



Arab youths protesting Israeli occupation of the West Bank burned crates in the streets of Jerusalem.



"Lebanese Arab Army" tank in position near Beirut.

## Blow-up in the Near East

### West Bank Rebellion Against Zionist Terror— Renewed Communal Strife in Lebanon

MARCH 21—Ten days ago Brigadier General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab, the commander of the Beirut military garrison, walked into a television station in the Lebanese capital and at pistol-point forced the staff to broadcast his "Communiqué No. 1." General Ahdab called on the president, Suleiman Franjeh, and the prime minister, Rashid Karami, to resign and declared himself temporary military governor of Lebanon.

The "television coup" was the result of mounting discontent with the results of the January 22 Syrian-imposed "ceasefire," which was supposed to have put an end to ten months of sectarian civil war that caused 15,000-20,000 deaths. However, the "ceasefire" did

nothing to ameliorate the underlying causes of the civil war: the fragile and reactionary "confessional system" which allocates government jobs and military posts according to religious affiliation. Under this system the Muslim groups are to one degree or another discriminated against while the Maronite Christian sect is relatively privileged.

Prior to the January truce, the president (who could appoint all ministers, including the prime minister, and dissolve the parliament) was always a Maronite; the prime minister was always a Sunni Muslim, and so forth. Under the terms of the "all-embracing political settlement" there is a token shift of power toward the Muslim elite within the framework of the same

confessional system. While the presidency still must go to a Maronite, parliament can now elect its own prime minister. However, the parliament is not based on universal suffrage but on a system of communal representation, the prime minister still must be a Sunni Muslim and he continues to appoint his own ministers.

Likewise, the "ceasefire" did nothing to resolve the plight of the 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Stateless, without political rights, concentrated in wretched refugee camps and subjected to regular attacks by the right-wing Maronite militias and the Maronite-controlled Lebanese army, the Palestinians are considered by the wealthy Christian elite as a threat to their privileges. The refugees have their own armed forces, the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA), which, however, is forced to devote most of its resources to defending itself and the camps from the Lebanese army and fascistic Maronite groups. Consequently, it spends almost none of its time fighting to "liberate Palestine."

#### "Leftist" Syria Backs Ultra-Rightists in Lebanon

President Franjeh has refused to implement even the token Syrian-backed reforms unless the Cairo Agreement of 1969 is implemented. This pact, engineered by Nasser, grew out of the Lebanese army's repeated clashes with the PLA and the pro-Syrian Ba'athist Palestinian commando group, al-Saiqa. The refugee camps were granted "self-government" as long as their commandos gave up their heavy arms and agreed to cooperate with the Lebanese army. Although there has been military cooperation between the Palestinian commandos and the Lebanese army



Lebanese General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab announces "coup" last week as official army disintegrated.

even during the recent sectarian civil war (e.g., the PLA guarded the U.S. embassy!), neither the Lebanese army nor the Maronite fascistic groups have been strong enough to disarm the Palestinian forces. And the latter, in turn, have not been so foolhardy as to surrender their heavy weapons.

No doubt, initially the intervention of the verbally bellicose Syrian Ba'athists, who loudly hail the "Arab Revolution" as an all-powerful icon capable of exorcising class and national conflicts, was viewed with considerable trepidation by the Maronites, who although they speak Arabic often feel more akin to their French patrons than to their surrounding Arab neighbors. However, despite the Ba'athist rhetoric, Syrian intervention has become the last line of

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**SIXTEEN  
YEARS OF  
STALINIST  
RULE**



**IN CUBA**

**A Bureaucratic,  
Anti-Working-  
Class Regime**

**Guerrillas  
in  
Power**

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# Editorial Notes

## Healy "Assimilates" Angola

For almost a decade Gerry Healy's so-called "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) has combined ritual denunciations of Pabloist revisionism with opportunist tailing after various non-proletarian forces, from Nasser's "Arab Revolution" to Mao's Red Guards. The latest recipient of the Healyites' cynical hosannas has been the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The MPLA, we are told, is "a mass movement of the Angolan working class and peasantry which is inseparably linked to the new stage of revolutionary struggles that has opened up in every country." Its victory, gushed the newspaper of the IC's American supporters, would "take forward the world socialist revolution" (*Bulletin*, 28 November 1975).

For those of his followers who might have been confused by the IC's alternately "critical" and "unconditional" (but always rhapsodic) support of the MPLA, Gerry Healy recently put his distorted parody of dialectics to work cooking up a bizarre explanation ("SWP: Apologist and Defender of Imperialism," *Bulletin*, 5 March). The IC uses as a foil the Socialist Workers Party's neutrality in the civil war between the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA and the CIA/South Africa/Portuguese colonialist/FNLA/UNITA bloc, in order to put forward an anti-Leninist position of political (as opposed to military) support for the petty-bourgeois nationalist People's Movement.

This incredibly muddled IC "Statement" strings together lengthy quotations from a hodgepodge of sources to advance two self-contradictory arguments for politically hacking the MPLA, that bourgeois nation-building is historically progressive and (at least implicitly) that an MPLA regime in Angola will result in the creation of a deformed workers state.

While making some ritual genuflections in the direction of "independence of the working class," the polemic's main thrust is to build political confidence in the MPLA which, we are told, is the "only authentic bourgeois nationalist movement in Angola," has "called for a fight to the finish" against the U.S. and South Africa, struggles against tribalism and "reactionary separatism" and is backed by "the majority of the independent African nations." Moreover, its struggle "is an historically progressive struggle involving the Angolan nation and not just the bourgeoisie against U.S. imperialism."

To build this case, the IC must deny that the other groups had ever fought the Portuguese and must ignore the MPLA's record of collaboration with the Portuguese military, its narrow and partially tribally circumscribed base of support among the Angolan peoples and its demonstrated willingness to smash the nascent organizations of the working class.

The MPLA is described as if it were an emergent bourgeois class building a nation in the epoch of capitalist expansion. In fact, the national boundaries the MPLA-led People's Republic of Angola (and the IC) defends are but the arbitrary divisions imposed on the African continent by plundering imperialist powers. The Healyites—who demonstrated their abject insensitivity to national oppression when they "critically supported" the Nigerian government's genocidal slaughter of the Ibo (Biafran) people in 1967—now pass over in silence the division of the Bakongo people between northern Angola and Zaïre

in order to present the MPLA as about to resolve the national question.

The IC's enthusiasm for bourgeois nation-building is a hack-handed acceptance of the Menshevik, Stalinist "theory of stages": "first" the bourgeoisie kicks out imperialism and establishes capitalist democracy, "later" the proletariat conquers state power and institutes socialism. In one article, the American Healyites explicitly lay out the stagist conception behind their effusive outpourings for the People's Movement: "We support unconditionally the MPLA's fight for national liberation and independence and recognize that it is only through this necessary struggle that the conditions can be created for a new stage of class struggle in all the African countries" (*Bulletin*, 30 January).

One of Trotsky's crucial extensions of Leninism was the theory of permanent revolution, which explained that in the epoch of imperialist decay the unresolved bourgeois-democratic tasks of the underdeveloped countries could not be undertaken by a weak capitalist class, which is inevitably subservient to imperialism. Trotsky insisted that only the proletariat, in the process of consolidating the victorious socialist revolution, could seriously address the unsolved bourgeois-democratic tasks (including the elimination of national oppression) in the context of proletarian property relations. Thus the Healyites, in jumping on the MPLA bandwagon, once again leave their pretended Trotskyism behind.

The IC "Statement" simultaneously dishes out another unsavory mess from Healy's greasy spoon: the proposition that an MPLA victory equals the destruction of capitalism and the constitution of a deformed workers state. This argument is advanced through some inapplicable historical analogies and a string of quotations whose purpose in this article would otherwise be perfectly inexplicable.

The IC "completely opposes the SWP's opportunism and follows Trotsky's position of defending any extension of the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union to other territories, while condemning, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the suppression of dissident opinion in the CP and the working class." These admirable sentiments are followed by no less than twenty paragraphs from Trotsky's lucid polemic, *In Defense of Marxism*, explaining that the Russian bureaucracy would be compelled to destroy capitalist property relations in eastern Poland before incorporating the territory into the USSR.

What is the application of Trotsky's analysis of Poland at the time of the Second World War to the situation in Angola today? Like Henry Kissinger, Healy seems to believe that Soviet weaponry equals the uprooting of capitalist property relations. This same "method" was the main theoretical vehicle whereby a revisionist current in the Fourth International, led by one Michel Pablo, in the 1950's turned the majority of the Trotskyist world movement toward centrist accommodation to Stalinism and other petty-bourgeois forces. Pablo propounded a "new world reality" in which the power bloc led by the USSR would against its will become the ally of all progressive movements, which would thereby find themselves swept along by the onrushing "world revolution" and compelled to establish deformed workers states.

The only possible conclusion from the IC's rhetoric

about "defending any extension of the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union to other territories" is that Healy & Co. believe that what is taking place is the transformation of Angola into a deformed workers state (presumably by a process of "structural assimilation"). One hilarious little wrinkle is that the Healyites presumably still hold to their idiot position that Cuba—whose troops in Angola are presumably doing the "extending of nationalized property relations"—is a capitalist state.

The implication that Angola is becoming a deformed workers state is a characteristic Healyite gyration. Even before its headlong degeneration into outright political handiwork, the Healy tendency showed itself unable to oppose the Pabloists' political accommodation to Stalinism by anything other than an alternation between know-nothing anti-Pabloism (Cuba) and archtypically Pabloist softness toward militant Stalinist guerrillaism (Vietnam).

The current Angola polemic, whose main purpose seems to be to provide copy to fill the dreary pages of the *Bulletin*, also somehow manages to incorporate the IC's latest hobby horse—a slanderous campaign against the SWP's Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU" in the 1940 Trotsky assassination:

"The SWP's veiled support for the CIA-financed organizations and their overt hostility to the MPLA is inseparably tied up with the gross betrayal of Trotskyism which is expressed in the refusal of SWP leaders Novack and Hansen to answer any of the charges made against them by the International Committee of the Fourth International on the question of security and the Fourth International. Their consistent refusal to do anything to rid the movement of the stigma of GPU intrigue and provocation today renders them just as vulnerable to the pressure of the CIA."

The IC makes unsupportable charges, echoing the Stalinists, that SWP leaders were implicated in the GPU's murder of Trotsky, and then brazenly bemoans "the stigma" which Healy himself is working wildly to create! In the delirium tremens of the disintegrating IC, the reformist leadership of the SWP has become a kind of collective Herbert Philbrick, "leading three lives": as ostensible socialists, GPU agents and now witting CIA pawns. The SWP's degeneration is "explained" by the absurd comparison to a double agent who, having allegedly been an "accomplice" for the KGB, thereby becomes "easy pickings" for the CIA.

Substituting cop-haiting for political struggle, the IC is an invaluable tool for the SWP leadership in seeking to reassure its ranks that consistent reformism provides a far more secure political niche than the wild-eyed incoherence of Healy's "anti-Pabloists." The international Spartacist tendency has uniquely put forward the policy of warning the working class against placing any political confidence in the strikebreaking MPLA, while giving military support to the latter against imperialist-led attack. As the last South African troops withdraw and the bourgeois People's Republic of Angola consolidates its position, the defense of the Angolan workers against their new capitalist rulers becomes more urgent than ever. Yet the IC continues to praise the "revolutionary" MPLA.

As the IC digs itself deeper into the grave of irrelevance, the growth and programmatic cohesiveness of the international Spartacist tendency uniquely demonstrate that principled struggle against Pabloist revisionism is the means for the re forging of the Fourth International.



South African policeman holds a pistol to head of demonstrator outside Supreme Court building in Johannesburg where blacks are being tried for violation of Terrorism Act.

