

Stop Supreme Court Bloodbath of Blacks and Poor!

Abolish the Death Penalty!

It would have pleased this country's rulers to have been able to celebrate the Fourth of July with a public execution of a black "cop-killer," most fittingly aboard the Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda*. And they came close. In what is certainly the racist spirit of 1976, the Supreme Court this week started up the machinery for a legal bloodbath of hundreds of doomed men and women, mainly black, who have waited in their cells for years poised between hope and death. Untold hundreds or thousands more will take their places on death row, on their way to the gas chamber, the gallows, the firing squad and the electric chair.

For nine years these instruments of official murder have been gathering dust. Not since Louis Jose Monge was gassed to death in Colorado on 2 June 1967 has a prisoner been legally executed in the U.S. But the momentum behind the reactionary Supreme Court decision has been building. The rulings of this session of the high court form a racist pattern of the ebb of liberalism in the face of social crisis.

With this 7 to 2 decision the Supreme Court reversed an earlier 5 to 4 ruling against the death penalty established in the 1972 case of *Furman v. Georgia*. This year's dissenters were Brennan and Marshall, who in 1972 had opposed the death penalty in principle as "cruel and unusual punishment" proscribed by the eighth and fourteenth amendments. Those who had in 1972 opposed the death penalty on the grounds of its "wanton and freakish," application now uphold its exercise by states where they deem it satisfactory in practice.

So the automatic death penalty laws of Louisiana and North Carolina are struck down and their prisoners most likely reprieved. The laws of Texas, Florida and Georgia—and by implication of most of the 30 states which have passed death penalty legislation—are upheld as providing sufficient consideration of "mitigating" and "aggravating" circumstances. So racist juries of Georgia can now decide—as prescribed by the law signed by Jimmy Carter in 1972—whether a convicted black criminal is to be executed. All the states which have passed capital punishment laws similar to those sanctioned by the court can begin executing their prisoners. Other states are no doubt feverishly rewriting their laws to bring them into line with the Supreme Court's decision.

It is a bitter irony for civil-rights liberals that it is through their futile "best hope" for progressive change—the courts—that so much of the racist reaction is being codified. The legalistic NAACP, which alongside the ACLU has campaigned for abolition of the death penalty, stressing the predominance of blacks among those facing execution—now finds its chosen instrument, the courts, spearheading the backlash which is reversing the liberals' much-touted "victories."

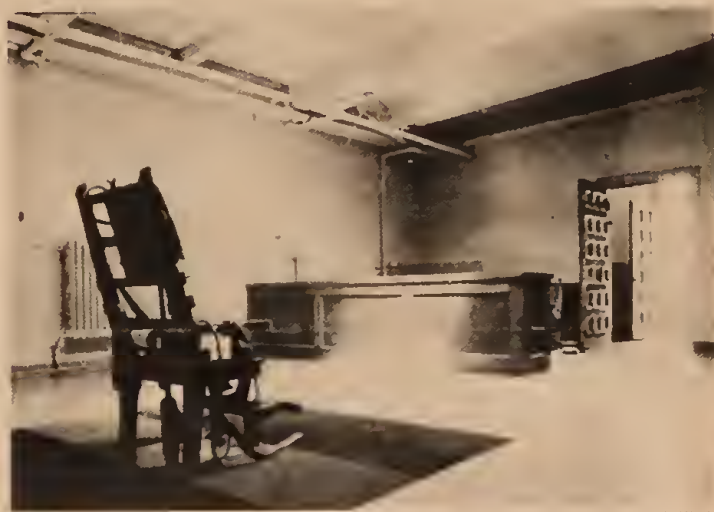
For the abolition of the death penalty is not the only victim of the anti-reform drive. Busing has taken a beating and it is clear that the courts are another current in the flood of racist hysteria

and not a dam against it. Minimum wages and other matters are being "returned to the states" in a measure again aimed particularly against the blacks and the poor, but which is geared to worsen the wages and living standards of the entire working class. Puritanical anti-sodomy laws are upheld with bible-thumping proclamations. The two exceptions to the retrograde pattern of this year's Supreme Court (ruling that abortions do not require the woman's family to consent and that newspapers should not be barred from discussing criminal cases undergoing trial) are "safe" decisions involving no racial angle.

Capital Punishment and the Capitalist State

At the heart of the racist Supreme Court decision lies the function of the capitalist state in repressing with force

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Wide World

Financiers Order New Government in Madrid

Down with Juan Carlos! Smash the Francoist Regime! For A Workers Republic!



King Juan Carlos

JULY 6—Thursday's announcement that Spanish king Juan Carlos I had requested the resignation of Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro provoked a wave of expectation in the so-called "democratic opposition." Newspapers suggested that the foreign minister, José Maria de Areilza, might be named head of government in order to "quicken the pace of change." Liberals sent urgent messages to the king renewing pleas for a pact with the "moderate" opposition. But within three days, a new prime minister had been named that once again (as last December) dashed the vain hope of the "reformers" for a carefully orchestrated passage to a semi-bonapartist regime à la Karamanlis in Greece. The king's selection: Adolfo Suárez González, outgoing minister for the National Movement, political vehicle of the Franco dictatorship and organizing center for the bitter-end Francoist Bunker.

Rather than a blocking maneuver by fascistic Falangists, however, it turned out that the nomination of Suárez was a power grab by the Opus Dei, a Catholic lay organization that acts as a representative of powerful Spanish banking interests, aimed above all at preventing the likes of Areilza or interior minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne from making any kind of deals (however limited) with the opposition. Iberian high finance moved to ensure that the Francoist dictatorship will not be dismantled

despite various projects for "liberalization."

The liberals and reformist socialists who place their hopes in a "negotiated break" with the Francoist regime had been pushing for an agreement with Fraga. But while the reformists refuse to recognize the tremendous explosion which the elimination of the moribund dictatorship would bring, the big capitalists have once again shown their understanding of the dangers to bourgeois rule inherent in any "democratization." They have opted for a *continuista* regime such as the Caetano government which ruled Portugal following the death of long-time dictator António Salazar.

The Platajunta

At the end of March, the various opposition groups comprising the two popular-front formations, Junta Democrática and Platform of Democratic Convergence, merged to form the Democratic Coordinating Council (CD). In its founding declaration the CD calls on "the economic, professional, cultural and public administration sectors, as well as the ecclesiastical, military and judicial institutions" to open a "dialogue on the altar of higher patriotic interests, leading to the realization of the peaceful alternative...." It then addresses "all democratic, politi-

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Letters

Cops and Racist Terror

26 June 1976

Dear Comrades:

In recent months *WP* has carried several articles dealing with Nazi and KKK inspired assaults on Blacks in the area of southwest Chicago. Recent documentation has also revealed a persistent pattern of collusion between these sages of reaction and the bourgeois state. From the deep south to the 'liberal' north, evidence has demonstrated that the line between cop and Klansman is very thin and sometimes non-existent. That the state is not neutral—that it *won't* defend oppressed minorities and the labor movement—is painfully obvious.

A revealing analogue to this pattern of oppression is the history of pogroms in Czarist Russia. Beginning with the Odessa pogrom in 1871, complicity for the murder of Jews rested squarely on the shoulders of the Czarist police and the highest echelons of the state apparatus. There were some 225 pogroms between 1881 and 1883, reports of which illustrated the marriage of forces between the pogromists and the police.

The infamous Kishinev pogrom in the spring of 1903, one of the most brutal in Russian history, was directly fostered by the Czarist state. Before the bloodbath, Count Plehve (the minister of the interior) commanded the governor of Kishinev to order his police not to fire upon the pogromists! Primarily under the leadership of the Jewish Bund (the SWP should take note of this!) independent defense units were formed in the wake of the Kishinev pogrom. Pogroms then acquired a new dimension: police would assail the defense squads and then step out of the affair. The description of a 1903 pogrom in Homel by the historian Dubnov is particularly implicating:

"Frightened, the other peasants fled, and then the police proceeded to arrest many Jews.... The looters were just at the point of making a hasty retreat when

a detachment of soldiers appeared and fired a salvo in the direction of the Jewish defenders.... Seeing themselves supported by the police, the looters regained their courage and recommenced with even greater enthusiasm their destructive work. Wherever they went, they were preceded by soldiers who protected them against the Jews, striking the latter with their bayonets and rifle butts.... Among those arrested were many more Jews than Christians.

—Quoted from *The Jews in Russia* by Gerard Israel

Two years later, in the midst of the revolutionary events of 1905, a new, more violent series of pogroms swept Odessa, Kiev, Chernigov, and numerous other towns. Under the financial and organizational tutelage of the Czar and his entourage, reactionary gangs, such as the Black Hundreds and the League of the Russian People, appeared. Inciteful proclamations were printed at police stations and the Czar himself was reported to have donned the badge of the anti-semitic League of the Russian People.

It is noteworthy that in a recent series of articles in the *Militant* on the Jews in Russia by David Frankel, the complicity of the Czarist state in the instigation of pogroms and the existence of Jewish self-defense groups is documented. But Frankel, however, does not conclude that the organization of self-defense squads on the basis of the labor movement and the oppressed minorities is a central and immediate task.

To the contrary, the SWP, for which he is a spokesman, tenaciously and perfidiously clings to the notion that cops and troops can be forced to defend blacks. Obviously, this is neither the lesson of the civil rights movement nor of the Czar's pogroms! The history of Czarist Russia corroborates precisely what the SWP attempts to deny: legalism and opportunism notwithstanding, federal troops will defend blacks in the same manner as the Czar's police defended the Jews.

With Bolshevik Greetings,
B.W.

Mass. Alliance Tops Bow to Court Ultimatum

BOSTON, July 6—Following the aborting of a militant strike after only three days by the leadership of the Massachusetts Alliance, Massachusetts state workers here will vote on a new contract this Friday.

On June 24 the bureaucrats capitulated to an ultimatum by Suffolk County Superior Court Judge Thomas R. Morse, who had imposed a \$200,000-a-day fine on the striking unions. As in every other aspect of this tightly controlled strike, which grew more solid every day despite government threats, the union tops did not consult the ranks in any way before issuing the back to work order.

The settlement produced by mediation is a \$2,450 increase spread over three years. While this is the first wage increase for Massachusetts state workers since 1969 (!), it is reportedly only \$50 higher than the state's final offer before the strike and \$1,200 below the union's demand for a two-year contract. Unsurprisingly, the *Boston Globe* (1 July) reports that "Administration officials appear to be very happy



Mass. Alliance striker picketing state office building in Boston.

with the final agreement."

Although Governor Michael Dukakis promised amnesty for strikers after they returned to work, he announced that they will not be paid for days on strike. Massachusetts public employees must reject this fraud, which the spineless leadership is attempting to foist off as a "victory." The rotten settlement must be voted down and the strike resumed! For a substantial pay boost with a full cost-of-living escalator! End all anti-strike laws!■

Letter to Joseph Hansen

Revolutionary Communist Group
London

24th June 1976

To Joseph Hansen
Intercontinental Press

Dear Comrade Hansen,

We recently received a letter from John Benson asking me to sign an enclosed statement condemning the use of slander by the WRP in their campaign against the Socialist Workers Party, and in particular Joseph Hansen and George Novack, in relation to the assassination of Trotsky. The RCG clearly condemns this unsubstantiated campaign of slander against the Socialist Workers Party. However, we have certain criticisms against the rather liberal and individualistic way the SWP has responded to this campaign. We believe that the response has to be a political one and while we have nothing against important individuals, unconnected with present Trotskyist organisations, signing the statement, we think that the statement should have the support of revolutionary organisations and not representative individuals from the entire spectrum of the Trotskyist movement.

We wish to know why it is that until this time the International Spartacist Tendency, an organisation with which we have very little in common, has not been asked to sign the statement. We obtained this information through informal discussion with them on the question of the statement. We approached them for information, through their comrades in Britain. We would not like to think that you were not asking one of the leading Trotskyist tendencies in the USA to sign the statement because of political differences with them. This would go against the whole tenor of your campaign. We would like some information on this.

