSR were during the late 1930's and the Second World War if anything, more dangerous to the proletariat and the cause of socialist revolution than were the social democrats.

For example, in 1934 left-wing elements in the Spanish Socialist Party were calling for a break from the bourgeois parties and making plans for a workers insurrection if conservative forces should cut off their access to governmental office via the parliamentary road. (While the Madrid leadership decided to call off the insurrection at the last minute, SP sections in the Asturias region did rise up together with the anarchists and were brutally suppressed by the army.) In Austria, too, social democrats took up arms against a bourgeois government. In a number of countries the Socialist Parties or split-offs from them became for a time centrist formations distinctly to the left of the Stalinists.

Moreover, because of their subservience to the counterrevolutionary diplomatic policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Stalinist parties were capable of crimes which the social democrats often did not have the internal cohesion to carry out. The CPs' claim to the authority of the October Revolution became in the hands of the Stalinists a powerful tool in the service

of class treason. In the United States during World War II, it was the Communist Party that was the most rabid strikebreaking, scabherding force in the labor movement, standing well to the right even of many reactionary bureaucrats. In France and Italy at the end of the war, the bourgeois regimes could not have been stabilized without the aid of the Stalinist leaders in disarming their own militants.

During the 1970's there has been a rise in working-class militancy in West Europe and sections of Latin America. While for a time in the 1950's and early 1960's the Stalinists were rigidly excluded from governmental participation—outlawed in West Germany, put in concentration camps in Chile—now their services are once again urgently needed by the bourgeoisie. Hence the rise of a new wave of popular fronts, whose purpose is to brake the labor struggles, to bind the workers hand and foot to the class enemy. The bloody consequences of these class-collaborationist policies were seen in the 1973 Chilean coup and loom on the horizon in Portugal.

In the same USec document which denies that the Stalinist parties are loyal to big capital, or even to petty-bourgeois forces, the followers of Ernest Mandel go to great pains to distinguish recent Communist-Socialist blocs with small bourgeois formations from the "classical" popular front. They did so also in Chile, where instead of denouncing Allende's class-collaborationist Popular Unity (UP) coalition as a popular front and calling on the workers parties to break from the bourgeoisie, they instead conciliated the UP, terming it "reformist," calling on it to adopt more militant policies, etc. By their failure to warn the masses of the grave threat represented by the Allende regime, the Mandelites share in the responsibility for the bloody coup.

Ever since the early 1950's, when Michel Pablo (then head of the Fourth International) abandoned the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism as a counterrevolutionary current in the workers movement—instead terming it centrist and ordering sections of the FI to submerge into Stalinist parties—the liquidationist current now embodied in the USec has fostered illusions in a succession of non-proletarian misleaders from the "centrist" Kremlin to the "unconscious Marxist" Castro. The characterization of the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties as not quite yet reformist is another aspect of this Pabloism, with consequences potentially as dangerous as those flowing from the USec's failure to recognize the existence of a popular front in Chile.

The Stalinist leaders often appeal to the October Revolution and Lenin; social democrats frequently deny any connection with Marxism or even to be a working-class party; both, however, are profoundly reformist, pro-capitalist currents within the workers movement.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not just "a single phrase from Marx" as Kautsky said. For the communards of Paris, for the Russian Bolsheviks, for authentic Trotskyists today the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a phrase to be deleted in contempt or added in cynicism. The struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat—for workers revolution—demands the construction of Trotskyist parties capable of breaking the working class from both forms of bourgeois workers parties—Stalinism and social democracy. ■



Popperfoto

Headquarters of the French Communist Party proclaimed the virtues of the Popular Front during the 1936 elections.

frequently two or more competing Stalinist parties, usually Brezhnevites, Castroites and Maoists (and often several shadings of the latter).

West European Communist Parties have by no means totally broken with Moscow. In small CP's such forms of subsidy as a guaranteed 4,000 subscriptions to the party newspaper from Soviet libraries are of considerable relative weight. Even the several million strong PCI reportedly obtains a substantial part of its financing from companies which serve as brokers for Italian-USSR trade. But this does not mean that Stalinist parties could not become social-democratic, dropping their ties to Moscow, Peking or Havana. In Europe, the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties are already well advanced along this road.

The clearest example of such a transformation is the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). As did most West European CP's, the CPA criticized the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. For various reasons, internal tensions in the party escalated and by 1971 Moscow-loyal elements felt so excluded from the top leadership that they split off to form the Socialist Party of Australia. This proved to be the watershed. Henceforth opposing an unambiguously Moscow-backed party on its national terrain, the CPA has evolved into a social-democratic party whose reformist commitment to the maintenance of bourgeois rule is unencumbered by any ties to the Russian bureaucracy. Commenting on the CPA's attempt to gain hegemony over the Australian left by absorbing every tendency into one big social-democratic swamp, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand wrote: "The



Santiago Carrillo

Informations Ouvrières



E. Martino

hand. Marchais, Cunhal, Berlinguer all repudiate

Warehouse Convention...

(continued from page 12)

before the bosses. Regarding the call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, he recognized it as a goal of the labor movement "sometime or another" (!), but did not think it appropriate for warehouse this year. McClain also asserted that it was not necessary to eliminate the no-strike clause in the contract since ILWU workers have struck despite this provision when "the issue was right," as at Heublein's. He failed to mention that these actions were undertaken in spite of the union officials' sabotage and suffered company retaliation such as the firing of stewards.

