

Rhodesia: White Supremacy Living on Borrowed Time



Samora Machel with FRELIMO guerrillas near the Rhodesian border.

MARCH 7—Mozambique's decision last week to seize Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) property and seal off the 800-mile-long border with the racist Salisbury regime has sharply increased military tensions in southern Africa. Mozambique president Samora Machel announced on March 3 that his country was in a "state of war" and ordered villagers in border areas to dig air raid shelters. He pledged to rigidly apply economic sanctions in response to an attack on a village called Pafuri carried out by Rhodesian jets and helicopters and an artillery barrage that left two Mozambicans dead and ten wounded.

Simultaneously there has been an escalation of Mozambique-based guerrilla strikes against Rhodesian targets during the past two months. Even Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, who last year jailed scores of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) militants in order to bolster moderate nationalists negotiating with the white government of Ian Smith, now sternly addresses Salisbury:

"We have warned that if there is no natural birth of Zimbabwe, a caesarian operation will have to be performed. Africa has now got sufficient surgeons to bring about an operation."
—Africa, March 1976

Kaunda remains the major black African spokesman for détente with
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500,000 Spanish Workers Strike in Basque Region

MARCH 9—In the most massive general strike that Spain has witnessed since the heroic 1937 "May days" uprising in Barcelona, more than 500,000 workers in the highly industrialized Basque region laid down their tools yesterday. Their action was a powerful protest against the slaying of four militants by the hated Guardia Civil (paramilitary national police) in the city of Vitoria last week. These incidents mark the sharpest clash so far between the restive Spanish workers and the reactionary post-Franco government installed after the dictator's death last November.

Even the official government news agency admitted that yesterday's strike action was virtually 100 percent effective as demonstrations occurred in every major town of the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, Navarra and Vizcaya. By the end of the day another young worker had been cut down by police bullets and scores were injured as outnumbered and nervous government forces struck out wildly at the protesters.

In the city of Bilbao, center of the Basque country, striking workers for a

time held both sides of the Ria estuary, closing the docks, shipyards, Altos Hornos de Vizcaya steel works (largest in the country) and plants of such U.S.-owned "multinationals" as Westinghouse, General Electric and Dow Chemical. Most of the city's schools were also shut down. In San Sebastian, Pamplona and Vitoria the strikes were total as thousands of workers poured into the streets to protest the brutal repression by the Francoist regime. Marchers shouted, "Long Live Liberty!"

In an effort to dampen the protests, two of the more reform-minded ministers of the government of Arias Navarro were dispatched to Bilbao. In contrast to earlier hardnosed official condemnations of the demonstrators, self-described "civilized conservative" interior minister Fraga Iribarne even acknowledged a degree of government responsibility for the killings. But despite his order releasing most of the imprisoned Vitoria strikers and a deal worked out with bosses of the city's largest steel plant, Forjas Alavesas, to reinstate all dismissed workers, the

protests continued solid.

The incident which set off the wave of agitation grew out of a month-old dispute at the foundries. Clandestine labor groups called a general strike in Vitoria last Wednesday to support the steel workers. "In the resulting fighting, traffic signs and street lamps were torn out of the ground, cars were overturned and street barricades were erected with whatever came to hand," reported the *New York Times* (5 March). When 3,000 workers gathered in a church during the afternoon, the government moved in anti-riot forces, lobbed tear gas into the building and then opened fire on the protesters as they rushed out. A subsequent *New York Times* (7 March) account graphically described the aftermath:

"Just across the street from the church, a candle in a beer bottle marks the spot where one young worker died. His blood still stains the sidewalk. While it was still fresh, someone dipped a finger in it and wrote 'Justicia,' justice, on the pavement."

In addition to the dead, more than 100 were injured in this cold-blooded provocation.

One important aspect of last week's protests has been the way that they have lined up almost the entire civilian population against the hated Francoist regime. The killings at Vitoria provoked condemnations ranging from a bitter anti-government sermon by the bishop

**SIXTEEN
YEARS OF
STALINIST
RULE**



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Editorial Notes

Woodcock Supports Carter:

"God Bless You" Open Shop

Leonard Woodcock is out campaigning for union-buster Jimmy Carter in the Florida Democratic primary. The UAW president must have sickened any militant auto worker when he spoke from the same platform as the former Georgia governor last week in St. Petersburg, saying of him: "I like a man who can say with simple grace, 'God bless you'" (*New York Times*, 6 March).

Carter has done more than utter the religious benedictions of which Woodcock is so fond. For one thing, he opposes repeal of anti-union "right-to-work" laws; he would "sign the bill" if Congress should pass one, but quickly adds with characteristic "simple grace" that he would "not mount a crusade for repeal."

But the head of the United Auto Workers isn't worried about issues like the right to organize a union shop. When asked by reporters how he could support Carter given the Georgia Democrat's position on "right-to-work" laws, Woodcock answered with cavalier disregard: "I'm not worried about that. It's hardly the most important issue facing us."

Well then, what is the most crucial issue according to Mr. Woodcock? Not to be outdone by the phony populists stumping the country for the Democratic nomination, Woodcock offered his own cracker-barrel wisdom: "I like a man who has the courage to discuss the simple verities.... We need a man with vision to pull this country together."

It was the UAW that provided Carter with the organizational muscle to win the Democratic Primary caucuses in Iowa in January. Now the UAW has endorsed him in the Florida race. One might imagine from Woodcock's recent praise for Carter that the Cheshire cat candidate and the grinning union bureaucrat have some sort of sentimental relationship.

Actually, the effusive hosannas for Carter express Woodcock's fear of a large Wallace vote in Michigan. He is still smarting from the sting of having failed to deliver for his candidate, George McGovern, when Wallace took the 1972 Michigan primary. Woodcock no doubt figures that a strong vote for Carter in Florida will weaken support for Wallace in Michigan.

Woodcock has no answer to the racist union-buster from Alabama except to support a more respectable racist union-buster from Georgia. With all of Woodcock's talk of the "simple verities," it is not surprising that one simple truth never gets past his lips: that workers need to break once and for all with the political parties of their hosses!

Nixon Amid the Wall Posters

During his recent trip to China, former U.S. president Nixon was given a guided tour of Tsinghua University in Peking where officials earnestly interpreted for him the "big character" wallposters attacking so-called "capitalist roaders." Foremost culprit in this category is Deputy Premier Teng, until recently chief administrator of the Maoist bureaucracy. The posters portrayed Teng as "evil-minded" and "crafty as a fox," and someone who had "praised the gangster Chiang Kai-shek."

Though he may have difficulty following the labyrinthian intrigues of power politics in the Heaven-

Chiang. (He needn't worry; so did Mao.)

After being the first private citizen ever feted in the Great Hall of the Peoples (while the People's Liberation Army hand played "Home on the Range" and "America the Beautiful"), Nixon proceeded to kiss babies, quote Mao, and take a slow boat in China. To cap off a week filled with distorted clichés, he poetized about building bridges "from the Golden Gate of California to the Golden Gate of Heavenly Peace."

Having received more effusive praise from his Chinese hosts in one week than all the American Maoists have gotten in ten years, Nixon is apparently the most authorized interpreter of Mao Tse-tung Thought in the United States today. He might begin his new career as head of U.S. Maoism by clueing in the October League and Revolutionary Communist Party, who recently ran long obituaries for Chou En-lai just as the posters in Peking were insinuating that Chou was the secret sponsor of the "second Chinese Khrushchev."

From the bureaucratically manipulated "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" to this latest "mass educational campaign," Mao and his lackeys cynically employ leftist verbiage to cover up old-style "bag jobs" against competing cliques. Meanwhile, all factions of the Chinese Stalinists try to curry favor with leading capitalist gangsters like Nixon.

Mao & Co. excuse their alliances with such reactionary hangmen as Chilean dictator Pinochet, imperialist militarists like West German ex-defense minister Strauss and CIA-funded imperialist stooges such as the FNLA and UNITA in Angola with the need to "unite the many" against the Soviet Union. The nationalist Kremlin bureaucracy makes its alliances with the so-called "progressive" bourgeois politicians.

The only way to go beyond the superficial reshuffling at the top and to avoid the danger of a Sino-Soviet war is to sweep away the parasitic bureaucracies through workers political revolution in all the degenerated and deformed workers states. For communist unity against imperialism! Jail Nixon!

Baby HUAC?

With the activation of the House Ethics Committee this week, Congress has joined President Ford in an effort to roll back the tide of post-Watergate exposures of the U.S. secret police agencies. The committee, officially named the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, has never before investigated *anyone* in its entire existence since 1968 as a permanent standing committee. Now it has been voted the considerable sum of \$350,000 to investigate the leak that led to publication of the report of the Pike

ings") in order to clamp the lid on journalists exposing the CIA and FBI. Under the committee's expanded subpoena powers a journalist who refused to reveal his source could be jailed for "contempt of Congress." The ominous and broad-ranging powers of the "Ethics" Committee are reminiscent of the McCarthyite House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) active in the 1950's and 1960's.

The head of the committee, John Flynt, says that the investigation will not be directed "at any particular person," but no one doubts that the Number One target is Daniel Schorr, the broadcast journalist who leaked the "Pike Papers" to the *Village Voice*. Publication of the report actually added nothing new to what had already been printed earlier, so the Ethics Committee's "full investigation" is clearly aimed at all press attempts to publish unfavorable material about the government's spy apparatuses.

Schorr is also being witchhunted by the Justice Department, which is considering whether he can be prosecuted under federal espionage laws. And his employer, CBS, has taken him off the air. He is the immediate target in what is becoming known as the "secrecy backlash." Noting that the "mood has shifted" from "freedom" (?) to "security," Schorr remarked: "I got hit by a swinging pendulum" (*New York Times*, 27 February).

The case of Daniel Schorr raises the dilemma for liberals which was always inherent in the CIA/FBI investigations: how far are they willing to go in providing a semblance of public scrutiny before calling the whole thing off in order not to seriously damage the imperialist machine? Both liberal and conservative imperialists have concluded that the secret police must be secret.

The witchhunt of Daniel Schorr is only the narrowest focus of the secrecy backlash intended to get the heat off the secret police. From Ford's "reform" legalizing the "excesses" of which the CIA/FBI have been charged to the attempt to go after journalists in the name of "national security," the inevitable target is the left. The brazen attempt to gag the press and freeze criticism of the government must be stopped and this baby HUAC throttled in its cradle. Call Off the Witchhunt—Disband the Ethics Committee!

Letter to the Partisan Defense Committee

February 17, 1976

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

On behalf of Philip and the Committee we want to extend special thanks to you and the organization for your continued and diligent support that you have given us in this struggle.

It is heartwarming to have dependable friends like you. Although we value your financial help, we are especially impressed with all the efforts you are making to publicize the case.

It is so important that we reach as many people as possible, and your work has paid off because besides receiving financial and moral support from PDCs, in several cities, we have heard from individuals who have gained knowledge of the case through your publications.

Your latest correspondence about the radio show in Chicago has been received with great enthusiasm, and we would be extremely delighted to have the tape. Thanks tremendously for all the information.

In Solidarity,

Philip L. Allen Defense Committee
of First Unitarian Church
2936 West 8th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90005

Editor's Note: Last December 2 spokesmen for the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee appeared on Chicago radio station WVON's "Hotline" to discuss the frame-up of Philip Allen and demand his release. According to "Hotline" host Wesley South, the program reaches an audience of 250,000 to 500,000 and has more black listeners than any other Chicago station.