The Political Committee of the RCG has agreed to allow me to sign the statement on two conditions.

1. That after my name in brackets it should say 'for the PC [Political Committee] of the RCG'.

2. That we receive assurances from you that all organisations who are prepared to sign the statement and who are regarded as part of the Trotskyist left are asked to do so. This would include the International Spartacist Tendency.

Yours fraternally,

David Yaffe
(for PC of RCG)

Letter to Spartacist League

Spartacist League

31 June 1976

Dear Comrades,

As per my telephone conversation today with a representative of your Central Committee, enclosed is a copy of the statement the SWP is circulating rejecting the Healy slanders against George Novack and Joseph Hansen. The statement will be published, together with the list of signers, at the end of July.

We request that a leading member of Spartacist sign this statement, which we are circulating widely among groups and individ-

als associated with Trotskyism or Trotsky. I would suggest that Jim Robertson would be a good person to represent you, because of his international reputation. If you have any suggestions for others in the U.S. or other countries who might be willing to endorse this statement, that would be appreciated.

Comradely,

Barry Sheppard
National Organization Secretary
[Socialist Workers Party]

Letter to Socialist Workers Party

New York

7 July 1976

Barry Sheppard
National Organization Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrade Sheppard,

It is with a felt sense of obligation that on behalf of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency I sign the "Statement on the Slanders Circulated by the Healy Group Against Hansen, Novack, and the Socialist Workers Party" which you have sent us.

Of course we find the Healy-Banda accusations monstrous. We have campaigned consistently over the years against those who—importing bourgeois practice into the workers movement—invoke the cheap accusations of "cop" against their political opponents. The late biographer of Leon Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher, lived long enough to himself unequivocally condemn an earlier and lesser version of this Healyite practice in connection with the beating of Ernest Tate.

The Spartacist tendency's differences with the Socialist Workers Party and its leading representatives Joseph Hansen and George Novack are, in our view, of a programmatic magnitude amounting to the difference between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. It is the very magnitude of these differences which leads us to particularly welcome this opportunity to assist in the defense of the honorable reputations of two veteran socialists. Given the decades of socialist activity on the part of these comrades, we are repelled by the Healyites' egregious effrontery and can only echo, with all proportions guarded, Trotsky's remarks to the Dewey Commission. Defending himself against the Stalinists' incredible charges that he had secretly worked against the USSR on behalf of fascism, Trotsky in his closing testimony pointed to a veritable mountain of his books, articles and speeches in defense of the USSR and socialism and noted: "One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to 'camouflage' a dead rat."

As you know, the Spartacist League in this country campaigned virtually alone for months, with leaflets and pickets of Workers League meetings, to protest the Healyites' scurrilous defamation of Hansen and Novack. These efforts on behalf of workers democracy goaded the Healyites into extending their wild accusations to include our tendency. We are pleased to solidarize with the efforts now undertaken by the Socialist Workers Party to expose and discredit the Healyite slander campaign.

Fraternal greetings,
James Robertson
National Chairman, SL/U.S.



Barcelona demonstration in February demands amnesty.



Former premier Arias Navarro

New Madrid Government...

(continued from page 1)

cal, labor and social forces" calling for "the establishment at the time of the break of organs of executive power with a broad coalition, without exclusions or obligations, that guarantees the full use of democratic liberties and rights and the opening and development of the constituent process...."

—Mundo Obrero, 9 April

The call for a "constituent process" and a provisional executive power constitute an offer by the forces of the Democratic Coordinating Council (or the "Platajunta" as it has become known)—fundamentally the Communist Party (PCE), Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and their Christian Democratic allies—to hold off a democratic vote by the population and thereby shore up the Francoist regime. But the new element here is the declaration's failure to in any way attack the monarchy, and the (definitely intended) implicit extending of the hand to Francoist "reformers" Areilza and Fraga. A "broad coalition" with a sector of the dictatorship itself—this is the conclusion to which the PCE's policy of "national reconciliation" has led.

The response of the government, however, was as negative as the recent appointment of Suárez González: on April 3, when they were about to announce the communiqué of the CD, three "Platajunta" leaders, Marcelino Camacho, Alvarez Dorronsoro and Nazario Aguado were arrested, and kept in jail for over a month. However, several weeks later José María Gil Robles, head of the Democratic People's Federation which had just joined the CD, was received by King Juan Carlos. And on May 10, Foreign Minister Areilza spoke at a private club in Madrid offering to the opposition the perspective of "a national pact" (*Guardian*, [London], 12 May). It may be just such offers, and various corridor contacts between the "reform" ministers and the "democratic opposition," which

prompted the Opus Dei to force a change of regime.

Break With Popular Frontism!

In every conceivable way, Santiago Carrillo's PCE has sought to assure the Spanish bourgeoisie that it does not intend to threaten capitalist rule in Spain. Enter NATO? Fine. No elections? Okay, we'll call it a "constituent process." Maintain the Guardia Civil, Political-Social Brigade, riot police and other special forces of repression? No problem, all mention of these bodies is dropped from the Platajunta declara-

The Liga Comunista (LCE, Spanish supporters of the reformist minority of the "United Secretariat") have, in a different fashion, also adapted to the class collaboration of the dominant reformist workers parties. With characteristic deviations from Trotskyism (such as calling for "purging" the capitalist state apparatus of Francoist criminals and "democratic control" of the bourgeois army), the LCE in the past has mechanically called for a general strike to overthrow the dictatorship. Its governmental slogan was for a provisional regime made up of the forces



Voujard/Gamma-Liaison

Mass for Basque demonstrator killed by police near Bilbao in March.

tion. But even so, the capitalists are unwilling to consent to a "negotiated break" and a popular front.

This does not make the Communist Party's class collaboration any less dangerous. Already there are numerous significant bourgeois political formations in the CD (Gil Robles, who during the Spanish Civil War sided with Franco; political counselors of Don Juan, the father of the king; the Democratic Left of Joaquim Ruiz Jiménez). In the 1930's, the popular front in Catalonia could not muster any more than a few motley labor lawyers (Companys) to represent the bourgeoisie, but even this faint "shadow of the bourgeoisie" was sufficient to serve as the guarantee for private property and the maintenance of the capitalist state. This was the lesson which Trotsky and the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists sought to drive home, and which centrist formations such as the POUM ignored at their peril, and to the great detriment of the Spanish proletariat.

Today the POUM is up to its old games, having applied to enter the Socialist Convergence of Catalonia (a regional social-democratic formation), which in turn has applied to enter the CD. Meanwhile the ostensibly Trotskyist French OCI raises funds for the POUM; there is no contradiction, moreover, since the OCI's central slogan is for a "republic in Spain"—a policy which is entirely compatible with the bourgeois popular-front Democratic Coordinating Council.

involved in the toppling of Francoism, a formula which could include bourgeois forces.

More recently however, reflecting its closer ties to the American SWP, the LCE has couched its demands in exclusively "democratic" terminology. Thus, the task of a "provisional Catalan workers government" would be to organize a constituent assembly. And for the Basque regions a recent issue of *Combate* (14 April) raised a series of

slogans, including for a Basque constituent assembly, that fails to even mention the demand for a workers government. While Trotskyists raise the demand for a democratic constituent assembly in Spain to mobilize the masses against the Francoist dictatorship and expose the conciliationist moves by the PCE and the popular front, we do not make this into a preliminary "democratic" stage of the revolution.

To do so means to support the bourgeoisie in smashing incipient forms of dual power which would arise during and following the overthrow of the Francoist regime. And this is precisely what is happening in Portugal, where the LCE's co-thinkers of the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party) line up with Socialist leader Mário Soares in the name of a "sovereign constituent assembly" while the social democrats are calling for the dissolution of all "parallel powers" and disarming of workers militias.

In contrast, the Spartacist tendency calls for the formation of a workers government responsible to a soviet body. In Portugal this could be formed through the unification of various workers commissions, soldiers committees, neighborhood commissions and other working-class organizations. In Spain, the workers commissions and other clandestine labor organizations would play a key role in the formation of such a body. But we do not call for a constituent assembly as a necessary "stage" of the revolution. This reformist conception would lead straight to social democracy or Stalinism, and recalls the dissolution of the German workers councils in 1919 in favor of a bourgeois parliament. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013 Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

CORRECTIONS

The article, "Victory to Mass. State Workers Strike!" in *WV* No. 115 (25 June) reported that the raised bridges which jammed traffic in Boston on the first day of the state-wide public workers strike were later lowered by striking bridge-tenders under a court order. We have subsequently learned that the bridges were actually lowered by supervisory personnel.

In *WV* No. 114 (18 June) an error appears in the article "Klan, Nazis Riot—Daley Arrests Black Protesters." As a result of a faulty telephone transcription, a statement by Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Andrew Pulley calling upon his Democratic and Republican opponents "to put pressure on the city government and mayor to arrest the culprits" (i.e., the fascist thugs) was incorrectly rendered as "to address the culprits."

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At L.A. Convention

CWA Tops Raise Dues, Raid Strike Fund, Ignore Layoffs

LOS ANGELES Under the banner "A National Union in the National Interest," the Communications Workers of America (CWA), representing 450,000 members, mainly phone workers, convened here for its annual convention June 21. While generally a ho-hum affair, the convention did, however, manage to take a few significant steps backwards. It whitewashed the International's strikebreaking in 1974, raised dues and rifled the already small strike fund to bolster sagging union finances. The convention also put the union on record in support of racist, "right-to-work" Jimmy Carter, for president.

The report of a special committee on collective bargaining was necessitated by the colossal record of sabotaging CWA strikes run up by the union's International leadership. In 1971, in violation of union rules, CWA tops called off a strike before the ratification vote was completed. In 1974, the first year of so-called "national bargaining," the leadership imposed a complete "news blackout" during bargaining, effectively keeping the membership in the dark. No strike vote was taken at all until after the contract had expired. Then, despite a two-to-one margin in favor of striking, the International cancelled a nationwide strike mere hours before it was scheduled to begin!

At the 1975 convention, protesters, spearheaded by delegates from CWA District 10 (the South) presented resolutions calling for mandatory taking of strike votes before contract expiration, "no contract no work," no news blackout, and an end to national agreements which placed restrictive conditions on local bargaining. After a desultory floor fight, in which supporters of the resolutions ended up swearing allegiance to the International, the disputed questions were tabled to a committee.

The committee's report to this year's convention was a whitewash of the regime of CWA president Glenn Watts and contained no essential changes. The convention did pass an amendment to the committee's report, which provides that "brief daily reports shall be made by tape, by both National and Local bargaining committees." In return for this piddling concession, the bulk of the committee's report, which called for rejection of all the changes proposed in 1975 (including such elementary demands as "no contract—no work"), was adopted. The report also endorsed other strikebreaking measures. It asserted that strikes should not be called if a "tentative agreement" is reached with the company before the contract expiration date unless and until this agreement is explicitly rejected by the membership. It also reaffirmed the power of the CWA executive board to halt strikes in progress before ratification when a tentative agreement is reached.

Dues Increase Instead of Fighting Layoffs

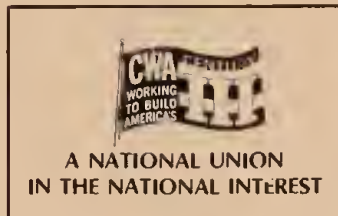
While granting wider powers to the International to sabotage strikes, the convention resolved to do nothing about the widespread cutback in jobs in the Bell system. Over 25,000 union members were lost during the last year

alone. The International bears direct responsibility for this. At last year's convention, it failed to even address itself to layoffs which had then claimed an estimated 12,000 jobs. The 1974 contract incorporated a so-called "automation clause" to be "worked out."