## Africans Protest Racist Frame-Up Trials in Johannesburg

Last week angry demonstrations exploded outside the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg, South Africa, where seven black Africans are being tried under the police-state Terrorism Act. The London Times (20 March) reported that "The police, who were pelted with stones, bricks and bottles, had to draw batons and pistols before the crowd of 2,000 was forced to disperse." The protests started when cops outside the court building tried to arrest a man for distributing pamphlets to bystanders. The same day a "pamphlet bomb" exploded outside the office of the Rand Daily Mail scattering hundreds of leaflets from the banned African National Congress. These protests are a sharp blow against the vicious apartheid repression. Stop the witchhunt!



# Capitalist Press Hails Labour "Statesman"

## Wilson Resigns in Britain

The abrupt resignation of British prime minister Harold Wilson has left the bourgeoisie wringing its hands in dismay while the Labour Party (BLP) tops scramble to find a successor who can carry forward Wilson's policies of mediating the class struggle on behalf of the capitalists. In the midst of Britain's continuing severe economic crisis, marked by one of the highest inflation rates (15 percent) in Europe and a recent dramatic drop in the value of the pound (now worth less than \$2), the bourgeoisie is understandably nervous about parting with a "statesman" who has continually enforced the BLP's abject prostration before capital in the course of 13 years as Labour Party chief.

Wilson's resignation statement on



Harold Wilson

Der Spiegel

March 16 raised more questions than it answered. According to Wilson, he made the commitment to resign two years ago, remarking that "a change of leaders will do us good." He attributed his decision to the fact "that I began early and have borne responsibility of this office for so long...that 60 is the right age for me to promulgate a change" (*Financial Times*, 17 March). Speculation abounds about Wilson's "real" reason for bailing out; one trade-unionist MP (Member of Parliament) was quoted as saying, "He has to have a good explanation for doing this to us,

and I have not heard it yet" (*Times* [London], 17 March).

Wilson denied his resignation had anything to do with the recent defeat in Commons of his proposed public expenditure cuts amounting to some \$10 billion. The setback was produced by a revolt of the Labour Party's left wing, the so-called Tribunites, who generally follow the leadership of Tony Benn, Secretary of State for Energy.

In a vote of confidence following the defeat of the cutbacks proposal, all of Labour's MPs backed Wilson. But the in-fighting got quite vicious as Wilson

and Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer and candidate for Wilson's post, lashed out at the Lefts accusing them of trying to "blackmail" the government and being in an "unholy alliance" with the Tories.

The Lefts, in turn, denounced Wilson Healey as "political thugs" and accused them of breaking "party guidelines and the code of conduct which govern relations between party members." When the plan to cut back social services was first made public last month, the Left MPs attacked it strongly, calling it a "document of shame"; one was quoted as saying the plan "represented the Labour Party's final betrayal of social justice" (*New York Times*, 20 February).

### Bourgeoisie Lauds Wilson

The eulogistic outpourings for Wilson in the bourgeois press and from the Tory opposition in Parliament contrasted sharply with the tone expressed at the March 12 meeting of Commons in which Tory leader Margaret Thatcher had called Wilson a "sorry figure" heading a "dying government." After Wilson's resignation, Thatcher had nothing but good wishes for the departing Labour chieftain, adding that the proper step would be to call new elections—something the entire BLP opposes. Not to be outmatched by its British counterparts, the *New York Times* (17 March) editorialized that Wilson's Cabinet "team" was far "superior" to the Conservative government it replaced two years ago. Whoever replaces him, the paper added, "is likely to discover that [Wilson's] were considerable achievements after all."

Why Wilson chose to resign now can only be surmised. The *Financial Times* of March 17 predicted that the BLP "has reached the end of the road as a Party and that Mr. Wilson has got out just in

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## Demonstration Against Apartheid Repression

MARCH 20 — Approximately 65 demonstrators rallied outside South Africa Airways offices in New York City today in solidarity with nine members of the South African Students Organization (SASO) on trial for their lives in the courts of the racist Vorster regime. Charged under the draconian Terrorism Act, they are accused of fomenting rebellion against the state and encouraging opposition to white supremacy.

Participants in the demonstration included the Pan African Students Organization of the Americas (PASOA), Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the International Workers Party (IWP), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League

(SL/SYL), the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and a contingent from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), an oppositional group in the National Maritime Union.

Among the signs and banners present, PASOA called for "Fight Apartheid, Free the SASO 9," while YAWF, characteristically keeping its demands at the lowest common denominator, called for "Down with Rhodesia, Up with Zimbabwe"; its favorite chant was the liberal plea "Coca Cola IBM, Out of Africa." In contrast, Spartacist signs demanded "Free All Class-War Prisoners in South Africa," "Smash Apartheid, For Workers Revolution," "Smash White Supremacy in Rhodesia Through Workers Revolution" and "Free ZANU Militants in Zambia." The PDC called for "Free the SASO 9, SWAPO 6, NUSAS 4 and All Victims of Apartheid Repression." The M-SC called for hot-cargoing military goods to South Africa, a demand also supported by the SL/SYL.

The nine imprisoned SASO members have been held in jail ever since their arrest in September 1974 following pro-FRELIMO demonstrations. In February, their trial was postponed for a month to allow consideration of a defense application for dismissal of charges. After eight days of court argumentation, which began and ended with the defiant prisoners raising their clenched fists, defense lawyer David Soggott had moved that the students be freed for lack of any evidence of a conspiracy aimed at violent revolution or of anti-white propaganda. The judge's decision will be announced on March 23 at the Supreme Court in Pretoria.



New York City, March 20.

WV Photo

Meanwhile, the Johannesburg *Star* (13 March) reported that the nine-year jail sentence received by Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach last November was not reduced by the appellate court in Bloemfontein, even though a reduction was requested by both defense and prosecution. Breytenbach, arrested in August on a variety of trumped-up charges, broke down under duress from his jailers and recanted in court, pathetically apologizing to Vorster and praising his Special Branch (secret police) interrogators. But in spite of this and the prosecutor's desire to let him off with a light sentence, both the trial and appeals courts insisted on a harsh jail term.

This kind of almost pathological thirst for blood is not unusual in the racist South African judicial system. The March issue of *Africa* reports that even though former Communist Party leader Abraham Fischer died of cancer in May 1975 in the prison where he was serving a life term for "sabotage" since 1966, "his ashes were retained by the prison authorities" since Fischer was "still technically a prisoner!"

It is the urgent obligation of all labor, black and socialist organizations to protest the current wave of vicious frame-up trials in South Africa. The SASO Nine and all other victims of apartheid repression must be freed now! ■

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Black Democrats No Answer—Build a Labor Party!

# Metcalfe Elected Against Daley Machine in Chicago

MARCH 21—Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago for 21 years, celebrated more than the feast day of Ireland's patron saint on March 17. Dressed in green, shillelagh in hand, the bejeweled big-city boss led off the local St. Patrick's Day parade in the company of a coterie of loyal hacks gloating over the results of the previous day's Democratic Party primary.

At Daley's side was a smiling Michael Howlett, Illinois Secretary of State and Democratic gubernatorial candidate. With the machine's support, Howlett had trounced incumbent governor Daniel Walker, prominently featured on Daley's hate list since he headed a commission that accurately labeled the brutal cop attacks on demonstrators outside the 1968 Democratic convention as a "police riot." This was the first time in almost three decades that an incumbent Democratic governor lost his party's primary.

Daley left the non-binding presidential primary "beauty contest" to peanut farmer Jimmy Carter, who polled 48 percent running against George Wallace, Sargent Shriver and Fred Harris. But, in the vote that counted, the corruption-ridden Chicago organization stayed on top. The race for convention delegate slots yielded 85 seats out of a state-wide total of 169 to a slate endorsed by Daley and committed to Senator Adlai Stevenson III. This "favorite son" stand-in puts the mayor in command of a significant voting bloc with which to wield his traditional role of convention "king-maker," a position temporarily lost when McGovern forces booted Daley's boys out of the 1972 convention. National front-runner Carter picked up 53 delegates and the nearest competitor won six seats.

### Machine Candidate vs. Ex-Machine Candidate

Machine candidates made a clean sweep of all but two state and local primaries. The exceptions were the Congressional race in the first district and the fifth ward Democratic committee-man contest. The first district primary attracted national attention as a test of Daley's strength in the black wards which have traditionally delivered unflinching support to the racist local machine. The district encompasses 37.3 percent of Chicago's black population.

The black incumbent, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, a long-time Daley stooge recently broken from the regular Democratic organization, defeated Erwin France, the mayor's candidate. A former director of the Chicago Model Cities Program, France campaigned as a black administrator whose expertise can "make the system work." His attacks on Metcalfe centered on charges of white liberal influence in the incumbent's campaign committee.

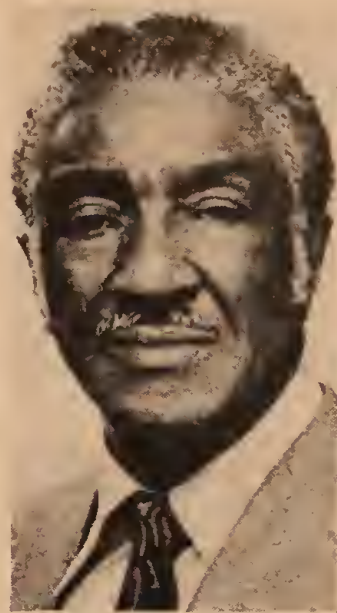
Although political issues were secondary to race-hating in the first district primary, it is clear that France lines up with the forces of reaction on the question of school integration. He is committed, along with Daley, to maintenance of the grossly racist status quo in a city where 94 percent of the schools are segregated. E. Duke McNeil, a black contender in last year's mayoral primary

and a strong opponent of husing, endorsed France's candidacy.

Metcalfe's sordid political history betrays his posturing as a fighter for racial equality and black rights. Linked for 16 years to the Daley organization as alderman and Democratic committeeman from the South Side's third ward, he voiced nary a peep of opposition. Metcalfe was one of the "Silent Six" black aldermen who stood by as Daley's city council systematically defeated legislation against racial discrimination in housing and education.

In the 1960 presidential primary, Metcalfe was instrumental in delivering Chicago's black vote to John F. Kennedy, giving him the 120,000 vote edge he needed to carry Illinois, thus winning the presidency. In return for services rendered, the Daley machine sent Metcalfe to Congress in 1970 and has kept him there ever since.

In 1972, Metcalfe ventured outside the Boss's camp protesting the vicious beating of two black dentists. He also supported the ouster of Daley's delegation from the 1972 convention, backing the alternate slate put up by Jesse Jackson, head of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) and independent Democrat William Singer. Metcalfe's rift with the mayor was not decisive,



Democrat Ralph Metcalfe

however, and in 1974 Daley once again endorsed him for Congress. The final split occurred in 1975 when Metcalfe backed Singer in the mayoral primary.

Metcalfe's victory in the March 16 primary marks the first time that a Daley turncoat has beaten the machine and indicates that the Boss's stranglehold on the black wards may be weakening. But Metcalfe as incumbent had an inherently strong position, bolstered by powerful bourgeois political allies. The Chicago dailies and the two black newspapers, the *Defender* and *Metro News*, all endorsed him. Although many local black politicians remained loyal to Daley and France, Metcalfe got the active backing of most members of the Congressional Black

Caucus and key local black organizations like PUSH. He was even supported by the Third Ward Regular Democratic Organization.

