



Steel workers demonstrating against threatened closing of factory at Thionville.

Vivier Rush/Boiffin



J. Harriot

## Popular Front Holds Back Fight Against Barre

# Strike Wave Protests Austerity Plan in France

In the five weeks since municipal elections were held (in two rounds of voting, on March 13 and 20), French workers have repeatedly taken to the streets and picket lines to protest the government's wage-cutting, job-slashing policies. After the popular-front Union of the Left—a coalition of the Communist Party (PCF), Socialist Party (PS) and the bourgeois Left Radicals—won over 52 percent of the popular vote and captured three quarters of the mayoralties, thousands of unionists declared they had had enough of "austerity."

In several cases their protests came after sharp employer attacks. This was especially the case with steel workers in the Moselle industrial town of Thionville. Repeated demonstrations there have protested the sacking of 3,000 foundry workers at a local Usinor mill, the first mass layoffs in the French steel industry since World War II. Their plight was given added importance by reports that an additional 16,000 steel workers' jobs in the Lorraine are threatened due to Common Market plans to "rationalize" the industry.

On April 14 more than 12,000 workers assembled in the center of Thionville, braving a steady rain to protest the firings which would effectively shut down the local plant. The trade-union federations (principally CFDT, CGT and FO) had promised to paralyze the town, and their call was heeded by everyone down to the smallest shopkeeper. The mood was grim; reportedly there were no imaginative slogans. Instead militants demanded occupation of the Usinor mill to protect their jobs; the PCF responded by calling for nationalization of steel (*Le Monde*, 16 April).

Already the press is comparing Thionville to the year-long occupation of the Lip watch factory in Besançon

which became a cause célèbre in French labor during 1974-75. But Thionville is not an isolated case. Simultaneously the port of Dunkerque (Dunkirk) has been closed for almost seven weeks in a dispute between the CGT longshoremen and Usinor, which is attempting to introduce lower-paid non-stevedores to man its automated docks. On five successive weekends all French ports have been shut down by 24-hour sympathy strikes in solidarity with the Dunkerque dockers.

Like recent strikes in the printing industry (notably the lengthy *Parisien Libéré* dispute), the Dunkerque strike



François Mitterrand

Der Spiegel

represents an effort by a traditionally strong union to defend gains (closed shop and hiring halls) won after World War II. In mid-April, however, the CGT and CFDT took over an automotive components plant of General Motors France near Paris in an explicit protest against the government's Barre Plan. Prime Minister Raymond Barre had decreed a 6.5 percent limit on wage increases while inflation is running at over 9 percent. GM obtained a court injunction to dislodge the 1,000 sit-down strikers occupying the plant, but obviously feared the consequences of a direct confrontation with police trying to clear out the workers. At last report, management is lurking in hotels and cafes outside the plant trying to figure out its next move (*Business Week*, 25 April).

The current wave of strikes was certainly encouraged by the strong showing of the left in the March elections. Even though workers were

chafing at the bit, Union of the Left leaders had put a clamp on walkouts during the campaign period. Then two days after the balloting was completed CGT leader Georges Séguy announced: "There is absolutely no reason to wait...to push for satisfaction of our most urgent demands concerning purchasing power, employment and working conditions."

But if the bureaucrats decided to loosen the leash on the ranks for a while, letting them blow off some steam in order to pressure the government to modify the wage limitations, the popular front holds out no perspective for victory of these struggles. Its Common Program provides no solution for the problem of mass unemployment caused by the capitalist production cycle; in fact, it doesn't even call for nationalization of Usinor or steel! (In all, the program promised only *nine* state takeovers, and these to be "compensated")

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Sadlowski Today

Bureaucratic  
Oppositions  
in Steel  
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Ed Sadlowski

Mark Pöckempner



On April 7, West German chief prosecutor Siegfried Buback, the man in charge of the mammoth show trial of the anarchist Red Army Faction (RAF—referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"), was run down by machine-gun fire while on his way to his office in Karlsruhe in a chauffeur-driven limousine. It was, the bourgeois press screamed, the first political assassination of a leading state official since World War II.

Government authorities responded by launching the most extensive manhunt in the history of the federal republic. Dozens of supposed "enemies of the constitution" were picked up and detained for questioning as the dragnet was spread ever wider in (to date futile) attempts to locate the authors of the attack on Buback.

The capitalist media blustered against "new-style anarchism" and a "threat to democracy." The Frankfurter Rundschau called the action a "foul murder... a direct attack upon the constitutional state." The Berliner Tagesspiegel labelled it an "inroad of barbarism into civilization."

Credit for the killing of Buback was later claimed by the "Ulrike Meinhof Kommando," named after one of the defendants in the RAF trial who was found hanged in her jail cell last August under circumstances suspicious enough to lead even the bourgeois media to call for investigation of the official verdict of suicide. (Another of the original five RAF defendants, Holger Meins, died while on a hunger strike.)

As the adjacent article by the Trotz-kistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, indicates, the assassination was an act of petty-bourgeois despair. While Buback was indeed guilty of crimes against the people (notably the massive attacks on democratic rights in the Baader-Meinhof trial) for which he would have been tried by the tribunals of a virtuous workers state, this attack fed into an orchestrated campaign of anti-communist scare tactics by the West German state.

A major element in preparing the current witchhunt atmosphere in the federal republic has been the RAF trial, whose wholesale violation of the defendants' rights and brutal conditions of solitary confinement make a mockery of the West German bourgeoisie's pious claims of "rule by law." The judicial authorities have used the trial to introduce major modifications of criminal law, including use for the first time of informers granted immunity from prosecution for turning state's evidence.

In addition, various defense lawyers were repeatedly excluded and finally barred from the trial for supposed "disrespect" shown to trial judge Theodor Prinzinger; their offices were broken into by police of the Bundeskriminalamt (West German FBI); and lawyers have been disbarred for supposed criminal conspiracy, charged with conveying appeals for support from the as-yet-unconvicted anarchist prisoners.

In a major scandal that erupted last month, and was eclipsed only by the slaying of Buback, it was revealed that not only was the defendants' correspondence with their lawyers inspected, but their supposedly private conversations to plan defense strategy had been bugged by the prosecution. Judge Prinzinger was finally forced to withdraw from the trial when his role in these highly illegal proceedings became known.

Utilizing the atmosphere of "public indignation" whipped up over the assassination of Buback, the state prosecutor's office is now pressing for a rapid conclusion of the trial by the end of this week. The RAF defendants' chosen lawyers have withdrawn from court proceedings in a protest against the bugging operations, and the remaining RAF prisoners have embarked on yet another desperate hunger strike. While court-appointed lawyers are demanding dismissal of the trial for gross violations of the defendants' rights, the state is calling for three life terms plus an additional 15 years for each of the accused.