Nonetheless, company automation plans are rolling right along. New "ESS" (Electronic Switching System) triples the call volume handled while reducing the personnel necessary for this operation by 75 percent. Changes in consumer services like charging for directory assistance will also have devastating effects on the workforce. In areas where such charges have been instituted (such as New York) call volumes have dropped well over 90 percent. Some 25 percent of non-management phone workers are operators; of these, a third to a half are in directory assistance.

Predictably, the CWA leadership offered no solution at the convention except legislative lobbying to fight changes in the company's rate structure. The 1974 contract also failed to challenge Bell's barbaric absence control system under which phone workers have no sick leave. Now that item has disappeared even from the executive board's recommended bargaining items for the upcoming contract.

Rather than mobilizing the union ranks in militant strikes with the aim of reversing the loss of jobs, the International's sole strategy to defend the CWA is...to raise dues! After hearing the leadership hemoan the union's battered financial state, as the result of the loss of dues-payers (including some non-members enrolled under the CWA "agency shop"), the convention obediently passed resolutions calling for an increase of per capita dues of 50 cents a



month, plus another one dollar increase in four installments over the next two years, representing a 40 percent hike in dues allotted to the International.

In addition, the convention voted to transfer 50 cents per month per member over a six month period out of the small strike fund (worth only \$9.5 million) into the International's general fund. This will only further cripple the CWA when its contract with Bell expires next summer.

CWA Strengthens Links with CIA

The Communications Workers are somewhat unique among labor unions in this country in the openness with which they flaunt their connections with known CIA fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and the Post, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI). CWA is a member of the latter, which claims to represent 3,300,000 workers around the world.



Local 1101 pickets during 1971 CWA strike in New York.

According to former Central Intelligence Agency operative Phillip Agee, the CIA utilizes CWA to control the PTTI. Joseph Beirne, CWA's founder and president until his death two years ago, worked hard to establish a reputation as an anti-communist zealot, and his merits were recognized when he was awarded the post as head of AIFLD by the CIA, which was looking for labor figures to paint a façade of legitimacy on its bloodstained operations. The CWA donated its facilities in Front Royal, Virginia, as a center for training PTTI and AIFLD operatives.

In pre-Watergate days, William Doherty, executive director of AIFLD, boasted to a Senate committee of AIFLD's effectiveness in helping to stage the rightist coup which overthrew the government of João Goulart in Brazil. The right-wing military junta which still rules in Brazil has jailed, tortured and murdered thousands of labor militants. In Pinochet's Chile, where the penalty for striking is death and the national union federation has been banned by decree, AIFLD-trained and affiliated unions were permitted by the government to hold a "labor" conference in Santiago a couple of years ago.

The 1976 convention voted to grant almost \$240,000 to the foreign affairs department of CWA, which represents an 80 percent increase in this budget over three years. Some \$175,000 was allocated to PTTI, \$13,000 to the "Cuban Telephone Workers in Exile," and an additional \$50,000 to help finance PTTI's international conference scheduled in Washington, D.C., in 1978. The convention also paid tribute to a string of former CWA staffers, now on assignment in the field of international labor espionage.

This distinguished service to anti-communism made it fitting for the CWA to endorse Carter, who as governor of Georgia spoke out in defense of mass murderer William Calley and was a vigorous supporter of the Vietnam War! Despite its tradition of supporting cold War liberals, it is not surprising



CWA president Glen Watts testifying before the Democratic Platform Committee.

that the CWA bureaucrats came out for such a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary. After getting stuck with McGovern in 1972, the executive board report listed as its top political goals this year the election of "labor delegates" to the Democratic convention and "selection of a nominee who can win in November."

International president Watts is a member of the Democratic National Committee, and served as a spokesman for a Labor Coalition Clearinghouse at the Democrats' platform committee. The union's contribution to the AFL-CIO COPE fund is enormous (\$999,000). But in spite of all the jabbering about how the impotent Humphrey-Hawkins bill will solve unemployment, the union bureaucrats' support for capitalist politicians only spells endless defeats for labor. The "friends of labor" Democrats have a record of strikebreaking and union-busting legislation as long as the Republicans', yet this doesn't stop Watts & Co. from pouring millions into the

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ÖBL Target of Austrian Witchhunt

In the first attempt to implement new provisions of the Austrian penal code that further restrict freedom of the press, the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL - Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, are being prosecuted by the Socialist Party (SPÖ) government of Bruno Kreisky. In the trial scheduled for July 8, the ÖBL is charged with offending the bourgeoisie's "general perception of justice" by defending a group of pro-Palestinian terrorists against imperialist persecution. It is the duty of all socialists and defenders of democratic liberties to demand that the witchhunting charges against the ÖBL be immediately dropped!

The pretext for the state's attack is an article in the February issue of the *Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten*. The taking of hostages by a group calling itself the "Arm of the Arab Revolution" during a December 1975 meeting of the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries at OPEC headquarters in Vienna caused a roar of indignant outrage from local rulers, the eager hosts of the oil sheiks and colonels. Against this hypocritical outcry, the ÖBL article called on the left and labor movement to defend the commandos against persecution by the bourgeois state:

"Trotskyists consider the concept of petty-bourgeois individual terrorism to be completely misguided.... [However,] the defense of persecuted proletarian and anti-imperialist fighters is an essential component of the traditions of the workers movement and absolutely necessary in creating a united battle line against the bourgeoisie."

In contrast to indiscriminate terror, such as attacks on department stores or train stations "where the victims are themselves members of the oppressed masses," the ÖBL wrote, "making hostages of a handful of monopolists, whose hands are dripping with the blood of countless workers and peasants" is an "eminently defensible action."

The article denounced the self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" of the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM—Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the United Secretariat), whose criticism of the terrorist OPEC kidnapping failed to say one word in defense of the commandos against the imperialists. This cowardly abstention is quite a shift from the USec's earlier wild enthusiasm over PRT/ERP kidnappings in Argentina or similar terrorist actions by Basque nationalists. French USec supporters even made excuses for the indefensible massacre of Israeli athletes

at the 1973 Olympic games in Munich!

The law from which the charge against the ÖBL is derived, Paragraph 282 of the Austrian penal code, outlaws not only "inciting to actions punishable by law" but also "approving of an act punishable by imprisonment of over one year in a fashion such as to offend the general perception of justice or to incite to committing such an act." Official commentaries on this catch-all censorship law include as possible causes for punishment "public denigration or attempts to break down institutions of marriage, the family or legal concepts of property as well as immoral or illegal actions"!!

A defense leaflet (7 June) by the ÖBL points out the utter hollowness of such talk of a "general" sense of justice in class society.

"The ruling class considers it utterly justified to exploit oppressed peoples and to drive nations into starvation and poverty.... The murderous imprisonment of the RAF [Red Army Faction, usually referred to in the bourgeois press as the 'Baader-Meinhof Gang'] comrades injures its 'sense of justice' just as little. In the capitalists' state unemployment and inflation are as 'just' as national persecution of the Slovenian minority in Austria. The sense of justice of the working class will be expressed when the exponents and defenders of the ruling class are brought to trial to answer for their criminal acts: before the court of a workers government."

Paragraph 282 calls for sentences of up to two years' imprisonment of the legally responsible editor, in this case Comrade Dorner of the ÖBL. Moreover, this deliberate attempt to silence the Austrian Trotskyists is part of a more generalized "red scare" atmosphere being whipped up in central Europe. Charges under the same law are pending also against the Maoist MLS in Austria, while in Germany a similar law was passed earlier this year providing for up to three years' imprisonment for "written or publicly spoken support of serious crimes" (*New York Times*, 17 January).

When it is a question of censorship of Socialist views in Portugal (the *República* affair), Kreisky and his fellow social-democratic bureaucrats are strongly in favor of freedom of the press. But when it is a question of revolutionary opposition to their administration of the capitalist state at home, they resort to the worst kind of witchhunting thought-control laws. Today the target is the Trotskyists—tomorrow it could be the unions and all workers' organizations. —Down with the press law! Abolish Paragraph 282! —Drop the charges against Comrade Dorner and the ÖBL!

Bicentennial Demonstrations Fizzle

JULY 5—The once-ringing ideals of American bourgeois democracy rang hollow at bicentennial celebrations across the country yesterday, as even the ruling class was unable to muster much enthusiasm for its touted "200th birthday." Official ceremonies centered on

tion, even though the PSP's reliance on UN maneuvers and pressuring U.S. liberals will not achieve that goal.

But for the American working class, the stale "power to the people" rhetoric of the aging New Leftists offered neither power nor a program. The liberal



July 4 Coalition March in Philadelphia called for "Bicentennial Without Colonies." PSP calls for independence for Puerto Rico.

Washington, Philadelphia and New York fell far short of expectations, as a pervasive mood of hopelessness and lack of confidence in any institutions of U.S. society permeates the population.

This sullen mood was reflected in major national polls taken for the historic occasion. To the bourgeoisie's distress, the Harris Poll reported that nearly two Americans out of three "no longer feel their voices count anymore," a sense of estrangement affecting only 34 percent ten years ago. Likewise, from 1966 to today confidence in the executive branch of government has fallen from 41 percent to 11 percent; in the churches, from 41 percent to 24 percent; in big business from 55 percent to 16 percent; in the military from 62 percent to 23 percent; and in organized labor, from 22 percent to 10 percent. Sixty-one percent expressed dissatisfaction with their own lives (*New York Times*, 5 July).

But despite this widespread disillusionment of the U.S. population, neither did the various "people's bicentennial" counterdemonstrations generate any significant response. (The Harris Poll reported that, despite everything, nine out of ten believed that the American system still could be made to work.) A reporter covering the radicals' demonstrations reported seeing only a single U.S. flag in a drive through "dozens and dozens" of blocks in the city's black ghetto. However, the deep alienation in the black population was reflected in the relative absence of blacks in the counterdemonstrations as well.

It is no accident that a group whose "constituency" is in part outside U.S. society was the only one able to generate any substantial support for its "people's bicentennial" activities. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) mobilized approximately 2,000 supporters to demand a "bicentennial without colonies," whose main focus was independence for Puerto Rico. The reformist PSP was able to generate a sizable contingent and dominated the 10,000-strong July 4 Coalition march because it can claim the legitimate grievance of an oppressed colony fighting for its libera-

"People's Bicentennial" rally in Washington drew only a few thousand to hear big business denounced as "the new monarchy." In Philadelphia, the main "radical" march drew (aside from the PSP, a small number of American Indians and some right-wing black nationalists) a rag-tag "counter-culture" crowd, whose moral indignation at the atrocities of U.S. imperialism has never produced anything more threatening to the ruling class than this unremarkable event. A smaller, separate demonstration by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (that received a parade permit at the last minute) attracted at most 1,500 of its own supporters, whose militant posturing in bright red tee-shirts under the watchful eye of the police could not hide the

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LCR Seeks Grand Pabloite "Unity" with French PSU

Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International

"By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historic tasks. Opportunists find international control intolerable and they reduce their international ties as much as possible to harmless formalities... on the proviso that each group does not hinder the others from conducting an opportunist policy to its own national task.... International unity is not a decorative façade for us, but the very axis of our theoretical views and our policy."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition," 7 September 1929

In January 1974 the "Tenth World Congress" of the United Secretariat (USec) of the "Fourth International" unanimously adopted a set of organizational measures supported both by the centrist Europe-based International Majority Tendency (IMT) of Mandel/Maitan/Krivine and the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) dominated by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) in a desperate attempt to prevent further splits in its sections and to suppress the debates which were tearing it apart.

The deal worked out was a non-aggression pact which urged the reunification of split national sections while implicitly legitimizing non-application of democratic centralism in the USec by recognizing the decomposition products of split national groups as "sympathizing sections." But as we noted at the time, "the organizational maneuvering of the last several months is at best a stop-gap measure which will be unable to prevent new oppositions and splits" ("USec World Congress Preserves 'Scotch-Tape' Unity," *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974).