### "Black Muslims" Lean to Metcalfe

The Afro-American Patrolman's League (AAPL) recently joined with Rev. George Clements, pastor of Holy Angels Catholic Church, in announcing the formation of a Black Freedom Party (BFP), whose first goal was to secure Metcalfe's re-election. The AAPL has been at the center of much of Daley's



Mayor Daley and Rev. Jesse Jackson

recent troubles in the black neighborhoods. On February 2 U.S. District Court judge Prentice Marshall ruled on the basis of an AAPL suit that the Chicago Police Department was guilty of job discrimination against women and racial minorities. As a result, \$94 million in federal revenue-sharing funds has been withheld from the city, and Daley has declared war on the AAPL.

The Nation of Islam (popularly known as the "Black Muslims") did not formally endorse either candidate but tilted toward Metcalfe with an extremely favorable article on the formation of the BFP and its support for the congressman:

"Political observers here note that the March 16 Primary contest will determine whether or not the Bilalian [black] community has matured enough to pick its own officials. The issue is not Metcalfe versus the lackey; the issue is Daley versus the Black community," the BFP points out."

*Bilalian News*, 12 March Since the death of their leader Elijah Muhammed in February 1975, the Black Muslims have undergone a number of striking changes—reclaiming Malcolm X (who broke from the sect in a bitter feud in 1964) as a Muslim martyr, opening their ranks to whites and breaking from their traditional policy of political abstention. On the assumption that their followers exercised their new dispensation to vote, the local press speculated that the Muslims may have influenced Metcalfe's re-election.

The endorsement of organized labor, usually in Daley's hip pocket, went to Metcalfe this time around. The Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Black Labor Leaders waged a successful struggle in the AFL-CIO Committee on

Political Education (COPE) to support the incumbent. The Communist Party-backed *Labor Today* even went so far as to tout him as an independent candidate of labor.

Like the reformist Communist Party, some commentators in the bourgeois press interpret Metcalfe's victory in the first district as a sign of growing black political independence. In reality, "independent" Democrats and bourgeois splinter pressure groups like the BFP offer nothing to black people and the working class. Unemployment in Chicago, concentrated among blacks on the South Side, reached 10.2 percent in September, the highest rate since the Great Depression of the 1930's. Neither the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill, a phony New Deal-style full employment law supported by Metcalfe, nor the measly Model Cities Program, ballyhooed by France, can provide jobs for all. Unemployment will continue to plague working people as long as they are enslaved by the anarchy of the capitalist business cycle.

For all Metcalfe's noise about police brutality, his solution reduces to support for gun control (disarming black and working people) and for black fingers on the triggers of police pistols. The ghettoized black population of the first district already knows from experience that the race of a cop does not change his role as defender of capitalist property and bourgeois law and order. Black militants, who bitterly remember the treacherous role of black FBI agent William O'Neal in setting up the cop assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, can testify to the true nature of these black hired guns of the ruling class.

### Break With the Bosses' Parties—Build a Workers Party!

In November, Metcalfe will face Republican A.A. "Sammy" Rayner and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Congressional election. Against Metcalfe, Pulley's candidacy is virtually redundant in light of the SWP's tepid reformist program. Both Metcalfe and Pulley couched their mealy-mouthed appeals to end U.S. involvement in Angola in social-patriotic terms. Both candidates rely on racist cops and/or the imperialist army to implement busing and defend blacks against racist attacks. While both pillory the Daley machine, they do so with a rancid "more butter, less guns" rhetoric. Like Metcalfe, the SWP peddles the illusion that more black cops (under phony "community control") will put an end to police brutality.

The reformist SWP, like Metcalfe and other black bourgeois politicians, is romancing the Nation of Islam now that the religious cult is attempting to translate its organizational strength into a traditional ethnic bloc vote, "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" by swinging back and forth between the two bosses' parties or between different wings within one party. As long ago as 1963, the SWP signaled its abandonment of a revolutionary approach to the question of black liberation by enthusiastically over a new nationalist "vanguard" that would lead the black struggle and some day link up with a (presumably all-



white) workers party. The revisionist authors of the SWP's convention document "Freedom Now" were particularly eager to embrace the Nation of Islam:

"Our attitude toward separatists, including the Muslims, is a friendly one. We recognize that the mere existence of the Muslims has had healthy effects, pushing rival Negro tendencies to the left and thereby imparting an impetus to even purely integrationist battles. We note with interest that, far from being a hardened sect, the Muslims have shown capacity during the last year to change in a direction that better serves the interests of all Negroes."

The Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, an oppositional minority which was soon thereafter expelled and subsequently became the Spartacist League, counterposed a document, "For Black Trotskyism," to the majority's position. It argued for an energetic intervention into the civil rights movement in order to win black militants to the Trotskyist program. While not discounting the possibility of winning some Muslim supporters to the revolutionary road, the Revolutionary Tendency's document made this general assessment of the organization:

"The Black Muslims are, with many contradictions, primarily a religious organization. The Muslim movement has a petty-bourgeois program: black business, black economy, separation on this basis, for this goal, is the answer to the oppression. Their internal organization is bureaucratically structured, with heavy financial drainage on the rank-and-file membership to the enrichment of 'The Messenger'."

Thirteen years later, with their sights set firmly on protecting their multi-million-dollar "black capitalist" empire, the "Nation" is taking a turn to respectable pressure group politics. Predictably the SWP responds with slavish opportunism:

"Taken together, the changes so far seem significant. They show an awareness by the Nation's leaders that the Black community has serious needs not being met, and a desire to adapt their organization to play a bigger role. 'But will they also have the courage to abandon his main strategy? That strategy is to abstain from the struggles of the Black community, to stand on the sidelines and restrict the nation to propaganda....' And most importantly, will they organize independent political action, or help create a new nonsectarian movement dedicated to such an objective."

—*Affluent*, 27 February

"Independent political action" in the mouths of the SWP social democrats represents nothing more than formal organizational separation from the two bourgeois parties. The programmatic political content of such "independence" is an irrelevant concern to Brother Pulley and his cohorts. Their election campaigns fall squarely within the reformist tradition of the "protest vote" and "third party" pressure politics. They hope to siphon votes away from Metcalfe not by presenting a revolutionary working-class perspective, but merely by showing that they are slightly more independent of hated racist Boss Daley than is the incumbent candidate. Real political independence from bourgeois politics requires a struggle to mobilize the labor movement around a program for the destruction of capitalism, for a workers party to seize state power and impose working-class rule to liberate all the oppressed. ■

## Free All Class-War Prisoners in Chile!

# 150 Picket Pro-Junta Singers

MARCH 21 About 150 angry demonstrators, held back by two lines of cops, chanted "Pinochet Asesino!" at supporters of the Chilean junta who came to attend a concert at Town Hall in New York today. Fearful of passing through the crowd of shouting, fist-waving demonstrators jammed behind police barricades on either side of the entrance way, several people turned away and did not attend the concert of Los Huasos Quincheros, a pro-junta Chilean folk-singing group.

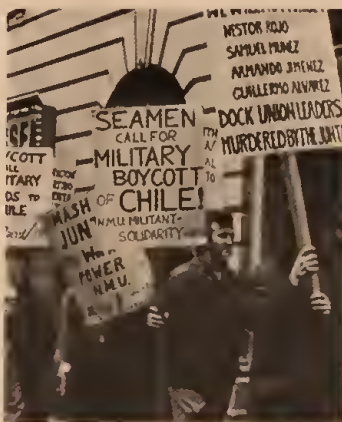
Los Huasos Quincheros is notorious for its ultra-rightist connections. After the September 1973 military coup, which led to the assassination of thousands of leftists and unionists, this group appeared on Chilean national radio and television, pledging support to the blood-drenched junta. Since that time they have performed at many junta-sponsored events both inside and outside Chile. Attempting to portray Los Huasos as the representative of "authentic" Chilean folk music, junta supporters scheduled today's event only four days after a Lincoln Center concert held by Inti-Illimani, a group of Chilean leftist singers who supported the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende.

That the concert was itself a political demonstration was shown by the *monjas* ("mummies," Chilean term for reactionaries) who jeered, catcalled and made obscene gestures to the crowd as police escorted them into the hall. Although the demonstration was small (the audience inside was far smaller) it was one of the more militant held in New York in several months. Called by the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) the demonstration brought out contingents from the Spartacist League (SL) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, seamen from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the National Maritime Union, defense groups led by the Communist Party (CP) and several supporters of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC).

The SL contingent was sizeable, and with its spirited chanting and numerous signs contributed much to the militancy of the demonstration. SL signs called for "Free All Prisoners of the Chilean Junta," "Free Corvalán," "Down with the Junta," "No Political Support to Popular Fronts" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile." The militant seamen of the M-SC carried signs demanding "Boycott All Military Goods to Chile," and "We Will Not Forget Nestor Rojo,



WV Photo



WV Photo

Seamen of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU at March 21 demonstration.

Samuel Nuñez, Armando Jiménez, Guillermo Álvarez—Dock Union Leaders Murdered by the Junta!"

This militant presence was evidently a nervewracking experience for the Communist Party which, as usual on such occasions, was hiding behind the Chile Solidarity Committee. Early in the day as the picket line was forming, much of the crowd began to join the SL chant, "¡Obreros, Sí (Workers, Yes)—Junta, No!" At first caught off guard, CSC marshals became increasingly enraged and began to mobilize their ranks to drown out the Trotskyist chants. At one point a CSC marshal attempted to physically silence the

Spartacist bullhorn, but drew back when SL supporters indicated they would defend their right to chant.

As the reactionaries began arriving at the concert hall, the picket line broke up and demonstrators rushed to the door. Trying to clear a path, the police forced the crowd in half, blocking the SL contingent to one side and the CSC on the other. For almost an hour the two groups faced each other from opposite sides of police barricades with the Stalinist-led CSC raising the calls which in 1973 led the Chilean working class to bloody defeat. To the SL slogan "¡Obreros, Sí—Junta, No!" the CSC countered "¡Chile, Sí—Junta, No!" To the SL chant, "Popular Fronts Mean Workers Blood—Down with the Junta!" the CSC replied "Down with the Junta—Support the Resistance!"

For CP supporters surely the most agonizing moments came when their own leadership repeatedly used bullhorns to drown out the SL chant, "Free Corvalán, Free the MIR!" Reluctant to link the defense of its comrade—Corvalán is the imprisoned leader of the Chilean Communist Party—to that of "far-left" MIRistas being tortured in Pinochet's jails, the CSC deliberately avoided the subject of junta prisoners. It was not until much later in the day that the CSC leaders, under pressure, briefly chanted "Free Corvalán, Free [MIR leader] Van Schouwen." Repeating this once or twice for the record, the shortest chant of the day, CSC leaders then abruptly stopped the refrain. Demonstrating their perennial opportunism, YAWF and the RMOC (both of which are guerrilla war, Castro and MIR enthusiasts) also persistently refused to chant "Free the MIR!"

Only days after the coup at the funeral of Chilean poet and prominent CP'er Pablo Neruda, several thousand Chilean workers had the courage to stand before Pinochet's police and sing the "Internationale." Today, in the spirit of international proletarian solidarity and militant class hatred of the junta's butchers, the Spartacist League again took up the workers' anthem. While the CSC leaders—their teeth clenched in rage—refused to sing, many of their supporters simply could not go this far and one by one began to raise their fists and join in. By the final chorus, with most of its ranks already singing, the CSC capitulated, turned on its bullhorns and joined in. Then the SL contingent faced them with clenched fists in the air, chanting "Down with the Junta, Workers to Power" as the demonstrators dispersed. ■

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# A Bureaucratic, Anti-Working-Class Regime

# Guerrillas in Power

SIXTEEN  
YEARS OF  
STALINIST  
RULE



As part of a broader effort to "institutionalize" its rule, the recent congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) approved a new "socialist" constitution for the country to replace the bourgeois "Fundamental Law" of 1940 (see "Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress," *WU* No. 100, 12 March 1976). Prime Minister Fidel Castro also made use of the occasion to present the "revised standard version" of the history of the Cuban revolution.