## TLD Statement on Assassination of Siegfried Buback

# No Tears for West Germany's Top Cop

Following the Buback assassination the bourgeoisie is once again calling for a strong state and even more rapid expansion of the repressive apparatus. Federal chancellor Schmidt has joined "without hesitating"—the ranks of those who are "inwardly" prepared "to go to the very limits of what is permitted by and required of a constitutional state" (*Der Spiegel*, 19 April 1977). What he and his ilk—Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and Liberals—are "outwardly" ready for is already well-known: "inwardly" Minister Maihofer was still a member of the "Humanistic Union" when he enriched the German language with the term "bugging attack" [*Lauschangriff*]. With the instituting of surveillance of defendants' written communications, even with their lawyers; the introduction of state's witnesses, who have played a sinister role in the trial of the RAF [Red Army Faction—referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"]; expulsion of defense lawyers from the trial, solitary confinement and shoot-to-kill orders; legalization of break-ins and illegalizing of demonstrations; making laws applying to foreigners more severe; threats to illegalize left organizations; *Berufsverbote* [prohibition of employing "radicals" in civil service jobs], etc.: the bounds of the "constitutional state" are becoming—both "inwardly" and "outwardly"—increasingly less precise.

For the attorney general of the bourgeois state revolutionaries spend not a single minute in mourning and shed not a single tear. Buback has been known as a faithful reactionary servant of the bourgeoisie since the 1962 action against the *Spiegel* [an illegal breaking and entering ordered by then-defense minister Franz Josef Strauss], which he directed. In the trial of the comrades of the RAF he represented the state power. He was among those responsible for the horrendous conditions of incarceration of the RAF comrades, for the exclusion of defense lawyers and for the introduction of Müller as state's witness. In the witchhunt of everything which can be subsumed under the rubric "terrorism," his desk assumed a central place.

The real terrorists are Buback and his cohorts. In the last analysis the reaction of the RAF and of similar groupings stems from their petty-bourgeois impatience, their isolation, their frustration and their hate for the bourgeois state. It



Military funeral for slain prosecutor Buback.

Der Spiegel

is petty-bourgeois infatuation to believe that one can weaken in the slightest degree the foundations of the capitalist system by eliminating individual representatives of the bourgeois class. Leninists have always carried on a sharp political struggle against such tendencies, while nonetheless simultaneously seeking through sharp political confrontation to win to the proletarian communist program the best elements of those who direct their blows against the bourgeois state.

The Trotz-kistische Liga Deutschlands [TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency] has always rejected the conception of individual terrorism. Two years ago the TLD wrote in a leaflet directed against the police terror following the abduction of [Christian Democratic candidate for mayor of Berlin Peter] Lorenz:

"We Trotskyists consider the conception of urban guerrilla groups like the 'Red Army Faction' or the 'June 2 Movement' completely erroneous, but we see very clearly on which side of the barricade these comrades are fighting and we say so openly: it is our side, and on the other side stands the common enemy. 'Our debate with comrades who out of petty-bourgeois despair have opted for the false course of isolated actions against representatives of the capitalist order differs in no way from our uncompromising struggle against all programmatic conceptions which mislead the proletariat and which are in part much more dangerous, because more influential, than guerrilla terrorism (e.g., reformism and Stalinism)."

In November 1974, following the death of [RAF prisoner] Holger Meins, our organization sent an open letter to other left organizations calling for the formation of a united-front action in solidarity with the comrades of the RAF. We did the same thing just recently after the Stammheim bugging affair became known. The demand for immediate and unconditional release of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe must be raised even (and especially) when the

chances for its immediate realization are slim. The mobilization of the workers movement to free all the imprisoned comrades will only be attained when the most conscious elements untiringly take this demand into the working class.

At a time when the bourgeois state is carrying out a political show trial in order to reinforce a witchhunt atmosphere against the left, when bourgeois class justice is in the process of bringing about the death of another RAF comrade, Gudrun Ensslin, and when other imprisoned comrades are in an extremely critical state of health, the Stalinists of the [West German pro-Moscow] DKP, [West Berlin pro-Moscow] SEW and [Peking-loyal Maoist] KPD have nothing better to do than to assure the bourgeoisie of their respectability by denouncing the RAF. While we consider the murder of Buback, for which the Kommando Ulrike Meinhof has assumed responsibility, to be a senseless act leading nowhere—one which can only provide the state with a new excuse for intensifying its repressive measures against the left—at the same time we recognize that these comrades acted out of the desire to fight a symbol of capitalist repression. And this Buback certainly was. For this reason we say, "Down with the dragnet measures!" Though adopting a negative attitude vis-à-vis such acts of individual terror, the workers movement must nonetheless simultaneously mobilize for the political defense of these comrades against state repression.

We demand that the shameful trial in Stammheim along with its horrendous conditions of imprisonment of the jailed comrades be brought to a halt, as well as the trials against comrades Roth and Otto and the other trials of comrades of the left. But we also know that our demands will not be won by the intercession of "liberal circles" nor by despairing acts of terror. Only the revolutionary mobilization of the working class can put an end to bourgeois class terror. ■



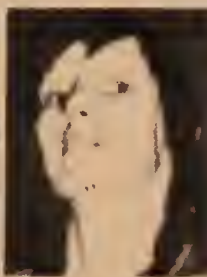
Andreas Baader



Ulrike Meinhof



Holger Meins



Gudrun Ensslin



Jan-Carl Raspe



## Down with the State of Emergency!

# Riots in Pakistan Shake Bhutto Government

APRIL 25—As the death toll from political violence edged over 200, millions of Pakistanis were placed under virtual house arrest last week as the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto decreed a round-the-clock curfew in major cities. Mass detentions, savage police attacks and the imposition of martial law were the regime's desperate response to protests stemming from widespread vote-rigging in the March 7 national elections.

Martial law in the three largest cities (Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad) began the day before an opposition-led nationwide hartal (general stoppage of work and public activity). The volatile port city of Karachi had been in turmoil for weeks as a result of angry demonstrations and a strike wave spearheaded by militant transport workers. Four hartal calls since March 7 have met with a massive response from workers, students and shopkeepers.

The nine-party opposition alliance—the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)—had announced that on Friday "nothing must move, not a wheel shall turn." In response, Bhutto turned law enforcement over to the military in the three cities (martial law was extended to several others on Saturday) and issued orders to shoot curfew violators on sight. Additionally, 50 PNA leaders were rounded up and clapped in jail, where they join dozens of others arrested last month.