CIA-head George Bush with Daniel Schorr. UPI

committee's investigation of the CIA and FBI after the House had voted to suppress the document.

This enormous budget is not much less than the amount spent by the House committee investigation that produced the controversial "Pike Papers" in the first place, and the *New York Times* reports that it could "theoretically" be upped to as much as \$900,000. Moreover, the Ethics Committee demanded broad "subpoena powers" to force testimony from non-members of Congress. It has a number of FBI staff detectives and a freshly resigned FBI inspector "to conduct the detective and legal work." No other House committee has such extensive legal powers and police personnel.

The obvious purpose of this effort is to stage a publicity-grabbing show trial (in the guise of "hear-



Wally McNamee/Newsweek

Chinese Interpreter explains poster attacking "capitalist roader" Teng to Nixon.

ly Palace or deciphering the deliberately obscurantist language of the wall posters, Tricky Dick is no stranger to bureaucratic purges. The author of the "Saturday Night Massacre" also agrees that the bad guys are the ones who are "soft" on the Soviet Union. However, Nixon remained silent during the tour, perhaps reminding that he, too, once praised the gangster



"Justice" American-Style

"Patty" Hearst, the Harrises and the SLA

For week upon week the bourgeois press has been indulging in an orgy of sex-and-brainwashing sensationalism in the continuing saga of "Patty" Hearst, on trial for robbing a San Francisco branch bank on 15 April 1974. As the trial winds down, one is forcefully reminded of an aphorism credited to Anatole France: "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." The Hearst trial demonstrates a corollary: the rich and the poor have an "equal right" to wield the clout of a billion-dollar empire to acquire "justice under the law."

Hot-shot big-money lawyer F. Lee Bailey leads a virtual army of legal and psychological mercenary experts in defense of "Patty." The defense's strategy is an old and fundamentally simple story: somebody else did it. Not the bank robbery, of course; everybody agrees that as "Tania" it was Patricia Hearst on camera, carbine in hand. But "Patty," they contend, was brainwashed.

The "brainwashing" defense depends upon Hearst-Bailey's ability to divorce Patricia Hearst from the criminal and violent activities of the self-styled "Symbionese Liberation Army" (SLA). The scenario presented is of the poor little rich girl tortured by a deranged sociopathic cabal until she "freaked out"; now the prodigal daughter, suitably sobered by her ordeal, returns home to a heart-warming reconciliation with her family and its fabulous wealth. If Patricia's peccadillos were not so serious, "Tania's" experiences might just be put down to "getting mixed up with bad company."

The Heiress and the Harrises

What is strange about the trial is that it is often hard to tell the defense from the prosecution. To demonstrate what good terms "Patty" is now on with her family, the Hearsts were allowed to be present at the jury selection. Bail was denied, apparently in keeping with a Hearst-Bailey design to keep the defendant out of trouble. One San Francisco radical lawyer, Michael Kennedy, pointed out: "A first year law student

could get the appellate court...to admit bail. None of the high-powered lawyers for Hearst has even mentioned bail since...shortly after her capture" (*San Francisco City Magazine*, 11 February).

The "brainwashing" defense means a frontal assault on the only other living members of the SLA, William and Emily Harris, who are themselves awaiting trial in Los Angeles. Like "Patty," the Harrises face charges in L.A. for kidnapping, assault with a deadly weapon and robbery. The Harrises wanted to be tried along with "Patty." But in a rather unusual move the government allowed the Hearst defense to sever Hearst from the Harrises and try "Patty" alone, prior to the Los Angeles proceedings, on the less serious San Francisco charges. In reality, it is the Harrises who are now being tried, in absentia, by both the prosecution and the defense.

"Patty's" line is: the Harrises did it. She testified that she had not tried to contact her parents after May 17 because the Harrises "would have found out.... And if the Harrises found

out...they would have killed me." Emily Harris responded that "if she had wanted to escape there were plenty of opportunities" (*New York Times*, 22 February).

Unlike Patricia Hearst, the Harrises had something of a political history on the left before they joined the kill-crazy cult SLA. William Harris came back from Vietnam in the mid-1960's and in 1968 joined the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In the early 1970's both the Harrises became involved with prison reform projects in California and there presumably made the contacts through whom they eventually came under the influence of the convicts who dominated the SLA. As members of the group that claimed to have killed school superintendent Marcus Foster as part of a longer personal vendetta "hit list," the Harrises are not defensible from the perspective of the class struggle.

The Harrises do not come from poor families, but they are not likely to get the F. Lee Bailey treatment. They are, however, likely to get a talkative "Patty" as a key witness for the prosecution.

"Patty" has also discussed her journeys as a fugitive from justice, naming the names of many who "harbored" her and setting them up for federal charges. To convincingly demonstrate contrition, she must eagerly supply information about those who—perhaps under the mistaken impression that they were rendering humanitarian services to a heroic outcast from bourgeois legality—sheltered her.

Anti-Communist Myths

The press' obsession with the details of the Hearst case goes beyond its usual prurient and racist interest in interracial sex. The defense has also tapped into a persistent bourgeois fantasy about the "nice girl from a good home" who, like the legendary Trilby, is hypnotized into becoming the mindless pawn of the diabolic Svengali. In this more modern version, Trilby is an heiress metamorphosed into a soulless "revolutionary." The tale is given added spice by the fact that in this instance Svengali was a black man.

The defense says "Patty's" captors kept her in a closet for weeks, raped her continually and forced her to act like a member of the SLA gang. They supposedly coerced her into denouncing her parents as the "pig Hearsts" and her fiancé as an "ageist and sexist pig." She now claims that her personal journals—filled with the incoherent ramblings of a class-guilty juvenile—were "dictated" to her by her captors.

In his opening statement to the jury, Bailey insisted that Patricia Hearst "had no interest in radical politics" (*San Francisco City Magazine*) at the time she was kidnapped. He states that she is now "once again" not political or radical. These two contentions, at least, are almost certainly true (and go a long way toward explaining her evident lack of the sort of solidarity that is said to exist even among thieves). The defense further argues that "Patty," having been "brainwashed," was in fact not really political at all during her SLA episode.

Now here is a half-truth whose validity turns not on the question of coercion—its putative existence, nature or extent—but on the character of the SLA itself. The SLA was not primarily a political group at all, but a criminal, violence-crazed cult. Whatever the nature of Patricia Hearst's involvement with the SLA, it can in no sense be considered "political."

The "brainwashing" defense in the Hearst case is merely another anti-communist "dupe" legend. Hearst-Bailey would like to cast the Harrises as the "dupers," practitioners of Maoist behavior modification. The court heard three psychologists testify about brainwashing. Robert Jay Lifton explained how "Patty" had her "sense of self dehumanized and betrayed" and compared the process to the Chinese Communists' "conversion" of clergy; which he claims to have seen many times. Another psychologist, Martin Orne, testified that he had "studied the personalities of revolutionaries" and concluded that "Miss Hearst was unlike" them, especially because she "did have feelings for individuals" (*New York Times*, 27 February).

Both the defense counsel and the
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Bill and Emily Harris



SLA hideout in flames after attack by more than 300 L.A. SWAT police and FBI agents in May 1974.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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SL Forums Call for Women's Liberation through Proletarian Revolution

NEW YORK—A few days before International Women's Day a Spartacist League supporter telephoned *Majority Report*, a weekly feminist newspaper, to ask what events were planned here for the occasion. "We don't know anything about it," she was told. "It isn't a feminist holiday."

Indeed it is not. In the past the feminist movement has obscured the origins of the holiday commemorating women garment workers' strikes in the early twentieth century. In February 1917 a massive demonstration of Russian women on International Women's Day sparked the revolution, and in 1920 the Communist International proclaimed the day a proletarian holiday.

This year, at least in New York, the feminists have begun to abstain from even participating in International Women's Day activities. Demonstrations and rallies here were markedly smaller than in previous years.

In the last year many feminists have been deeply shaken by the scandalous "cooperation" of Jane Alpert with the FBI and revelations about Gloria Steinem's services to the CIA in the early 1960's. Possibly reflecting the polarizations in the women's movement provoked by these issues, there were few "umbrella-group" demonstrations this year. Most events were held separately by various ostensibly socialist organizations. In New York the largest was a Black Women's United Front conference sponsored by the Congress of Afrikan Peoples (CAP) and the October League (OL), which attracted roughly 400 women. A subsequent CAP/OL rally brought out about 300 people.

Elsewhere, several demonstrations around democratic reform issues (abortion, ERA, etc.) were called by the National Organization of Women (NOW), with its bourgeois politics and its reformist friends of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). NOW's big draw was a San Francisco "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" where 250 women heard movie star Jane Fonda speak and could then pick up her Democrat husband's campaign materials from the nearby "Tom Hayden for Congress" literature table.

In Boston and Detroit there were no demonstrations at all. In Chicago about 50 people turned out for an OL demonstration and a meager 20 for a planned Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) march. In the Bay Area an assortment of left groups sponsored a women's cultural festival at Oakland's Laney College which was attended by about 300.

SL Forums

The Women's Commission of the Spartacist League held a series of forums nationwide commemorating

International Women's Day and explaining the Trotskyist program of women's liberation through proletarian revolution. Before West Coast audiences, Sheila Delaney pointed to the example of the "pots and pans" demonstrations of Chilean housewives—part of the reactionary anti-Allende mobilizations that preceded the bloody 1973 coup which toppled the Unidad Popular government—to demonstrate that the mass organizing of women can be a powerful tool for *either* side in the class struggle. Rather than succumbing to petty-bourgeois calls for an "independent" women's movement, the revolutionary party must struggle to win the masses of women away from reactionary ideology to the proletarian cause. Only the workers' vanguard party, based upon a clear program in the historic interests of the proletariat and all the oppressed, can effectively combat the rightist obscurantists' efforts to misdirect the fears of plebeian women into the service of reaction.

In Detroit and Ann Arbor Helen Cantor spoke on "Women, Culture and Class Society." She discussed the theories of cultural feminists who argue that the contributions of great women artists and writers have been left out of history. The "herstory" line of "writing women back into history" assumes the premise that centuries of women's oppression have not taken a cultural toll on women—i.e., that their oppression was not real. Contrary to the utopian view that altering a few textbooks will change the facts, Cantor insisted that women have *not* participated fully in the creation and development of human culture precisely because they have been excluded from social production, discriminated against in education and cloistered in the nuclear family for child-rearing and housekeeping. Until women are freed from enervating domestic trivia and the narrowness of the family to participate in all realms of societal activity "women's history" can be nothing other than a tokenistic testimonial to a handful of exceptional individuals in the context of centuries of misery, powerlessness and frustrating, dehumanizing isolation from social life.

Finking Is Feminist?

In forums in the New York area, Kay Blanchard focused on the current rise of "anarcho-feminism," a currently fashionable trend emerging out of the bitter controversy in the women's movement on the issue of collaboration with the repressive bourgeois state. The issue was brought into focus by the actions of Jane Alpert and Gloria Steinem. In late 1974 the bourgeois media reported that ex-Weatherwoman-turned-feminist Jane Alpert had emerged from hiding and, in order to buy lenient

treatment from the authorities, had "fully cooperated with the government." A few months later Pat Swinton, a former associate of Alpert's, was arrested after four years as a fugitive.