Although bureaucratic agenda arrangements prevented an overall reply to the officers' report, members of the Militant Caucus (MC) were able to clearly counterpose a class-struggle program to this sellout line during the discussion period. Despite the existence of several clusters of would-be militants in Local 6, only the MC supporters openly pushed at the convention to eliminate the no-strike clause and for the unrestricted right to strike, for elected strike committees, and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, to create more jobs.

In addition, the Caucus argued for such necessary demands as 100 percent cost-of-living allowance; elimination of the employers' 90-day probation period, in favor of the "dispatch from the hiring hall means a job" policy; a one-year contract instead of the proposed three years, and a \$2 per hour wage increase instead of the \$1 hourly hike (which only amounts to a catch-up raise) proposed by the leadership. The MC fought for militant strike tactics, including the sit-down strike, to halt runaway shops, and for a mass mobilization of ILWU and Teamster warehousemen in the upcoming contract battle, backed by a refusal of longshoremen to handle scab cargo.

The other self-proclaimed militants did nothing but crawl before the bureaucracy, simply aping its disdain for rank-and-file opposition. One leaflet issued by "Warehouse Communist Party Members" was entitled "Unity, Unity, Unity" and spelled out in black and white the CP's grovelling loyalty to McClain & Co.:

"...we must combat those forces who would disrupt and destroy our unity in the name of being 'supermilitant.' Our enemy is not the leadership of our union, but rather is the boss and the companies which exert control of the industry."

In the discussion, chief steward Joe Lindsay, an ardent supporter of CP views, proclaimed the officers' proposal as "basically a sound package." Lindsay argued meekly for a vague "shorter workweek," but cautioned that such a demand is "costly" and if won it must mean a cutback in wage demands!

Ranks Revolt

On the question of pensions there was an open revolt against the leadership. It began when Bob Mandel, member of the general executive board of Local 6 and a supporter of the Militant Caucus, denounced the officers' pension proposals, pointing out that no specifics were listed. Instead a vague phrase, "demands to be costed out," was inserted. Mandel pointed out that the leadership used the same ambiguous wording in 1973, while promising that the contract would allow retirement at age 62. But after the contract was settled and "costed out," it turned out that the retirement age remained at 65. McClain demagogically denounced this as "lies and slanders" but, unable to refute the charge, he quickly announced a lunch break.

After lunch the membership voted to separate out the officers' proposal on

pensions, which stipulated a minimum of 80 hours work a month in order to qualify for pension credits. Then the 80-hour provision was voted down, a clear slap at the leadership. One retiree who proclaimed his loyalty to the union tops complained of receiving a pitiful \$159 per month while on pension. The Militant Caucus put forward a sharply counterposed resolution:

"Voluntary retirement after 25 years. Pension credits to begin from first day in industry. A pension equal to a normal month's wages with a 100 percent c.o.l."

By the time it came to vote, the membership was convinced of the need for drastic improvement. On a voice vote, the MC resolution passed overwhelmingly. Shocked by this turn of events, the bureaucrats called for a hand vote, and *again* the MC resolution passed! Mustering all their energy to save face, the bureaucrats then called for a standing vote, and finally managed to achieve a "majority." (Among McClain's supporters in this final vote was Vern Bown, well-known supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party [RCP] Bay Area Worker.)

The revolt momentum continued when militants from Sacramento Local 17 pointed out that the Teamsters had significantly better vacation benefits. A motion calling for parity with the Teamsters was ruled out of order by the heavy-handed chair, who decided that the discussion was getting out of control. A voice vote on the officers' proposals was so close that a hand count was needed, with the result of 170 for the leadership and 141 against. Included among those who gave the bureaucrats this vote of confidence were supporters of both the CP and Warehouse Victory, the "opposition" group touted by the RCP.

Enter Harry Bridges

At this point Harry Bridges stepped forward to beat down the revolt. Bridges tried to scare the delegates about the dangers of a strike: Don't "reach for the moon without being prepared for some action," he said. He warned of a "disruptive program" from radicals who often turn out to be "on the bosses' payroll." Clearly trying to slander the Militant Caucus as "bosses' agents," San Francisco port commissioner and Alioto pal Bridges made reference to literature being distributed in the hallway which goes "too damn far." In a warning to the delegates, he stated that other sections of the union, in particular longshore, are not obligated to back up the warehouse division. "We are not going to commit suicide," he threatened.

After this strikebreaking intimidation from the ILWU International president, delegates backed down somewhat. A resolution to eliminate the 90-day probation period failed, in favor of a resolution to merely shorten probation to 30 days. Following further discussion, with many resolutions still undiscussed, the convention voted to recess until another meeting can be scheduled, but this one had clearly posed before the union ranks a choice between two paths—the policies of betrayal of the McClain leadership and its Stalinist hangers-on, or the class-struggle program of the Militant Caucus. ■

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Bosses' Parties...

(continued from page 1)

attacking the workers.

In New Hampshire, Gerald Ford and "Jimmy" Carter won the Republican and Democratic primaries respectively in the nation's first contest. Even Carter, who is on record favoring "right-to-work" laws (i.e., prohibition of the union shop), is pursuing the workers' votes. Confronted by questioners about this union-busting position, Carter just smiles and says that if Congress passes legislation outlawing "right-to-work" laws, as president he would sign the bill.

Carter offers himself to the public as Watergate-clean in an atmosphere in which Washington politicians are considerably less esteemed than used-car salesmen and local gangsters. He makes the expected appeal for spiritual recovery, but his real pitch is to try to break off some of the Wallace vote. In his official campaign fund-raising letter Carter pleads, "I need your help now to end once and for all the threat Wallace represents to our country."