For several years, we pointed out, a common predilection for unprincipled organizational maneuvering has been nearly the only thing holding the USec together. But with the political polarization escalating, the de facto split between the two wings has been expressed in public splits between IMT and LTF supporters in country after country. Now, with the outbreak of open factional warfare within the LTF (leading to the appearance in several countries of three competing organizations all claiming adherence to "the Fourth International"), the USec's façade of "unity" is threadbare.

This has not prevented both IMT and LTF from seeking to make a virtue of necessity by pointing to the public factional fracas as a tribute to the eminently "democratic" character of their common swamp ("everyone welcome but Bolsheviks"). That the USec's dirty linen has piled so high that it can no longer be laundered in private testifies not to USec "democracy," however, but to the aggressiveness of the bloc partners' conflicting opportunist appetites.

Thus the suit-and-tie SWP reformists want to slough off Régis Debray-style guerrillaist allies who impede them from becoming respectable influence peddlers to their own bourgeoisie. The centrists, in turn, want unrestricted political freedom of maneuver in order to grab onto the coattails of the "broad vanguards" of their choice. But as their competing schemes become more clearly articulated, all of these fake-

Trotskyists are finding even nominal international "discipline" intolerably wearisome.

Democratic Centralism? Never Heard of It!

The reformist American SWP went into opposition to the USec majority prior to the "Ninth World Congress" in early 1969 which adopted a vicarious "guerrilla warfare" line toward Latin America. In the context of ever-deepening adaptation to the norms of social-democratic reformism—overwhelming electoralist "strategy," parliamentarist reform gimmicks (the "Bill of Rights for Working People"), siding up to the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy the SWP has grown increasingly determined to dissociate itself from the scruffy and frequently embarrassing unconstructed New Lefters of the European USec sections.

This was expressed most succinctly when the SWP unceremoniously chucked out its pro-IMT members (grouped in the ill-starred "Internationalist Tendency," since disappeared) on 4 July 1974, and then curtly told Mandel & Co. to keep their noses out of its internal affairs. The IMT howled about SWP "federalism," but ended up knuckling under to the flagrantly undemocratic

regime of its "fraternal supporters" in the U.S. Now the SWP is aggressively shopping around for a new international marriage of convenience, as if oblivious to the fact that it does not yet have a divorce from the IMT.

The SWP has been perfectly explicit in disavowing the Leninist principle of international democratic centralism. In the words of SWP national secretary Jack Barnes:

"The structure of the international is different from the party. For instance, the decisions of the international are not binding on members of national parties. In other words, the highest body of a party is its national convention it decides its tactics and elects its leadership not the conventions or congresses or meetings of the Fourth International."

Militant, 11 June 1976

The context makes this blatant disavowal of Leninist norms even more despicable; it comes in a deposition that is a key part of the "socialist Watersuit." Note that it is the SWP which brought the court action, not the government.

Moreover, Barnes' gratuitous renunciation of international democratic centralism is accompanied by an explanatory note (*Militant*, 18 June) admitting that the SWP voluntarily supplied the court with "copies of the party's documents, resolutions, speeches, and pamphlets." This clears up the origins of the SWP international internal bulletins to be found in the court record of this case (see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975), and would at a minimum lead to a control commission investigation in a revolutionary International worthy of the name.

That the SWP has no intention of letting "the international" tell it what to do has been clear for some time. Previously, however, the SWP had been content to hide behind the paper-tiger Voorhis Act (a reactionary statute

prohibiting international affiliation, which is patently unconstitutional and has never been applied). Now Barnes has made a "principle" out of the SWP's declaration of independence.

For Trotsky, there was nothing "different" about democratic centralism on the international level. The founding statutes of the Fourth International (which, should SWP leaders have forgotten, called itself the "World Party of Socialist Revolution") clearly state:

"The sections are required to observe the decisions and resolutions of the International Conference and, in its absence, of the International Executive Committee, represented during the intervals between its meetings by the International Secretariat."

On paper, even the revisionist USec majority espouses disciplined international organization. Its statutes as published after the 1974 "world congress" proclaim:

"The highest body of the Fourth International is constituted by the World Congress."

"Decisions of higher organs are strictly binding on lower organs...."

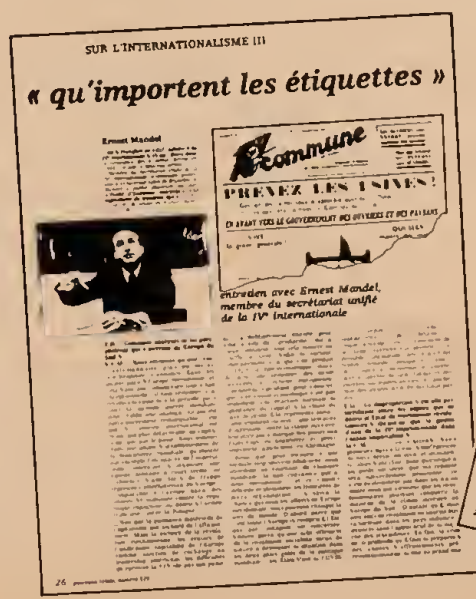
"Decisions are taken by majority vote. Minorities are obliged to apply majority decisions."

In practice, the IMT has long since abandoned international democratic centralism in order to maintain the band-aid "unity" of its "international." Now, however, it is rapidly finding reason to disavow the formalities as well. Just as Stalin found it expedient to officially dissolve the Third International as an encumbrance which unnecessarily frightened the bourgeoisie, the IMT has discovered that orthodox labels like "Fourth International" and "democratic centralism" are getting in the way of its appetites toward the timid centrists and social democrats of the "broad (formerly new mass) vanguard."

This impressionistic conglomeration is comprised of petty-bourgeois radi-

In interview with *Politique Hebdo* Ernest Mandel asks "what difference do labels make?" offering to renounce the Fourth International.

PSU leader Craipeau replies "it's not the label that will have to be changed."



eals. "Third World" nationalist movements, militant workers outside the control of the Communist Party, oppressed strata such as racial minorities and women along with anything else that strikes the IMT's fancy at any given time. The IMT dreamed up this non-category to denote a combination recruitment pool—to be attracted by catering to the mood of the moment—and ready-made "revolutionary" force whose spontaneous militancy can supposedly substitute for a Trotskyist vanguard party at the head of a conscious and organized working class.

What's In a Name?

The showpiece section and main power base of the IMT is the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). And as far as the LCR is concerned, the incarnation of the "broad vanguard" is the left-social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU), particularly the wing dominated by ex-Trotskyists such as Yvan Craipeau and Michel Pablo. For some time, the LCR has been playing with possibilities for entries or fusions involving the PSU—in the political resolution of the LCR's first congress the PSU is termed "centrist" and included in the "revolutionary far left" with the additional note:

"For it must be clearly stated that we aim farther and higher than tactical alliances and suspicious cooperation. We must aim at a common revolutionary organization [of the "far left"], based on a prior debate on revolutionary strategy and the destruction of the bourgeois state, on the characterization of the Union of the Left and tactics toward the reformists, and on a practice which sets aside any sectarian spirit."

—Rouge, 27 December 1974

Now it appears that Pablo & Co. are willing to consider a "regroupment"—on certain conditions. Some elements of the LCR (Tendencias 1 and 4) will have to be disposed of and the name "Fourth International" abandoned.

In response to these nibbles of interest, IMT leader Ernest Mandel leaped into the pages of *Politique Hebdo* (10-16 June 1976), a radical weekly which the LCR carefully cultivates as a means to pursue fud and games with the PSU, to demonstrate sweet reasonableness and disabuse skeptics of any notion that his associates might get bogged down in dogmatic formalities. Accordingly, we suddenly find Mandel singing Jack Baroes' tune as regards international democratic centralism:

"The variety of national situations implies a variety of tactics and democratic centralism cannot be applied internationally as it is nationally. This is what, along with the concern to make debates public, has allowed us to do away with reminiscences of Stalinism which are associated with this structure."

Linking the principle of international democratic centralism to Stalinism and pronouncing himself in favor of public attacks on official policy by oppositional minorities, Mandel has launched a frontal assault on the Trotskyist program in this amazing interview. Asked whether the "existence of the Fourth International is not an obstacle" to the kind of regroupment envisioned by the USec, Mandel is unambiguous:

"What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

For the benefit of anyone not satisfied with jettisoning the Fourth International, Mandel magnanimously offered to throw out all references to "a bearded man named Leon Trotsky" as well! Trying to give this grotesquely opportunist policy the aura of "success," Mandel adds:

"We have become a modest pole of attraction. And when we join with ETA VI [in Spain], the Colombia Socialist

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Newspaper Guild Coddles Washington Post Scabs

WASHINGTON, D.C. The annual convention of the Newspaper Guild met here from June 28 to July 2, but what had threatened to be a decisive floor fight over the strikebreaking by Guild members in the *Washington Post* strike was diverted by the nervous bureaucrats. A compromise solution, which in essence removed any threat of disciplinary action against the Guild scabs at the *Post*, was accepted by both sides.

The *Washington Post* strike, which began last October, provoked considerable dissension within the Newspaper Guild. It became clear very early that the real objective of management was to break the pressmen's union, the most militant union at the *Post*. To this end, the *Post* obtained injunctions outlawing mass picketing, utilized personnel carefully trained beforehand in craft operations at a notorious scab-training school

side of the scabs. As early as last January, the International executive board refused to allow disciplinary action to be taken against the scabs. As a further concession to the scab majority in the *Post* unit, the International removed Brian Flores, a strong supporter of respecting picket lines, from his position as Local negotiator. In June International president Charles Perlik, Jr. intervened openly on the side of scab Baker against the majority leadership of the Washington-Baltimore Local 35. Perlik urged support for Baker's motion that a separate local be carved out of Local 35 for the *Post* Guild unit. This was turned down by the executive board majority.

International Sides with Scabs

In his opening address to the Guild convention, Perlik reaffirmed clearly his

to work at the *Post* not long after the craftsman returned. Since the pressmen are still maintaining their picket lines (which are still being respected by about 20 Guild members), Local president Grubisich is daily engaging in scabbiog.

Opposing the split-off of the *Post* unit was a grouping centered around the majority leadership of the Washington-Baltimore Local, including Brian Flores. While ostensibly opposing scabbiog, these bureaucrats also have a lot of perquisites to lose if the local is split. The local would be deprived of one third of its membership and a corresponding amount of power. (After New York, Washington-Baltimore sent the largest number of delegates to the convention.) Just recently, as part of the preparation for the NLRB elections, the majority leadership of the local agreed to withdraw charges against 300 union members for scabbiog. Thus, these bureaucrats also showed their willingness to make concessions to the scabs to keep them in the union!

Convention Rewards Strikebreaking

However, while the battle lines had apparently been drawn up, there proved to be no fight at the convention. Brian Flores made a dramatic speech offering a compromise. The *Post* would remain part of Local 35, but the scabs were offered numerous concessions. They would be permitted to be members of the Local's standing committees and they, like other Guild members, would be permitted to observe the local executive board meetings. Finally, Flores would resign his local union position if the Guild won the NLRB election at the *Post* unit, to avoid friction with the scabs. This "solution," which made more concessions to the scabs without splitting the local, apparently made everyone happy. And it didn't hurt Flores either, who was warmly praised for his act of "self-sacrifice." Flores, who has challenged Perlik before for the presidency of the Guild, will no doubt utilize this for his future electoral ambitions.

This was not the only hypocrisy perpetrated around the *Post* incident. The convention endorsed a number of boycotts approved by the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labour Congress. Among these was... a boycott of the *Washington Post*! Thus, while every day almost the entire Guild *Post* unit is crossing picket lines to put out the scab paper, a resolution is passed calling for consumers to boycott it!