Despite this sharp crackdown and the slaughter of some 34 demonstrators and "curfew violators" that day, the strike took hold in much of the country. Violent anti-government protests swept many cities. Defiant opposition leaders called for a "long march" next Saturday to Bhutto's home to demand his resignation and new elections.

### More Muslim Than Thou

The opposition—which groups the Muslim League, even more conservative Islamic sects, ethnic and provincial-based parties and vaguely liberal groupings—had expected (like India's Janata "Party") to translate a heterogeneous electoral combination into major parliamentary gains against Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

One of the PNA's driving forces is Asghar Khan, an immensely popular figure who resigned as air force commander in 1965 to campaign against the military dictator Ayub Khan. (A turbulent strike wave and mass student demonstrations in late 1968-early 1969 drove Ayub from office, but the armed forces' ruling circle simply replaced him with another military despot, Yahya Khan.) Two weeks before the election, Asghar Khan was welcomed to Karachi by a crowd that swelled to over half a million.

The opposition's hopes were buoyed. Baluchistan and the North West Frontier province, longtime centers of separatist agitation and armed clashes with government troops, were expected to vote solidly against the PPP. Bhutto's support was declining even in the Punjab, which contains 60 percent of the country's population and was once securely in the prime minister's pocket; he has several times had to purge his

own party's leadership in the state.

When the PNA took only 33 out of 200 seats in the election tally, its leaders immediately cried foul. Foreign newsmen reported numerous instances of ballot stuffing, unsupervised vote counting and harassment of opposition voters and poll watchers. The PNA leaders refused to take their seats in the National Assembly, boycotted the subsequent provincial elections and launched protest demonstrations against the government.

The PNA has capitalized on mass grievances over the regime's blatant corruption, the failure of land reform and Bhutto's ties to the land-owning gentry. However, the opposition itself is a sordid collection of self-serving bourgeois politicians, profit-grubbing businessmen, reactionary landlords and obscurantist religious leaders operating within the theocratic framework of the Islamic state.

On the one side is Bhutto's "Islamic Socialism." Campaigning under the symbol of a red sword, the landed aristocrat/Oxford intellectual/populist politician vowed: "Almighty Allah knows that my politics are the politics of the poor." On the other side, the PNA demagogically promises measures "obliterating economic depression and social inequalities," trials of government leaders for "acts of violence and tyranny" and imposition of even more rigidly Muslim codes of behavior. The PNA pledged to "close every bar from Khyber to Karachi" and to resurrect such savage canons of Islamic law as the cutting off of thieves' hands.

On April 17, Bhutto sought to cut some ground out from under the



Prime Minister Bhutto

Der Spiegel

opposition by enacting the stifling puritanical measures advocated by the PNA: prohibition of alcoholic beverages and gambling, censorship "in conformity with the moral standards of Islam" and institution of a commission on Islamic law. (Almost simultaneously, his counterpart in Bangladesh, General Ziaur Rahman, substituted the Muslim religion for secularism as one of the four guiding "ideals" in that country's constitution.)

### Carrot and Stick

A week after the election, Bhutto made a peace offer to his opponents which highlighted the anti-democratic



Edward Behr/Newsweek

Bhutto's security police seize an oppositionist.

machinations which are the stock-in-trade of all Pakistan's political cabals. With tens of thousands winding their way through crowded streets in the major cities denouncing him as "dictator" and "dirty dog," Bhutto offered a deal: reversal of the election results in just enough parliamentary districts to give the opposition a bloc of about 60 seats in the National Assembly and a rerun of the provincial elections to allow the PNA a second crack at the local spoils. When he was turned down, the prime minister unleashed the police and paramilitary forces on the demonstrators, arresting their leaders.

After giving his critics a taste of hot lead, Bhutto tested the waters a second time on March 28, offering to release political prisoners, allow more press freedom and lift the state of emergency which has been in effect since the 1971 war with India. The PNA responded by appealing to the 400,000-man army to step in, oust the "illegal government" and conduct new elections. The opposition was given a boost when two leading military figures denounced the regime and resigned from diplomatic posts.

Air Marshall Rahim Khan, the ambassador to Spain, recalled how he had escorted Bhutto back to Pakistan to take over the reins of power from General Yahya Khan, who had presided over the crushing 1971 defeat that split away East Pakistan and gave birth to a Bangladesh dependent on India. Casting doubt on Bhutto's personal courage and trying to place the blame for the loss of East Pakistan on Bhutto, the air force leader claimed that the paramilitary Federal Security Force was a private PPP police force and was responsible for most of the killing and shooting.

### A Theocratic State

Competition between the government and opposition for the army's support

and the mantle of true Muslim leadership are deeply rooted in the nature of the Pakistani state. The creation of an Islamic state in 1947 was attended by unspeakable communal atrocities and the greatest forced population transfer in history. Since then there has always been simmering or open conflict with predominantly Hindu India and strong breakaway pressures by regional and national groups within Pakistan.

The monstrosity of creating a theocratic state in the mid-twentieth century was the bitter fruit of the "divide and rule" policy which consciously guided British rule on the Indian subcontinent for more than a hundred years. Playing on the antagonisms between the Hindu bourgeoisie and Muslim landlords, British viceroy Lord Minto in 1906 gave his blessing to the

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# France...

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ed" by paying a ransom to the trusts.) The Communist Party's current talk of steel nationalizations is a demagogic maneuver to forestall the threat of plant occupations throughout the Lorraine region, and the CGT CFDT FO tops will once again put the damper on the strike struggles should their militancy threaten to escape from bureaucratic control. Only by breaking with the popular front and fighting for working-class independence can the struggle against the Barre Plan's vicious austerity measures be successful. A Union of the Left government would only lead to a modified "progressive" austerity program of "voluntary" wage restraints and speed-up.

## Disorder in the "Presidential Majority"

One of the leading French bourgeois political commentators, Pierre Vianon-Ponté, wrote recently in *Le Monde* that the elections constituted a "rout" of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's "presidential majority." Not only was the "majority" revealed to be in the minority following spectacular gains by the Union of the Left, but the Giscardians suffered a major defeat at the hands of their Gaullist allies. Former prime minister Jacques Chirac had pulled together the flagging Gaullist Union for the Defense of the Republic (UDR) last fall, rebaptizing it the Assembly for the Preservation of the Republic (RPR), and in an aggressive campaign managed to take the Paris mayoralty.

Giscard's defeat had a broader significance, marking an end to various attempts to put together a stable "center" coalition. Ever since de Gaulle's power began to wane following the miners' strike of 1963, a series of bourgeois maneuverers have attempted to put together "centrist" combinations to head off the spectre of a left alliance taking power. After Radical leader Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber (publisher of *L'Express*) tried and failed, it was the turn of Center stalwart Jean Lecanuet, who also went down to defeat.