What Carter represents is a more respectable racism. Quick to point out that "I was proud to personally arrange for a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to be hung in our State Capitol," Carter campaigns against busing to achieve integration. He is spending his money and time on the Florida primary, leaving the soft-line racist vote in Massachusetts to Jackson, whose anti-busing stance has garnered the endorsement of racist Boston School Committee chairman Louise Day Hicks.

Labor Fakers—Tail on the Donkey

These are the Democrats' opening moves as they jockey for position in the quadriennial American sport that is part horse race and part horse trade. George Meany and the labor tops want to be in on the election gravy and are already wheeling and dealing with the labor vote. When the Democrats in 1972 had their "anti-machine" convention and nominated George McGovern, Meany pulled out labor's support, thus implicitly backing Nixon whose Vietnam policy was more to Meany's liking. Now, after McGovern's electoral fiasco and Nixon's Watergate, the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party are again on honeymoon terms.

Time magazine (1 March) predicts "organized labor will wield a tremendous influence in this year's election." Meany & Co. hope to deliver the labor vote to the Democrats through their Committees on Political Education (COPE). The present COPE treasury is \$2 million but the big push for union donations is on now. It is not just money that the bureaucracy will dump into the Democrats' coffers, but also manpower: "In 1974, the labor federation reported 110,000 volunteers contributed millions of hours to COPE programs (New York Times, 18 January). This year the AFL-CIO has announced a plan to elect 500 "labor delegates" to the Democratic convention.

The AFL-CIO is prevented by law from using union dues to finance any political party or candidate. This is reactionary legislation aimed at preventing the labor movement from having its own political expression. The labor bureaucrats' staged "neutrality" is a holdover from the anti-political policies of Samuel Gompers and the craft-oriented AFL. After the rise of the powerful CIO industrial unions, there was no way to keep the labor movement from making its presence felt on the electoral scene. But the unashamedly pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy sees to it that the working people stay firmly chained to the Democratic Party.

As socialists, whose task is to carry

the real political class struggles (transcending capitalist shadowboxing) into the labor movement, we advocate the trade unions' right to use their funds for political purposes unfettered by government interference. But union militants must demand that not one penny of COPE funds be used to finance the political campaigns of the bosses' parties!

Meany was proud to have blocked endorsement of "dove" McGovern. Meany's hard-line cold-war policies are reflected in COPE, whose national director Al Barkan defines the main enemy as the McGovern/ADA wing of the Democratic Party: "These kooks and feminists and New Lefts have never won an election in their lives" (Time, 1 March). The candidate that Meany and "dove" Woodcock both agree on is Hubert Humphrey, whom they are touting as the man to solve the economy's mortal ills through the phony New Deal represented by the Hawkins-Humphrey Full Employment Act.

Meany has termed Humphrey the "most electable" of the candidates (Los Angeles Times, 17 February). At the recent top-level AFL-CIO meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, Meany ruled out support for one Democrat alone—Wallace, whom Meany called "a disaster." Meany has apparently forgiven Henry Jackson for having last year backed off from pushing his anti-Soviet "Jackson amendment": "despite disagreements" in the past. Meany said, Jackson had a "good record" and besides, "labor does not demand perfection."

Break with the Democratic Dodo Race—Build a Workers Party!

A modern tradition of European journalism characterizes American presidential elections as a kind of meaningless carnival—the circuses of the Roman arena without the bread. A recent article in the London Observer compared this year's Democratic Party caucus and primary races to an incident in Alice in Wonderland wherein "the dodo organized a caucus race in which competitors placed themselves at random on a circular track and began running whenever they liked."

What makes U.S. elections seem so strange to Europeans is the absence of any independent electoral expression of the organized labor movement. The U.S. is the only major industrial nation whose massive labor bureaucracy has found a home in a capitalist party.

That the elections are a farce from the standpoint of the working people is clear not only to European political pundits but also to the American public. Pollster Peter Hart summed up the results of a recent poll by saying: "Most people don't believe there's a dime's worth of difference between the candidates on the major economic issue" (Wall Street Journal, 19 February).

There has never been a mass struggle in the U.S. by the labor movement to free itself from the parties of the class enemy. In every other advanced capitalist country, the labor movement has reformist workers parties which are simultaneously the organized reflection of the proletariat's historic struggles and the political vehicles for the pro-capitalist policies of the labor bureaucracy.

Communists struggle to break the labor movement politically from the Democrats and Republicans by calling for the formation of a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. But labor will not achieve its own political expression so long as the Meany and Woodcocks remain at the helm. The fight for a party representing the revolutionary interests of the working people must be centrally focused within the unions on breaking the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Break with the Twin Parties of Capital—Dump the Bureaucrats—For a Workers Party! ■

Washington Post

(continued from page 4)

strike, before the scabbing wave had reached epidemic proportions. At the beginning it was not entirely sure which way the *Post* Guild unit would go, and a display of firm determination and militancy could have brought over wavering elements. But seeing the craft unions impotent or buckling in the face of management's drive for a showdown, the fence-sitters bowed to the company in order, they thought, to save their jobs. Through five different strike votes, a growing number of the *Post* Guild members defied their own leadership to cross the picket lines. The concessions made to retain the loyalty of the strikebreakers mean acquiescence to the emasculation of the Guild as a labor organization capable of collective action against the boss.

Playing out its role as would-be braintrusts for the union bureaucrats, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has entered the fray on the side of the scabs. The 27 February *Militant* actually argued *against* taking disciplinary measures against the scabs, for fear of alienating them. Instead, the SWP advocates a "persistent educational campaign" to win over the scabs (after five months of strikebreaking!). Having previously called for "free speech for fascists," the gutless SWP now stands up for the "rights" of scabs as well. Currently touring a presidential candidate—Peter Camejo—around the country peddling a phony "Bill of Rights for Working People," the SWP's disgusting parliamentary cretinism has found a natural companion: apologizing for scabs and union busters.