Another piece of double-talking is the proposed merger of the Guild and the International Typographical Union (ITU). A. S. Bevis, president of the ITU, was a guest speaker at the convention. Both he and Perlik made a number of pious comments about the importance of "trade-union unity," and pledged their two unions to further cooperation in the coming year. This is no doubt fitting, since the Guild and the ITU "cooperated" this year very well—in shafting the pressmen: *Post* printers and mailers, who led the craft unions across the picket lines, are members of the ITU!

Most definitely not invited to the convention was a representative of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, to which the pressmen are affiliated. None of the deals and bureaucratic bargaining at the

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AFL-CIO News

Some Newspaper Guild members joined pickets at Washington Post although majority of Guild members at Post scabbed during strike.

in Oklahoma and even used helicopters to airlift material back and forth from non-union printing plants in the surrounding area.

Most importantly, however, the majority of the Guild, which organizes reporters, editors and commercial workers, scabbed from the first day, thus insuring the *Post* of a steady supply of copy. In February the Guild strikebreakers were joined by the other craft unions, led by the printers and mailers, who marched back to work across the pressmen's picket lines. Since then, the pressmen have been effectively locked out of the *Post*.

The *Washington Post* unit of the Guild voted several times during the strike to cross the picket lines of craft workers. To do this, it had to defy instructions from the leadership of the Washington-Baltimore Guild Local (of which the *Post* unit is a part). In addition to this despicable behavior, in subsequent unit elections the *Post* Guild members voted in as chairman Don Baker, one of the leading scabs. Furthermore, a number of scabs presented a petition to the NLRB to decertify the Guild and replace it with the "independent" Washington Newspaper Union. After being delayed several times, decertification elections were set for July 17.

The International leadership of the Guild has consistently intervened on the

refusal to do anything about the scabbing: "I don't propose to spend any time discussing what happened or who did what in those early October days. The time is long past for that." Perlik went on to flaunt the results of a "straw poll" which reputedly indicated that while only 33 percent of the *Post* unit would vote for the Newspaper Guild against 42 percent for the Washington Newspaper Union, a majority (61 percent) would support remaining in the Guild if the *Post* unit could have its own local. Perlik recommended that this concession be made to the scab *Post* unit, which with its 800 members, happens to be the fourth largest unit in the Newspaper Guild. For Perlik, maintenance of dues income, even if it comes from a scab local, is clearly more important than elementary trade-union principles.

To carve another local out of Washington-Baltimore would entail an amendment to the Guild constitution. A resolution to that effect was presented at the convention by a group of delegates. The authors tried to dress up this pro-scab resolution with gibberish about the "courage" required to "forgive" past sins, etc. Prominent among the signers was Tom Grubisich, recently elected as head of Local 35. Grubisich is known as a moderate who has always opposed disciplining the scabs. While originally respecting the picket lines, he returned

CWA...

(continued from page 4)

coffers of these representatives of big business.

Lip Service to Equality

Over half of CWA's members are women, who, for the most part, are stuck in the worst, lowest paying jobs with little hope of upgrading. Telephone operators (the "traffic" department) earn less at top pay than many entry-level craft jobs, which are mostly held by males. A very popular button worn at the convention read "Upgrade Traffic to Craft." A women's committee meeting drew 800 people, who were treated to a production of a short play by the Family Service Agency, "Adam and Eve," about a secretary who wanted to get into management, and her boss who finally overcame his male chauvinism and promoted her.

Unfortunately this fairy tale was the most the CWA had to offer its women workers. In fact, the union has never done anything to stop the gross sex discrimination in hiring, upgrading, pay and treatment of female employees, particularly operators, by the Bell system. The elevation of Dina Beaumont as the union's only woman International executive board member (there are no blacks at all!) and CWA's endorsement of CLUW, vehicle for the female bureaucratic counterparts of George Meany, will do absolutely nothing to improve the lot of the mass of women telephone workers.

The historic division between plant and traffic cannot be wished away — it will take a determined fight against the AT&T monopoly. Yet the International is hardly even making a pretense of such a fight. Nowhere on its list of recommended bargaining items is there any mention of opening up transfers on a company-wide seniority basis (thus eliminating one of the most blatant forms of company discrimination against women employees while undercutting the government's union-husting "affirmative action" plans), nor is there any mention of across-the-board, rather than percentage, pay increases.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

There were a couple of delegates present who did claim to oppose the regime of CWA president Glenn Watts. However, members of the United Action Caucus (UAC), supported by the International Socialists, after having sniffed the air and discovered that

delegates were not in a fighting mood, quickly pulled in their own horns. UAC refused to do anything in its own name. It issued a pathetic leaflet signed "Concerned Delegates" which offered no program, but invited those who were concerned about a dues increase, "no contract no work," manhole safety, etc., to come to a meeting. Despite its opportunistic efforts to downplay its politics, it succeeded in attracting a handful anyway!

The UAC has a long history of capitulating to whatever is "popular." In New York it supported Ed Dempsey then a slick-talking out-hureaucrat for president of Local 1101 after the disastrous 1971 NY wildcat. No sooner was Dempsey elected than he began rewriting the Local bylaws, reducing membership meetings to twice a year (in a local of 11,000 members) and recently even pushed through another change which enabled him to run unopposed for a second term as local president.

The telephone monopoly hosses will continue to turn the screws on their workers and drive tens of thousands onto the unemployment lines until the CWA is rebuilt into a strong union. A small opposition group with a five-year history in the union, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), was also in attendance at the convention with a program to accomplish this urgently needed about-face.

The MAC leaflet called for a shorter workweek with a big pay boost and full cost-of-living allowance, for smashing the vicious absence control program and winning paid sick leave with no penalties for being sick, and putting an end to the company's reform-school-like work rules. To win these demands it called for a militant national strike against AT&T to shut communications down tight, conducted by membership-elected bargaining and strike committees. Terming Carter, Ford and Reagan "simply three different labels on bottles of the same political poison," MAC called on the CWA to break from "the twin parties of capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans, and forge a workers party based on the trade unions and committed to fight for an end to the capitalist system...."

MAC concluded by pointing out: "For the CWA to become a class-struggle union capable of defending its members it is necessary to oust the present pro-capitalist bureaucracy. It is necessary to educate the membership and to show them that a leadership that accepts capitalism, accepts AT&T's 'right' to make a profit, enters the fight with its hands tied behind its back and with a leash around its neck." ■

Newspaper Guild...

(continued from page 7)

convention even pretended to redress their just grievances. By its failure to take action against the scabbing at the *Washington Post*, the Newspaper Guild convention went on record as countenancing such activities. This betrayal will prove a far greater handicap to the union than the potential loss of the hunch of scabs working at the *Post*! And it demonstrates once again that the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, including so-called "militants" like Flores, will inevitably sell out sections of the working class in order to advance their personal careers.

SWP Defends "Rights" of Scabs

There is a tawdry footnote to this tale of treachery, namely the disgusting position taken by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Having recently taken to defending the "rights" of fascists in the name of "consistent democracy," the SWP is today taking up the cudgels for scabs. It has consistently opposed taking any disciplinary

measures against the strikebreakers in the Guild. It also supported the campaign of Tom Grubisich and the latter's snotiness toward scabs.

The July 2 *Militant*, organ of the SWP, contains a column written by Lee Oleson, identified as a member of Washington-Baltimore Guild Local 35 and a member of Grubisich's "Unity Reform" slate. Oleson complains bitterly about a proposed convention resolution that would allow a local executive board to require a unit to honor a picket line whether the unit votes to or not. The outraged Oleson remonstrates: "Strong unionism is not created by officials who issue orders and deal out punishments. That is bureaucratic, not militant, unionism."

Thus, Oleson opposes the right of a union to enforce such elementary measures as respecting picket lines. Of course, for Oleson, this would infringe on the "rights" of scabs. However, genuine union militants realize that neither scabs nor fascists have any rights and that their activities represent a direct peril to the continued existence of workers organizations and trade unions. Those, like the SWP, who apologize for these scum, are literally digging their own graves. ■

Bicentennial...

(continued from page 5)

reformism of their slogans, "We won't fight another rich man's war" and "Jobs or income now."

The only consolation to the marchers was that the official bicentennial demonstration only slightly outdrew them, with a bored crowd reportedly giving at most light applause to President Ford's utterly non-descript "apple pie" speech. The political impotence of the July 4th Coalition which kicked off with an "interfaith" church service (!), was expressed by the fact that its rally speakers could do no more than read off endless lists of atrocities committed by U.S. imperialism, interspersing this with idiotically optimistic populist folk/pop songs and dances. Even though the official theme could be summed up as "self-determination for everybody," a tiny dispirited band of Yuppies dragging at the tail end of the march was continually harassed by parade marshals because of their marijuana-leaf-studded black flags. The incredibly tawdry affair came to an abrupt end in a crashing thunderstorm which cut off the "entertainment."

The deadbeat character of the bicentennial counterdemonstrations confirmed that radical-liberal populism is no more an attractive alternative to the mediocre "Americanism" of Ford and Carter than the oppressive totalitarianism of Stalinist "Communism" and the uninspiring social-democratic "welfare states" of Western Europe. While Stalinists and social democrats tried to wrap themselves in red, white and blue to claim the holiday of U.S. national chauvinism for "the people," the Spartacist League's militant proletarian internationalism alone showed the way forward to tear down the decaying (but still very real) ideology of imperialist "democracy."

As the bourgeoisie's bicentennial drags to an end, we can at least predict that there will be no tricentennial. Either the imperialists will obliterate humanity in nuclear holocaust and barbarism, or the reactionary national states will be swept away and replaced by world socialist revolution! ■

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Mandel...

(continued from page 7)

Blac or the Icelandic Socialist Youth, they don't discuss the label."

No doubt! What this expert in maneuverism fails to mention, however, is that when the USec group in Chile helped set up the MIR in 1965, they also (and quite explicitly) didn't discuss the "label" of the Fourth International. This led to the expulsion of all "Trotskyists" a couple of years later and places on Mandel & Co. the responsibility for the fact that militants wishing to go farther than the UP were instead tied to the popular front by the MIR's "critical support" to Allende.

The debate over "labels" and "numbers" has a history in the French Trotskyist movement. During the so-called "French turn" (the Trotskyists' mid-1930's entry into the French social democracy), Trotsky waged a harsh polemic against those (led by R. Molinier and P. Frank, now part of the USec) who wanted to capitulate in the face of the charge by Marcel Pivert that the Trotskyists "alienated the masses" by their "label" (Bolshevik-Leninists) and their "number" (Fourth International). Trotsky answered Pivert and implicitly addressed the conciliators in an article entitled "'Labels' and 'Numbers'":

"By their name the Bolshevik-Leninists say to each and all... that they base themselves on the experiences of October, developed in the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International; that they are in solidarity with the theoretical and practical work accomplished by the 'Left Opposition' of the Communist International (1923-32); finally that they stand under the banner of the Fourth International. In politics, the 'name' is the 'flag.' Those who today renounce a revolutionary name to please Blum and Co. will tomorrow just as easily renounce the red flag for the tricolor flag."

Writings, 1935-36

He adds, "To invoke the 'masses' serves, in this case, only to cover one's own hesitations." Trotsky's polemic against those who wanted to accommodate Pivert's "Revolutionary Left" took concrete form when the Molinier-Frank group first proposed a "mass" paper and then broke discipline to begin publishing *La Commune*. Even before Molinier's fake-agitational paper appeared, Trotsky strongly attacked it.

This whole controversy is unmistakably alluded to by an informed editor of *Politique Hebdo*, for the Mandel interview is appropriately entitled "What Difference Do Labels Make?" and the photo of the USec leader is published next to the title page of... an issue of *La Commune*! A follow-up interview with Craipeau two pages later bears the title, "It's Not the Label That Will Have to be Changed."

As for Pablo, the arch-revisionist whose liquidationist policies led to the destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53, Mandel and Krivine are now attempting to reunite with him on the basis of once again breaking with the SWP and this time formally giving up the "label" of the Fourth International to boot! Those who deny the Pabloist liquidationism of USec policies will have a hard time explaining this one.