After the death of de Gaulle's successor, Georges Pompidou, it was evident that the discredited Gaullists could not hold the bourgeois forces together. Giscard, head of the small "Independent Republicans" which had been an influential appendage of the UDR, managed to become the presidential candidate of the bourgeois "majority." However, lacking a coherent governmental program he has been unable to make a dent in either the Union of the Left forces (for example, by splitting away a section of the Socialists) or in the right-wing Gaullist bloc.

Bourgeois political scientists have attempted to explain the absence of a sizeable "center" bourgeois party in France by reference to a "U-shaped curve" of public opinion, reflecting a peculiar gallic propensity to gravitate toward extremes. Reformists and opportunist elements in the workers movement have used the same empirical fact to argue for the expansion of the popular front in an attempt to isolate the hard-core right wing. But to Marxists it is clear that the failure to consolidate a liberal bourgeois party in France is neither a national trait, nor the result of "flexible" coalitions by the Left.

Rather, it is the result of the organization of the majority of the proletariat in workers parties, i.e., of class polarization. The rise of the Labour Party in Britain spelled the doom of the Liberals as a major political force; likewise, it is because of the strength of Stalinist and social-democratic parties that no "center" bourgeois party has significant strength in Italy.

It is by sharpening this class polarization, providing a coherent

program and organization for a revolutionary mobilization of the working class, that the proletariat can gather around it the wavering elements of the petty bourgeoisie. Attempting to dilute the class contradictions, seeking a false inter-class unity inevitably strengthens the bourgeois forces, as shown by the history of popular fronts from France and Spain in the 1930's to Chile and Portugal today.

Within the bourgeois political spectrum, Chirac was in the forefront of those arguing for a more aggressive anti-leftist policy, including a call for early elections in the expectation that the Union of the Left's electoral fortunes were on the rise. Giscard and the neo-Gaullists split over this question last August. While Chirac's prospects of heading off a left victory in the parliamentary elections (legally required by next spring at the latest) are questionable, he did correctly see that Giscard's "centrist" alliances were doomed.

Rallying the right wing with classical anti-communist demagoguery, the RPR leader was elected as the first mayor of Paris since the Commune drove out Jules Ferry in 1871. Chirac bombastically announced he had "saved" the French capital for the "camp of freedom." The unmistakable vote of no-confidence in Giscard was emphasized by the defeat of seven out of 30 ministers or secretaries of state who were seeking re-election in municipal posts (usually running in "safe" districts). Among those who suffered ignominious defeat were the president's hand-picked candidate for mayor of Paris, Michel d'Ornano, who was defeated on the first round of the voting.

## The Union of the Left

The number of cities of over 30,000 population controlled by the Communist and Socialist parties increased by more than half in the March elections, to a total of 159 out of 221. The fact that the right took Paris would seem contradictory, at least to American observers. But whereas in the U.S. major cities are losing their middle-class population to the suburbs, Paris proper has long been a stronghold of the right; it is the working class that has been driven out of the city into a "red belt" of industrial suburbs surrounding the capital. Since 1971 the proletarian population of Paris has declined by over one quarter and the middle class has risen by a roughly equal percentage. Despite this fact, votes for candidates of the Union of the Left in Paris increased by about 600,000 over 1971 (the previous municipal elections).

Bourgeois political analysts were generally agreed in ascribing the electoral victory of the popular front to the fact that the "presidential majority" is totally discredited—internally squabbling, tarnished by repeated scandals and committed to unpopular anti-working-class economic policies. An analogy is widely drawn to the French municipal elections of May 1935, which paved the way for victory of the popular front in the April 1936 popular-front elections. Certainly the reformist PCF and PS are acting accordingly, for they are assiduously seeking to reassure the bourgeoisie of their reliability.

Just prior to the 1935 municipal elections Stalin signed the mutual defense pact with France. This was followed up by his statement of "understanding" for the French bourgeoisie's militarism ("national defense"), and the PCF obediently voted war credits to the bourgeois government. In 1977, the PCF (now campaigning as "Eurocommunists") has made much of its newfound support for Soviet dissidents, and is agitating to open up the Union of the Left to include other "progressive" bourgeois forces, particularly dissident Gaullists.

In a number of electoral districts, Gaullists were included on the Union of the Left slates. This reached the point that some of the Socialist and Commu-

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WV Photo

Militant picket line outside district courthouse April 15 demanded charges against Bennie Lenard be dropped.

# UAW Ranks Turn Out for Bennie Lenard Trial

CHICAGO—Bennie Lenard's nightmare of police and legal persecution continues. It all began three months ago when Lenard, a black United Auto Workers (UAW) member was driving home from work and had the misfortune to be the victim of a minor traffic accident. He encouraged the white woman driver whose car struck his to call the police to report the incident. However, upon arrival, the cops immediately slammed him across his car and, while screaming racist epithets, beat him senseless and threw him in jail. After weeks in the hospital, Lenard now faces a barrage of trumped-up criminal misdemeanor charges, including alleged battery on the woman, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and possession of illegal firearms.

On April 15 Lenard's first pre-trial hearing was held at the Cook County Fourth District Ward courthouse in Maywood. Outside the court a crowd of almost 100 of Lenard's co-workers and Chicago-area leftists rallied to his defense. They were closely watched by a horde of Chicago and Maywood cops, unprecedented in this "quiet suburb," obviously fearful that their vicious racist assault on Lenard might blow the lid off the simmering racial tensions beneath the uneasy Chicago-area façade of "law and order."

Plainclothes cops loitered in clumps of six or seven, observing the demonstrators; Chicago "Red Squad" units snapping photos occupied the roofs of buildings; riot squad and state police units positioned themselves down the block and sheriff's deputies equipped with riot sticks and gas masks were massed near the courthouse.

Lenard's wide support from workers in UAW Local 6 at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park was obvious at the rally—even Local president Ed Graham and other bureaucrats felt obliged to attend. Representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and supporters of the Spartacist League, Revolutionary Communist Party, October League and the Revolutionary Socialist League also rallied in support of Lenard. Spartacist League signs demanded: "Indict and Jail the Racist Police Thugs!", "For Labor-Black Defense Against Racist Police Terror!" and "Stop the Racist Frame-up! Drop the Charges!"