The extensive overview was doubly significant in the context of the new constitution, since one of Castro's key original demands—from the attack on the Moncada on 26 July 1953 until taking power from the dictator Batista on 1 January 1959—was precisely for a return to the 1940 constitution. This raises the crucial questions of the class character of the guerrilla movement, the nature of the revolution it carried out, and the causes and significance of the shift from a "democratic" bourgeois program to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

These issues are of tremendous significance for communists as they concern the most fundamental questions of revolutionary strategy in the backward capitalist countries. Can the petty bourgeoisie—traditionally considered by Marxists as a vacillating group, incapable of giving independent class leadership—carry out a socialist revolution, as the revisionist "United Secretariat" claims? Or has Cuba remained throughout a capitalist state, as the Maoists and Gerry Healy's fake-Trotskyist "International Committee" contend? On the other hand, if, as uniquely put forward by the international Spartacist tendency, the Castro regime has since late 1960 been a deformed workers state, how was it formed, and what implications does this have for the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution?

## A Closet Communist?

In his opening speech to the PCC congress, "Comandante" Castro repeatedly praised the policies of the Stalinist leaders of the Soviet Union. Having long ago become locked into the Soviet orbit, Castro now seeks to project his current policies back onto the militant youth who stormed the army barracks in Santiago in 1953 and the nucleus of the Rebel Army that initiated guerrilla struggle in the Sierra Maestra mountains three years later.

Castro includes among the "solid pillars" on which the leaders of the 26th of July Movement based themselves "the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

He goes on, "Even though this was not the way of thinking of all those who had embarked upon the road of revolutionary armed struggle in our country, it was that of its main leaders" (*Granma*, 28 December 1975). Castro also claimed that among the young combatants there was "a deep respect and admiration for the old Communists" of the pro-Moscow People's Socialist Party (PSP), who "had held aloft with unyielding firmness the noble banners of Marxism-Leninism."

The reality was considerably different. Castro's speech was silent on the program of the anti-Batista movement, but in an oblique aside for the benefit of those who know something of the struggle during the 1950's, he added "...not only the most resolute action was necessary, but also astuteness and flexibility on the part of revolutionaries... The proclamation of socialism during the period of insurrectional struggle would not have been understood by the people, and imperialism would have directly intervened in our country with its troops."

A similar theme can be found in many right-wing attacks on Castro, which charge that he "betrayed the revolution" against Batista and hoodwinked the people. Certain left-wing apologists for the Havana regime also put forward the myth of Castro the "closet Marxist-Leninist" who "pulled a fast one" on the imperialists. "The leaders of the Revolution had to know the people and talk to them in terms they were ready to

to a conspiracy theory of history and ignore the real social character of Castro's movement. To begin with, Castro himself did not even pretend to be part of the workers movement during the struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship. Instead, he was a radical Jacobin petty-bourgeois democrat, following in the footsteps of "the Apostle" of Cuban independence, José Martí. His political background was as a liberal student leader and constitutional lawyer. He was for a time head of the student government at the University of Havana, and in 1948 voted for Eduardo Chibás, candidate of the Ortodoxo Party, who was running for president of the country on an anti-corruption program. In 1952, Castro was a candidate for the Cuban Congress on the Ortodoxo slate, but a coup d'état by former military strongman Fulgencio Batista forestalled the elections.

After the March 10 coup, the young lawyer's first action against the dictator was not to undertake agitation among the workers and peasants, but instead to appeal to an emergency court in the capital to arrest Batista for violating the Code of Social Defense! Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy's simplistic apology for Castro (*Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*, 1960) commented: "When his petition for the imprisonment of Batista was rejected by the court, Fidel decided there was only one way in which the usurper could be overthrown—revolution." His goals were listed as "honest government" and a "truly



Guardian

Right: Workers militia in Cuba during early 1960's. Below: Headquarters of Radio Rebelde in the Sierra Maestra.

understand," wrote Edward Boorstein in *The Economic Transformation of Cuba* (1968). Others, such as the ex-Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL), who attempt to criticize Castro from the left claim they were initially captivated by "Che [Guevara]'s slick way of moving Cuba to socialism behind everybody's backs" (Jake Rosen, "Is Cuba Socialist?" *PL*, November 1969). Professing that they "no longer believe[d] in nifty gimmicks," PL concluded that Cuba was still capitalist. The truth is more complex—more dialectical—than such simple-minded talk of Castro and Guevara as con artists.

## A Radical Jacobin Democrat

All these "explanations" come down

sovereign Cuba."

The methods which the young lawyer then resorted to were well within the framework of traditional Latin American bourgeois politics. Various pseudo-Marxists—from Castro himself to the followers of fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel—pretend today that the Cuban guerrilla "strategy" was somehow to the left of traditional Stalinist reformism because it engaged in "armed struggle." They "forget" that in the unstable conditions of Latin America, just about every political tendency has at one time or another "picked up the gun." Castro's first attempt at revolutionary action, for instance, was nothing but an old-style *pronunciamiento*.

The plan for the assault on the Moncada was to surprise the 1,000

soldiers quartered there, seize their arms, then take over the radio station and broadcast the last speech of Eduardo Chibás (who had committed suicide in 1951), followed by a call to arms inviting the Cuban people to rise up against the dictator. Similar actions have been carried out scores of times in Mexico, Bolivia, Peru or Argentina. However, in this case it failed, partly due to bad planning, and most of the 200 attackers were killed during the attack or brutally murdered by Batista's torturers in the mopping-up operation which followed.

## Program of the 26th of July Movement

At his trial the following September, Castro (who had been caught biding in the hills around the eastern provincial capital) was able to turn the tables on the government with a dramatic speech indicting the regime for its oppression of "the people." In this speech, later edited into a pamphlet entitled "History Will Absolve Me," Castro laid out five "revolutionary laws" that would have been immediately proclaimed after the capture of the Moncada barracks.

These projected decrees show quite clearly the social content of the revolution which the July 26 rebels were planning. The first was to return to the constitution of 1940; second was to grant land titles to tenants and squatters (with the state indemnifying former owners on the basis of rental values they would have received over the next ten years); the third provided for profit sharing; the fourth that cane growers would get 55 percent of sugar production (instead of the lion's share going to the mills), and the last was to confiscate "ill-gotten gains of all who had committed frauds during previous regimes."

As the cold-warrior journalist-academic Theodore Draper wrote: "There is virtually nothing in the social and economic program of History Will Absolve Me that cannot be traced at least as far back as... the 1935 program of Dr. Grau San Martín's Auténtico party, let alone the later propaganda of Chibás" (*Castroism: Theory and Practice*, 1965).

Castro's anti-Batista struggle following the catastrophic landing of the yacht *Granma* in Oriente province in December 1956 is usually thought of exclusively in terms of a tiny guerrilla band gradually winning support from the *jibaros* (peasants). But the leader of the tiny 26th of July Movement was simultaneously negotiating with a number of prominent bourgeois politicians. Thus the "Manifesto of the Sierra Maestra," dated July 1957 and the most widely circulated of the rebel documents, was signed by Castro, Raúl Chibás (brother of Eduardo) and Felipe Pazos, ex-president of the National Bank of Cuba.

The Castro-Chibás-Pazos manifesto called for "democratic, impartial elec-



Prensa Latina



tions" organized by a "provisional, neutral government", "dissociation" [of] the army from politics, freedom of the press; "sound financial policy" and "industrialization"; and an agrarian reform based on granting ownership to squatters and tenants (with prior indemnification of owners). The ten-point program was to be carried out by a Civilian Revolutionary Front, made up of representatives of all opposition groups.

The final programmatic statement from the Sierra Maestra, issued in October 1958 as the Batista regime was crumbling, was "Law No. 3" on agrarian reform. Based on the principle of land to the tiller, it did not mention cooperatives or state farms.

When Fidel and Raúl Castro swept out of the Sierra Maestra to link up with Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos in the plains of Camagüey province and then march on to Havana, the Rebel Army was far from being a mass organization, counting only 1,100 soldiers, most of them peasants.

The provisional government, installed with Castro's approval, was hardly dominated by 26th of July ministers. The president was Manuel Urrutia, a former judge; the prime minister was José Miró Cardona, former head of the Havana Bar Association; the foreign minister was Roberto Agramonte, the Ortodoxo presidential candidate in 1952; and Felipe Pazos was again head of the National Bank. In the new armed forces, the head of the Revolutionary Air Force was Pedro Díaz Lanz. By the end of the year, all of these men had defected to the U.S., joining the ex-batistianos in Miami. Miró was later to be the puppet head of a "Revolutionary Council" set up by the CIA to serve as the front for its Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961.

The policies adopted by the new regime during its early months were certainly a radical departure from the laissez-faire debauchery and wholesale corruption of the Batista "government," which was something akin to having Al Capone in the White House. However, the actions of the revolutionary government did not exceed the limits of the capitalist regime.

Among the first steps were the slashing of electric rates by half in rural areas, up to 50 percent cuts in rents for the poor, and the implementation of the agrarian reform law of the Sierra Maestra together with seizure of the estates of Batista henchmen. In the United States, the bourgeois press, led off by *Time* magazine, whipped up a reactionary publicity campaign against the war crimes trials of the blood-stained butchers of the Batista regime (of whose bestialities the imperialist media had reported nothing). In all, only 550 of the most notorious criminals were executed, with the broad approval of virtually all classes of the Cuban population.

But while this first post-Batista government was headed by authentic liberal bourgeois politicians, real power was in the hands of the Rebel Army, which is why the openly counterrevolutionary leaders left without waging any kind of fight. The guerrilla struggles in the hills had been militarily marginal, but they succeeded in crystallizing the massive popular hatred for the Batista regime. By the time the leaders of the 26th of July Movement entered the capital, the official army and police apparatus—the core of the state power—had collapsed. The Castroites proceeded to sweep it away, and organize a new repressive apparatus recruited and organized along quite different lines.

The guerrilla army was a petty-bourgeois formation, politically heterogeneous, with its leadership recruited from among ex-students and professionals and the ranks from the peasants of the sierra. While Castro and the rest of the leadership had signed various programs, manifestos, etc., with opposi-

tional liberals, their previous direct connections with the bourgeoisie had been broken. Most importantly, the Rebel Army was not faced with a combative and class-conscious proletariat, which would have polarized the petty-bourgeois militants, drawing some to the workers' side and sending others straight into the arms of Urrutia, Miró & Co. Consequently, what existed in Havana following the overthrow of Batista was an inherently transitory and fundamentally unstable phenomenon: a *petty-bourgeois government* which was not committed to the defense of either bourgeois private property or the collectivist property forms of proletarian class rule (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8).

### The Consolidation of a Deformed Workers State

While such a regime was temporarily autonomous from the bourgeois order—that is, a capitalist state, namely armed bodies of men dedicated to defending a particular property form, did not exist in the Marxist sense, Castro could not escape from the class struggle. After 1 January 1959 a new bourgeois state power could have been erected in Cuba, as occurred following the departure of the French colonial rulers in Algeria in 1962. In the Algerian case, this process was aided by the conclusion of the neo-colonial Evian Accords, explicitly protecting the property of French colons, and the fact that power was handed over to a regular army which played little role in the guerrilla fighting.

However, in Cuba U.S. imperialism was far from accommodating and soon began a sharp economic struggle against the new rulers in Havana which rapidly grew into military actions. This imperialist pressure, in turn, pushed the core of the Cuban leadership to the left, while leading other segments of the 26th of July Movement to join the bourgeois liberals and *batistianos* in exile.

The first sharp clash with the domestic bourgeoisie came over the proclama-

tion of U.S.-owned oil refineries refused to accept crude petroleum imported from the USSR, they were nationalized. On July 3, the American Congress approved a law cutting off Cuba's sugar quota, and two days later Castro seized U.S.-held property (primarily sugar mills) on the island.