There is an old saying that there is more than one way to educate a scab. When persuasion fails, it is appropriate to make it physically unpleasant for scabs to cross picket lines. This means building picket lines effective and militant enough to intimidate strikebreakers. Even more effective would have been to occupy the plant. Such action was never undertaken in the *Washington Post* strike, however. Rather than fighting to shut down the paper, the pressmen's leadership offered to submit the dispute to an "impartial" umpire. The so-called Guild hard-liners, such as Brian Flores, never demanded anything beyond an extended consumer and advertising boycott of the *Post*.

This boycott proved totally ineffective. The newspaper recouped most of its early losses and was soon able to resume publishing a full edition while the strikers exhausted several million dollars in strike benefits, becoming increasingly demoralized at the seemingly impregnable position of the *Post* management. The central reason for the defeat of the strike, facilitated by the craft divisions among the unions, was the inability to shut down the paper. What was required was a mass mobilization of strikers against the anti-picketing injunctions, backed up if necessary by a strike of the entire Washington area labor movement. The rejection of such class-struggle policies by the current crowd of union leaders led straight to the immeasurably costly victory of the *Post*'s union-busting offensive. ■

Spartacus Youth League Forum

Crisis of Bourgeois Economics

Speaker:
JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League Central Committee

Tuesday, March 9, 8 p.m.
University of Chicago
Ida Noyes Hall, East Lounge
1212 East 59th
CHICAGO

Tyrone Guyton Murder...

(continued from page 12)

march. Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone's mother, in addressing the rally said: "I thank you Warehouse Union, ILWU.... you stand for what you believe in.... you stand for justice for all people...." Patrick Heide, a business agent of Local 6, spoke pledging the union's support for the Justice Committee's goals. However, while the Local had pledged \$200 to the committee, passed a motion (put forward by the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the ILWU warehouse division) officially endorsing the demonstration and heard Mrs. Shepherd speak at an Oakland membership meeting, the union leadership failed to push for a heavy mobilization among its several thousand members in the East Bay. Had there been such an effort, the ranks of the demonstrators would have been greatly swelled and its impact immeasurably strengthened.

The labor presence at the demonstration came primarily from several class-struggle union opposition tendencies in the Bay Area. In addition to the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6, there was the Militant Action Caucus of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco); the Committee for a Militant UAW, from UAW Local 1364 (Fremont); and supporters of *Longshore Militant*, in ILWU Local 10. (The latter were responsible for bringing Mrs. Shepherd to the Local 10 executive board where she received unanimous endorsement for the Justice Committee.) But despite the effort poured into building the rally by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton—and by the SL/SYL and the Partisan Defense Committee, who played an active role in organizing it—many of the organized left groups showed little interest in protesting the slaughter of black youth. Even some of the groups who signed their names to the sponsors' list failed to show their faces, or else sent an insulting token supporter or two.

Outstanding among this bunch of fickle sometime supporters of the Justice Committee were the various union groups that the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party supports: Postal Workers, Concerned Muni Drivers, Warehousemen, May 1st Workers Organizing Committee. In Boston and Louisville these fake socialists oppose husing and cheer the "light-hack" of reactionary lynch mobs; in Oakland they can't be bothered to protest racist cop slayings of black youth. The pattern could not be clearer.

The Communist Party-dominated Bay Area Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression sent neither a contingent nor a speaker. The Black Panther Party, which had publicized the demonstration in its paper (mentioning all the supporting groups except the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee), disgracefully sent only a handful of its members and the BPP speaker, Elaine Brown, showed up only after the rally was over. The NAACP withdrew its speaker at the last moment and the Socialist Workers Party could only muster four supporters together with its National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Martha Phillips, speaking for the Partisan Defense Committee, condemned this backstabbing sectarianism. Pointing to the tremendous power of the working people, she expressed confidence in the ranks of labor to fight for justice for all the Tyrone Guytons. Paul Collins of the Spartacist League denounced the racist character of capitalist class "justice," demanded that the cover-up be stopped and that the killer cops Dale Phillips, Thomas Mierky and William Mathews be jailed. It is not by relying on the cops, courts and capitalist politicians that cop terror will be ended but only by mobilizing the workers movement for revolutionary struggle. ■



Left:
Tyrone Guyton's mother, Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, speaking at courthouse rally.

Below:
March to the Alameda County Courthouse, February 25.



Hampton and Clark...

(continued from page 5)

by the Rangers against the BPP, by asserting that "the word 'hit' did not mean a murder contract. He testified that he defined it as something non-violent in nature" (*New York Times*, 22 February).

Disclose the Truth—Punish the Real Gangsters!

Not surprisingly, various government agencies appear to be footing the entire, expensive legal bill for the defendants. Hanrahan's attorney was appointed by the former state attorney as a special assistant specifically to defend him against charges growing out of the Hampton Clark case in 1972, at a salary which makes him Cook County's highest-paid public official. The police defendants are represented by a city "special assistant corporation counsel," while the feds and their ilk have two staff lawyers from the U.S. district attorney's office.

The main theme of these highly paid cover-up artists is the racist smear that, "The Black Panther Party... was a street gang composed of vicious individuals... of gangsters" (defense attorney Volini in his opening statement to the jury). Another of the government attorneys, Joseph Witkowski, admitted FBI attempts to disrupt the Panthers, cynically remarking to the jurors: "When you hear the word 'conspiracy,' just think of it as cooperation between federal and state officials."