Within the women's movement, the SL speaker explained, deep divisions long plastered over by the spirit of "sisterhood" suddenly came seething to the surface. While many groups said Alpert should be kicked out of the movement for capitulating to the FBI, a star-studded cast of feminists including Steinem, Robin Morgan, Kate Millett and Susan Brownmiller, formed the Circle of Support for Jane Alpert. Circle of Support does not deny that Alpert finked to the FBI; Steinem & Co. insist that "informing is not the issue" and that the left vilifies Alpert simply because she is a woman and one who "struck a mortal blow at its credibility."

"Sisterhood" and the CIA

A few months later Circle of Support jumped to Steinem's defense when the feminist group Redstockings exposed her 1959-1962 role as director of the CIA-funded Independent Research Service, where her job was to compile biographical data on members of international Communist-led youth organizations. Steinem's most interesting—and dubious—defense came from CLUW honcho Edith Van Horne, a United Auto Workers International representative. In a letter to Redstockings Van Horne protested that "all of us were suckered by the CIA in the 1960's." Tell us more, Ms. Van Horne! The workers movement deserves a more detailed account.

These graphic demonstrations that "consistent feminism" hardly leads to socialism—contrary to the SWP's claims in justification for embracing



International Women's Day demonstration in Chicago.

petty-bourgeois feminism—have sparked a sorting-out process among feminists. A number of women's collectives were forced to admit that the state was a greater enemy than their old anathema, "male-dominated" left groups. Many women courageously refused to cooperate with subsequent grand jury investigations concerned with the whereabouts of radical fugitives and themselves suffered jailings and harassment as a consequence.

Anarcho-Feminism and the Fat Underground

Many among this wing of the movement, however, now claim to advocate "anarcho-feminism," a confused doctrine based on an implicit absurdity: that the state can be abolished without proletarian revolution and the construction of a workers state, which lays the basis for the elimination of class society, and with it the state.

Blanchard conducted the audience on a guided tour through the maze of reformist currents in the feminist movement a myriad of hyphenated amalgamations such as the socialist-feminists, radical-feminists, lesbian-feminists, Jewish-feminists, etc. "Just when you think that there couldn't possibly be any more specialized organizations we read about the Fat Underground," she said. Blanchard read from its statement that there is a "class division between fat and slim people—the fat are forced to slave and sweat while the slim are encouraged to eat and relax!"

In closing, Blanchard pointed out that all the various feminist programs, taken to their logical conclusion, amount to sex war. She counterposed to this the Spartacist League's program for the emancipation of women through proletarian revolution, through the forging of the vanguard workers party to unify and lead to victory the struggles of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

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In Anti-Trotskyist Frenzy

West German Maoist Thugs Disrupt Own Demos

BERLIN—The collapse of the West German "economic miracle" in the context of a world-wide capitalist depression has had a sharp impact on the biggest industrial proletariat of West Europe: already several hundred thousand foreign "guest workers" have been shipped home and the unemployment rate is over 5 percent, almost triple that of two years ago. The German bourgeoisie has responded by taking the lead among advanced capitalist countries in greatly expanding its already extensive repressive legislation designed to hamstring or crush all serious working-class resistance.

In addition to such actions as turning the border guards into a militarized national police and spending millions of marks on the drawn-out "Baader-Meinhof" show trial, last month the Social Democratic Party (SPD)-led government pulled out all the stops to enact a draconian "extremist law." The measure would make membership in "anti-constitutional" organizations grounds for dismissal from all civil service jobs, from state administration to teachers and librarians.

The bill failed solely because it was not severe enough for the tastes of the Christian Democrats, who control the upper house of parliament and are thirsting for an election campaign centering on the accusation that the SPD is "soft on reds." However, such dismissals have already been occurring by the score (with hundreds of new job applicants turned down) on the basis of state "extremist laws," and the federal constitutional court has already ruled that such dismissals do not violate citizens' rights.

In January a law making it illegal to advocate the forcible overthrow of the state was unanimously passed by the Bundestag. The terms of this measure were so broad as to include any call for the dictatorship of the proletariat or the overthrow of capitalism. Despite disclaimers that the measure would apply only if "the existence or security of the federal republic" were threatened, the viciously reactionary German police and courts (who have been notoriously lenient toward Nazi war criminals) will certainly cooperate in using the new provision (paragraph 88a of the penal code) to harass supporters of all groups to the left of the SPD's Young Socialists.

Already there have been a number of government moves against ostensibly revolutionary groups, notably coordinated raids and arrests directed against the Maoist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) in 1973. Maoist groups have also been hard hit by witchhunts in the unions. The SPD has been in the

forefront of this anti-communist campaign, with the pro-Moscow DKP (German Communist Party) aiding it by fingering alleged "ultra-leftists" in the plants.

In this situation of stepped-up repression, the elementary need is for working-class unity in the struggle against the witchhunt and to oppose the extension of dictatorial powers of the bourgeois state. But instead of efforts to build a strong united front against capitalist repression, the Maoists are instead trying to curry favor with the bourgeoisie by aggressively demonstrating in favor of NATO and even, in one case, bringing a court suit against the West German defense minister for insufficient vigilance against "Soviet social imperialism." An integral part of this campaign for "defense of the fatherland" is the Maoists' current anti-Trotskyist frenzy.

The recent wave of Stalinist gangster attacks against ostensibly Trotskyist groups began with the attempt by the KPD and the KPD-ML to storm a GIM (International Marxist Group, German section of the United Secretariat) meeting at the Technical University in Berlin last November (see "West Ger-

man Maoists Squirm Over Chinese Support to NATO," *WW* No. 90, 2 January 1976). The Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany, section of the international Spartacist tendency) joined with the GIM and the Spartacusbund in a joint defense guard that succeeded in driving off the Maoist attackers.

In two different incidents in late February the Maoists have again resorted to thug attacks in order to quarantine their supporters from "contamination" by exposure to Trotskyist politics. On February 25, a demonstration against drastic (up to 80 percent) hikes in public transit fares was called by a high school students' organization in West Berlin. During the course of the march, the KPD-ML launched a brutal and sustained assault against the TLD, the Spartacusbund and the "critical Maoists" of the Communist League (KB).

After harassing other participants to keep them away from Trotskyists, a KPD-ML goon squad attempted to separate the TLD and Spartacusbund from the preceding contingents. Once the "popular masses" were far enough away that they could not see the Maoist bully boys going about their dirty business, the attack began. Although heavily outnumbered, the TLD defended itself vigorously in extended fighting that lasted for about half an hour along the route of march. At one point the TLD broke through the Maoists thugs and advanced to in front of the KB contingent, whereupon the KPD-ML proceeded to attack their erstwhile comrades-in-arms of the KB as well. Only after giving a good account of themselves in this Maoist-provoked melee did the TLD supporters withdraw in protest, as did the KB and Spartacusbund.

During the February 25 Berlin demonstration, the Communist League of West Germany (KBW) marched in league with the KPD-ML, tolerating the vicious attacks on other demonstration participants in silence. In typical Stalinist fashion, the KBW shows its disdain for workers democracy; at an earlier (January 16) Berlin demonstration against paragraph 88a it contrived to prevent co-sponsors KB and GIM from speaking by declaring the rally over after its own speech. (Here the KBW was actively aided by the police, who moved in to dissolve the meeting.) An even more serious attack by these cynical mouthers of "participatory democracy" jargon took place at a February 21 demonstration in Köln.

The Köln protest was against the infamous paragraph 218 of the criminal code which outlaws abortion. The KBW, which has a penchant for dreaming up bizarre reformist demands in "democratic" plumage, had sought to focus the demonstration on its call for a

referendum on the anti-abortion law. The TLD marched in the demonstration with placards calling for abolition of paragraph 218, for free abortion on demand, for a workers government and with one sign denouncing the "referendum" gimmick as a reformist ploy. When the Köln comrades of the TLD refused to remove this placard, various KBW heavies forced their way into the TLD's ranks and managed to destroy the sign during the confrontation.

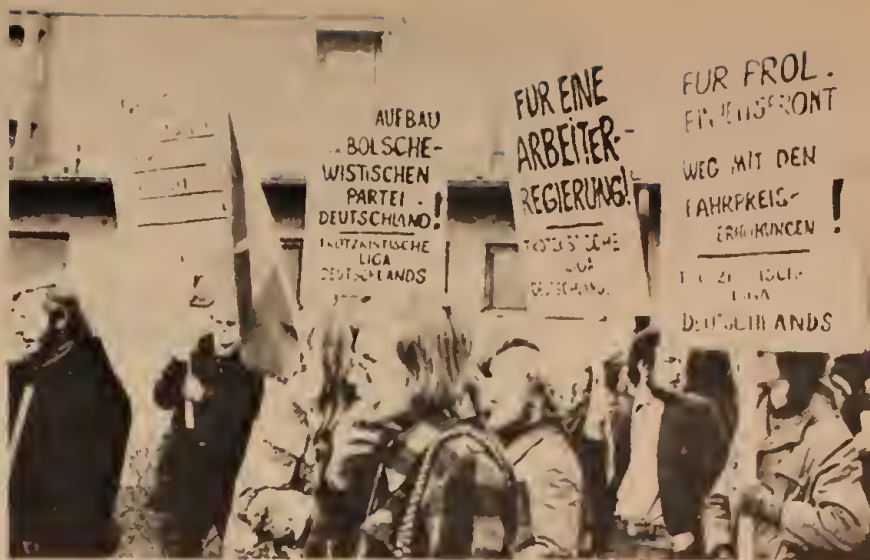
In the course of these demonstrations and meetings, every one of the Maoist groups has made crystal clear its sectarian disregard of Leninist norms of proletarian democracy. The attitude of the KPD, KPD-ML and KBW was made clear by their brutal attempts to break up demonstrations and meetings rather than permit the expression of Trotskyist politics. The KB, in turn, even though it was itself a victim of this Stalin-style gangsterism on February 25, had previously prevented KPD members in Berlin from selling their press. Furthermore, in commenting on the November incident at the Technical University and the TLD's principled defense of workers democracy, a KB Berlin newspaper explicitly stated that it considers attempts to suppress the views of other left tendencies as in principle justified, the only question being whether the relationship of forces makes such attacks opportune!

In November the ostensibly Trotskyist GIM and Spartacusbund signed a joint statement in defense of workers democracy together with the TLD and formed a common defense guard. However, in Köln, when the TLD approached the local GIM committee and the sympathizer circle of the Spartacusbund requesting joint defense arrangements for the February 21 demonstration in view of the expected KBW attack, they received vague promises. The Spartacusbund eventually sent an observer (who observed). GIM supporters in the abortion action committee also observed the Maoist attack... from the ranks of the KBW-led contingent. They made no organizational move to aid our outnumbered comrades, although a few individual GIM supporters did defend the TLD. Thus it becomes clear that these fake-Trotskyists support workers democracy only when they themselves are attacked (or, in the case of the Spartacusbund, when it concerns a group they wish to play games with). Their main distinction from the KB in this respect is a lack of frankness and a heavy dose of hypocrisy.

—Stop the Maoist gangster attacks! Defend workers democracy!

—For freedom of propaganda in joint actions!

—For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Germany! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!



February 25 demonstration in Berlin against public transit fare hikes.

Kommunistische Korrespondenz
 Herausgegeben von der Trotskistischen Liga Deutschlands
 Trotskismus: Der Marxismus unserer Epoche!
 Zur Verteidigung des Trotskismus und der Arbeiterdemokratie
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SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE



IN CUBA



Cuban Communist Party Congress in Havana, December 1975.