Meanwhile the polarization within the diverse Castroite movement had proceeded apace. Already in July 1959, President Urrutia had provoked a government crisis by denouncing the



Soviet tanks in parade celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Moncada uprising, 26 July 1973.

PSP and Communism; almost simultaneously, air force head Díaz Lanz called on defense minister Raúl Castro to purge Communists from the armed forces. Díaz soon fled to the U.S., and Urrutia resigned and was replaced by Osvaldo Dorticós. In October, the military commander of Camagüey province, Hubert Matos, tried to launch a regional rebellion together with two dozen of his officers, but was quickly overpowered and arrested.

Not only in the new armed forces was the differentiation taking place. The Havana organization of the 26th of July Movement and its newspaper *Revolución* throughout early 1959 were a

Murray, *The Second Revolution in Cuba*, 1962).

The culminating step in the nationalizations came in the fall of 1960, with a series of rapid-fire seizures (tobacco factories, American banks, and then, on October 13, all banks and 382 business enterprises). By mid-October all agricultural processing plants; all chemical, metallurgical, paper, textile and drug factories; all railroads, ports, printing presses, construction companies and department

stores were nationalized. Together this made the state the owner of 90 percent of the industrial capacity of Cuba.

### The Permanent Revolution

With the takeover of capitalist property in Cuba, for the first time in the Western Hemisphere—and only "90 miles from Florida"—the world witnessed the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. This naturally made the Cuban revolution an object of hatred for the imperialists. It also made Castro and Cuba into objects of adoration by would-be revolutionaries of all sorts and a large spectrum of petty-bourgeois radical opinion. The New Left, with its hard anti-Leninism, grabbed instinctively for a revolution "by the people" but without a Leninist party or the participation of the working class.

For ostensible Trotskyists, however, the Cuban revolution posed important programmatic questions. The theory of permanent revolution held that in the backward capitalist regions the bourgeoisie was too weak and bound by its ties to the imperialists and feudalists to achieve an agrarian revolution, democracy and national emancipation—objects of the classical bourgeois revolutions. Trotsky's analysis of the Russian revolution of 1905 led him to his insistence that the proletariat must establish its own class rule, with the support of the peasantry, in order to accomplish even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution; and it would from the beginning be forced to undertake socialist measures as well, making the revolution permanent in character.

The Cuban revolution demonstrated that even with a leadership that began its insurgency with no perspective of transcending petty-bourgeois radicalism, real agrarian reform and national emancipation from the yoke of Yankee imperialism proved to be impossible without destroying the bourgeoisie as a class. It vindicated the Marxist understanding that the petty bourgeoisie—composed of highly volatile and contradictory elements lacking the social force to independently vie for power—is unable to establish any new, characteristic mode of property relations, but is forced to fall back upon the property forms of one of the two fundamentally counterposed classes in capitalist society, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

Thus the Castro leadership, under exceptional circumstances due to the collapse of the Batista regime in the absence of a powerful working class able

continued on page 10



Che Guevara at news conference in Havana, October 1960.

tion of a moderate agrarian reform law in May. The new law expropriated all land over 999 acres, to be paid in bonds of the revolutionary government which could be redeemed in 20 years. The reaction was predictable: landowners declared this was "worse than Communism" and the U.S. State Department sent a pious note deploring that American investors had not been consulted beforehand.

The next move by Castro which stirred the ire of the capitalists was the removal of Felipe Pazos from the National Bank where he was replaced by Guevara. In February 1960, Russian deputy prime minister Mikoyan visited Cuba and signed an agreement to purchase 1 million tons of Cuban sugar yearly. This relieved Cuba of its hitherto almost exclusive reliance on the U.S. for foreign trade, and when on 29 June 1960

source of aggressive anti-Communism.

The crisis between the right and left wing came to a head in the battle over the trade unions, where David Salvador had been installed as head of the Cuban Labor Federation (CTC) to replace Batista's gangster crony Eusebio Mujal. Salvador immediately dissolved the working unity between the PSP and the 26th of July in the labor movement which had been established in late 1958, and assigned all seats on the CTC executive committee to non-Communists. In the November 1959 CTC congress there was a showdown, and after a personal intervention by Fidel Castro the back of the anti-PSP wing (which reportedly included a number of ex-mujalistas) was broken. Salvador resigned a few months later, and control of the unions passed to longtime Stalinist Lazaro Peña (see J.P.



# Why Rubin Carter?

As the frame-up and cover-up of the Carter- Artis case unfold in public view, it might be asked about the main character in this drama: Why Rubin Carter? Why has the state of New Jersey put so much effort into this vendetta against him?

In *The Sixteenth Round, From Number 1 Contender to #45472* (1974), Carter tells the story of his life from a rough-and-tumble son of a Baptist deacon to middleweight boxer celebrity to inmate and jailhouse lawyer. His victimization is the story of FBI harassment and cop terror. Why Carter? Because he believes black people have the right to self-defense.

His autobiography tells of the 1964 Harlem Riot when New York City cops swarmed into the Manhattan ghetto and went wild in an orgy of indiscriminate brutalization of the black population. Carter



Rubin "Hurricane" Carter

witnessed the bloody scene and made an "off the record" statement to a reporter (for the *Saturday Evening Post*) who then distorted his remarks to make the well-known boxer appear as advocating cop-killing. Carter comments:

"This fiendish display of brutality compelled me to... voice my outrage against the trouncing those little children and grownups as well—received.... Anyone else in the world would have fought back a little cockroach, an ant, or even a bedbug...."

"...during the riot, when scores of children were being trampled, stomped, and mutilated by a legion of club-wielding police—while other cops held their guns to the children's heads—the black community should have arisen right then and fought to their death in the streets, if it was necessary. Because self-protection is the absolute right of every living being on the face of the earth."

The cops went after Rubin Carter because he was a prominent figure advocating black self-defense at a time of rising militancy in oppressed ghettos across the country. More than that, Carter was and remains a black man who "doesn't know his place." That is why he has been victimized by the racist "law and order" of American capitalism. Those who, like the Partisan Defense Committee, fight for justice for all the exploited and oppressed demand that the cop-court vendetta against Rubin Carter and John Artis be stopped, and all charges dropped!

# Carter, Artis Out on Bail Drop Charges Now!

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis were released on \$35,000 bail March 20 after nearly a decade in prison. In granting a new trial, the New Jersey Supreme Court acknowledged what Carter has been saying for years—that the two prisoners did not receive a "fair trial." The state's highest court ruled that the original proceedings, in which the defendants were represented by the public defender's office, were "substantially prejudiced" because evidence that would have been favorable to the defense was withheld by the Passaic County prosecutor's office.

Under considerable public pressure generated by mass demonstrations and newspaper revelations, the capitalist judicial system could no longer turn a blind eye to the obvious frame-up methods used to convict Carter and Artis for a triple murder in Paterson in the summer of 1966. The fight against this railroaded conviction, which Carter waged virtually alone for years, took a dramatic turn 18 months ago. The state's two "eyewitnesses" against Carter-Artis recanted their testimony and admitted to a reporter that they had lied on the stand after being bribed by Passaic County detectives with promises of lighter sentences on unrelated charges and a "reward" of \$10,500.

After disclosure of the bribery, the defense sought to obtain a retrial from Judge Samuel Lerner, who tried the original Carter-Artis case. Despite the obvious facts, Lerner ruled that "no evidence had been suppressed," claiming that the recantations by the state's witnesses "lacked the ring of truth." Certainly his actions, and those of the cops and the prosecutor's office, do not lack the ring of a judicial conspiracy. Although Lerner's attempt to continue the cover-up has now been overturned by a higher court, which said his refusal to grant a new trial was "erroneous" and "too restrictive," in the meantime he was promoted to the appeals court.

The latest round for the Carter-Artis defense was not simply based on the recantations, but also on a tape recording made by Passaic County detectives of the interrogation of Alfred Bello, one of the state's two key "witnesses." The prosecution accidentally let the existence of this evidence out of the bag in 1974 when trying to discredit Bello's testimony. The tape confirms that Lt. De Simone had promised to assist him with parole problems, saying: "Hear me now. I assure you I will go to the top people in the state of New Jersey. I promise you this" (*New York Times*, 18 March). Knowledge of the tape was withheld from the defense at the 1967 trial.

It is not unusual for prosecutors to bribe testimony of witnesses with promises of leniency (and threats of



Muhammad Ali (waving) at Trenton rally in support of Carter and Artis last November.

harsh punishment if the offer is refused). This is standard practice, particularly in the victimization of blacks and other minority defendants who fall into the grips of racist American "justice." What is unusual in this case is that the New Jersey authorities got caught. Nonetheless, like everyone else involved in the frame-up of Carter and Artis, Lt. De Simone has since advanced his career, to acting chief of detectives.

After years rotting in jail, Carter's valiant efforts to vindicate himself and win freedom finally drew public attention and broad support. On October 17, some 1,600 protesters rallied outside the state house in Trenton demanding clemency. The New Jersey Supreme Court judges knew they were under the spotlight when they unanimously decided to grant a new trial. This represents a victory for Carter and Artis and those who have fought for their release. But these frame-up victims should never have been imprisoned in the first place, and should not have to face another trial now. All charges should be immediately dropped! The state has no case at all, and its "witnesses" admit they lied after being bribed by the prosecution.

Nevertheless, according to Selwyn Raab, the reporter whose investigation has been instrumental in bringing the facts of the case before the public, the present Passaic County prosecutor refuses to drop the charges because he "feels that the reputation and honor of the Prosecutor's office are at stake because of attacks and protests by supporters" of Carter and Artis (*New York Times*, 19 March). The same article reports that,

"Aides to Governor Byrne have said privately they were disturbed by what one official described as a 'shrill campaign' to compel the Governor to intervene. These aides said Mr. Byrne might have decided against some form of clemency to avoid criticism that he succumbed to intense pressure."

With the frame-up system nakedly exposed, the state is trying to pretend that its reconsideration is due to the "fairness" of the courts. But had there been no demonstrations and protests, there is no doubt that Carter and Artis would still be languishing behind bars today!

In a recent press conference in the reception room of Clinton State Prison, Rubin Carter explained what kind of "fair trial" he wanted

"I would accept my freedom any way I can get it.... If I had my druthers, I'd rather have a fair trial that's free from the manufactured evidence which put us here originally."

"I want everybody to know and

understand that Rubin Carter and John Artis could not, would not and did not commit that crime."

The Carter-Artis defense effort has forced even the New Jersey court system to admit that it did not provide a "fair trial." But the capitalist state does not provide fair trials for black people, the poor, the exploited and all those it deems to be its enemies. A fair trial would put Judge Lerner and the racist cops in the box, but such justice awaits the victory of the proletarian revolution.

A new trial on these trumped-up charges is simply further official harassment and vindictiveness. As Carter recently observed succinctly: "There is no almost out of jail.... So you're either in jail or you are not. And I am in jail" (*New York Times*, 18 March). Now Carter and Artis are not in jail, but neither are they free from the frame-up. The only fair trial for these two victims of bourgeois class "justice" is their immediate freedom! ■

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# Near East...

(continued from page 1)

defense for Maronite privilege and the reactionary "confessional" system.

Syria, like Lebanon, is a complicated matrix of religious sects and ethnic minorities, and the Ba'athist colonels fear that the sectarian disintegration of the Lebanese entity could spill over the border. While a majority of Syrians are Muslim—and most of the Muslims are Sunnis—a minority extremist sect, the Alawis, is strongly ensconced in the state apparatus. Among their 500,000 adherents are many Ba'athist leaders, including Syrian president Hafez al-Assad. In addition, approximately 8 percent of the present-day Syrian population is Christian, and there are roughly 150,000 Druzes, 160,000 Armenians, 50,000 Kurds, 20,000 Assyrians and 5,000 Jews. Hence, even though Lebanese president Franjich has sabotaged the Syrian-backed "ceasefire," the Ba'athist officers in Damascus defend him in order to prop up the authoritarian status quo in Syria.