On to the Popular Front

Capturing the periphery of the PSU's over-age ex-Trotskyists is but a modest step in the LCR's grandiose "strategy" of building revolutionary parties by sucking in the "broad vanguard." A recent series of policy statements in IMF publications, touched off by the Italian and Portuguese elections, gives a good idea of what Mandel/Maitan/Krivine have in mind. Thus the Italian USec section, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR), envision a Communist Party, Socialist Party government which might include "independents who are not members of either of these two parties or representatives of possible new formations might be part of such a

government, provided they were willing to accept its program and discipline" (*Inprecor*, 24 June).

The reference to "new formations" is an unmistakable allusion to the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) electoral bloc which won six seats in the June 20-21 Italian elections. Its components are the Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP), Avanguardia Operaia and (most recently) Lotta Continua, thereby encompassing the entirety of the USec's sought-for "broad vanguard." It is not surprising that the GCR ran candidates (it was only allowed three) on the DP slate in the election; now Maitan draws the necessary conclusion and calls on Democrazia Proletaria to accept the "program and discipline" of the PCI!

While the DP parties were giving a "critical" cover to the PCI's campaign for a "historic compromise" with Christian Democracy, by calling for a "left government," the GCR maintained a fig leaf of orthodoxy pointing out that this slogan opened the way to a popular front with bourgeois forces. However, the LCR, yearning for the chance to put together a similar prop to the popular front in France, praised the Democrazia Proletaria bloc uncritically. Krivine wrote:

"Going beyond sectarian traditions [the far left] managed to run united in the elections. There thus appeared a pole of attraction for all those who are suspicious of the experience of class collaboration."

There were disagreements within the DP slate, says Krivine, but "it was a question of a debate within a framework of unity which unfortunately has not yet appeared in France" (*Rouge*, 19 June). A *Rouge* editorial (21 June) on election day in Italy cheered: "DP succeeded in emerging as a consistent and politically viable pole, especially to the degree that it expressed the slogan of a government of the lefts with a certain homogeneity."

What's behind the slogan of a "government of the lefts" is revealed in the same 1974 LCR resolution that called for a "common revolutionary organization" of the far left. It states: "To denounce the Union of the Left as a popular front could only lead to a dangerous confusion of [our] tasks." Even before this congress the LCR assiduously avoided any such "confusion," calling for votes to Union of the Left candidates in the second round of the 1973 legislative elections. In 1974, it called for votes for the single candidate of the Union of the Left on the second round of presidential elections. And now Krivine & Co. call for an Allende-style popular front in Italy. Only Italy? No, the LCR also lusts for a united left slate for the 1978 French legislative elections, to include the PSU, Révolution! and Lutte Ouvrière. Such a French DP would be the "far left" vehicle for tailing after the Union of the Left.

The same line has been extended to Portugal, with some modifications due to the political role of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the relative preponderance of Maoist groups in the misnamed "far left." Throughout early 1975, USec articles and declarations sidestepped or obfuscated the bourgeois character of the MFA. However, when Portuguese IMT supporters—the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI)—signed the document of the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) in late August, calling for support to the "MFA-People Alliance," IMT leaders rapped them on the knuckles. The flurry which this precipitated in the USec was stilled when the LCI at a special conference in January adopted a sharp "self-criticism" denouncing its capitulation to the FUR as "sectarian and divisionist"—in other words, as ultra-leftism rather than class collaboration.

Now, however, with the fiasco of the Portuguese USec supporters' joint presidential candidate (withdrawn at the last minute and denounced by her erstwhile sponsors as a provocateur)

simply swept under the rug, the question of what policy to take in the June 27 elections led to a sharp division within the LCR which has been displayed in the pages of *Rouge* (30 June). Filoche, the leader of ex-Tendency 1 who is close to the SWP, calls for a vote for the Communist candidate, Pato. Krivine calls for a vote for Major Carvalho, arguing that since "Otelio" is supported by the "broad vanguard," revolutionary Marxists should back him. But wait, there is a third position! Perhaps a section of the LCR has thrown off unprincipled maneuvering and told the workers clearly that they should refuse to vote for the bourgeois officer or the Stalinist candidate whose program is a popular front with the armed forces? Alas, it is only Benvid, who calls for votes to both Carvalho and Pato!

Where Is the USec Going?

The Leninist-Trotskyist Faction whose core is the bloc between the SWP and Argentine PST is apparently no more stable than the USec as a whole. The PST has increasingly distanced itself from the SWP's disgustingly rightist stands on Portugal and Angola and at the February 1976 USec plenum voted for the IMT's Angola position and against both the resolutions on Portugal (*Inprecor*, 4 March 1976).

The PST's new-found repugnance for the SWP's international line certainly has as its basis considerations of horse-trading. Well in advance of its rapprochement with the IMT, the PST was already locked into a power struggle against the SWP within the pro-LTF sections. The PST-engineered split in the Mexican Liga Socialista in September 1975 must have been months in the making, and, according to the SWP, months of factional intrigue in the Portuguese Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores culminated in the expulsion of SWP supporters by PST supporters (*[SWP] International Information Bulletin*, April 1976).

The SWP seems to be on a converging course with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of P. Lambert and its international allies. The SWP/OCI discussions have been a bone of contention in the USec since 1974. More recently, much to the IMT's annoyance, the SWP-aligned Quebec group has undertaken serious fusion discussions with its OCI-affiliated counterpart. The Quebec Lambertists' attendance at the LTF group's December 1975 conference, like the presence of an OCI representative at the August 1975 SWP convention, is an unambiguous declaration that diplomatic oisance to the "unity of the Fourth International" will not stand in the way of the SWP's pursuit of more congenial bloc partners.

The political logic behind the USec's main tendencies—the SWP toward mainstream social-democratic reformism, the IMT toward the "recomposition" of centrist forces into trial-run electoral blocs in the direction of classic popular frontism—will tend to impel them toward an outright split. But the fundamental organizational principle of both the centrist and reformist wings of the USec is maneuverism, so the political physiognomy of the eventual split will no doubt distort the programmatic axes of the seven-year factional struggle beyond recognition.

Unlike the former "third tendency"—which has, in fragmented fashion, either capitulated to the majority (Germany) or linked up with the rotten remains of an earlier USec split, the Spartacusbund (Austria and Italy)—oppositonists within the USec, if they are to find their way to authentic Trotskyism, must break with the revisionism of both the IMT and the LTF. Only the international Spartacist tendency, which has refused to capitulate to popular frontism or bourgeois populism and whose adherence to international democratic centralism is based on principled programmatic congruence, provides the groundwork upon which the Fourth International can be reformed. ■

In recent weeks a number of important new endorsars of the campaign to save Chilean mine union leader Mario Muñoz have been added, notably from France and Australia. In France, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has received endorsements from Alired Kastler; the Comité de Soufflan aux Luttas du Peuple Argentin; Andre Merié, senator from Hauta Garonne, vice president of the French Senate; Charles Josselin, deputy; the Centre Quskar International; Jean Bernard, deputy. Last week the Committee also received the endorsement of Hernan Cuentas, Peruvian miners leader recently released from prison as the result of an international protest campaign; and Genaro Ledesma, miners union lawyer released along with Cuentas. In Australia, in addition to the names published in WV No. 11S, 25 June, the following endorsements have been received:

Abbotsford Branch ALP
Albert Park Branch ALP
WR Albany (Lecturer, La Trobe University)
Altona Branch ALP
Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (Burwood, Melbourne and Sydney Branches)
Johann Arnason (Lecturer, La Trobe University)
Australien Coal and Shale Employees' Federation (Miners Federation)
Australien Railways Union (Victorian Branch)
Australien Tramway and Motor Omnibus Employees' Association (Victorian Branch)
Australien Union of Students
Meredith Bergman
Fred Bells (actor)
GH Boehringer (Senior Lecturer in Law, Macquarie University)
Elizabeth Brooke (Lecturer in Politics, Swinburne Institute of Technology)
BWU (NSW and Victorian Branches)
J Burnham (Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney)
Canberra Trades Council
Max Charlesworth (Catholic Worker)
David Combe (Federal Secretary, ALP)
Combined Pensioners Association (Victoria) Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People
Communist League
Sieve Cooper (Research Officer, AMWU)
Eva Cox
Gregory M Denning (Professor of History, Melbourne University)
AF Donovan (Senior Lecturer, Department of Behavioural Science, University of NSW)
John Ducker (Member of the Legislative Council, NSW, President of the NSW Branch of the ALP; Junior Vice-President of the Federal ALP, Secretary of the NSW Labor Council)
BD Dwyer (Lecturer, Economic History Department, University of NSW)
Grant Evans
Federated Clerks Union of Australia (NSW Branch)
Federated Cold Storage and Meat Preserving Employees' Union of Australia (Victorian Branch)
Federated Liquor and Allied Industry Employees' Union (Victorian Branch)
Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union (Victorian and South Australian Branches)
Federated Shipwrights and Ship Constructors' Association of Australia (Victorian Branch)
Federation of Australian Anarchists
Dr Herbert Feih (Reader in Politics, Monash University)
Firemen and Deckhands' Union of NSW
M Fisher (Organiser, Storeman and Packers Union)
D A T Gasking (Professor of Philosophy, Melbourne University)
Senator George Georges
Caroline Grehm
R F Hall (Professor, Department of General Studies, University of NSW)
Bill Hartley (Member, Federal Executive of the ALP)
Stephen C Hill (Professor of Sociology, University of Wollongong)
Dr R Horn (University of Sydney)
Robin Horne (Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Wollongong)
Hospital Employees Federation (Victorian Branch 2)
WE Hotchkiss (Lecturer, School of Economics, University of NSW)
Michael Hourihan (Secretary/Editor, NSW Teachers Federation)
Dr M Jackson (University Lecturer)
Dr Evan Jones (Lecturer, Economics Department, University of Sydney)
Senator Jim Keble (Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Senate)
Claire Kelly (VSTA member)

Richard Kennedy (Lecturer in Australian Social History, University of NSW)
D Kirsner (Lecturer, Philosophy Department, Melbourne University)
K L Krishne (Senior Lecturer in Econometrics, Monash University)
La Trobe Clubbe Communiste
La Trobe University SRC
David A Lawton (Lecturer, Department of English, University of Sydney)
Macquarie University Students' Council
Patrick Maloney
Alan Marshall (author)
Michael Matteson
Monash Association of Students
Municipal Employees Union (Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees' of Australia)
Barbara Murphy (Senior Vice President, NSW Teachers' Federation)
Bill Murray (Lecturer, History Department, La Trobe University)
Kenneth C Ophel (Secretary, Victorian Branch, Australian Theatrical and Amusement Employees' Association)
C Pelzman (Lecturer, University of Sydney)
John F Pelly (Secretary, Ascol Vale ALP Branch)
George Peterson (MLA, NSW)
Plumbers and Gassfitters Employees' Union of Australia (Melbourne Branch)
Ross Poole (Lecturer, School of History, Philosophy, Politics, Macquarie University)
Printing and Kindrad Industries Union (Victorian Branch)
Carolina Ralston (University Lecturer)
Melcolm Rimmer (Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Sydney)
Or Michael Rohi (Visiting Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, University of Sydney)
Jim Roulston (Senior Vice-President of the ALP, Vice President of the ACTU, Victorian President of the AMWU)
Georgia Ruda (Professor of History, Concordia University, Canada, Visiting Lecturer, La Trobe University)
Edna Ryan
Malcolm Salmon
Heinz Schulte (Senior Lecturer in Sociology, La Trobe University)
M F Schutte (Lecturer, Department of French, La Trobe University)
David Scott
Ship Painters and Dockers Union (NSW and Victorian Branches)
Ron Skeggs (Secretary, Edithvale/Aspendale ALP Branches)
Slaters, Tilers and Roofing Industry Union of Victoria
Dr Charles Sowerwine (Lecturer, History Department, Melbourne University)
Spartacist League
Staff and Students of the Department of General Philosophy (University of Sydney)
John Steinke (President of the Cunningham Federal Electoral Council of the ALP)
Anne Summers
W Sulching (Senior Lecturer, Department of General Philosophy, University of Sydney)
Sydney University Communist Group
Sydney University SRC
Max Taylor (General Secretary of the NSW Teachers' Federation)
M M Thompson
David Tucker (Lecturer, Department of Politics, Melbourne University)
Victorian Labor College
Victorian Trades Hall Council, Executive Committee
University of NSW ALP Club
University of NSW Students' Union
Tom Uren (Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party)
J L Vaux (Lecturer, Department of General Philosophy, University of Sydney)
Water and Sewerage Employees' Union
Mick Young (MHR)

* verbal endorsement only

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

☐ I pledge \$_____ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 1)

any threat to the social order of private property. Although liberals take pride in the claim that the categories of capital crimes have been narrowed in recent years, the direction of that narrowing is telling indeed. Now the death penalty is applied mainly to crimes against the representatives of the state. The killing of cops, prison guards, capitalist politicians is punished more severely than are other murders. The message to urban blacks is clear enough: if you shoot each other you get one penalty, but shooting a cop is another matter.