Granma

Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress

"Carrier pigeons flew today from remote villages in the Sierra Maestra with early returns in Cuba's first national vote since Fidel Castro seized power in 1959," reported the 16 February *New York Times*. In balloting on the new "socialist constitution" the final count was 97.7 percent in favor and 1 percent opposed, with about 5.6 million people over the age of 16 participating.

This first national plebiscite came only a few weeks after the maiden congress of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC) held in late December. After 12 months of preparation (1975 was proclaimed "The Year of the First Congress") and a great deal of fanfare, the meeting convened at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana with a cast of thousands of delegates and foreign dignitaries.

The carefully orchestrated six-day conference, a masterpiece of political sterility, listened to a seven-hour report by Fidel Castro and follow-up speeches praising the "brilliant ability" of the "jefe máximo" to "interpret and express historical necessity" (*Granma*, 25 January). Commenting on why the congress had not been held before, Castro remarked with a bureaucratic arrogance that would make even the most cynical Stalinist hacks blush, "We are fortunate to be holding it now. Fortunate, indeed! This way the quality of the Congress is endorsed by 17 years of experience!"

Despite all the hoopla about "socialist democracy," the first-ever PCC congress certainly did not represent a break with the capricious Stalinist regime which has governed the island since a bureaucratically deformed workers state emerged in the fall-winter of 1960. But it is significant as an attempt by the narrow Castro ruling clique to solidify and broaden the governmental and party apparatus. This operation has meant a facelifting for the regime, extending even to the personal appearance of its leaders. Gone are the days

when Raúl Castro was the only commander of state armed forces to sport a pony tail. At the congress, both Castro brothers wore stylishly tailored officers' uniforms (no battle fatigues here!) complete with epaulettes.

A Rubber-Stamp Congress

The main theme of the congress was "the process of institutionalizing and restructuring the country." Until now virtually all decisions have been made by Castro himself or a small circle of close associates. Castro's report contained a long section, entitled "mistakes made," which admitted that there has been no semblance of democratic decision-making in the Cuban party-state:

"For years the Party's activities had been conducted by the Secretariat for Organization. The Political Bureau functioned as the Party's highest authority, but in practice the Central Committee did not exercise its functions. In addition to this, the Political Bureau—composed of comrades who were in charge of many state functions—considered the most important political questions, but there was no strictly systematic work in the leadership of the Party and the state." *Granma*, 4 January

Castro's conclusion was to propose a new constitution based on "representative organs of the proletarian state: the National Assembly and the Provincial and Municipal Assemblies of People's Power."

In his report to the PCC congress, Castro motivated the need to replace the 1940 Fundamental Law by referring to the "continual clash between a profoundly revolutionary process and the formulations of a bourgeois constitution." He hailed the new document as "an exemplary text of socialist democracy" and "a text worthy of the first socialist state of workers and peasants, of manual and intellectual workers, in the Americas, in which sovereignty and power are truly in the hands of the

working people..." (*Granma*, 4 January).

The 1976 constitution does codify the collective ownership of the means of production, a historic conquest of the working class. It also guarantees certain rights to the Cuban people, such as free medical care and education, equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leaves and vacations, social security benefits, as well as the right to vote, work and full social equality.

But despite all the talk of elections and "organs of people's power," the "socialist constitution" is a far cry from workers democracy. It not only writes into law the political monopoly of the Communist Party (as "the leading force of society and the state"), but also the Castro regime's foreign policy of tailing after the Kremlin ("fraternal friendship, assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries").

Actually, Cuba's new "socialist constitution" resembles nothing so much as Stalin's 1936 constitution, which falsely proclaimed the advent of socialism and the disappearance of classes in the Soviet Union. In addition to territorial division of votes by an atomized population instead of soviet democracy organized around the workplace, this document wrote into law the political expropriation of the working class (through reference to the "leading role" of the Communist Party [CPSU], by then merely a mouthpiece for the ruling bureaucracy).

The "Great Leader of the Peoples" did not let the people approve (much less decide upon) his constitution, but in 1937 elections to the "supreme soviet" of the USSR the regimented voters duly cast 98.6 percent of their ballots for the Communist Party candidates (Stalin, "Report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU," March 1939). If Castro got a mere 97.7 percent for his exercise in "socialist democracy," we can only assume...that some of the carrier pigeons got lost in the Sierra Maestra!

For the rest, the congress adopted a party platform and statutes, and passed numerous resolutions covering every field of social and political life, all without a word of dissent or criticism. Castro was, of course, "re-elected" first secretary of the PCC and his brother Raúl, now a self-promoted lieutenant general, was awarded the post of second secretary.

Matanzas: A Farce of Workers Democracy

To test the waters of "people's power," the Cuban bureaucracy has conducted an "experiment" in the province of Matanzas, with mid-1974 elections for district, regional and provincial assemblies. The *Wall Street Journal* (4 December 1974) quoted Ramon Castro, Fidel's older brother

(and a high-level Havana administrator), as saying of the Matanzas vote: "Now we are putting into the hands of the people the power of governing that they should have."

To provide an appearance of "grass-roots democracy," a choice between different candidates was permitted, with 4,712 individuals running for 1,114 positions in the provincial assembly. All residents 16 years of age and older were permitted to vote except prisoners, applicants for permanent emigration and candidates in the 1958 "elections" of the Batista dictatorship. In addition to the above, candidates could be excluded if they were ever political, military, police and trade-union officials in the last Batista government, or if they had been "sanctioned for nonfulfillment of military duties and [dis]respect for national emblems" (*Cuba Review*, December 1974).

A close look at this "experiment" reveals its utterly farcical character and how far it is from genuine proletarian democracy. Aside from the formally democratic features of multiple candidates, right to recall and majority election, in practice all candidates were scrupulously screened by the PCC's electoral commission. Above all, no other workers parties that defend the social and economic gains of the Cuban Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution were permitted to run in opposition to the candidates of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Thus, according to the *Cuba Review*, "If any detrimental information about the individual was found, the nominee was given the opportunity to withdraw as a candidate. Those choosing to remain in the race had the information included in their biographies" which were posted publicly along with their photos. Since no money could be expended in campaigning, candidates were elected strictly on the basis of these biographies, with the obvious assumption by many voters that those who had



been appointed to the most posts in the past were the most qualified.

An even more restrictive screening process was employed for elections to the key post of executive committee, the

full-time executive/administrative arm of the assemblies. Here nominees did not even have to be elected delegates! Moreover, the slates drawn up by the PCC electoral commission had to be accepted or rejected (no new candidates could be added); if turned down, the commission simply draws up a new slate. It is no surprise, therefore, that 75 percent of those elected as delegates to the provincial assembly were either members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League (UJC).

A Five-Year Plan for Cuba

In announcing the Matanzas elections, Cuba's deputy premier and defense minister Raúl Castro linked them to the struggle against bureaucratism: "We are convinced that to the extent the masses participate in state affairs, the struggle against all forms of bureaucratism will be more effective, the needs of the population and the community will be better met and the revolutionary state will be stronger, more democratic and solid" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 22 July 1974). Similarly, the recent PCC congress which approved the new constitution placed special emphasis on overcoming the irrationalities of the present economic organization—or, more accurately, disorganization—of Cuba.

Castro's report stated that, in the past, "Economic management methods that have been put into practice have not been the best possible. Generally, our administrative cadres do not have the required economic consciousness, the required concern for matters regarding costs and production efficiency in general." That is only scratching the surface.

The report stated that in the early years, government economic expenditures were governed by a rudimentary budget financing system (designed by Ernesto "Che" Guevara) which aimed at recouping outlays and centralizing administrative control. However, faced with inadequacies of the cost controls, particularly in agriculture, the Cuban leaders in 1967 introduced "a new system of economic records, preceded by the elimination of all commodity forms and the abolition of charges and payments between units of the state sector!"

By abolishing all cost accounting in the state sector—relying exclusively on physical output quotas—the managers predictably could make only the crudest comparisons of various alternative projects. Meanwhile, the entire economy was geared to Castro's pet projects: first wild diversification without adequate technical knowledge or supporting resources; then an all-out drive to maximize sugar production in the late 1960's. This culminated in the famous fiasco of the "10-million ton harvest" of sugar cane in 1970, which actually produced only 8.5 million tons—a whopping 15 percent shortfall. The entire economy was dislocated as virtually the entire workforce was mobilized for the harvest at the expense of all other production.

This catastrophe—and a swift kick in the pants from the Russians—finally sobered up the Cuban leadership, whereupon it fixed upon emulating the present procedures of Soviet economic planning and management. The year 1971 was symbolically proclaimed the "Year of Productivity" and a heavy use of material incentives was begun, distributing scarce consumer items (television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, bicycles, watches, etc.) to the most productive workers. Now this is to be complemented by adoption of Cuba's first five-year plan, the "Economic Management System."

The plan represents a considerable step forward from the willful irrationality that has characterized Castro's economic policies in the past. One third of investment is earmarked for industry, and sugar output is expected to increase

continued on page 9

SWP and PST on Collision Course

War in the USec Minority

For several years, the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has been deeply factionally polarized between its centrist wing the International Majority Tendency (IMT) based on its European sections, primarily the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of France—and the reformist "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) dominated by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) of Argentina.

Despite both sides' commitment to maintaining the USec as an unprincipled bloc through organizational horse-trading, the inherent instability of a centrist-reformist international conglomeration has led to splits in country after country as the partisans of the competing factions find it impossible to coexist in the same "section." The polarization initially found its clearest expression over the issue of guerrilla warfare (IMT vicarious petty-bourgeois adventurism vs. SWP/LTF ultra-legalistic fake-orthodox "party building"), but the sharpest polemics of the past year or so have taken place over Portugal, with the IMT tailing the Communist Party and "progressive officers" of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) while the SWP invokes "democracy" to front for the CIA-funded Socialist Party-led rightist mobilization.

But the degenerated "unity" façade of the USec has lately developed a new wrinkle. LTF ideologue Joseph Hansen took to the pages of the SWP's public factional organ (*Intercontinental Press*)—the IMT's counterpart is entitled *Inprecor*—on 9 February to present the SWP's version of a split in the Mexican Liga Socialista. Well, you might be asking at this point, what's so unusual about another split in the USec? What makes this particular split news is that the Mexican USec forces were already broken up into two "sympathizing sections" (one for the IMT and one for the LTF) and the new cleavage is the result of a savage battle within the LTF between SWP supporters and a PST-inspired grouping within the Mexican LTF organization.

Hansen's long polemic reports that the PST supporters obtained a majority in the Mexican group, broke off relations with the SWP and according to Hansen repressed the democratic rights of their antagonists so ruthlessly that the pro-SWP minority found itself compelled to launch a "public faction"—i.e., to split and form a competing public organization. Similar

tensions within LTF-aligned groups have been reported in the Portuguese PRT and the Spanish LCE. In both cases the PST-backed elements favor a rapprochement with the IMT.

Fundamentally, what is going on in the USec can be described quite simply. Having held together this long as a paper "international tendency," the USec in reality is so far from possessing any cohesion whatsoever that even the long-standing antagonism between the IMT and LTF no longer suffices to keep the two wings unified within themselves. The de facto break is so far advanced that the two wings have been pursuing realignments on their own (e.g., the LCR's courtship of the French Parti Socialiste Unifié, the prolonged negotiations between the SWP and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste).