Inside the courtroom, the judge initially made the outrageous ruling that Lenard's lawyers could not even take notes on the proceedings, although this was later withdrawn. At Lenard's second pre-trial hearing on April 20, only his wife and daughter were allowed



WV Photo

Bennie Lenard

inside with him, as the court had packed the room with staff employees. Lenard's first hearing before the actual trial judge is now set for May 2, at which time the trial and jury selection dates will probably be set.

It is necessary to rally the full support of the union, including all necessary legal and financial aid, behind Lenard while he is being dragged through this lengthy and expensive frame-up. Local 6 members have already voluntarily contributed almost \$2,000 on his behalf and signed petitions protesting the police atrocity. However, the Local leadership has begun to undermine a full and militant defense of Lenard through bureaucratic maneuvers.

International representative Carl Schier pushed through a motion at the April 17 membership meeting calling for merging the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, which had been established by a Local 6 membership meeting, with the already existing (and almost totally inactive) Fair Employment Practices Committee. This was an obvious effort to put a lid on the militancy generated by the Lenard case and place it firmly under the current leadership's control.

The Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle oppositional grouping which has been active in the Lenard defense, opposed this attempt to kill the committee. The LSC had earlier raised a motion, passed by the membership at its March union meeting, that the union match almost \$1,000 raised at the plant gate for Lenard. The Local leadership has refused for over a month to hand

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# ISO Hides from Spartacist League

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), latest clique spinoff of the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), made its debut last week by sponsoring a U.S./Canadian tour by Nigel Harris of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists) with which the ISO has close "fraternal" relations.

The tour immediately revealed not only the ISO's threadbare political program—essentially the same as that of the I.S., including characterizing the Russian bureaucracy as a new "imperialist ruling class"—but also its despicable political cowardice. This led it to substitute bureaucratic suppression of elementary workers democracy, anti-communist exclusions and Stalinist thuggery for open political debate at its own "public" meeting. In fact, by the end of the tour, the ISO was choosing to cancel meetings rather than face the revolutionary criticism of the Spartacist League (SL).

At a forum in Boston on April 16 the chair attempted to prevent an SL supporter from speaking by calling for a vote on the question. However, the audience repudiated this gag attempt and the Spartacist spokesman finished her remarks in the allotted time. The chair and ISO supporters present continued to harass and disrupt SL supporters throughout the meeting. Harris, who spoke on "the crisis," hardly mentioned the ISO at all and flatly refused to respond to Spartacist questions and political criticisms.

Attacking the SL's record of unrelenting exposure of the betrayers of the working class, a vitally necessary task in reforging the Fourth International, Harris sneeringly tried to pass this off as mere prurient gossip-mongering. The SL, he claimed, is only interested in "whose mum slept with the milkman" and "whose grandmum slept with the milkman." In an amazing display of cynical contempt for his own supporters, Harris said the ISO doesn't have to account for its own history, since it is only a small tendency. Therefore, he asserted, the ISO, like the SL and the entire American left, is presently "irrelevant" to the working class.

Harris claimed that the SL was with its critics trying to "dig a hole for me to fall through" (no need of that, Comrade Harris, your own mouth will do nicely).

The next stop on the tour was Cleveland. Not wanting to rely on bureaucratic suppression of SL speakers (or another fickle audience), the ISO placed its confidence in club-wielding goons. When two SL supporters arrived outside the forum to distribute literature, ISO thugs attempted to drive them away and ripped up their newspapers. One comrade was knocked to the ground, his shirt torn and his glasses knocked off. The sales team refused to be intimidated, however, and continued to exercise its democratic right to distribute literature. Meanwhile, an ISO thug brandishing an axe handle stood in the doorway to exclude all recognized supporters of the SL.

When several members of the audience protested this cowardly exclusion from the floor of the meeting, they were themselves forcefully excluded and threatened with being pushed down the stairs. The ISO's "justification" for this gangsterism was the incredible slander that the SL, which stands on an immaculate record of workers democracy attested to even by its bitterest political

enemies, had disrupted the Harris forum in Boston!

The next night in Toronto, the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) distributed a leaflet condemning the ISO thuggery. On the Boston meeting the leaflet pointed out that "the so-called 'disruption' consisted in two SL speakers presenting their viewpoint entirely within the ground rules established for discussion by the ISO itself, and insisting along with a majority of the audience that these rules be applied consistently and fairly."

TLC leafletters were met with the threat of violence as goons of the Canadian I.S. (allied with the ISO) carried baseball bats supposedly to defend Harris against SL "disruption" (read political criticism). Apparently this wasn't enough to reassure him, for at the eleventh hour the forum was canceled because of the unfortunate presence of several members of the "Spartacus League" (sic). It was announced that another meeting would be held where attendance would be by invitation only.

In Chicago the ISO's feet got cold

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Excerpts from TLC Leaflet:

## No to "Third Camp" Gangsterism!

The "third camp socialist" ISO, like the British SWP and the American and Canadian I.S., bewail the lack of workers democracy in the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states to the point where they cross the class line and refuse to defend these states from imperialist attack or capitalist restoration. But these strident Stalinophobes ape the vilest methods of Stalinist thuggery and political suppression in order to defend their own wretched reformist politics against left opponents. They run their own organizations like mini-Gulag Archipelagos, as the ISO, bureaucratically booted out of Joel Geier's clique-ridden caliphate, so recently discovered. Like many a victim of an anti-democratic purge, the ISO hypocritically claims in the first issue of their newspaper *Socialist Worker* to stand for "complete workers democracy." But as their revolting behavior in Cleveland shows, Geier trained them well in the "democratic" traditions of Noske, Scheidemann and Helmut Schmidt.

The Trotskyist League of Canada vigorously condemns the ISO's political gangsterism and exclusionism in Cleveland. These violations of the norms of workers democracy curtail the open, public debate within the workers movement necessary for the development of a correct revolutionary policy, cut across the often urgent need for united working class action around particular issues, and open up the left to agents provocateurs and police attack. The thuggery demonstrated by the ISO in Cleveland is what introduces real disruption into the left. The international Spartacist tendency intends to vigorously defend and enforce the norms of workers democracy in order to keep violence out of the labor movement, to better defend that movement from the violence of the capitalist class, and to establish the framework in which debate and revolutionary criticism can take place. We invite Comrade Harris, when he comes to San Francisco, to speak under *our* auspices where we can assure him, unlike his "fraternal" sponsors, that the norms of workers democracy will be defended and upheld.

No to violence on the left! Uphold workers democracy!

Trotskyist League of Canada  
18 April 1977

## Give Him a Brain

# Healy's "Yellow Brick Road" to Revolution

"...We can confidently say that no force on earth can challenge the analysis made by the IC [International Committee] of this crisis." So boasted the Workers League (WL), American satellite of Gerry Healy's IC, in a recent perspectives document, under a heading appropriately called "The World Crisis."