The real gangsters in this case are Hanrahan and his cronies and their superiors who masterminded government provocation and infiltration of the left. The December 4th Committee, which is sponsoring the current lawsuit, has performed a valuable service by its substantial investigative work attempting to bring new information to light through the trial. But the response of labor and black militants to the murder conspiracy by the FBI and Boss Daley's cops must not be limited to seeking monetary retribution. At a debate between mayoral candidates at the University of Chicago a year ago, a Spartacist League spokesman pointed out to the audience that Hanrahan (then running for office on a racist "get the criminals off the streets" program) was one of Chicago's most vicious criminals. The murders of Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and other dead Panther militants, said the SL speaker, would be avenged by victorious workers revolution!

Victory to the Panther survivors' relatives suit! Hanrahan and the FBI are killers—Jail the murderers of Hampton and Clark! ■

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Southern Africa

(continued from page 1)

existence of our state.... We can then settle all the problems concerning South African interests and investments in Angola" (*Le Monde*, 14 February).

Détente in Shambles

Despite offers of negotiations from both Luanda and Pretoria, the possibility of renewed war in southern Africa cannot be ruled out. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (29 November) reports that, "Intensive diplomatic efforts are now being made by Western countries to try to restore what they would regard as a state of political equilibrium in South Africa and to prevent armed conflict on the Angolan pattern occurring on the frontiers of Namibia [Southwest Africa] and in Rhodesia."

South Africa's intervention against the MPLA in Angola was partly an attempt to strengthen "détente" with "moderate" African leaders such as the Kaunda regime in Zambia. Now this policy is in a shambles and the question is whether or not Vorster can strike up a new tune of "peaceful coexistence" in harmony with verbally more militant nationalists. In any case, he is taking no chances and has threatened massive retaliation if the MPLA aids guerrilla forces of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Meanwhile, on the same day Neto signed the pact with Mobutu, Radio Luanda threatened a southward sweep to drive remaining South African troops from Angolan territory.

Pretoria has been gearing up its war machine in anticipation of a major outbreak on the subcontinent. The 1975-76 defense budget was upped by 30 percent to nearly \$1.5 billion. Millions of dollars are poured into expanding naval bases at Simonstown and Durban and the new air base at Grootfontein in Southwest Africa. West German interests are widely reported to be aiding the racist regime in developing its nuclear capacity. Simultaneously, stepped-up domestic repression has led to a wave of political trials of opponents of apartheid (see "Witchhunt Trials in South Africa," *WV* No. 98, 27 February).

Next month Pretoria will reactivate constitutional talks with its hand-picked representatives of Southwest Africa's tribal and ethnic groups. Vorster hopes to use a coterie of reactionary tribal chiefs as window dressing for the extension of "separate development" into the colonial territory taken over from Germany after World War I. Finally, the South African prime minister is pushing ahead with plans to grant nominal independence in October to the Transkei, one of nine so-called tribal homelands or "bantustans" within South Africa. Along with a few cosmetic changes in the "petty apartheid" segregation in major cities, Vorster hopes that "bantustan independence" will be seen as a token of social reform.

Breakdown in Rhodesia Negotiations

While the southward-advancing MPLA has been cautious toward the formidable South African forces, the isolated white minority regime in Salisbury may become the object of escalated guerrilla attacks. The imperialist press has lately been talking as if Cuban troops in Angola are about to leapfrog into Rhodesia to launch a revolutionary war. Mozambique, in turn, recently warned that it may invade Rhodesia in response to border violations by troops and mercenaries of the racist Smith government engaged in "hot pursuit" of nationalist guerrillas. Landlocked and wracked by a serious economic crisis, the Rhodesian Front government, representing 250,000 whites, received word from Pretoria last week that South African troops would

not intervene to stave off guerrilla attacks (*New York Times*, 26 February). But far from "exporting revolution," as U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger accused Castro of doing (*New York Times*, 18 February), Cuban foreign policy in general, and its Angola venture in particular, is firmly leashed to the Kremlin's aim of seeking a global "deal" with U.S. imperialism. Likewise, the sabbat-rattling from African nationalist regimes, like the "friendly advice" from Vorster, has the immediate purpose of wringing concessions from Smith. In a radio speech full of heliose threats to return "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," Mozambique president Samora Machel also offered a less sanguinary possibility: "Follow the course of negotiations while you still have time" (quoted in the *Star* [Johannesburg], 14 February). Meanwhile, a three-man British government delegation recently wound up private talks with Smith and nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo. "What we are saying to Mr. Smith," said a Foreign Office spokesman, "is that this may be his last chance" (*New York Times*, 20 February).



Rhodesian premier Ian Smith and ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo signing "Declaration of Intent" to negotiate a peace in December 1975.

Nkomo has demanded a transition to majority rule within two years, and a major role in the government immediately. The fly in the ointment is the intransigence of the Rhodesian Front, which represents not a foreign colonial power that can cut its losses but the entrenched privileges of a white settler caste that severed its legal connections with Britain by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965.

Additionally, the petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in Rhodesia are as divided as in Angola. Nkomo heads the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) wing of the African National Council (ANC) and is not recognized by the rival groups, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI).

A violent confrontation between ZANU and ZAPU in Salisbury last June 1 and the breakdown of late August talks between Smith and all wings of the ANC convinced Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Vorster of the necessity to back Nkomo while isolating his opponents. Thus Nkomo's rivals are excluded from the current negotiations because they face arrest if they return to Rhodesia. One leader of the ZANU faction still inside Rhodesia, Edson Sithole, was reportedly thrown into a detention camp several months ago to strengthen Nkomo's claim to speak for the entire black population (*Southern Africa*, February 1976).