The death rows are stacked up with black "cop-killers." The only condemned man in the state of New York, for instance, is Joseph Davis, a 38-year-old black man convicted of killing a cop in September 1974 in Yonkers. Davis is by no means an atypical death-row convict. Although the newspapers prefer to cite the example of Charles Starkweather, the crazed mass murderer electrocuted in 1959, the typical condemned prisoner is black and young. Blacks have constituted nearly 50 percent of those executed since 1930, and this statistic is likely to get worse. From the point of view of the working class, the criminals are not the cop-killers but the brutal, racist cops. Free Joseph Davis! Down with the racist death penalty!

Cop terror is a fact of life on the hellish streets of U.S. ghettos where the cops glory in the role of judge and jury, torturer and often executioner. In the prisons, the sadistic racist guards delight in the brutalization and humiliation of black convicts. It is the role of the capitalist courts to supply punitive protection for these hired terrorists of the capitalist class.

The Supreme Court holds out death as the penalty for those who take the lives of the instruments of the state. And who is the most likely to wind up in a gun battle with a cop? Not Richard Nixon—all he does is drop bombs and napalm on Asian peasants while at home spying on his opponents and cheating on his taxes. Not L.T. Calley, convicted of the slaughter of masses of Vietnamese. Not Chicago's former district attorney Hanrahan and the FBI who provoked, planned and led the pre-dawn gestapo killer-raids on sleeping Black Panthers. Not the CIA which uses assassination as an instrument of counterrevolution the world over. It is the system of the Nixons and Calleys, the cops and CIA FBI, which is claiming the "right" to wield the barbaric death penalty to protect itself against imaginary legions of young black cop-killers.

"Cruel and Unusual"

The Supreme Court decision holds that the death penalty cannot be regarded as a "cruel and unusual" punishment under the eighth and fourteenth amendments, noting that the "framers of the Constitution" did not intend its inclusion in the proscribed category. The Constitution counted a

black person as three-fifths of a human being when apportioning legislative representation by population. Perhaps the Supreme Court would like to cling to that original intention as well.

Justice Brennan in his dissenting opinion argued as he did in 1972 that it is contemporary "standards of decency" which inform the meaning of the Constitutional prohibition of "cruel and unusual" punishment. He insisted that those standards have changed and "the law has progressed to the point where we should declare that the punishment of death, like the punishments on the rack, the screw and the wheel, is no longer morally tolerable in our civilized society."

The majority justices own that "standards of decency" change. But for them the big change occurred between the 1972 Furman decision and the present:

"The petitioners in the capital cases before the court today renew the 'standards of decency' argument, but developments during the four years since Furman have undercut substantially the assumption.... It is now evident that a large proportion of American society continues to regard it as an appropriate and necessary sanction."

But why is capital punishment so popular? Certainly the reason is in part the politicians' and media's presentation of the death penalty as a solution to violent crime. In short, the American public believes that capital punishment is a deterrent. A public saturated with racism, in cities where walking the streets is indeed dangerous and getting more so, is an easy mark for the gutter press like the New York *Daily News*, which hailed the Supreme Court decision and put forward mass execution as the solution to "rising crime":

"Now that the fundamental question has been resolved it should be a simple matter for the states to pass or revise capital punishment laws.... With homicides rising alarmingly, the sooner they do so the better."

The American public has plenty to fear from crime as its urban centers collapse under the weight of an economy that cannot provide jobs, instead creating not a reserve army of unemployed but a virtual population of permanently unemployed. Masses of Americans have an overwhelming sense of powerlessness confronting the increasing menace of robbery, rape, assault and murder. Marxists do not dismiss these fears, nor do we prettify the parasites who prey mainly on the working and the black population. But the reimposition of the barbaric practice of capital punishment has nothing to do with a "solution" to crime.

"Get tough with the criminals" yells the *Daily News* while the liberals argue for gun control schemes to complete the monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of capitalism's armed thugs. "More crime? Then more punishment." This is the meaning of the Supreme Court decision.

The high court offers in justification for its ruling only the most arrant philistinism: the popularity of the death penalty among a public which believes it deters crime. But the majority ruling admits that capital punishment does not deter crime! Citing "statistical attempts to evaluate the worth of the death penalty as a deterrent to potential offenders," the justices are forced to admit, "The results simply have been inconclusive." There is simply no basis for the assertion that stiffer criminal retribution deters crime. It is worth recalling that eighteenth-century England finally terminated the public hanging of convicted pickpockets noting the increased pickpocketing among the crowds which gathered to witness the executions.

Capital punishment always becomes more "popular" after its abolition. In the period since the 1972 decision put a moratorium on executions, the clamor for their restoration certainly increased. When capital punishment is reinstituted, however, it becomes increasingly



Parade

Men are not to be treated like beasts said Marx.

unpopular as its ineffectiveness becomes obvious.

The entirety of capitalist class "justice" is aimed not at deterrence but at punishing those who are caught. The function of cops is not to "prevent crime" but at most to arrest the perpetrators (and usually not even that). In fact, by any fair standard cops represent the largest concentration of actual criminals. They kill more people, both purposefully and accidentally, than any other group. They are intertwined with organized crime and illegal paramilitary rightist gangs, and are engaged in every kind of kick-back from drugs, prostitution and protection rackets. In New York City alone last year, the cops were convicted of stealing \$73 million in heroin. The cops are fond of figuring "street price" for drugs, but what is the price in "street crime" for the cop traffic in heroin? Surely the cops are the most vicious and pernicious criminals of all.

The cops' instinctive response to the "soft courts' permissiveness" and the decline in the use of the death penalty has been to increase their summary executions of suspects on the spot. The hired gunmen of the capitalist class are the worst offenders against "law and order" and the most casual dispensers of violence, dealing out death with virtual impunity.

An essential component of the outcry over "permissive" courts is simply racism. The sanctimonious justices who peg "decency" to the prevailing reactionary mood are certainly aware that the statute reestablishing the death penalty in Delaware followed hard on the heels of the wide publicity given to ugly incidents of interracial murder.

Abolitionists have long noted that the death penalty cannot be equitably applied, in part due to the rarity of its use. In its "wanton and freakish" capriciousness, the death penalty is cruel even by bourgeois standards. The example most often cited occurred in North Carolina, where four men were convicted of a robbery in which a shopkeeper was killed. Two of the men were spared death after they testified for the state against the other two, who were executed. It is clear that the execution was not related to the killing, but to the refusal to turn state's evidence. This is always what "discretion" means in the capitalist courts—political, racist, class-determined bias.

In upholding the capital punishment laws which left a margin for "mitigating circumstances," while sending manda-



AP

Caryl Chessman, executed in 1960, became a focus of movement to abolish death penalty.

tory death penalty statutes back to the drawing board, the Supreme Court has in fact put a premium on prejudice. For those who would sanction the capitalist state's "right" to kill, there is no way out of this bind. To exact a mandatory death sentence for certain crimes is punitive and vicious. To allow for "discretion" in the context of a deeply racist capitalist society is to guarantee the disproportionate victimization of blacks and poor people.

Equivalence and Deterrence

In disowning the deterrent theory the Supreme Court gives up much of what may be considered progressive in bourgeois penal attitudes as compared with feudal ones. For Benthamite utilitarians the question of punishment was considered from the standpoint of deterring crime rather than of retributive justice.

Even the Old Testament notion of "an eye for an eye" is milder than the previous code of Hammurabi, which called for a punishment greater than the crime (e.g., two eyes for an eye). The idea of equivalent retribution is appropriate to the period of the market-place.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. \$5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. \$2—12 issues (surface mail)

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There the individual producer, unaware that he is part of a social world, seeks an individual "fair return." This fetishized model is the basis for defining justice as an exchange of equivalents. You get what you pay for and vice versa. Cruelty, then, is understood as paying "too much." This is fundamentally the notion that persists on today's Supreme Court.

It is this sense of equivalence which French writer Albert Camus addressed in his famous attack on the death penalty:

"For there to be equivalence the death penalty would have to punish a criminal who had warned his victim of the date at which he would inflict a horrible death on him and who from that moment onward had confined him at his mercy for months. Such a monster is not encountered in private life."

The deterrence argument upheld by the utilitarians in the period of industrial capital represented an advance. The notion that penalties were intended to deter crimes rather than simply "get even" with criminals was associated with the abandonment of the barbarous practices of torturing and maiming convicts. The confidence in deterrence reflected the bourgeois utilitarians' confidence that a rational and orderly system modeled on the marketplace could construct its institutions for the purpose of protecting society.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeoisie and its institutions cannot protect society. They have passed over to the camp of naked reaction and must be smashed by the revolutionary proletariat, the only social force which can establish a world social system based on order, peace and justice.

The bankrupt ideologues of the bourgeoisie must cling to the lie that the cause of crime is criminals' insufficient fear of punishment, for they are not

to, Marx had already exposed the hypocritical religious premises of the German "Critical critics." The Marxists design ultimately to get rid of the world of crime and law, but even before this aim has been achieved we have no use for retributive punishment. For the "Critical critic" it is otherwise: "He quarrels with the world of law not over 'punishment' itself, but over the kinds and methods of punishment" (*The Holy Family*).

First Marx takes up the Christian hypocrisy of retributive physical punishment:

"This is the Christian means—plucking out the eye if it offends or cutting off the hand if it offends, in a word killing the body if the body gives offense; for the eye the hand the body are really only superfluous sinful appendages of man. Mass-type jurisprudence, too, in agreement here with the Critical, sees in the laming and paralyzing of human strength the antidote to the objectionable manifestations of that strength."

—*The Holy Family*

Marx also exposed the sickening religious notion of being "saved" through repentance—often tied to a burning stake (or through solitary confinement, indoctrination or other, more subtle methods). He ridiculed the notion that for his salvation a robber would be converted to "a monk whose only work is prayer. Compared with this Christian cruelty, how humane is the ordinary penal theory that just chops a man's head off when it wants to destroy him." Marx insisted that the law itself was necessarily "one-sided" violence; it was barbarous to force the criminal to admit to being "saved" when what he is being is coerced. It is religion's job to convince the criminal that he is engaged in self-punishment when it is the other way around. Looking toward communism, Marx states:

"Under human conditions punishment

state. For this task not only the Red Army but the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) was required. The war against counterrevolution was understood as a temporary episode which would need temporary and drastic measures. But the penal code was a more permanent feature of the proletarian state. The Cheka was set up as a temporary instrument reflecting the necessity to consolidate and defend soviet power against bourgeois restoration and imperialist invasion. The penal code embodied the Bolsheviks' expectations that the securing of soviet power and the extension of the revolution internationally would open up a period of social reconstruction on the path to the gradual "withering away of the state."