## Lebanese Army Falls Apart

The "confessional" system is particularly resented in the 18,000-man Lebanese army, whose officer corps is 65 percent Christian but whose ranks are overwhelmingly Muslim. Following the January 22 truce, the army rapidly disintegrated as thousands of Muslims deserted to join the "Lebanese Arab Army" led by a Lt. Ahmed al-Khatib. Today the deserter "army" is larger than the official forces, and the disintegration of the army was certainly one of the main motivations behind General Ahdab's "coup."

The former Beirut commander who proclaimed himself chief of state is the highest-ranking Muslim in the Lebanese army. He earned his stars by playing a key role in the suppression of the popular uprising against the discriminatory confessional system in 1958. During that civil war, Camille Chamoun, then president of Lebanon, called in the U.S. Marines, while Ahdab was responsible for organizing the vicious elite Squad 16 special police force. Thus Ahdab is seen as a stalwart defender of the confessional system who can make a fake appeal to the grievances of Muslim soldiers.

General Ahdab has the support of so-called "leftist" Muslim leaders like the "Progressive Socialist" Druze patriarch Kamal Jumblat, who threatened, "If Franjich does not go then Lebanon will be plunged into complete revolution"



Liaison/Gamma  
**Pierre Gemayel, head of the Phalange.**

(Times [London], 15 March). He also has the support of the Maronite League and 70 members of Lebanon's 99-member parliament have backed Ahdab's call for the resignation of Franjich and Karami. The president, however, has refused to resign and instead dug in at his palatial mansion at Baahda outside Beirut, where he is heavily guarded by 1,000 members of his 7,000-strong private army recruited from his fiefdom of Zghorta.

In addition to the "Zghorta Liberation Army," among Lebanese

Franjich is supported only by the ultra-rightist Maronite Phalangists of Pierre Gemayel and the followers of the durable Camille Chamoun, currently interior minister, and the pro-Syrian Ba'athists. Thus when Lt. Khatib moved two armored columns toward Franjich's mansion last week, they were stopped by none other than al-Saika and P.L.A. units led by Syrian officers. Thereupon, the head of the Lebanese chapter of the Syrian Ba'athist party declared that Ahdab's "coup" was inspired by those "who want to use the Muslim army to partition the country."

As the correspondent of the *New York Times* (18 March) wrote from Beirut, "The right-wing parties have now found Syria their only guarantor." So under the banner of the "Arab Revolution" the Syrian Ba'athists defend the isolated wretched reactionary Franjich, barricaded in his palatial estate where he is tenaciously clinging to the pretense of power. Lebanese Muslim "leftists" like Jumblat, in turn, throw in their lot with a deserter army whose sole ambition is to overthrow Franjich so there can be more Muslim generals like Ahdab. The *Wall Street Journal* (17 March) recently published an estimate that there are now two police forces, 22 militia groups, 9 Palestinian organizations and 42 political parties in Lebanon today! Only a Trotskyist party committed to a program of proletarian internationalism can rise above the sectarian and ethnic divisions of the Levant and unite the toiling masses against their oppressors, which include the Jumblats as well as the Franjichs, Chamouns and their Ba'athist defenders.

## Rebellion in the West Bank

National oppression can take on strange and distorted forms, and the issues which incite mass resistance often seem marginal to the larger social issues.

Thus Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war are subjected to countless acts of vicious repression and endless acts of petty harassment by the Zionist state. Their houses are blown up, their lands are expropriated and annexed, often to make way for "illegal" settlements of ultra-reactionary Zionist zealots. Israel as well as the occupied territories is governed by British colonial laws, including the hated Emergency Regulations of 1945. Martial law, detention without trial, curfews and mass searches are the norm for life on the West Bank. No real political life is allowed, mass political organizations of any sort are banned for Arah's, sympathy for Palestinian nationalism or communism is ruthlessly crushed and censorship of anti-Zionist literature is absolute.

Palestinian labor in the occupied territories is exploited as a reserve industrial army by Israeli capitalism. It is consigned to the dirtiest, most undesirable jobs for as little as a quarter of the legal minimum wage. Barred from joining Histadrut, West Bank and Gaza Palestinians have no access to even a token grievance procedure; they have no job protection, no social security, no access to health and welfare facilities and other social services. Last week, three Arah workers from occupied Gaza were burned to death in a small Tel Aviv factory locked from the outside (*Economist*, 20 March).

But the event which sparked the current wave of demonstrations on the West Bank concerned something that at first sight seems rather minor and distant compared to these innumerable acts of vicious repression. On January 28, a magistrate court ruled that Jews could pray on the Temple Mount (Haram es Sherif) near the Old City of Jerusalem. The Temple Mount is traditionally held to be the place where Abraham, exercising the rights of patriarchal absolutism of which the religion of Moses is so fond, offered up his son Isaac to Jehovah. The Temple of Solomon was built here in 1000 BC and

the Second Temple was destroyed on this site by the Romans in 70 AD, paving the way for the final diaspora.

For Muslims, on the other hand, Haram es Sherif is the third holy place after Mecca and Medina. It is here, they claim, that the prophet began his ascent to heaven, and it is here that Muslims built the mosque of Aqsa. Previously, even under Israeli occupation Haram es Sherif has been closed to visitors during times of Muslim prayer and all non-Muslim prayer has been banned.



Chauvel/Sygma  
**Egyptian president Anwar Sadat**

The supposed desire of some fanatic Zionists to "pray" on Temple Mount has nothing to do with religious Judaism. For Orthodox Judaism holds that the temple cannot be rebuilt, and therefore prayer cannot take place on this site, until "the Messiah arrives." In fact, on their way to Haram es Sherif the chauvinist, ultra-rightist Zionist "worshippers" led by Betar youth movement of the Herut party, the descendant of the ultra-rightist Irgun (perpetrator of the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre) were confronted by counter-demonstrations of Orthodox rabbis.

Israel must get out of the occupied territories, including the predominantly Arah Old City of Jerusalem and its environs! Expropriated land must be returned and Palestinians compensated for the damages caused by the occupation!

## Arab Strike in the Galilee

While the religious issue precipitated an explosion of demonstrations on the West Bank, it was quickly transcended as the protests swept to predominantly Arab Christian towns such as Ramallah and Bethlehem. School children in Nablus, some as young as nine years old, took to the streets and fought baton-wielding Israeli police with rocks and paving stones. Four mayors of Arab cities resigned in protest against the police and army brutality. Then came the threat of a general strike by Arah's in the Galilee.

In its attempt to create a homogeneous Jewish state, Zionism attempted to drive out the entire indigenous Arab population through land expropriation, mass terror and intimidation. This effort was relatively—but not completely—successful. Today 15 percent of the population of pre-1967 Israel (excluding the West Bank and Gaza) are Arah's. They are concentrated in the depressed villages of Galilee, the only region of Israel with an Arah majority. There land unsuitable for modern, mechanized farming is "worked extensively by local Arah farmers who squeeze between boulders with one-mule wooden ploughs" (*Jerusalem Post Weekly*, 16 March).

In order to conduct army maneuvers, thousands of acres of land in the neighborhood of the Arab villages of Arraha and Sakhnin have now been officially closed to the farmers who own plots in the area. Also, for reasons of "security" as well as simple racist Zionist nationalism, there have been periodic

campaigns to "Judaize" the Galilee. The "problem," as former prime minister Golda Meir frequently complained demagogically, is that the Arah birth rate is 5 percent per year while that of Jews is only 2 percent. Furthermore, there is an out-migration of Jews from the relatively poorer Galilee to more prosperous parts of the country.

Since Israel spends roughly 40 percent of the gross national product in maintaining its military machine, it is not about to invest large sums in developing the predominantly Arah Galilee. The only way that it can effect a population transfer is by expropriating Arab land and turning it over for Jewish resettlement on extremely favorable terms. It is discriminatory treatment like this that has served to radicalize Arah villages in the district, culminating in the election of Communist Party (Rakah) member Twafik Zayyad as mayor of Nazareth last year. Arah village mayors, often led by Zayyad and influenced by Rakah propaganda, have launched demonstrations against land expropriation and are calling for a general strike in the district on March 30.

## War Build-Up

While the Zionist Land Authority worries about "Judaizing" Galilee and the Betar campaigns to "Judaize" the Mosque of Aqsa, the arms build-up for the next war in the Near East is escalating and acquiring a nuclear dimension. Recently in Tel Aviv, former Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan heat the drums for a "nuclear option" in order to threaten Arab countries with large-scale destruction. On March 11, the CIA leaked at a "private" briefing that Israel is estimated to already possess "10 to 20" nuclear weapons. Obviously, this leak served to sweeten the vicarious Zionist lobby in Congress into going along with President Ford's plans to sell Egypt six C-130 military transport planes.

The airplane sale, in turn, was part of a quid pro quo for Egyptian president Sadat's dumping of the so-called "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" that he had signed with the USSR in 1971 and which was supposed to last for 15 years. The treaty was mainly symbolic, at least from the Egyptian side, as was demonstrated the following year when Sadat expelled some 20,000 military advisors. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union has built 148 industrial projects for Egypt, including most of her major industries except oil, and Sadat will need continued Russian aid to complete many of these projects. With nothing to show but \$6 billion in unpaid IOU's and another humiliation at the hands of the U.S., the bankruptcy of Stalinist foreign policy is once more demonstrated in the Near East.

The spoils of the October War and the Arab oil boycott are the ability of Egypt's bourgeois rulers to now break from the Soviet orbit, to go begging for oil profits from the sheikdoms and emirates and to use this largess to become a prime customer of the imperialist "merchants of death," primarily the U.S. Those fake leftists who supported Egypt in the 1973 Arab-Israel war reaped their reward when Sadat and Nixon paraded arm-in-arm down the streets of Cairo the following year. They will again be repaid when Egyptian workers with American weapons kill Israeli workers with American weapons, in a dispute over who will hold a few kilometers more or less of Sinai sand. They could once more be rewarded when the next confrontation escalates and Israel exercises its "nuclear option," or if the U.S. and the Soviet Union are drawn into the fighting with the potential for a global nuclear holocaust.

Only the class war of the Egyptian, Israeli, Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian workers against all their exploiters can open the road to national liberation for the Palestinians and lasting peace. Forward to a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■



# Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

to struggle for state power in its own right, was pushed by the pressure of U.S. imperialism's frenzied hostility into creating a *deformed* workers state which in power increasingly duplicated the mode of rule of the degenerated USSR as the Castroists consolidated a bureaucratic state apparatus. The evolution of the Cuban leadership from petty-bourgeois radicals to the administrators of a deformed workers state (and the incorporation of the Cuban Communists) confirmed Trotsky's characterization of the Russian Stalinists as a *petit-bourgeois caste* resting upon the property forms established by the October Revolution. Moreover, the Cuban revolution provides a negative confirmation that only the class-conscious proletariat, led by a Marxist vanguard party, can establish a democratically governed, revolutionary workers state, and thus lay the basis for the international extension of the revolution and open the road to socialism.

Unlike the Russian Revolution—which required a political counterrevolution under Stalin to become a bureaucratically deformed workers state—the Cuban revolution was deformed from its inception. The Cuban working class, having played essentially no part in the revolutionary process, never held political power, and the Cuban state was governed by the whims of the Castroist clique rather than being administered by democratically elected workers councils (soviets).