Emergency in Zambia

After heavily backing the neo-colonialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) headed by Jonas Savimbi, the Kaunda government of Zambia now feels threatened by the collapse of UNITA and the approach of MPLA troops to its borders. Likewise, the hapless state of Rhodesia negotiations indicates the precarious nature of the path of détente with racist South Africa that Kaunda has chosen. Lusaka and Pretoria are



Balthazar Vorster

Camera Press

The Zambian economy is dominated by the copper industry (90 percent of all exports), which from independence on has been controlled by South African, American and Rhodesian capital. (In 1974 the government assumed a 51 percent interest in the mines.) However, Zambia lacks secure access to the sea for its exports; Kaunda's willingness to deal with Pretoria, like his desperate gamble in Angola, can in part be explained by his desire to see the Benguela Railway to the Atlantic in the hands of friendly forces. Now, along with MPLA victory in Angola, he must face a 60 percent drop in copper prices over the last two years. With a catastrophic balance of payments deficit, Vorster's offers of aid and the re-opening of the Rhodesian rail link were sufficient to entice Zambian leaders to sign up as a junior partner in a sub-continental "co-prosperity sphere" dominated by South Africa.

Repression and Conciliation of Apartheid

Like its bedfellows in Pretoria, the weak bourgeois regime in Lusaka complements external "détente" with a severely repressive domestic policy. Unemployed workers and youth, along with political opponents, are placed under military control in labor camps clearing previously uncultivated lands. Strikes are illegal in a number of "essential industries."

However, this did not prevent a wildcat strike wave in the copper belt last summer which forced concessions on wages and working conditions. Even the tame labor bureaucrats have begun to criticize the government. In response to the state of emergency declared last month, Newstead Zimba, general secretary of the Zambian Council of Trade Unions and leader of 68,000 organized copper miners, lashed out at "loud-mouthed leaders, the unfair budget, high prices, poor economic planning" (*Star*, 14 February).

Kaunda will move as sharply against rebellious miners as he did against ZANU militants in 1975 and against the students at the University of Lusaka in January (for holding a pro-MPLA demonstration). The turmoil among Zambia's workers and youth points to the urgent necessity of building a revolutionary vanguard party armed with the Trotskyist strategy of permanent revolution, that can forge proletarian unity across African borders. The fight against racism and colonialism can only succeed with working-class overthrow of capitalism throughout southern Africa. The petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrilla warfare, in addition to its general impotence in the face of powerful imperialist and sub-imperialist enemies, will only throw up new bourgeois regimes that will follow in the footsteps of Kaunda.

A case in point is the so-called "Marxist" regime established by FRELIMO in Mozambique. While it backed the MPLA in Angola and allows ZANU guerrillas to operate from its territory, the reputedly "militant" regime dares not challenge apartheid South Africa except in speeches for OAU (Organization of African Unity) consumption. Prime Minister Joachim Chissano stated many months ago that "We will not be the saviors or reformers of South Africa. That belongs to the people of South Africa" (*New York Times*, 18 September 1974).

"Revolutionary" Mozambique, just like "neo-colonial" Zambia, is economically dependent on South Africa. In fact, the FRELIMO government is doing more business with its racist neighbors than the Portuguese colonial administration did. The country's biggest source of revenues is tolls on the Rhodesian railway and port fees on South African and Rhodesian exports, and Mozambique operates in total disregard for the United Nations' economic sanctions against the Smith regime. Significantly, since indepen-

waltzing on a tightrope.

Vorster is willing to sacrifice the weak Smith regime in Rhodesia to his strategy of détente if this can ensure a moderate black government. Zambia supports "unity" among the Rhodesian nationalist groups in order to obtain a deal involving sufficient concessions to blacks to permit a re-opening of the border, the resumption of trade and shipment of Zambian copper through Rhodesia to Mozambican ports on the Indian Ocean. To this end, Kaunda has played the major role in preserving the tenuous "unity" of the ANC. He also permitted South African forces to pull out of Rhodesia last year (freeing troops up for service in Angola), by promising to seal off the border to guerrilla infiltration.

Although Kaunda has repeatedly proclaimed his neutrality in the Rhodesian nationalists' split (just as he continued to call for a government of national unity in Angola while aiding anti-MPLA forces), Zambia has taken concrete steps to help the ZAPU/Nkomo faction, which appears the most willing to come to terms with South Africa in return for cabinet posts in the Salisbury government. Thus when ZANU leader Herbert Chitepo was killed in Zambia by unknown assassins last March, the government seized the opportunity to arrest scores of ZANU guerrillas, many of whom are still in detention. In early September, Zambian soldiers entered a guerrilla camp, allegedly to break up a struggle among three factions, and left eleven ZANU militants dead (*Southern Africa*, December 1975).

Zambia's willingness to collaborate with white-supremacist South Africa is not the result of any personal failings of Kaunda, once widely hailed as an "anti-imperialist," or of any marked changes in his government or the ruling party. Rather, it flows from the position of an economically dependent bourgeois regime subject to the imperialist world market.

dence the number of Mozambicans working as contract laborers in Witwatersrand gold mines has risen from 100,000 to 150,000 as the new regime avidly seeks to accumulate foreign exchange reserves. (According to a colonial arrangement still in force, half the workers' salaries are paid to the Mozambique authorities in gold.)

South African Working Class: Vanguard of Liberation

Corresponding to the dominance of South African capital in the subcontinent is the key role of the substantial South African black proletariat in the struggle for liberation from the present despotic white supremacist regimes and their black nationalist quislings, clients and allies. Unlike the nationalist and Stalinist advocates of guerrilla warfare, the Johannesburg capitalists are well aware of the revolutionary potential of the black working class.