For some sixteen years now, the American Healyites have been crisis-mongering with strident regularity. To those who protested the WL's cynical efforts to gear up its dwindling band for one last sacrifice by invoking the "crisis" just around the corner, the WL hacks replied by charging that their critics must believe in the fundamental stability of capitalism. But of course the decaying capitalist system cannot escape periodic severe crises. Finally the WL has got its long-awaited "crisis," but their general situation recalls the unfortunate boy in the fable who cried "wolf": vindication is likely to do the WL about as much good as it did him.

The WL's incessant cries of "crisis" have a political function which is more than inspirational. For the WL, "The Crisis" means that it is okay to support reformists and "lesser evils," because even a tiny tap is supposedly sufficient to topple imperialism in this epoch. Thus the WL's *Bulletin* was full of enthusiasm for...Jimmy Carter's electoral victory!

"The intensification of the world economic crisis is the direct cause of the election of Jimmy Carter....The election of Jimmy Carter is a clear sign of the political radicalization of the working class....Millions of disillusioned working class Carter voters are heading

for a revolutionary confrontation with this administration."

—*Bulletin*, 8 February

Now the WL is similarly enthusing over the electoral victory of the bourgeois Janata Party in India. "On the Road to Revolution," screams the 24 March *Bulletin* headline for the article on the Congress Party defeat. While dutifully noting the "right-wing" character of the Janata Party, the article claims that its victory "dealt a smashing blow to the economic policies of the Indian bourgeoisie," and that "the radicalization of the masses now opens

the door to the most powerful revolutionary struggles in India."

Truly the WL has outdone even the Pabloist substitutionists whom it professes to oppose from the left. But no amount of enthusing for popular petty-bourgeois currents can obscure the fact that it was the *absence* of proletarian leadership in India which allowed the just rage of the bitterly oppressed workers and peasants to be channeled into support for a bourgeois party every bit as dedicated to the preservation of capitalist class rule as was its predecessor. ■





## Abel Yesterday, Sadlowski Today

# Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel

The following is the edited transcript of a presentation at the recent Spartacus Youth League West Coast educational by an active class-struggle oppositionist in the United Steelworkers.

I want to begin by talking a bit about Ed Sadlowski and his recent campaign for president of the United Steelworkers [USWA]. However, the purpose of this talk is not to go into the specifics of the Sadlowski campaign, which you're familiar with from reading *Workers Vanguard*. Instead I mainly want to go through the oppositional movements in steel and place Sadlowski in context, show where he fits in, and then go through the responses of the left.

I haven't got the official results of the election and they'll be bickering about them for months. Sadlowski is probably going to go through with a court challenge, which is not surprising because the central political issue in steel has been the question of government intervention. But he lost by about a three-to-two margin. There's no major vote fraud which has come out from what I can tell. I'm sure that votes were stolen because the history of the elections in steel has been a question of who steals the most from the other guy. But I believe that the vote count is somewhat accurate and that Sadlowski did in fact lose.

As a matter of fact some people were surprised by how well Sadlowski did. He got about 230,000 votes which compares to the Rarick campaign in 1956 which I'll go into in a bit. Where Sadlowski did well was in basic steel; he got beat in other sections of the union. But where he really got killed was in Canada. That's important because the guy who was running for McBride up there was Lynn Williams, the director of the Steelworkers union in Canada. Williams has a lot of authority in Canada. When Sadlowski went up there he had to talk as a socialist because of the existence of the New Democratic Party [NDP, a social-democratic party supported by the Canadian Labour Confederation]. But Sadlowski didn't come off too well because he's been trying to play down the socialist question in the U.S. in order to duck the red-baiting, and besides Williams is a member of the NDP. So Williams carried quite a number of votes for the McBride ticket in Canada.

Sادلowski's program has been covered well in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*. In many ways it's a carbon copy of the I.W. Abel campaign in 1965 and one of the key components of his campaign, what he talked about a lot, is we have to return to the founding days of the union. This is a myth which has been carried by the *Militant*, the *Daily World*, etc. In a minute I want to deal with what the founding of the USWA looked like, because we do not want to return to the early days of the union. We have nothing to do with that tradition. We do not want to return to the days of Phil Murray. When Sadlowski talks about "let's go back to the old days" that's what he's talking about.

To understand where Sadlowski is coming from, it's important to go back and take a brief look at how the steel union was organized. First of all when

you think about steel and the major events, they are all essentially defeats. What we're talking about are the Homestead strike in Pennsylvania in 1892, the Great Steel Strike in 1919, the "Little Steel" strike in 1937 and the 1959 strike. Every one of those was defeated and the result is a passive, demoralized, conservative workforce in steel.

The first union in steel was the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. At one time this was one of the strongest unions in the country. It was smashed at Homestead in 1892. Between then and 1901 this union was driven out of the mills, a period which coincides with the organization of the great steel trusts like U.S. Steel.

Up until 1919 there was basically no union and the working conditions were very, very bad. Let me give you a brief example. The basic workday was 12 hours and when you switched shifts you worked a 24-hour shift with no break. You had one day off out of 14 days. So the working conditions in steel were very, very bad. They still are today but at least we have an eight-hour day. These were the conditions which were fought by the Great Steel Strike in 1919, but that was defeated. They went back again with no union. The union doesn't come about until 1936.

The United Steelworkers has been a very bureaucratic union from the very day that it was founded. It was organized from the top down, essentially by John L. Lewis' miners union. In fact, there was no USWA at all for almost six years after the first organizing successes because Lewis wouldn't let them get out from under his thumb. He kept it an organizing committee as long as he could, until he could clamp a loyal bureaucracy on the union.

What's very important here was the relationship between the coal miners and the steel workers. There was a wildcat in coal in 1933 which if successful could have led to organizing steel. The role of Lewis was to smash this movement so that he could organize steel under his control. The Communist Party [CP] played a big role here so I want to spend some time on this.

### John L. Lewis and the Communist Party

There was virtual war in the coal fields between 1925 and 1933. This is the period when John Brophy ran against Lewis for the presidency of the United Mine Workers [UMW]. He launched a "Save the Union Movement" in 1926. The miners union was being decimated left and right, and Lewis was fighting to maintain his hold on the union. He used the newly passed Section 7A [of Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act] to work out a contract that saved a big section of his union but allowed the captive mines (mines owned by the steel companies) to remain unorganized. So about 60,000-70,000 miners were left with no union.

These guys were pretty pissed off at being sold out. There was a wildcat strike led by a man by the name of Martin Ryan which shut down coal in that section. The strike quickly spread

Right: Ed Sadlowski, bureaucrat on the make. Below: I.W. Abel, the one who made it.