The revisionist current which had emerged from within the Trotskyist movement in the late 1950's saw in Cuba the perfect justification for its abandonment of the construction of Trotskyist vanguard parties. By ignoring the crucial index of workers democracy and thus sliding over the qualitative difference between a deformed workers state such as Stalinist Russia or Castroist Cuba and the healthy Russian workers state of Lenin and Trotsky, the European supporters of the "International Secretariat" (I.S.) embraced the Cuban revolution as proof that revolutionary transformations could take place without the leadership of a proletarian vanguard. Cuba became the model of the "revolutionary process" under "new conditions"—and the schema to which the revisionists have clung despite the failure of countless guerrilla struggles in Latin America to duplicate the "Cuban road."

For the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, Cuba was a watershed in the degeneration of that party as a repository of revolutionary Trotskyism. During the 1950's it had fought Pahló's notion of "deepentrism" in the mass reformist parties. But with its revolutionary fibre weakened under the impact of McCarthyism, the SWP

leaders were desperately searching for a popular cause which could enable them to break out of isolation.

SWP leader Joseph Hansen crowed enthusiastically:

"What provisions are there in Marxism for a revolution, obviously *socialist in tendency* but powered by the peasantry and led by revolutionists who have never professed socialist aims... It's not in the books! If Marxism has no provisions for such phenomena, perhaps it is time provisions were made. It would seem a fair enough exchange for a revolution as good as this one."

"The Theory of the Cuban Revolution," 1962 [our emphasis]

Having declared the revolution "socialist in tendency" and equated it with Russia under Lenin, Hansen could not simply ignore the crucial question of workers democracy. "It is true that this workers state lacks, as yet, the forms of proletarian democracy," he wrote. But he immediately added, "This does not mean that democracy is lacking in Cuba."

The SWP tops took the convergence on the Cuba question as the opportunity to propose a reunification with the I.S. In a 1963 document, "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," the SWP wrote of "the appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled"; the "evolution toward revolutionary Marxism [of] the July 26 Movement" and concluded:

"Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial and semi-colonial power.... It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."

In response to this open revisionism, Healy and his International Committee followers simply thrust their head in the sand like an ostrich and declared that Cuba, even after the 1960 nationalizations, is "a bonapartist regime resting on capitalist state foundations," one not qualitatively different from Batista's regime! But within the SWP the Revolutionary Tendency (RT—forerunner of the Spartacist League/U.S.) was able to analyze the post-1960 Cuban regime as a *deformed workers state* and point out the significance of that characterization for Marxist theory.

In a resolution that was submitted as a counter document to the "For Early Reunification..." document of the SWP leadership, the RT made clear that "Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom." But it added: "Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy..." ("Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International," June 1963).

Directly rejecting the SWP's embracing of guerrillaism and Castroism in place of the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian revolution, the RT resolution summarized:

"Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the proletarian leadership in the revolution is profound negation of Marxism-Leninism..." ■

# Subway Strike...

(continued from page 12)

the most powerful municipal union in New York City; a tie-up of the transit system would have a devastating effect unequalled in any other American city. Furthermore, the union has historically advocated abolishing the fare on the city's buses and subways. If it seriously fought for this demand it could enlist the support of millions of city residents enraged at the latest fare increase effected last September.

However, the TWU leadership's opposition to fare hikes exists only on paper. Over the many years it has claimed to hold this position, it has never once initiated strike action against a Transit Authority-initiated fare increase. This is in spite of the fact that the Authority was set up in 1951 precisely in order to take responsibility for fare hikes out of the hands of the city politicians and place it on the shoulders of the union. Since the transit system was thereafter financed wholly out of passenger revenues and could not be subsidized by general city revenues, any new operating expenses (e.g., higher wages for transit workers) were translated into increased fares! This has enabled NYC hordes to play off the union against the city's subway and bus riders.

Guinan and Local 100 head Ellis Van Riper have other demands—all on paper, of course. They are calling for improvement of the cost-of-living (c-o-l) formula, incorporation of c-o-l raises of 22 cents per hour under the last contract into base wages, a substantial wage increase and full employer funding of the pension plan. In evaluating Guinan's contract demands, transit workers should keep in mind that before his ignominious sellout in September, Albert Shanker was "demanding" a 25 percent wage increase.

Guinan, in fact, gave the show away when he acknowledged that "union members were reasonable people who recognize the fiscal problems faced by the city, but the quality of sacrifice has to be made by everyone" (*Newark Star Ledger*, 19 March). This same recognition of the "right" of MAC and the Emergency Financial Control Board to enforce "equitable" sacrifices was used by Shanker, Gotbaum and DeLury to justify layoffs, frozen wages and rifling of union pension funds.

Transit workers are well aware of the treachery of Guinan & Co. In 1972 hundreds of them picketed the union hall to protest a settlement which provided management rights for speed-up and job cuts, did nothing to halt racial discrimination on the job and in hiring, and sold out on issues of overtime, unlimited c-o-l, increased hiring, better and safer equipment, etc. The Transit Workers Action Caucus (TWAC), a group of would-be union militants supported by the Communist Party, doesn't see it that way, however.

TWAC has carefully avoided making a single criticism of the Guinan leadership. It says it supports the negotiating demands of Local 100, to which it adds its own (formal) demands for a 25 percent wage increase, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, increased vacations, etc. TWAC points to billions of dollars owed the city in unpaid taxes by

landlords and big business and advocates that "We must pressure our legislature to pass legislation to tax big business, to cover the costs of this contract and to keep from raising the transit fare."

Of course, TWAC doesn't mention that it is the very state legislature it wants to pressure, along with Governor Carey, which is supporting and administering the present cutbacks in NYC. TWAC, just like the TWU leadership it refuses to criticize, talks a lot about what the *government* "ought to do" but has no intention of leading transit workers in the massive strike struggle which is necessary to actually defeat the hankers and political hordes.

The operation of the NYC transit system well illustrates the connection between the current fiscal crisis and the crackdown on city labor. The subway lines were originally privately owned. The BMT lines, for example, were owned by Rockefeller interests while the IRT was controlled by the Morgan family. In 1939 the city took over the bankrupt and dilapidated transit lines, paying the former owners a whopping \$320 million.

In order to pay off this sum and to put the system in operating order, the city was forced to take out loans from the banks—controlled by the very same Rockefeller and Morgan interests that formerly ran the subways! As a result, the banks have made billions in interest; in 1971 alone they received \$170 million. Meanwhile, financial interests and big business have enjoyed bountiful tax breaks at public expense. In 1971, NYC property was assessed at \$36 billion, with landlords paying only \$2 billion in taxes, and with another \$18 billion worth of property completely tax exempt. Thus, while the city's working population continues to foot the bill for this outrageous robbery by the banks and bondholders, the Guinans and Gotbaums chatter about the willingness of the *unions* to bail out the city from the fiscal crisis!

A militant transit workers strike, including the demands of canceling the city debt to hankers and bondholders and expropriating the banks, could trigger a massive struggle of the municipal unions and the city's poor for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide more jobs; to smash the city wage freeze; for free city transportation and increased social service programs; and for the restoration of open admissions (with a living stipend to be paid to all students).

The pro-capitalist Guinan leadership is incapable of leading such a battle. At most it will call a half-hearted strike for limited ends before agreeing to a sellout, thus frittering away the enormous potential strength of the transit workers. A successful battle against the city hordes this spring requires a class-struggle leadership committed not to bailing out the hankers and bondholders, but to abolishing the parasitic capitalist system. ■

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# Wilson...

(continued from page 3)

time before the tensions implicit in the economic situation pull it apart." The *Daily Telegraph* of the same day congratulated Wilson, the "great party leader," for his "healing" abilities:

"So long as he was in No. 10, extremism in any form had a powerful enemy. If things go badly for Britain in the next few years, we may miss Harold Wilson."

Indeed the bourgeoisie has good reason to "miss Harold Wilson"—but not the working class. The legacy he leaves behind is of the most shameless class collaboration. When Wilson took office in 1964 he announced his support for the Vietnam war and imposed controls on immigration. In 1966 he attacked the seamen's strike and instituted so-called "voluntary" wage controls. Having hesitated to outlaw wild-cat strikes and failed to squash a militant working-class upsurge during the late 1960's, the BLP was swept from power in 1970. Upon its return in 1974, following the miners' strike, the Wilson government led Britain into the Common Market and established wage controls under the guise of a "social contract" between the unions and the government. The "Old Magician" had achieved what the Conservatives had been dreaming of all their lives.

The union bigwigs are just as saddened by Wilson's political passing as their industrial bosses. Trades Union Congress (TUC) general secretary Len Murray paid "Tribute to the way he had led the present Government and the nation through the difficulties of the past two years and to the particular part he has played in shaping and strengthen-

ing the basis of fruitful and positive cooperation between the TUC and the Government." Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, joined the chorus by describing Wilson as "a very able leader of the Labour Party and a good friend of the trade union movement" (*Times* [London], 17 March). Joe Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, stated he was "sorry to see [Wilson] go" and echoed the call of most trade-union tops to "close ranks" (*Financial Times*, 17 March).

Most trade-union leaders seem to be betting on James Callaghan, presently the Foreign Secretary, to replace Wilson. The bourgeois press estimates that the BLP's "succession crisis" conference will show Foot, Callaghan and Roy Jenkins as the front runners, with Benn being knocked off, probably in the first round of balloting; the media predict Callaghan will emerge the final victor.

## Grand Alliance Fragments

While Wilson claims the BLP is still a "broad church," the "great unifier" has had little success in keeping the left and right wings away from each other's throats. Wilson's dream of making Labour "the national governing party of Britain" has disintegrated under the strain of class and national antagonisms. The cracks already evident in Ireland have spread to Scotland, where a wing of the party led by MP Jim Sillars has split off to found the Scottish Labour Party, thereby reducing the government's slim majority in Commons.

How much longer Wilson could have held it all together is anyone's guess. The British ruling class was willing to keep him at the helm so long as he carried out

its policies while holding the workers in line and pacifying the Lefts.

But Wilson's grand alliance was certainly nearing its end. Perhaps he saw it coming and prudently removed himself from the center of the anticipated sharp clashes to become a "humble back-bencher." He leaves without having to face a losing faction fight within the BLP or an electoral defeat. As one Tory voter put it, "he's ratted out on us." The term of office of Wilson's successor will surely be short and crisis-ridden. Should the party be swept from power in general elections in a year or two, Wilson could then re-emerge as the candidate of reconciliation.

## Ostensible Trotskyists Tail Ostensible Lefts

With the union bureaucracy placing its bets on Callaghan, the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group (IMG), British "section" of the "United" Secretariat, has thrown its support behind Tony Benn. Best known for being ousted by Wilson as minister of industry after proposing a number of nationalizations and leading the Labour Lefts' campaign against the Common Market, Benn's real program consists of support for protectionist import controls, demanding more power to the parliamentary Labour Party and "workers participation" in industry. The IMG justifies its decision to back Benn against other candidates in the BLP (as opposed to merely against the Tories and other capitalist parties) by hiding behind the workers' illusions—"workers disgusted by Wilson's policies will look to him".

"If the only alternative to Healey, Callaghan and Jenkins is Benn, then he

should be voted for—not because anyone can have any confidence in someone who is part of the Wilson Cabinet and who has already voted for the £6 limit and the public expenditure cuts, but because his victory would strengthen the confidence of militants and place him on the spot, forcing him to come out in his true colours."

Red Weeklr, 18 March

Once again the IMG has placed itself in the "vanguard" of the tailist fake-left; it remains to be seen how the other ostensibly revolutionary groups in Britain will jump. It is unclear from the IMG's statement whether, following the first round and the elimination of the least successful candidates, the IMG will dare to pursue its capitulationist position to its logical end and support Foot (whose name is not mentioned at all) as the only "lesser evil" with a chance to get close to the trappings of power.