South Africa's blacks are not a primitive peasant group, as the architects of apartheid pretend, but a five-million-strong proletariat. The urban population is several generations removed from the "tribal homelands," although lacking any rights in the "white" areas (87 percent of the country).

The entire apartheid structure is more than a fiendish system of racial oppression; it is also a brutal system of labor control. The pass laws, urban residential restrictions, "bantustan" schemes and denial of political rights to the "non-white" population are an attempt to allocate labor power between various sectors of the economy at the lowest possible wages while preventing any effective combination of the workers against their exploiters.

Black workers in the apartheid police state face nearly insuperable obstacles to organizing in their defense, yet they have a long history of militant and courageous struggle. With the labor movement primarily restricted to whites, "African" unions have had no legal recognition in South Africa, except for a brief period during the mid-1940's, and have been met with constant repression. Under pressure from the ultra-reactionary National Party of Vorster and his predecessors, all unions which admitted black workers were excluded from the principal labor federation by 1954. While a handful of unions with leftist leadership joined

with purged African unions to form the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), it, like the African National Congress (ANC) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), was a victim of the intense witchhunt following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre of blacks demonstrating against the notorious pass laws.

Not Guerrilla War, But Proletarian Revolution

From January 1963 to December 1965, nearly 200 mass political trials were held, involving more than 2,000 defendants, in an attempt to smash all seeds of resistance to apartheid. Numerous SACTU members were among the victims; three union leaders were executed and two were sentenced to life in prison. Those not jailed were "banned" by the government or black-listed by

their employers, and by the mid-1960's SACTU had almost ceased to exist. With the disappearance of black and multi-racial trade unionism and the outlawing of all mass protest by "non-whites," the left in despair made a verbal turn to guerrillism.

Not much was ever done in the way of guerrilla or terrorist actions, and their impotence in the face of the heavily militarized Pretoria regime is readily apparent. It was not until a massive strike wave of black workers swept South Africa, beginning in 1972 and lasting well into 1975, that leftists again began to raise their heads (see "Black Workers Resistance Flares in Racist Hell," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973). The government and employers responded with mass arrests and firings and, particularly in the mines, savage police violence. They have also attempted to undercut the growth of illegal

black unions with minor wage and legislative concessions, and by sponsoring corporatist "works committees" to give an illusion of representation.

Although the few "African" unions have grown, legal persecution and employer recalcitrance have insured that less than 1 percent of the black workforce is organized. A central task for revolutionaries in South Africa is to struggle for the right of "non-white" workers to freely organize labor unions, and to forge unity among the black, "Coloured" (mestizo) and Indian workers. A vital feature of the mass strikes that paralyzed Durban in early 1973 was the solidarity among non-white workers in a city that was the scene of virtual race war between Indians and black Africans in 1949. In the minefields, where the vast majority of workers are migrants from Mozambique, Rhodesia, Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi, the strike struggles in 1973-74 drew them together for the first time and signalled the revolutionary potential created by this crucible of international working-class unity at the heart of South Africa's extractive industries.

Having gone nowhere during its paper guerrillaist phase, the CPSA is evidently turning once again to the unions, trying to revive SACTU. Facing the rigorous repression of Vorster's Nazi-style race laws and elaborate anti-communist legislation, it is difficult for South African Stalinists to precisely copy the respectable labor reformism of their counterparts in West Europe. At present, the keystone of the CP's policies is to slavishly tail the established black petty-bourgeois leadership of the African National Congress. However, the CPSA shares with its opportunist comrades throughout the world the reformist "theory" of revolution by stages; thus it calls today in effect for a non-racist capitalist state. Its real goal is to be little more than loyal "left" advisors of the aspiring Kaundas of the ANC.

To destroy apartheid root and branch requires the overthrow of South African capitalism. For that task a Trotskyist party rooted in the black proletariat is necessary. Such a party would join together the hundreds of thousands of mine, transport and industrial workers stretching from the Witwatersrand to the Copper Belt—and link up with their class comrades in the Angola and Mozambique port cities—to form the backbone of a future socialist federation of southern Africa. ■



Above:
As part of war mobilization, South African army is now organizing women's commando units.

Left:
Kenneth Kaunda

International Women's Day Forums

AMHERST

Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 10 at 7:30 p.m.
University of Massachusetts
162 Campus Center

BERKELEY

Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 13 at 7:30 p.m.
Unitas House
2700 Bancroft Way
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE
Not Sponsored by Unitas House

BOSTON

Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women and Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 8 at 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
305 Emerson

CHICAGO

Women and the Colonial Revolution
JANIS GERARD
March 10 at 8 p.m.
Place to be announced

CLEVELAND

Marxism vs. Feminism—Which Road for Women's Liberation?
March 6 at 8 p.m.
Case Western Reserve University
303 Thwing Hall



MADISON

Women and the Colonial Revolution
JANIS GERARD
March 14 at 7:30 p.m.
University of Wisconsin
Memorial Union

NEW YORK

Which Way to Women's Liberation?
KAY BLANCHARD
SL Women's Commission
Editorial Board,
Women & Revolution
March 6 at 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University
Ferris Booth Hall
Schiff Room (216)

PHILADELPHIA

Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 17 at 11:30 a.m.
Temple University
Student Activities Center
Room 309

SAN FRANCISCO

Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 6 at 7 p.m.
Buchanan YMCA
1530 Buchanan at Geary
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Oakland Demonstrators Demand "Prosecute the Killers!"