WV Photo



to steel. This was very significant. Steel workers with no union went out in a solidarity strike with the miners; they had been smashed since 1919 and they went out in solidarity with the miners.

Lewis organized a torrent of red-baiting against Ryan with the purpose of consolidating his present contract which sold out the captive miners and getting the steel workers back to work. Martin Ryan was finally brought to Washington to have dinner with Roosevelt. But between 1933 and 1936 a rank-and-file movement existed in steel which tried continually to organize a nationwide strike, and Lewis continually worked to prevent this from taking place. The estimates are they got as many workers to sign cards in 1934 and 1935 as the Steelworkers Organizing Committee [SWOC] did in 1936 and 1937. They got about 150,000 workers to sign cards with no union, no protection, no legal support to back them up.

There is a sidelight to this, which is what the Communist Party did. The CP had a "red" union which it organized in 1929 and was fairly large. They claimed it had about 20,000 members. Of course, you can't believe their figures—so maybe cut it in half and then divide again by something else, but they did have several thousand steel workers. They did lead a number of local strikes. This is during the "Third Period" and so what they attempted to do was to counterpose their dual union to the rank-and-file-led movement of steel workers in the Amalgamated. But after the turn to the popular front the CP

suddenly stopped denouncing the leadership of this movement and began running around with a new line. Now what they want to do is to merge with this rank-and-file movement.

The workers who led the rank-and-file movement were mostly from West Virginia, from Kentucky and western Pennsylvania. They were not communists. They did not have a conception of fighting Lewis politically, although they sure hated his guts. They wrote letter after letter to Lewis demanding that he stop sitting in Washington doing nothing and get out there and organizing steel workers.

What these guys wanted was a union. They were willing to play ball on Lewis' terms if necessary. They figured that Lewis had them beat. He had defeated the miners in 1933. He had defeated every attempt they had made to organize a national steel strike. They finally said, we have no choice—if you can't beat him, join him. So these militants, who were members of the Amalgamated mentioned above, were put on the payroll.

The Communist Party at that point switched over to tail Lewis. When the CP came in there, instead of trying to lead the struggle against Lewis, they simply said: this is the name of the game—Lewis is going to do it. They got 60 organizers jobs out of the deal. There was an interesting pamphlet put out recently by Art Shields, who was a member of the CP's "red" union and what he says is a classic statement straight from the Stalin School of Falsification. What he says is, "The steel victory came out of a united front between the United Mine Workers and the Communist Party."

This is pure bunk! The CP simply gave in to Lewis. When Lewis set up SWOC they got no positions of leadership in the union. They got no local presidents; they got no district directors. They simply were put on the payroll. Anybody who has worked in the union movement knows what people on the payroll do—they raise their hand; they do what they're told. This is notorious in steel. Staff reps vote the way Abel or someone tells them to.

These were Lewis' terms and this is what the CP willingly did. They simply capitulated to everything which Lewis and Murray did. Later they came out and blamed the whole thing on Earl Browder, who was only carrying out the Stalinist popular front line in America.



They say: we made some mistakes in steel. We didn't fight Murray when we should have, because all we did at the conventions was raise our hands, etc. So Browder is the scapegoat.

## Founding of the USWA

But this is what they did and so communist leadership was never forged in that crucial period between 1933 and 1936. This is why there is a very bureaucratically organized union today. This didn't just happen. There was a political defeat suffered by the left. Lewis was sharp. He knew what he was doing. He was probably one of the smartest bureaucrats in this country and he did a real job on the CP. He smashed them and then gave them jobs. He knew that they were the best people available to go out and organize the plants.

With the Amalgamated militants and CP organizers now on the payroll and in no position to challenge Lewis, SWOC began its drive to organize the steel plants. The United States Steel Corporation (known as Big Steel and at that time the largest steel corporation in the world) was naturally the most important target. This was the same company that drove the Amalgamated out of the industry.

The major battle to organize U.S. Steel was not fought by steel workers but by auto workers in Flint, Michigan. Myron Taylor (chairman of U.S. Steel) knew that the U.S. would eventually enter World War II and that Lewis would keep the ranks in line. He didn't



John L. Lewis turning over CIO presidency to Phillip Murray at 1940 convention.

want production on lucrative military contracts interrupted by a Flint sit-down in steel. So he signed a contract with Lewis without a fight. The Little Steel bosses (the rest of the American steel companies) took a harder line and defeated SWOC's 1937 strike. The Little Steel plants were for the most part organized by NLRB suit during the war.

There is a real contrast here between steel and auto workers. Both have fought major battles against the companies but the UAW won theirs on the picket lines. All the steel workers' most important strikes (Homestead 1919,

Little Steel and 1959) were defeated. One can say that there is a tradition of militancy in the UAW but that tradition does not really exist in the USWA. So when Sadlowski wants to return to the good old days, we can only ask, "What good old days?"

By the time the first convention occurred, the union has existed from 1936 to 1942. At this convention Murray got up and said: there will be no "backroom talks"—meaning no caucuses and no political fights. He said: we're not going to quibble about democracy—which meant that we're not going to vote on the contract. Steelworkers members in basic steel, to this day, have never voted on a single contract in 35 years. So this is the situation from which the oppositional movement developed: the CP was smashed, they were put on the payroll, they served as Phil Murray's whipping boys, and then Murray threw them out in 1946 during the anti-communist witchhunt.

This is what steel is like, this is the union. In those six years between '36 and '42 an entrenched bureaucracy was built. The top leaders doled out jobs as district directors and had six years to build up a lot of patronage. Murray hired the staff and called all the shots. He carried a lot of authority. If you attacked Murray from the union floor, the old bureaucrats got very, very upset.

## Dues Protest and the 1959 Strike

Murray died in 1952 and David McDonald took over. McDonald didn't carry the same authority as Murray and he began to have trouble. The first real movement to develop in steel, the first post-witchhunt movement, was the Dues Protest Committee in the 1950's. It's funny, the way Sadlowski talks a lot about how he's from the rank and file, how he's one of the guys from the plant. This guy has been part of the bureaucracy for about 15 years. He sits on the national executive board. The leader of the Dues Protest Committee was a man by the name of Donald Rarick, a local president. He had a lot more credentials as a rank-and-file militant than Sadlowski.

This movement came from nowhere—they had no support in the bureaucracy, no district directors, nothing. And they racked up about 223,000 votes. It's comparable to what Sadlowski got. Now this election, the 1957 election, was really stolen. It has been compared to the Brophy campaign in coal. Rarick thinks he won and so do a lot of bourgeois commentators.