Authentic Marxists, by way of contrast, can in principle give highly critical support to the BLP candidates (in the spirit of Lenin's analogy to the way in which "a rope supports a hanging man") in elections where they are running against the candidates of the bosses' parties. The purpose of such a tactic would be to aid the building of the revolutionary party by drawing a class line to separate the workers from the bourgeoisie. But in order to justify any support to particular candidates within organizations of the workers movement (e.g., a reformist workers party or a trade union), Marxists must demand that the candidacy be pledged to carry out at least important elements of a class-struggle program.

Of course, Benn has made it perfectly clear that his "leftism" is a matter for polite drawing-room debate and absolutely subordinate to the pro-capitalist horse-trading which constitutes the reality of the Labour leadership's policies: "My belief is that the party will rally round the new leader whoever he is... because when a man is elected leader he is endorsed by the whole party" (*Times* [London], 19 March). Benn is thus committed to supporting any "leader" who will carry forward the anti-working-class policies of the Wilson government!

Under the pressure of great social upheavals, sections of the social democracy have sometimes moved leftward to the point that they have temporarily become essentially centrist formations (e.g., the German SAP, some of the forces around Largo Caballero in the Spanish Socialist Party). Under such conditions, the revolutionary Marxists would of course orient toward the vacillating centrists as against the hardened reformists, with the perspective of principled regroupments with the healthy working-class elements. In Britain, such a development would have to take the form of a fundamental programmatic break with mainstream Labourism on a key issue of the class struggle. Such a break would mean a factional struggle posing the possibility of a deep split in the BLP. The IMG, however, is more than willing to settle for the small change of spurious left-posturing Labour Party reformism.

The BLP bureaucracy may have considerable difficulty keeping the rampant discontent in the ranks within manageable bounds in the face of the economic crisis whose privations fall squarely upon the shoulders of the working people with the eager complicity of the reformist Labour Party leadership. A strategic goal of the revolutionary Marxists must remain the destruction of the BLP as an obstacle to the revolutionary struggle, through splitting the BLP along a clear class axis between its pro-capitalist bureaucracy and its proletarian base. But the possibility of a refurbished "left wing" of the heavily discredited Labour Party is a danger which must be resolutely combated through exposing the Labour Lefts as equally the servile prop of British capitalism. This is the only road to the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party in Britain. ■

# UAW Convention

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nominated, many of Woodcock's comments were designed to lay the basis for UAW support to Jimmy Carter, whom Woodcock disingenuously described as neither racist nor anti-labor. Support to the Democrats is a key element of the UAW tops' bargaining strategy: Woodcock & Co. are determined to avoid a prolonged strike that would embarrass their capitalist politician allies just prior to the November elections.

## The Pathetic "Opposition"

The frequent statements of support for a shorter workweek and COLA on pensions were the product of a recently concluded alliance between Frank Runnels (Cadillac Local 22 president and chairman of the Shorten the Workweek Committee) and Hugh Oginsky (head of the 30 and Out Committee). The two jointly called a demonstration of about 1,000 union members (mostly retirees) on the second day of the convention. However, both made clear that their activities were not "anti-leadership," but simply to show UAW tops that they have "support" for negotiating on these issues. While several delegates grew irate with Woodcock's hard line against reopening the pension agreement (one local president suggested he step down and another called him a liar), Oginsky tamely suggested he "might go along" with Woodcock's vague promise to secure pensioners more money "outside the mechanism of the agreement."

Runnels, who is obviously grooming himself for higher union office, has been pushing a four-day, 36-hour workweek scheme while professing his willingness to compromise even on this. He artfully avoided even the appearance of a floor fight by arranging to be the last speaker at the convention. While Runnels called the omnibus resolution's section on shorter worktime wishy-washy, his mouthpiece, *The Cadillac Steward*, supported a resolution that ducked the issue of how short the workweek should

be in exchange for reaffirming the "principle." (This "principle" has been repeatedly endorsed by the UAW, but has never been made the focus of a strike mobilization.)

A real struggle for the UAW's historic slogan of "30 for 40" is inextricably bound up with the fight against the Woodcock leadership, which attempts to foist off potential absentee control time-bank plans and more holidays as "shorter worktime." Yet Runnels repeatedly declared that he "had never uttered a word of criticism" and was "not mad at you, Leonard, and not mad at your administration." The widespread applause for Runnels—which followed by only a few minutes a standing ovation for Woodcock demonstrated the delegates' consensus: you can be for good things, but not against the leadership.

Similarly, the Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC), largely a lash-up between the reformist United National Caucus and Local 122 president Bob Weissman which is politically supported by the International Socialists, forgot its own call for a shorter workweek. Trailing behind Runnels' lead, the CGC did not even attempt to get on the floor Weissman's own resolution for a "32-for-40" scheme phased in over three years (motivated by the desire to avoid "prohibitive cost" to the corporations).

Instead the CGC attempted to rally the necessary 415 votes to report out a vague Runnels-like resolution that backed the "principle" of shortening the workweek. When Woodcock high-handedly ruled this out of order Weissman groveled even more. He stressed his essential agreement with the omnibus resolution and pleaded with Woodcock and his handpicked Resolutions Committee to just include the sentence from Woodcock's own speech which said, "The central theme of 1976 hargaining has to be job security." Walter Reuther might have smiled, agreed and coopted this capitulatory "opposition," but the more rigid Woodcock merely pointed to an essentially identical section of his resolution and called on another speak-

er. The CGC was crushed, despite its beseeching on bended knee.

## For a Nationwide Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW!

The opportunism of the CGC was exposed in a special leaflet distributed at its post-convention meeting by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), members of UAW Local 6. The CGC avoided the LSC's criticism during its meeting by imposing a gag rule that only supporters of its goals and program could speak, a procedure that even Woodcock does not impose on UAW conventions!

The CGC's bureaucracy was only eclipsed by the silly antics of two small groups, the Autoworkers United to Fight in '76 (a band supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party which opposes the demand for a shorter workweek) and the Revolutionary Action Caucus (RAC), which is politically supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League. Each held its own pathetic demonstration of about 20 persons outside the convention site (and most of the participants in the RAC rally were not even auto workers). Perhaps to avoid embarrassment, both demonstrations began after the delegates had entered the hall!

The serious approach of the Labor Struggle Caucus stands in marked contrast to the blustering of these posturers. The LSC distributed a leaflet to the bargaining convention which counterposed to Woodcock's treachery a class-struggle program: an industry-wide strike, 30 hours work with 40 hours pay with full COLA, expropriation of the auto industry. The LSC also called for the right to strike over all grievances without International approval, union control of hiring and upgrading to combat discrimination, workers control over production and the formation of a workers party based on the unions. Rejecting groveling to Woodcock as well as empty bombast, the LSC pointed out that the prerequisite for achieving such a program is the construction of a nationwide opposition in the UAW whose authority is built and tested over the course of the class struggle. ■



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Defy Control Board Union Busters!

# Subway Strike Can Spark NYC Labor

MARCH 20—Negotiations with Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 have stalled with the refusal of the New York City Transit Authority to budge from its stand that it has no money for pay increases and that the city's financial plight necessitates cutbacks in the working conditions, wages and benefits of over 25,000 subway and bus system workers.

With the contract due to expire March 31, Matthew Guinan, International president of the TWU, has asked that a representative from the state's Emergency Financial Control Board take part in the negotiations. Under regulations set up to monitor the city's fiscal crisis, the Control Board must approve any settlement negotiated by the Transit Authority and the union. The entry of the Board into negotiations would make it easier for Guinan to pass off a sellout by claiming that at least it would not later be revoked by the state.

The transit system is technically separate from the rest of the city budget, since it is supposedly financed entirely by passenger fares. However, it is perfectly obvious that behind the Transit Authority stand the same bankers and capitalist politicians who have masterminded the massive assault on NYC labor since last summer. The Emergency Financial Control Board and the financiers' Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), which have intervened to take direct control over

much of the administration of New York City's affairs, have successfully managed to lay off thousands of city workers, institute a freeze on wages and even ram through a program of cuts for city workers.

One municipal labor union after another has capitulated to these attacks. When the original layoffs of 19,000 employees were announced last July, sanitationmen responded with a wildcat strike. This was undermined when the union leadership headed by John DeLury refused to support the actions. Victor Gotbaum, head of District 37 of AFSCME, not only refused to mobilize his own ranks against the layoffs, but later played the key role in accepting graduated pay cuts for all city unions. In September it was the turn of Albert Shanker, head of the teachers union, who signed a humiliating contract which called for no pay increases. It also instituted increases in class size, cutting back on preparation periods for teachers and acquiescing to layoffs of 10,000 school employees, which had accumulated since the previous June. In October Shanker added insult to injury by coughing up over \$150 million of the teachers' pension funds to help the city avert default on its debts.

The labor hacks also assented to the other part of the capitalist austerity program—a vicious assault on essential social services which has meant a 40 percent increase in transit fares, crip-



Transport Workers demonstrate last July in New York against fare increase and layoffs of city workers. WV Photo

pling of the City University open admissions program (which particularly benefited the black and Spanish population), the imminent closing of several city campuses and cutbacks in welfare and medical care programs.

Transit workers are facing now-familiar demands by the city for surrender of past contract gains. The Transit Authority, while asserting that any monetary increases are out of the question, wants the right to appoint

part-time employees (at reduced wage and benefit rates), eliminate the paid lunch break, lower the pay scale for new employees, and require employees to make contributions into the pension fund. The Authority also wants the right to assign unlimited overtime and to heap up productivity agreements whose purpose is speed-up and job elimination.

Local 100 of the TWU is potentially  
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## At UAW Bargaining Convention

# Fake Oppositionists Grovel Before Woodcock

DETROIT, March 21 The United Auto Workers (UAW) Special Collective Bargaining Convention sputtered to a close today with the approval of a 69-page omnibus resolution. The absence of half to two thirds of the nearly 3,000 delegates for the final "unanimous" vote was consistent with the generally torpid character of the three-day charade. Local news commentators at the convention marveled at the absence of the traditional UAW table-thumping verbiage. The "Collective Bargaining Program" adopted is notable only for the fact that it doesn't commit UAW negotiators to anything specific in negotiations that begin this summer with the auto "Big Four" and major agricultural implement companies.

Most of the convention's floor time

was consumed by the tortuous reading from the podium of every single word of the 69-page resolution, a process which pushed all discussion of economic issues off to the last three-hour session. This method was testimony not to supposed illiteracy of the UAW delegates but to the intention of the UAW brass to suppress any potential dissent.

Standing beneath two massive banners reading "Progress Through Collective Bargaining" and "A People's Victory in 1976," UAW president Woodcock outlined in his opening speech the class collaboration which is at the heart of the labor bureaucracy's "strategy." Reviewing the depression-level layoffs that began to hit the auto industry in late 1973 and bankrupted the GM and Chrysler SUB funds, Wood-



UAW Special Collective Bargaining Convention. WV Photo

cock pleaded for "flexibility" and "not getting locked into one position" to skirt the growing sentiment in the UAW ranks for a shorter workweek. On cost-of-living (COLA) protection for retirees, a popular issue with many delegates, Woodcock argued like a corporate lawyer that the six-year agreement negotiated in 1973 could not be reopened and that to do so would hurt the union's "integrity." Concerning wages, speed-up, SUB funding, racial and sexual discrimination—and virtually everything else—the convention

resolution contained only the most vacuous generalities.

Nearly half of Woodcock's presentation focused on New Deal-style legislative matters (national health insurance, federalizing unemployment compensation, the Hawkins-Humphrey fake "full employment" bill) and the necessity of electing a "viable" Democrat in the presidential election. While indicating at a later press conference that he would strongly support Hubert Humphrey if the veteran liberal warhorse were

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