Meanwhile the cliquish and factional polarizations within the national sections themselves can no longer be restrained by any felt sense of a need to stand together against a common opponent within the USec. The open break within the Mexican LTF finds parallels, for example, in the chaotic internal situation of the French LCR or the multi-faceted factionalism within the pro-IMT International Marxist Group in Britain. The USec rotten bloc is fracturing into "two, three, many" international tendencies at breakneck speed. At the mid-February meeting of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the USec, a third tendency (presumably the PST and its supporters) emerged on the question of Portugal (*Inprecor*, 4 March). At the same time, the IMT, in an effort to counter its waning influence in Portugal, called for a fusion between the PRT and LCI in Portugal.

Falling Out Among Reformists

Persistent rumors of frictions within the LTF over Portugal and Angola are now amply confirmed. The Angola dispute is particularly instructive. The SWP's Angola position—a disingenuous "neutrality" between the nationalist MPLA and the MPLA's CIA/South Africa-backed foes—is a sitting duck for leftist criticism. Proving that its cynicism knows no bounds, the PST has attacked on the Angola question with a show of fake-orthodoxy which puts not merely the SWP but the MPLA enthusiasts of the IMT to shame.

In the 5 December issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST takes a long swipe at the SWP:

"For Marxists there is only one way to confront the problem: to determine which class interests each band [guerrilla group] represents and which social forces it bases itself on. This enables us to determine which sector is more progressive.

"To say that the war is 'fratricidal' is to say nothing. A civil war is nothing more than the intensification of the class struggle which is permanently fought out in more 'peaceful' forms (political struggle, strikes, etc.).

"Without a doubt, if the MPLA wins it will try to contain and repress the mass movement on which it bases itself today. In this sense it represents a potential enemy....

"But its defeat is a much more immediate and grave danger. Because its defeat also will mean the smashing of the trade-union and political organizations of the Angolan working class and the urban popular sectors.... It will mean a retreat in the revolutionary process begun in the country by the war against the Portuguese."

Borrowing criticisms from both USec camps—from the IMT, the need to

solidarize with the MPLA against the imperialist/colonialist puppets; from the SWP the correct observation that the MPLA nationalists will smash any independent mobilizations of the workers—the PST almost comes up smelling like a rose. But not quite.

For the PST was not born yesterday. Its sordid history of social-democratic groveling before the bloody feet of Peronist bourgeois nationalism has gained the PST a well-deserved reputation among Latin American militants as a thoroughly rotten and reformist organization. For all its "orthodox" pontificating about Angola, the PST has shown its reformism on the terrain which is decisive: its posture toward its "own" bourgeoisie in Argentina.

The PST's current phony orthodox stance neatly parallels another period in its history. At the same time as it was raising abstractly correct criticisms of the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario of G. Lora for joining the class-collaborationist Frente Antiimperialista Revolucionario (FRA), closer to home the PST had thrown its support behind the "process of institutionalization" in Argentina following the Peronist electoral victory in 1973. And what did the PST mean by "institutionalization"? Defending the "continuity of this government, because it was elected by the majority of Argentine workers."

Today the PST's program to meet the crisis in Argentina is to establish "a forum for the free interchange of ideas among all sectors of the society, culminating in discussions as to what course to take." This is nothing less than a call for an Argentine FRA! This is exactly what the PST's Uruguayan co-thinkers called for in 1974 and demand today in Mexico (where the PST-backed "Militant Tendency" has signed an electoral agreement to propagate, among other things, "the general positions relative to peaceful coexistence").

As for the centrist IMT, neither the PST's social-democratic program for Argentina nor the IMT's past criticisms of the PST (due, of course, solely to the latter's alignment with the SWP/LTF) can be construed as precluding a future reintegration of the arch-reformist PST into the IMT. However, as the entire history of the USec bears witness, unprincipled combinationism cannot build a stable international tendency, but merely plants the seeds of future splits. ■

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

national agreement negotiated by Fitzsimmons and struck for an additional 55 cents per hour. After wildcats spread throughout the Midwest, Fitzsimmons was forced to adjust the wages of all IBT drivers upward to achieve parity with Chicago.)

While real wages have decreased and the right to strike has been throttled, unemployment has increased dramatically and now exceeds 15 percent in many drivers' locals. The depression has precipitated a wave of failures among trucking concerns, with larger outfits huying out bankrupt companies. The total number of jobs in the new consolidated enterprises has not only been slashed, but in many cases drivers previously employed by the bankrupt concerns have forfeited their seniority.

The IBT bureaucrats have remained totally passive in the face of this assault on fundamental union rights; indeed, the notoriously corrupt and gangster-influenced union leadership has proven more than willing to sign away contract protection for the membership. Increasingly common are sweetheart agreements in which local union bureaucrats agree to exempt trucking companies from the wage and other provisions of the master freight agreement, allegedly in return for kickbacks. In the New York-New Jersey area alone, leaders of several Teamster locals concede that well over 50 percent of the trucking workers in the area are covered by local contracts generally inferior to the national agreement (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 December 1975).

TDC: Economist Trade Unionism

The disastrous 1973 contract, along with the disappearance of the popular former Teamster president, Jimmy Hoffa, has greatly weakened the position of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. Into the breach has stepped Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) which, as the only active and visible national opposition in the IBT, has succeeded in tapping a broad layer of discontent in the union.

Most of the successes of TDC have been on the West Coast, where there are a number of IBT locals with a history of dissidence and militancy. TDC motions (endorsing TDC contract demands and calling for the right of locals to ratify contract supplements) have passed in the major Teamster locals in California—Locals 208 and 375 in L.A., Local 70 in Oakland and Local 287 in San Jose.

This has drawn the fire of Fitzsimmons, who reportedly issued instructions to local bureaucrats that the TDC motions are "illegal" and "out of order." Oakland Teamsters told *Workers Vanguard* that the TDC motions were passed in drivers Local 70 while president Chuck Mack was out of town involved in national negotiations, and

that upon his return he launched a harpy-harn red-haiting campaign aimed at TDC. Several TDC members have been disciplined or fired by companies, and numerous physical attacks emanating from the IBT bureaucracy have been reported in the Midwest.

Although TDC's program is reformist, all militants have an obligation to defend trade unionists against red-baiting, company harassment and bureaucratic attacks. Unfortunately TDC undermines its own defense, which should be organized on the principle of workers democracy, by sanctioning government intervention in the Teamsters. TDC has written approvingly of court suits initiated by dissidents in order to get their locals out of receivership. Democratic rights for Teamster members cannot be defended by calling in the capitalist government, whose only concern in intervening in unions is to straitjacket the labor movement!

TDC is a catch-all of Hoffa supporters, opportunists, out-bureaucrats, rank-and-file Teamsters who simply want a better contract and even scattered militants with real impulses toward class struggle. Although it is lavishly praised in *Workers' Power*, organ of the International Socialists (I.S.), in no way does it have a radical program. In fact, TDC appeals to the traditional militancy of drivers on wages and job conditions, and deliberately ignores issues that might offend the prejudices of backward elements in the union.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition to Fitzsimmons

Genuine militants begin with the concrete needs of the working class and then lay out a program that explains what must be done to achieve these ends such as: a sliding scale of wages and hours, nationalization of industry without compensation, workers control, an independent workers party. Teamsters for a Decent Contract, on the other hand, concerns itself with what can be won "now"—i.e., with what the capitalists are willing to grant.

As such, its program is not qualitatively different from that of the IBT International; it merely seeks to squeeze a few pennies more from the companies than Fitzsimmons does. It is not surprising that even local bureaucrats firmly wedded to the capitalist system can vote for the milquetoast TDC demands. As Archie Murrietta, president of drivers Local 208 in L.A., put it in supporting the TDC contract resolution: "Anyone who isn't for a decent contract is a fool" (*Convoy*, March 1976).

TDC's demand for a one cent raise for each 0.2 percent increase in the cost of living is no different from what Fitzsimmons calls for, and entails a cutback in buying power for any worker earning over \$5.00/hour. While the TDC calls for \$2.00 an hour wage increase over three years, Fitzsimmons is now asking \$2.50! Furthermore, TDC refuses to call for a struggle against unemployment. Its

demands are limited to making overtime voluntary and paid at double-time. Class struggle militants would demand a program of jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. TDC's refusal to call for even "no overtime during layoffs" reflects its refusal to combat the viewpoint of the capitalists and their trade-union lackeys that shorter working hours necessarily means less pay.

TDC's chastisement of IBT leaders for selling out on non-economic issues is a phony. For fear of offending backward elements within the Teamsters, Teamsters for a Decent Contract has refused to take a position opposing Teamster raiding of the Farm Workers (UFW)—even though several major IBT locals on the West Coast have openly supported the Farm Workers and in recent years IBT cannery workers in northern California have gone out on unsanctioned strikes against Fitzsimmons' demand that their contract prohibit them from handling UFW produce.

In justifying their refusal to defend the Farm Workers, TDC leaders retort that they only take positions on the contract. However, the February issue of *Fifth Wheel*, a Bay Area publication which uncritically supports TDC, printed a motion which TDC got passed in Local 287 (San Jose) which demands that the IBT withdraw support from Gerald Ford. The motion makes no mention of the need for a political party of labor or the need to break from the Democrats. It is apparently all right for TDC to take positions on "non-contract" issues like giving backhanded support to the Democrats, but not all right to defend the UFW against raiding!

Similarly TDC refuses to raise the issue of racism in its program, although the trucking companies have traditionally hired black and Latin workers into lower-paying and less desirable jobs, where they are forced to stay because of contract provisions that require them to give up accrued seniority for bidding and layoff purposes upon transfer to higher-paying jobs.

For a Militant Nationwide Teamsters Strike

The starting point for militants must be the recognition that the existing trade-union leadership is incapable of waging a serious struggle against the capitalists. TDC, however, sees itself mainly as a pressure group which can force the IBT leaders to fight for the membership. From the beginning it has taken an equivocal position on a strike, asserting that only if Fitzsimmons failed to negotiate a decent contract would one be necessary. TDC set itself the task of pressuring Fitzsimmons into negotiating just such a contract through a petition campaign. As one Teamster steward commented aptly to a *WV* reporter about the petition campaign: "What's Fitzsimmons going to do with the 100,000 [sic] petitions? Just throw them in the trash can."

When the trucking companies took a hard-nosed stance in negotiations (it is reported that Trucking Employers Inc., whose member companies employ 200,000 drivers, has walked out of every negotiating session), Fitzsimmons began to mumble about calling a strike. TDC took this as good coin. One of the two resolutions it is now pushing at union meetings asserts that the TDC program should be adopted and that union leaders will have the "full support" of the membership in fighting for a decent contract.

Fitzsimmons and his cohorts are not interested in such "support" from the rank and file, and militants who think that the IBT leaders can win a good contract or lead a successful strike are deluded. It is conceivable that Fitzsimmons could call a limited strike in order to channel off militancy, but a strike led by the IBT bureaucracy would be sold out. Instead of "supporting" Fitzsim-

mons, Teamster militants must demand that strike committees be elected in the locals, as the first step in creating a centralized national strike leadership responsible to the membership.

To be genuinely effective, a strike must be extended nationwide. (There has never been a nationwide Teamsters strike, although the first master freight agreement was negotiated over ten years ago.) Such a strike must be broadened to include warehousemen as well as teamsters organized in related industries like United Parcel Service (UPS), who traditionally have worked under contracts inferior to the master freight agreement. Such a united struggle, which would include demanding parity for UPS workers and equal across-the-board wage increases for all Teamsters (warehousemen as well as drivers) could ignite a nationwide upsurge in the class struggle.