Cop Cover-Up Revealed in Tyrone Guyton Murder

OAKLAND, February 25—Approximately 175 militant demonstrators marched to the Alameda County Courthouse today demanding that District Attorney Lowell Jensen prosecute the murderers of Tyrone Guyton. Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth, was gunned down in cold blood on 1 November 1973 by three Emeryville, California, cops in one of the most wanton acts of police terror here during recent years.

The march called by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton included the family and friends of the victim, community residents and black groups, students from Laney College, an official contingent from ILWU Local 6, workers from militant opposition groups in several unions and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The SL/SYL marched behind a banner demanding: "Jail the Murderers of Tyrone Guyton! For Militant Labor-Black Defense Against Cop Terror!" The demonstrators were united by their indignation against the racist system which allows youth like Tyrone Guyton to be cut down by the guardians of "law and order" or to rot in prison for the "crimes" of being poor and black, while the murderers and exploiters of the oppressed smugly walk the streets.

The cops who killed Tyrone Guyton—actually shot him in the back,

on suspicion of being a car thief!—claimed the youngster was armed. However, sweeps of the neighborhood by more than 20 policemen immediately after the shooting produced no gun. They also claimed he shot at them, but neutron activation tests revealed no trace of powder burns on Tyrone's hands, indicating he hadn't fired a gun. The only piece of "evidence" these racist thugs have been able to dig up in their defense is the flimsy testimony of a teenage girl who claims she saw the youth shoot a weapon. Even the identity of this "witness" has been withheld from the victim's family, along with other materials of a grand jury investigation which are still sealed.

Cover-Up Bared

Now the whole case has been blown apart by recently uncovered evidence which broke into print last week. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 February), a new investigation revolves around the former head narcotics officer of the Emeryville police, Dale Phillips (one of the cops who shot Tyrone), and a long-standing underworld narcotics contact of Phillips, Dolores Wysingle. Wysingle has claimed that the youth pulled a gun on her a year or two before the shooting, and it was her 13-year-old niece who led police to a girl said to have seen a youth

pick up a dropped gun and run off with it after the shooting. This "lead" turned out to be nothing but an unsubstantiated rumor circulating at the local high school.

The connection between Phillips and Wysingle was revealed in December, when Phillips testified in an unrelated federal district court case in San Francisco concerning three narcotics agents accused of shaking down dope dealers for bribes. In that trial, he and Wysingle are the two prosecution witnesses. During testimony, Phillips admitted falsifying arrest reports on Wysingle that had been submitted as evidence. Further, according to the *Chronicle*,

"Phillips testified he picked up Mrs. Wysingle in August, 1973, for possession of a number of balloons of heroin. The heroin was said to have been confiscated and destroyed. Yet, Alameda county records show she was never charged with possession."

Then, only three months later, Wysingle turns up as the key source for Phillips' defense in the Guyton case. Moreover, the *Oakland Tribune* (24 October) reports that Alameda County investigators have now discovered that all 1973 arrest records have mysteriously disappeared! Phillips has since resigned from the police force and District Attorney Jensen has agreed to a new investigation, including the relationship between



Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton
Tyrone Guyton

Phillips and Wysingle and reports that the narcotics officer requested his drug scene contact to dig up a corroborating witness (the unidentified teenage girl) to cover his story. But just as three previous grand juries "investigated" the Guyton case without returning indictments, nothing can be expected from Jensen—the man who spearheaded attacks on leaders of the Black Panther Party in Oakland during the 1960's—except another whitewash. The labor movement and black organizations must take the lead in demanding that the butcher cops who killed Tyrone Guyton be jailed!

Racist Sectarianism

The banner of ILWU Local 6 (Bay Area warehousemen) stood out in the

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ILWU Local 6 Tops Preach Defeat

Bridges Beats Back Ranks at Warehouse Convention

OAKLAND—The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 contract convention held on February 28 made crystal clear the McClain leadership's determination to maintain its disastrous policies of class collaboration. However, the union's ranks are increasingly fed up with this no-win strategy and the officials' contract proposals passed only by a narrow margin and after considerable browbeating threats from the bureaucrats.

The kickoff speaker was San Francisco mayor George Moscone. The ILWU brass are intent on continuing their cozy relationship with the Democratic ad-

ministration in city hall that existed under Joe Alioto, now retired to pursue his interests in Pacific Far East Lines. After a build-up from McClain ("We're expecting great things from Moscone"), the mayor gloried over the "virtues" of San Francisco ("we have a most convivial police department") and promised that "things will not change under my administration."

Reassuring to the labor fakery, ever eager to sell their support to capitalist politicians (ILWU International president Harry Bridges was appointed port commissioner by Alioto several years ago, and Moscone has just named McClain a fire commissioner), none of this will help the thousands of long-



Harry Bridges addressing ILWU Local 6 conference.

WV Photo

shoremen who lost their jobs during Alioto's reign, the 15 percent of Local 6 that is currently unemployed, or the black population terrorized by "convivial" S.F. cops during the Operation Zebra dragnet.

McClain Excuses Disaster

The Local officers' report, delivered by President Curtis McClain, was a fraudulent apology for defeatism. McClain admitted that 1975 was not a good year for the ranks, that the union had been losing some large houses—such as Associated Foods—and that the membership had taken a cut in real wages under the last contract. But he sought to excuse the runaway shops,

"The key is: what can you do?" he proclaimed innocently. He challenged, "If someone has a program to stop these actions... put it on the deck." However, in addition to stacking the deck so that stilling convention rules prevented oppositionists from presenting a counter-report, McClain made it clear that he opposed the "adventurous path"—a code word used by the bureaucrats and their Stalinist supporters to dismiss militant action by the membership in defense of its union gains.

On two key issues the Local 6 president made explicit his capitulation

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