The Cheka which ran the concentration camps (mainly for political prisoners, of whom no forced labor was demanded) had no taste for torture. Roy Medvedev cites the example of the *Cheka Weekly*, a "small journal published in Moscow," which in 1918 uncritically published a letter calling for the torture of Bruce Lockhart, a British diplomat expelled from the Soviet Union as the head of a conspiracy against the revolutionary regime. The authors of the letter, entitled "Why the Kid Gloves?", included the head of the party committee from Nalinsk and the local Cheka group.

In refusing to subject Lockhart "to the most refined tortures, to get information and addresses," the letter said, the Cheka showed it,

"has not broken with petty-bourgeois ideology, the cursed legacy of the prerevolutionary past.... Tell us why, instead of subjecting him to such tortures, the mere description of which would make counterrevolutionaries' blood run cold, tell us why you let him 'leave' the Cheka greatly embarrassed. Or do you think that subjecting a man to horrible tortures is more inhumane than blowing up bridges and warehouses of food... for the overthrow of the Soviet regime?"

The Nalinsk group was answered by the central party leadership along with an angry Cheka. The Cheka explained that in the interrogation of the tsarist secret police, torture was not exchanged for torture:

"Often dying under the gendarmes' tortures, we could not help asking: 'Don't you see that you can kill us right away... but why torture us? But now all the Okhranniki are pitiful... when they have to stand before the regime of the proletariat.... The proletariat is merciless in its struggle. At the same time it is unshakable and strong. Not a single curse at our most wicked enemies. No tortures and torments!... Vanquished hirelings, former torturers of workers, must be wiped off the face of the earth.'"

The highest governmental body in the land passed a resolution:

"The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, having discussed the article 'Why the Kid Gloves' which appeared in the third issue of the *Cheka Weekly*, has taken note that the thoughts expressed in it on the struggle with the counterrevolution are in gross contradiction with the policy and the tasks of the Soviet regime. Although the Soviet regime resorts of necessity to the most drastic measures of conflict with the counterrevolutionary movement, and remembers that the conflict with the counterrevolution has taken the form of open armed conflict, in which the proletariat and poor peasants cannot renounce the use of terror, the Soviet regime fundamentally rejects the measures advocated in the indicated article, as despicable, dangerous, and contrary to the interests of the struggle for Communism."

—quoted in Roy A. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, pages 260-262

The *Cheka Weekly* was closed down and its authors dismissed and forbidden to hold office in the Soviet Union.

The tradition of no retribution and no death penalty was well established in the Bolshevik revolution. Even when the civil war was hardly finished, the Cheka on 30 December 1920 issued a special order:

"Information received by the Cheka establishes that members of various

anti-Soviet parties arrested in political cases are being kept in very bad conditions.... The Cheka points out that the above listed categories of people must not be regarded as undergoing punishment, but as temporarily isolated from society in the interests of the Revolution. The conditions of their detention must not have a punitive character."

—quoted in Medvedev, page 274

By 1922 the revolutionary regime, embattled and already isolated, was forced to adopt other temporary measures. The Cheka was disbanded and the GPU took its place. A new criminal code was developed which included the death penalty. In May 1922 death became for the first time in the war-ravaged, hunger-ridden new soviet state an act of law rather than an act of war. Like so many other necessary measures, this step was intended to be temporary but backward steps were becoming the rule.

In 1923 the reference to the "temporary character" of the death penalty had been struck from the code. But the tradition against capital punishment was strong and Dzerzhinsky—leader of the Cheka and a man not known for any squeamishness about the use of political terror—continued to argue the traditional party position that the death penalty ought not to be "a permanent institution of the proletarian state." He urged the substitution of "forced labour camps" for the death penalty (Carr, pages 454-455).

Down with the Death Penalty!

Like so many other measures employed temporarily by the young workers state, under the Stalinist Thermidor these measures were made permanent and twisted into the most grotesque opposite of what the Bolsheviks intended. Russia under Stalin came to be a hell of torture—and not just physical torture but humiliation, desperate privation, forced false confessions and enforced self-degradation.

A generation of revolutionaries steeled in the tradition of Marx and the example of Lenin and Trotsky had to be destroyed in order for the Stalinist bureaucratic caste to consolidate its stranglehold over the Russian state. The secret police learned that under enough torture some men will confess that Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado, as earlier men had confessed their commerce with the devil. But Stalinism not only mutilated, tormented and slaughtered the best of the Bolsheviks. It also squandered the moral authority which the Cheka's old hands understood was a material force, a military consideration. "No tortures and torments!" echo the voices of the Cheka, revolutionaries and organizers of terror against counterrevolution upon whose memory the Stalinists heap blood and shame.

Men are not beasts said Marx in 1875. "We are men, we are not animals" said the prison rebels of Attica as they lashed out against a brutal system of institutional racist torture that was to spill rivers of their blood in cell-block D. For the same reason that Nelson Rockefeller ordered the Attica massacre, the Supreme Court has reinstituted the death penalty. The instruments of social control become increasingly more savage and their purpose more naked for a ruling class at the end of its rope. ■

WAS THIS CORRECTION NECESSARY?

New York Times, 3 July 1976

EARLY CITY EDITION

The Justices found basically that the death penalty would not always be considered excessive. They relied heavily on the fact that many state legislatures had enacted laws reflecting contemporary standards of decency, and that legislatures had considered the penalty necessary as a deterrent, and as retribution.

LATE CITY EDITION

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about to suggest that there might be another source of crime: the degenerate capitalist system itself. In fact, the criminal world merely reflects in a small-time way the "ethic" of the big-time capitalists. As the murderer MacHeath says in Brecht's "Three Penny Opera," "What is the crime of robbing a bank compared to the crime of founding one?"

Marx on Capital Punishment

The Marxist attitude toward crime and punishment is that we are against it.

Marx in 1875 succinctly summed up his opposition to the notion of retributive justice. Attacking the reformist demand for the "regulation of prison labour," he wrote:

"A petty demand in a general workers' programme. In any case, it should have been clearly stated that there is no intention from fear of competition to allow ordinary criminals to be treated like beasts, and especially that there is no desire to deprive them of productive labour, their sole corrective. This was surely the least one might have expected from socialists."

—*Critique of the Gotha Program*

Socialists do not proceed from the standpoint of punishing the offender. Such a vindictive penal attitude is fundamentally a religious rather than a materialist conception of social relations. Before the *Communist Manifesto*,

will really be nothing but the sentence passed by the culprit on himself. No one will want to convince him that violence from without, done to him by others, is violence which he has done to himself. On the contrary, he will see in other men his natural saviors from the punishment which he has imposed on himself; in other words, the relation will be reversed."

—*The Holy Family*

Bolsheviks Reject the Death Penalty

When the Bolsheviks in 1917 led the first and only proletarian revolution in history, they carried out their program and banned the death penalty in Russia. This was maintained even under civil war conditions. The determination that the penal code of a workers state would not be based on retribution found its fullest expression in the party program of 1919, which advocated:

"a fundamental alteration in the character of punishment, introducing conditional sentences on an extensive scale, applying public censure as a means of punishment, replacing imprisonment by compulsory labour with retention of freedom, and prisons by institutions for training, and establishing the principle of comradely courts."

—quoted in E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, Volume II, page 447

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WORKERS VANGUARD

CP Exclusionism Frustrated

Militant Demonstration Against Chilean Torture Ship Esmeralda

JULY 5 The presence of the Chilean death ship Esmeralda in New York harbor is a vile insult to all working people. In its hold scores, perhaps hundreds, of workers and leftists were brutally tortured in the aftermath of the bloody military coup that overthrew the Allende government in September 1973. Now the bloodstains have been removed, the decks neatly scrubbed down so that unsuspecting tourists will only remember the cadets in their naval whites. But this weekend the Esmeralda was "greeted" by several hundred demonstrators who would not let visitors and crew forget that this floating chamber of horrors was the scene of indescribable bestialities that crippled some of the most valiant Chilean militants as Pinochet's henchmen took power.

The Communist Party-dominated Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) was concerned above all to keep the demonstration within the political limits of bourgeois respectability, with signs like "Our Bicentennial Celebrates Democracy, Not Fascism," and "The People United Will Never Be Defeated." But the CSC goons and sectarianism were not able to suppress the militant proletarian internationalism of a 100-strong Spartacist League (SL) contingent. When the Stalinists feebly chanted "Chile sí, junta no," they were drowned out by a powerful "Obreros [workers] sí, junta no" from class-struggle demonstrators.

Throughout the demonstration at Pier 86, CSC "marshals" tried to set up SL demonstrators for arrest, provoke fights, divide the demonstration—in short, do anything to keep away revolutionary politics. The previous evening CSC goons told SL protesters they could not carry signs denouncing "popular front illusions" or calling for "workers revolution." They tried again today to censor slogans and exclude the Trotskyists, but they were stopped at every turn by a vigorous defense of workers democracy against Stalinist exclusionism.

After seeing their slimy maneuvers and thug tactics stymied, the Stalinists tried to split the demonstration, leaving (for a while) the east side of 12th Avenue a sea of Spartacist signs calling for a boycott of military goods to Chile; for freeing Sergeant Juan Cárdenas, a Chilean naval non-com tortured (along with 100 other sailors) for opposing a rightist coup; for the construction of a Trotskyist party in Chile, Partisan Defense Committee and SL signs called for saving the life of Mario Muñoz, a revolutionary Chilean miners leader now being hunted down by Argentine authorities. In the center was a brilliant banner with a symbol of the torture ship, proclaiming, "Stop the Esmeralda! Smash the Junta Through Workers Revolution!" Referring to the Argentine

and South African officers aboard the Esmeralda, SL signs demanded an end to junta terror and "Avenge Soweto!"

At one point the Stalinist goons attempted to exclude the Spartacist contingent from the demonstration. Reaching a hysterical frenzy, the CSC "marshals" began shoving, trying to rip away the SL's bullhorn, while quietly pulling away their supporters to a smaller demonstration across the street. Only the tight discipline of the Spartacist supporters prevented further violence at this point and the police arrests the Stalinist thugs were trying to provoke. But the SL held its ground, booming out, "Stop Stalinist exclusion, for workers revolution" as the CPers retreated.

Although the "official" demonstration left a small knot of sullen "monitors" watching the Spartacists, and a line of police (many of them mounted) quickly materialized after the Stalinist provocations, this did not prevent the entire SL contingent from moving over to the dock 40 minutes later, setting up their banner and long picket line directly in front of the Esmeralda and next to the CSC's exclusionist demonstration.

If there were any doubts about the Chile Solidarity Committee's deliberate exclusion, they were soon answered as the Communist Cadre group left the predominantly Spartacist demonstration and attempted to join the CSC picket. There they were knocked to the ground, their signs ripped out of their hands; eventually they rejoined our lines.

Even at the end, the Stalinists were unable to prevent Spartacist militancy from dominating the demonstration. As SLers sang the Internationale, it was picked up by several protestors in the "official" demonstration and a few hesitant fists went up in support of proletarian internationalism.

The Chile Solidarity Committee did not succeed in mobilizing the mass demonstrations it had hoped for. The demonstration on July 4 (when many radicals were in Philadelphia for "people's bicentennial" marches) was roughly the size of the advertised "main demonstration" the following day. Moreover, these inveterate reformists' strategy was to pressure the city council into banning the Esmeralda, since it supposedly violates American ideals of "freedom and independence."

While the CP and its liberal friends were appealing to the "Spirit of '76" at home and praising the Allende popular front in Chile, the Spartacist League's powerful presence and calls for workers revolution dramatically challenged the passivity and abstention of the bulk of the U.S. left which failed to join the protest. The Esmeralda must be stopped No berth for the junta's torture ship! ■



WV Photo



WV Photo