The TDC consciously strives to imitate the tough-talking, "no-nonsense" approach of former Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa. But contrary to the impressions of even many truck drivers, Hoffa was not a practitioner of militant struggle against the companies. While the Teamsters under Hoffa were one of the few unions to make real progress in organizing after World War II, and a section of the union membership (drivers) won steady wage increases, these gains were mainly due to the fragmented nature of the trucking industry, which was dominated by hundreds of mostly smaller concerns generally unable to stand up to the giant Teamsters union. The powerful industrial union structure of the Teamsters was not built by Hoffa, but by socialists like then-revolutionary Farrell Dobbs. Hoffa discouraged strikes and was contemptuous of rank-and-file action. The consolidation of large trucking concerns better able to resist the IBT, along with the onset of a depression, rendered impotent Hoffa's business unionism, based on the premise of a "fair share" for both labor and capital.

Every one of the major policies Fitzsimmons today pursues he inherited from Hoffa. Fitzsimmons' current raids on the UFW are an imitation of Hoffa's own raids on rival unions like the brewery workers. Corruption and strong-arm tactics are certainly nothing new under Fitzsimmons. The red-baiting by IBT officials today is no worse than Hoffa's own exploits as a hatchet man for then-Teamster president Dan Tobin, who purged the socialists who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike which launched the Teamsters as an industrial union. Hoffa as well as Fitzsimmons strenuously opposed a nationwide Teamsters strike. Hoffa signed his share of sweetheart agreements and was not averse to breaking strikes by dissident Teamster locals. If Fitzsimmons has "dictatorial" power today, it was Hoffa who concentrated power in the office of the IBT president. And if Fitzsimmons supports the anti-labor Republican Party, Hoffa backed candidates from both the Republican Party and the equally anti-labor Democratic Party.

The American working class is ripe for militant struggle. The current trade-union bureaucracy, old and discredited, has done nothing to halt the decline in real wages or the spread of unemployment. However, groups like the TDC, which offer only a slightly slicker version of the class collaboration of the present labor fakery, are incapable of providing an alternative. Rather than educating Teamster militants to a class-struggle program, TDC adapts its program to whatever is backward in the existing consciousness of the workers. But, in the last analysis, the TDC and its supporters in the I.S. deceive only themselves. Bluster and gimmicks will not win class battles, and it is by this criterion that workers will judge, and reject, the TDC. ■

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Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

from the present 5.5 million tons to 8 million annually by 1980. But the fundamental bureaucratic character of the reform was indicated by Castro's characteristic comment that the first condition of success was that party and state leaders "should regard its implementation as a matter of personal concern, and a matter of honor!"

Compared to a non-system where projects are selected and dropped at the passing whim of a single leader, no doubt adopting the "Russian model" will produce improvements in the economy. But the new system will be far from a rationally planned economy, for it is still based on the exclusion of the working class from the fundamental political decisions governing the plan and its implementation.

Not Bureaucratic "Honor," But Workers Democracy!

Castro periodically calls up images of "workers participation" in the state apparatus and hands out tongue-lashings to the bureaucrats when another disaster takes place. Thus, after the failure of the 1970 sugar harvest, his address to the annual July 26 demonstration suggested the establishment of workers' committees to regulate distribution of goods and services to consumers, and called for some kind of workers' representation in management. The new "organs of people's power" are likewise touted as a means of increasing "participation by the masses in state and administrative affairs." But the key question is not "participation" but political power, which (naturally) Cas-

tro leaves in the hands of the bureaucracy, seeking above all to *solidify* it.

In response to the Matanzas elections the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) commented that reliance on the "decision-making machinery" typical of "current practices in the Soviet Union... only increases the party's vulnerability to bureaucratic influences..." "The Cuban revolutionary leaders should be the first to be aware of" these dangers, it added (*Intercontinental Press*, 22 July 1974). This conclusion is accompanied by a description of the organization of soviet power under Lenin in the early years of the revolution, and the friendly suggestion that Castro adopt this model instead.

The SWP article contains a subhead stating "Lack Analysis of Stalinism," directed at Castro and the Cuban "revolutionary leaders." Actually it is more appropriate for the SWP! The Cuban leadership is well aware of the consequences of the model it has selected, for to institute real workers democracy, through sovereign soviet bodies, would destroy its own privileged position and bonapartist rule. There is no better illustration of this than the fact that Castro selected none other than Blas Roca, long-time bureaucratic hack who led the Moscow-line Stalinists from 1934 until the late 1950's (when it boycotted Castro's guerrilla struggle in the Sierra Maestra), to carry out the "experimental" elections and screen candidates in Matanzas! What is needed is not the SWP's friendly advice, but a workers political revolution which will shatter the bureaucracy and replace it with soviet rule! ■

Hearst, Harrises

(continued from page 3)

government have a real stake in the all-out attempt to portray the SLA as a revolutionary organization. The defense can capitalize on anti-communist mythology which pictures revolutionary militants as dupes manipulated by diabolic masterminds equipped with fantastic techniques of "thought control." The government hopes to discredit the left by equating it with the SLA, a crazed killer-cult that adopted some "revolutionary" vocabulary popular with the California hippie-radical milieu. But if "Patty" was really kidnapped and brainwashed, it was by deranged and criminal elements, not by revolutionists.

Trial by Fire

The capitalist state went after the SLA with a ferocity it usually reserves for Vietnamese peasants and, sometimes, black militants. In the midst of the Hearst show trial, the court witnessed a less theatrical but far more dramatic example of the spectacular class differential of American capitalist "justice." On February 19, the Hearst trial was not given over to sex in the closet, nor shoplifting, nor playing with weapons, nor Hearst family life. Instead, the jury watched a videotape of the 17 May 1974 cop raid which massacred the six inhabitants of the SLA's Los Angeles house. This was the raw, murderous stuff which lurks behind the facade of American "justice." It was SWAT and the FBI—more than 300 of them firing thousands of rounds from their M-16's, riot guns and tear-gas guns—bullets spraying the area for an hour and a half, shooting up and eventually burning down three homes in the black neighborhood.

The firepower directed, DMZ-style, against the SLA's small frame house was so intense that, according to the coroner's reconstruction (*New York Times*, 24 May 1974) those who did not die from gunshot wounds smashed up

the floorboards and hid in the 20-inch crawl space, placing the foot-thick foundation between themselves and the saturation shooting. But it did no good. The cops burned the place down. The rubber gas masks the helpless targets were wearing melted on their heads; one of the victims may have shot himself rather than die a more horrible death in the holocaust.

No need for the troublesome niceties of a courtroom when the cops can act as judge, jury and executioner! While insisting that "the Spartacist League does not defend in any way the 'SLA' or its acts of indiscriminate terrorism," *Workers Vanguard* expressed its outrage at this "military overkill intended to create a police-state atmosphere" (*WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). The bourgeoisie's hideous massacre of the SLA does not in any way excuse or justify the SLA's violent crimes against innocent people, but it does indict the nauseating hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie which claims to betraying Patricia Hearst and the Harrises in the name of "law and order."

We stand for justice. But there will be no real justice until the victorious proletariat enforces justice on the vanquished bourgeoisie and its hired guns. As part of that struggle for justice through the destruction of capitalism, we fight for democratic rights and equality under the law. For the SLA members shot and burned to death, it is of course too late.

While exposing the differential "justice" meted out to the six dead SLA'ers, the Harrises and the granddaughter of "Citizen Kane," we have no wish to see Patricia Hearst stuffed under the floorboards of a wooden house and burned to death. Patricia Hearst should get her full accord of democratic rights—and probably will. The Harrises will not.

We must fight for democratic rights—especially for those least likely to get them, the oppressed and exploited—and against the atrocities of the capitalist state until the day that the state of the class-conscious proletariat once and for all takes "justice" out of the quotation marks and renders it a reality. ■

Spanish Workers Strike...

(continued from page 1)

to formal statements by the city and provincial councils.

The strikes have been called by leftist groups: the police single out the ORT (Revolutionary Workers Organization, a Maoist-influenced tendency of left-Christian origins). But the treacherous reformist apparatus of the Communist Party (PCE) has apparently played no significant role, thus making it difficult for it to easily sabotage the labor action, as the PCE has repeatedly done elsewhere in Spain during the last three months.

Bakers, Soccer Players, Cops All On Strike

While the Basque strike has become the focal point of working-class unrest for the moment, the other main battalions of the Spanish proletariat have been far from quiescent in recent weeks. A ten-day truckers' strike focusing on Madrid caused food shortages in the capital and tied up more than 100,000 rigs. Even the bakers in Madrid went on strike, depriving the population of traditional hot bread for breakfast. For the first time, soccer players have struck, for a 44-hour week.

In another center of labor militancy, Barcelona, almost 100,000 construction workers were on strike for more than a week when they were joined by the municipal workers, led by the firemen (the transit police were also among the first to go out). On February 17 local functionaries filled the plaza in front of city hall. After construction workers arrived, the city employees moved on to take over the municipal building in a sit-down demonstration, preparing to spend the night. However, around 11 p.m. the authorities dispatched two busloads of armed police to assault the demonstrators.

After a tear-gas barrage, the militarized police forces were preparing to attack the gasping city workers when five fire trucks dramatically arrived, surrounding the cops and dispatching gas masks and oxygen bottles to the besieged strikers. After some minutes of a tense stand-off, the protesters were able to withdraw in good order. Even the threat of a bloodbath did not dampen the workers' spirit, however, and there followed an impressive 1 a.m. procession through the city led by firetrucks, traffic police cruisers, ambulances and other city vehicles with their sirens blaring in unison. According to accounts in the liberal *Cambio 16* (1 March), the demonstrators were uniformly applauded by the residents leaning out of their windows in night clothes.

The fact that the striking Barcelona city workers were temporarily joined by even the police underlines that the Spanish tinder box could burst into flame at any moment. The deep crisis of Spanish society, at this moment focused most acutely on the Basque region, tends to polarize all sections of the population, raising the possibility that the combative working class can mobilize support for its struggles among broad middle-class strata and even some bourgeois elements.

While taking advantage of the support of sections of the police when they break with their commanders in what is essentially an act of mutiny, the striking city workers must exclude the police and all bourgeois elements from the workers' organizations, insisting that any police supporters of the strike must unconditionally submit to the workers' decisions. Likewise, in the Basque areas it is important to capitalize on broad sympathy for the strike, organizing support committees which can aid in supplying food and other material necessities. But the strike

leadership must be in the hands of the organized workers, not such class-collaborationist organs such as the Democratic Assembly of Euskadi (the Basque region).

Down with the Francoist Monarchy! For a Workers Government!

The Communist Party has done everything possible to subordinate all labor action to its policy of a "democratic breakthrough" in alliance with bourgeois forces ranging from Christian Democrats who supported Franco in the Civil War (Gil Robles) to the political advisor of the Count of Barcelona (Calvo Serrer), father of King Juan Carlos. In addition to limiting labor action to one-day protests, and refusing to call out key factories, the PCE has been careful to issue all calls for action through the popular-front Junta Democrática.

The Stalinists make no bones about their anti-strike attitude. The 13 February *Noticiero Universal* (Barcelona) reports on a London meeting between the Junta Democrática and the Platform of Democratic Convergence, dominated by the social democrats (PSOE), where they talked about unifying the two formations into a super popular front. The article quotes PCE leader of the clandestine workers commissions Marcelino Camacho as saying, "We don't want to Portugalize the economy nor the politics of our country. We are not responsible for these latest strikes..." As previous *WV* articles have pointed out, this disavowal of the strike wave is entirely consistent with the PCE's policy since Franco's death.

Even more scandalous is the action of its international allies, in particular the Polish government. In the Asturias region, coal miners of the state-owned HUNOSA company have been on strike since January 19. According to the 24 February *Financial Times* of London, however, the Spanish government is overcoming shortages of the key fuel by increasing its imports of Polish coal! This is the *third time* in this decade that Polish coal has been used to break Spanish miners' strikes (the earlier occasions being 1970 and 1971). Adding insult to injury, the newspaper account reports a PCE announcement that "Polish comrades" had just made a paltry 30,000 peseta (US\$500) donation to the strikers! This cynical strikebreaking has meant that Asturias is the *only* region of Spain where the arthritic PSOE, which practically disappeared for some years, was able to retain its working-class support.

The ORT, credited by the government with sparking the present general strike in Vitoria, has undergone a leftward evolution in recent years and is perhaps not so hardened in its reformist politics as the PCE. Nevertheless, it is part of the Platform of Democratic Convergence, and is thus fundamentally committed to the same program of class collaboration as the Communist Party. Moreover, its infatuation with Mao Thought, if consistently applied, would mean giving support to the Spanish bourgeoisie's efforts to keep the several key U.S. nuclear bases on Spanish soil, as part of China's effort to shore up NATO against "Soviet social-imperialism"! The counterrevolutionary potential of the several thousand U.S. troops presently on Spanish soil should be clear to anyone aiming at ousting the present regime.

None of the competing Spanish reformists have a program for victory for the militant strikers of Barcelona, Asturias and the Basque country. The workers' demands can be satisfied only through extending general strike action to bring down the Francoist regime. Their perspective must be not to replace the bonapartist monarchy with a "democratized" bourgeois regime—i.e., to strangle the proletarian uprising—but rather to erect in its place a revolutionary workers government, based on organs of soviet rule! ■

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

politicizing, second only to hockey as a popular pastime, ensures exceptionally high voter turnouts as a matter of course.

Emergence of a Paramilitary Racist Right

The vote in South Boston represents something more than the inchoate frustrations and embitterment of white workers which Wallace has attempted to tap with his right-wing populist rhetoric. Although Wallace himself remains within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary politics, his support in South Boston reflects a deepening rejection by anti-busing zealots of parliamentary leaders and legal tactics. Despite his partly successful pursuit of a respectable image, including garnering black votes in Alabama, to "Southie" Wallace is still the man in the school-house door, a symbol of violent resistance to desegregation.

The "official" leaders of ROAR, the umbrella anti-busing group, are products of the old-time Boston Democratic Party machine. The "reactionary" Hicks and her traditional opponent, "liberal" mayor Kevin White, are linked to each other by the usual mechanisms of patronage and under-the-counter political deals. For Hicks the anti-busing movement has always been first and foremost a vehicle for her political career. While helping to shape the political climate which nurtures lynch-mob violence, she has always paid lip service to peaceful tactics and sought to confine ROAR's activities to the limits tolerated by the racist local "establishment."

The sharp differentiation which is now occurring within the anti-busing movement between Hicks and the most rabid racists was partly manifested in the form of electoral support for Jackson versus support for Wallace. Indicative of the mood of Wallace's supporters is the fact that at his January 10 campaign kick-off rally at Boston's staid, downtown Statler Hilton Hotel, members of the audience who failed to applaud were set upon and beaten by a particularly dangerous group called the South Boston Marshals. When Jackson attempted to address a meeting on February 12 in Charlestown, an impoverished Irish-American ghetto like South Boston, the surprised candidate was met with hoots and jeers and finally driven off the platform.

On February 25, Hicks testified in Washington on behalf of the Boston City Council in favor of a bill introduced by Jackson, which would help pay for the city's expenses related to desegregation ("These children have

suffered enough," wheezed Jackson). However, Hicks was obliged to record the opposition of ROAR, which considers the bill to be back-handed support to busing. At a large ROAR meeting on March 3 from which, even though it was held in City Hall, newsmen were barred, the Hicks forces attempted to purge "violence-prone" Wallace-hackers from the organization. Although one of Hicks' opponents, School Committee member Pixie Palladino, was reportedly ousted from the leadership, after the meeting the participants marched out chanting "ROAR United Will Never Be Defeated!"

South Boston Marshals

The South Boston Marshals were originally formed to monitor ROAR's anti-busing motorcades and marches. Their disruption of pro-abortion, pro-integration and Equal Rights Amendment rallies soon revealed that they had appetites other than maintaining order at demonstrations. Last year, in response to a May Day march through South Boston sponsored by the Progressive Labor Party (PL), a so-called South Boston Citizens for Self-Defense was formed "to defend the citizens of South Boston from the PLP," according to ROAR's chief marshal in South Boston, Ray Minucci (*Real Paper*, 9 July 1975). This group, whose membership was anonymous, was widely reported to overlap with the South Boston Marshals.

To mobilize the lumpen youth and ultra-reactionary bigots who are its natural base, the Citizens for Self-Defense issued a crude leaflet calling for an assault on PL's May Day march: "Bring a bat...it's open season!" Repeated armed assaults took place throughout the summer against PL and its Committee Against Racism. On July 27 the anti-busing vigilantes geared up their supporters to meet a rumored "black invasion" of Carson Beach in South Boston. When the so-called "invasion" failed to materialize, the racist thugs viciously assaulted six black bible salesmen who unwarily intruded on "Southie turf." The following month, the South Boston Marshals spearheaded hundreds of white racists who attacked an NAACP march protesting the terrorization of black people at the public beach.

Acting autonomously from the largely female and more cautious ROAR leadership, the Marshals have grown increasingly brazen and, like circling jackals, come ever closer to their first fatal bloodletting. Last fall, while federal judge Arthur Garrity was considering a petition from Boston NAACP head Thomas Atkins to close South Boston High School, scene of repeated attacks on black students, Marshal leader Dan Yotts wrote in a local newspaper: "If Garrity closes

Southie and Atkins is not wiped out and NAACP headquarters along with him, I'm going to be the most surprised and disappointed guy in Southie" (*South Boston Tribune*, 26 November 1975). Two weeks later, the court took over the high school and NAACP headquarters were blown up.

As if to confirm speculation about where the group, or elements within it, are headed, another spokesman for the South Boston Marshals, Warren Zaniboni, sponsored a press conference in December for David Duke, leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. When this racist rodent made his first visit to Boston in the fall of 1974, he was treated as a pariah. Now he slithers back under the auspices of men who urge frenzied white youths to attack black school children with baseball bats. At the press conference, Zaniboni said that it was the

Marshals in their maroon windbreaker uniforms kept in constant contact through walkie-talkies, and the mob was even supplied with tear gas canisters. Even the conservative anti-busing *Herald American* felt impelled to carry a cartoon depicting "Anarchy" stalking the streets, baseball bat in hand.

Not Cops and Courts, But Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Marauders

In New York City, economic disaster conditions and a drastic ruling-class austerity plan have been met by pro-forma blusterings from the established labor leadership, followed by total capitulation. In Boston, where high unemployment intersects an explosive racial polarization, the Wallace vote and the ominous growth of paramilitary gangs like the South Boston Marshals show another direction that mass response to capitalist depression can take: virulently racist right-wing populism growing into proto-fascist terrorism.

The shameless Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has actually tried to take the lead of the "fight back" against integration in Boston, complaining that the Hickses hold back the anti-busing protests by their ties to the Democratic Party. Since these Jim Crow Maoists are assiduously trying to sidle up to the most bitterly racist elements, for whom Jackson and even Wallace are too tame, it is fitting that the RCP's idiot-populist slogan, "The People United Will Never Be Defeated," should now be copied by the likes of ROAR!

For its part, the pacifist-reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has responded to marauding lynch mobs in South Boston with treacherous and impotent calls on the capitalist state to enforce law and order. After the February 15 march local police threatened to "get tough," and federal prosecutor James Gabriel announced that the FBI would investigate the march organizers. But contrary to the illusions of liberals and fake socialists, neither the local nor national police forces of the bourgeois state are going to cut down emerging ultra-rightist paramilitary and proto-fascist movements.

Only this December it was revealed at hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that, through an undercover agent named Gary Thomas Rowe, federal agents in Alabama during the early 1960's actually knew in advance of KKK attacks on civil rights activists, including murders, and did nothing to stop them! The racists in Boston, who have held demonstrations against police brutality, have shown that they know how to use occasional harassment by police to bolster their claims as spokesmen for the "little guy" pushed around



Bill Brell/Boston Globe

ROAR leaders Louise Day Hicks (second from left) and Pixie Palladino (third from left).

job of the Marshals "to protect the people of South Boston...against these Communist, Socialist and agitation organizations that have been coming in here" (*Boston Globe*, 12 December 1975).

On February 15, this bunch even upstaged ROAR by calling its own anti-busing demonstration, the so-called Fathers' March. When cops prevented them from staging a rally on the steps of South Boston High School, the crowd of 400 attacked the police with rocks, clubs and tire irons. The racists' riot showed a high degree of coordination:



Don Preston/Boston Globe

Racists led by South Boston Marshals confront police in attempt to assault black demonstrators at Carson Beach last August.



Ulrike Weisch/Boston Globe

South Boston Marshals coordinated "Father's March" in South Boston last month.

hy liberals in "big government."

The threat to black people, organized labor and the left represented by groups like the South Boston Marshals must not be underestimated. Their hully tactics and terrorist attacks must be crushed by a powerful, united labor, black defense of endangered school children, the black community and protesting demonstrations. Only by relying on the potential strength of organized black masses and the workers movement will school integration become a reality.

Wallace, who aspires to be a "king-maker" in the Democratic Party, is not identical to some of the elements among his present supporters, whose obvious direction is toward increasing reliance on open terror tactics to assault the democratic rights and very lives of black people. However, the answer to both is the mobilization of a politically class-conscious and racially united workers movement. This requires above all the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party capable of channeling seething working-class discontent into the path of class struggle, thus preparing to sound the death-knell for the oppressive capitalist society which spawns the genocidal racism off which the likes of Wallace and the South Boston Marshals feed. ■

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Rhodesia...

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racist South Africa. Yet following the debacle of South African-led forces in neighboring Angola, and with some pressure from other African leaders, even Kaunda recognizes that the Portuguese departure from Mozambique and Pretoria's post-Angola retreat have left Rhodesia an isolated salient of white supremacy, waiting to be lopped off. After the January Organization of African Unity summit where Kaunda politely slugged it out with Machel and other African backers of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Zambia now claims to be working behind the scenes with Mozambique, Botswana and Tanzania in a pincer operation designed to force concessions from Smith. With a population ratio of 20 blacks for every "European," the days of white Rhodesia are numbered.

Stepped-Up Guerrilla Attacks

From its camps in Mozambique, the ZANU faction of the African National Council (ANC) has reportedly launched a wave of attacks along virtually the entire length of Rhodesia's eastern border. Many guerrillas are now operating from within the country. White-owned farms have been burned, security police shot up and land mines planted to disrupt transportation. The racist Smith government was particularly outraged by uniformed guerrillas' armed robbery of a hotel and dance hall last Sunday in the mountainous Inyanga region, a popular vacation spot for white tourists.

Salisbury's military forces have retaliated with vicious reprisal raids on Mozambique villages. Black Rhodesians sympathetic to the ZANU/ANC rebels have also been victims of murderous repression. A British veteran of the Rhodesian army, now living in London, recently blew the lid on a My Lai-style massacre of some 60 Africans in a Rhodesian village besieged by government forces last October (*Times* [London], 3 March).

Guerrilla operations have been especially intense in the Chipinga region of southeastern Rhodesia where rolling hills and deep forests provide cover for the ZANU fighters. The Ndaui tribe spills over both sides of the border, providing reinforcements for the guerrillas' ranks. Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leaders of the militant exiled ANC faction, once preached at American missions in the area. Since last summer thousands of their former students have crossed the border to training camps in Mozambique. ZANU's strength in this staging area is currently estimated at over 10,000 soldiers.

Since South Africa pulled its troops out of Rhodesia last year and informed Smith that they would not return, the Salisbury regime's military prospects have dimmed. To counter growing Chinese influence in southern Africa, the Soviet Union has begun equipping Mozambique's 10,000-man army with the same artillery, missiles and rocket launchers that turned the tide for the MPLA. The lure of modern weaponry may also win the Rhodesian guerrillas away from China, whose military aid is notoriously stingy. The Sithole/Muzorewa wing of the ANC recently deposed Robert Mugabe, a military leader of the guerrillas allegedly sympathetic to Peking (*New York Times*, 7 March).

In the past, Salisbury's army has had little trouble containing offensives by the badly armed and faction-ridden guerrilla forces. But the isolated racist regime cannot hope to hold out for long in a major conflict against Soviet-armed troops. In a full mobilization of its regular, reserve and police forces, Rhodesia could muster perhaps 25,000 men. They are known to be short of modern equipment and spare parts. With almost no heavy armor, their most

Joshua Nkomo, left, and Ian Smith.



Camera Pix

formidable pieces of ground equipment are 20 Ferret scout cars and World War II-vintage 25-pounder guns. The air force consists of 1,300 men and about 40 obsolescent combat aircraft (*Times* [London], 4 March).

Tightening the Vise

South Africa's cautious response to the border closing indicates the intense pressure on Smith to negotiate a settlement with the moderate Joshua Nkomo wing of ANC, which is demanding seats in the government and progress toward majority rule. South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster would not go beyond a non-committal prediction that the Mozambique/Rhodesia border closing "will in due course leave gaps and require adaptations not only for these two countries but also for quite a number of other countries in southern Africa, including Zaïre and South Africa" (*New York Times*, 5 March). Vorster's speech only underscored South Africa's willingness to see white rule give way in Rhodesia rather than become involved in another losing war like Angola and totally jeopardize its possibilities for reaching a modus vivendi with the economically weak bourgeois regimes to its north.

Yet the Rhodesian Front government remains intransigent and appears to be using the "constitutional" talks with Nkomo merely to play for time while it angles for imperialist support against the "Communist threat." (In response to Machel's action putting Mozambique on a war footing, Salisbury's defense minister Pieter van der Byl ostentatiously thanked U.S. secretary of state Kissinger for his warnings to Cuba not to extend its MPLA alliance to backing nationalist guerrillas in Rhodesia.) One observer said of Smith's latest proposals that they "could bring about majority rule in, at a generous estimate, two decades" (*Africa*, March 1976).

White settlers along Rhodesia's eastern border live a garrison existence. The lush farms and tea plantations around Chipinga are mainly owned by Afrikaaner immigrants from South Africa, twentieth-century *Boertrekkers* defending the ramparts of white privilege and supremacy. Government protection grants have financed spotlights and ten-foot-high, barbed-wire-topped fences around the farms and local police stations are connected to the farms by elaborate alarm systems. Government bounties are offered, ranging from \$500 for a guerrilla rifle to \$8,000 for a captured guerrilla leader (*Observer* [London], 29 February).

Rhodesia's 270,000 whites are digging in for a protracted siege. In 1974 the last non-racialist opponent of the Smith regime was ousted from the legislative assembly, and liberal former premier Garfield Todd remains under detention. Meanwhile, new right-wing and fascist groups opposed to any concessions are growing. A Rhodesia White People's Party with a swastika as its official insignia was recently formed in Bulawayo, Rhodesia's second largest city. The fanatic obstinacy of Rhodesia's white settler population may well be the rock on which Pretoria's grand design for southern African "détente" is broken; but for themselves it will mean a bloody and ultimately suicidal fate.

The very name Rhodesia is a legacy of British empire builder Cecil Rhodes, and the territory's former colonial masters have lately been trying to reintroduce the British crown into southern Africa, this time in the guise of "neutral" arbiter between white and black. U.K. Labour Party prime minister Harold Wilson, who didn't lift a finger to prevent the racists' "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" (UDI) in 1965, has laid great emphasis on the "last chance" offered by the current negotiations. Foreign Secretary James Callaghan even made the scandalous suggestion that "troops might be sent if Rhodesia were to accept British sovereignty" (*New York Times*, 20 February).

Despite war cries from some Tory back-benchers, Foreign Office spokesman Edward Rowlands informed Commons on Wednesday that the Labour government decided to "welcome President Machel's announcement that his Government intends to apply forthwith full United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia..." and "to fully support...an international programme of aid to Mozambique to offset the effect of sanctions." Behind a bi-partisan consensus (opposed by some Labourites who favor military aid to the guerrillas and by some Tories who favor support to Smith) to temporize and put maximum economic and diplomatic pressure on the racist Salisbury regime is the unresolved question of Britain's possible direct involvement in the escalating conflict.

Since UDI ten years ago, Britain has sought to protect its economic interests in Rhodesia by persuading Salisbury to broaden the African franchise and allow the development of a politically moderate black petty bourgeoisie to administer the government. With typical imperial arrogance, British leaders, including Harold Wilson, have held talks with Smith that excluded African representatives. While categorically denying that it would aid the "illegal regime" against the African majority, the Labour government has not closed the door to some form of "peace-keeping" operation, including a possible Congo-style imperialist intervention under United Nations cover. Socialists and labor militants in Britain must oppose any steps to send British troops to Rhodesia, no matter what the ostensible purpose of the military expedition.

The immediate prospect for Rhodesia is a steady escalation of guerrilla warfare and internal resistance to racist rule. The possibility that left-talking Mozambique leaders, heavily mortgaged to South Africa's economic might, will actually launch a full-scale invasion is unlikely. In either case, revolutionaries must solidarize with military struggles to smash white supremacy in Rhodesia while withholding political support from the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships.

The emergence of a black bourgeois regime in Rhodesia such as now exists in Zambia or Mozambique will not end the economic oppression of the black masses. Only the unification of the proletariat of southern Africa in a struggle to overthrow all capitalist exploitation can destroy white racist rule and smash the imperialist domination of the continent. ■

Wallace Vote: Right Shift in Mass. Primary

Paramilitary Racists Are Marching in the Streets of Boston

BOSTON, March 8—Revolutionaries have never regarded the "crooked mirror of democracy" (Trotsky's characterization of bourgeois elections) as a true reflection of the political desires of the working masses. At most, the arithmetic of the polling booth is an episodically approximate thermometer of momentary shifts in political moods.

The mechanisms of bourgeois "democracy" are elaborately designed to deceive and betray the working masses. Since the New Deal coalition the Democratic Party, in particular, has hawked its wares as the party of working people while conducting every major imperialist war, smashing countless strikes and passing draconian anti-labor laws in the interests of its big-business paymasters.

The March 2 Democratic presidential primary in Massachusetts evidenced a disquieting shift to the right, especially among Boston's largely Irish-American, working-class electorate. Once fervent Kennedy country, this year the "Don't

Blame Me" state—the only one in which unctuous left liberal George McGovern beat Richard Nixon in 1972—cast its votes unequivocally for the right wing of the Democratic Party.

The anti-Soviet "Senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson, posed as the "respectable" voice of the anti-husling movement. He was endorsed by large numbers of labor bureaucrats as well as racist politicians like Louise Day Hicks, and carried the state as a whole. But Boston, the so-called "cradle of American liberty," cast its hi-centennial ballot for George Wallace, the man who coined the slogan, "Segregation now, segregation forever."

From 10.9 percent city-wide in the 1972 primary, Wallace's vote tally jumped dramatically to 28.4 percent this year. In South Boston, out of a field of a dozen candidates (none of whom attained more than 23 percent state-wide), Wallace got an overwhelming two thirds of the vote. And this was in a community where Democratic Party

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George Wallace campaigning in Boston.

Michael Lutcher/Time

German Trotskyists Salute Workers Vanguard No. 100

Berlin
2 March 1976

To the Editorial Board of *Workers Vanguard*:

Hearty Congratulations to *Workers Vanguard*, No. 100!

The publication of the 100th number of *Workers Vanguard*, which has appeared weekly since issue No. 76, is a great success for the Spartacist League/U.S. and for our international tendency. The issues of weekly *Workers Vanguard* to date are a renewed demonstrative proof of the responsible publication policies of the Spartacist League. *Workers Vanguard* is no "paper tiger" such as the recently deceased daily newspaper of the Healyite WRP, whose pseudo-agitation to a large extent replaced the organization's activity. The articles demonstrate the revolutionary activity of the organization and its serious work in constructing the revolutionary party in the USA as well as an international Trotskyist league. *Workers Vanguard* has remained a Marxist publication as a weekly newspaper, in the tradition of the best Bolshevik journalism. We greet the 100th issue of *Workers Vanguard* and are reminded of the Leninist *Iskra*.

As No. 100 of *Workers Vanguard* appears, the Trotskyist League of Germany is working on the publication of No. 13 of *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, a bi-monthly publication which does not yet encompass the all-sided propaganda and exemplary agitation of weekly *Workers Vanguard*. But for us, in addition to the political level of *Workers Vanguard*, the responsible publications program of the Spartacist League serves as a model. The weekly *Workers Vanguard* serves the Trotskyist League of Germany, as well as all sections of the international Spartacist tendency, as a powerful weapon in the struggle for the revolutionary world party of the proletariat.

—Forward to the construction of the International Trotskyist League!
—Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Political Bureau
Trotskyist League of Germany

For A Militant National Teamsters Strike!

On March 31 the Master Freight Agreement, which covers 435,000 over-the-road and local cartage truck drivers who are members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), expires—to be followed in the next few months by expirations of Teamster contracts covering key sections of the United Parcel Service and over 600,000 warehousemen. Management, government, the trade-union bureaucracy and rank-and-file workers are watching this contract struggle closely. As the first of several national bargaining tests scheduled in 1976, it will be an important barometer for the class struggle in the next period.

IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons is universally unpopular among truck drivers. The contract he negotiated in 1973 was a disaster. Fitzsimmons, one

of few trade-union bureaucrats who openly backed Nixon in the 1972 elections, was committed to supporting wage-price controls. The 1973 wage settlement was within the 5.5 percent guidelines then extant, and the cost-of-living clause provided for a maximum yearly increase of only 11 cents an hour—which has meant a significant decline in real wages for drivers.

Fitzsimmons rammed through this contract by restricting the right to strike of the membership. He did away with local-by-local ratification of the contract and instituted a contract referendum by mail vote, which was supervised by the Department of Labor and required a two-thirds vote to authorize a strike. (In 1970 Chicago Teamsters and independent truck drivers rejected the

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