Rarick's movement had essentially no program. The dues question has always been a hot issue in steel and most people who fight around it do so in a way devoid of politics. For us it's a question of confidence in the bureaucracy: we are not going to vote for a dues increase that means more money for the politics of Abel. But if they wanted an assessment to give money to the striking British miners we could support that. For

Rarick, it was simply a question of: Gee, we're paying \$3 a month; now you want to make it \$5. We only got 6 percent on the last contract, etc. No basic challenge to the policies of the leadership. The Dues Protest Committee itself was a hodgepodge which included conservative anti-communists as well as some ostensible socialists.

So what did Rarick do after he lost? He went to court: he made this big campaign against a dues increase and then he sued the union for a million bucks! Sadlowski is suing for \$5 million today. Rarick went to court on vote fraud and sued for slander. This is the same suit which Sadlowski has now.

McDonald didn't have much authority but he wasn't stupid. At the 1958 convention (the dues protest was beaten in 1956) a big demonstration takes place. Bureaucrats come out with this big basket marked DPC (Dues Protest Committee) and they go running around like they have buried the opposition. During the discussion McDonald invited Rarick up and said: we'll give you the podium and you can defend your positions. You ran a campaign against me saying stop the dues increase. But now you're suing this union for \$1 million. Please tell the rank and file where the money is going to come from. And there's Rarick up there trying to explain how on the one hand he's against a dues increase and on the other he wants to sue the union! That was the end of Rarick, but there are some roots coming out of the old Dues Protest Committee—the Rank and File Team (RAFT) from Youngstown essentially comes out of the old 1956 committee.

McDonald really began to go downhill after the 1959 strike. This was the last national strike in steel; it's been almost 20 years since there's been an industry-wide strike. There's a world of difference between steel and auto. In steel there's not much tradition of wildcats, of sitdowns, of quickie strikes. If you file a grievance you're a real militant. The 1959 strike was the last major strike and there's good reason for that. The union really got murdered during this strike. They went out for 116 days and went back to work with not one penny more. If you talk to old timers in the union they will tell you: we went out for 116 days and we got nothing and you bet your life I'm for that no-strike pledge. People lost their homes, they lost their savings accounts and got nothing out of it. They were paid something like \$5 a week to feed a family of six kids.

In 1959 the major confrontation was over work rules which the company was trying to change. McDonald wrote a demagogic response to the company proposals, saying that the United Steelworkers of America is not a company union. Then when the strike was over he agreed to a so-called Human Rights Committee, which existed essentially to investigate whether or not the companies' charges of featherbedding were true. McDonald claimed there was a big victory in defending the work rules, and then he agreed to form a joint labor-management committee to find out if in fact management's charges were true! That didn't help McDonald's popularity, either.

## The Abel Campaign

This is the background to Abel's rise to power. The campaign that Abel ran in 1965 was the same as those run by Arnold Miller in the UMW and by Sadlowski. Abel said that McDonald was spending too much time drinking martinis with the bosses in Pittsburgh, that this was "tuxedo unionism." What Sadlowski says today is the same thing, that Abel is spending too much time drinking martinis with the bosses in Pittsburgh. But Abel hit back effectively, saying Sadlowski was playing the big-money liberal cocktail circuit.

The whole thing was supposedly to  
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Above: 1959 strike at U.S. Steel. Below: Steel Workers Organizing Committee brought 250,000 union supporters to 1936 rally.





# France...

(continued from page 4)

nist ranks rebelled. Thus in Brive, where the national leaderships proposed putting former Gaullist minister Charbonnel (notorious for his anti-working-class policies in 1968) on the ticket, a split took place in the popular front, forcing him to form his own list.

The implicit support for NATO contained in the Common Program which last year's Union of the Left presidential candidate PS leader François Mitterrand, has been making increasingly explicit—found its expression in the attempt to run former admiral Sanguinetti on a joint ticket in Toulon, a port city with a major naval base. Again this was too much for local leaders to swallow and the PS split, part of it allying with the Communists to defeat Sanguinetti on the first round.

The counterpart to the popular front's attempts to enlist potential allies on the right is a hard attitude toward forces on its left. An example of this was Mitterrand's deliberate coolness toward the Socialist candidate for mayor of Paris, Georges Sarre, who is a spokesman for the ostensibly leftist CERES group (advocates of "self-management") within the party. At the same time, Mitterrand pursued an effective effort aimed at increasing tensions in the left-reformist United Socialist Party (PSU), by adding leaders of the PSU right wing to Union of the Left slates in several cities.

## The Ecology Phenomenon

The political wild card of the elections was the appearance of ecologist slates, which scored well on the first round. To the dismay of both the "presidential majority" and the Union of the Left, these lists averaged about 10 percent of the vote where they ran, thus holding the balance of power in many closely contested races. The "back-to-nature" candidates piled up unexpectedly high vote totals by appealing to an amorphous electorate discontented with the electoralism of the popular front and with technological advance.

The ecologist movement was generally counted on the left, which is the milieu from which most of its voting base was drawn. However, its leaders refused to endorse either the Union of the Left or the Giscard/Chirac "majority." The reactionary petty-bourgeois character of this movement was underscored by the fact that following the elections, Paris ecology groups accepted positions in neighborhood councils set up by Chirac, thus fueling the Gaullist leader's ambitions to take over leadership of the "anti-socialist" bourgeois formations by next year.

In the last days before the voting, the ecologist movement threw the Union of the Left into a panic, inducing PCF mayoral candidate for Paris Henri Fiszbin to talk of turning the superhighway which encircles the capital into a giant parking lot. But it was not just the reformist left that was threatened by the "ecology phenomenon." *Le Monde* noted that in Paris the "far left" candidates were particularly worried about losing votes to the nature freaks.

On the eve of first-round voting, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) issued an appeal to voters inclining toward the ecologist slates. "Becoming conscious of environmental problems does not 'naturally' lead to adopting an anti-capitalist consciousness," it said, "and especially not to joining the workers movement" (*Rouge*, 10 March 1977). Indeed it doesn't. The success of the Swedish Center Party in using petty-bourgeois opposition to atomic energy as an effective lever to unseat the ruling Social Democratic Workers Party is proof enough that the environmentalist cause can be easy prey to bourgeois reaction. Nonetheless, with its history of appealing to environmen-

talists on the same minimalist basis as to other constituencies (feminists, students, etc.), the "far left" slates not only lost votes to the ecologists, but the LCR appeal kicked up a storm inside the organization as some militants found it insulting to the ecology movement!

## The "Far Left" in Shambles

An electoral bloc of the LCR, Lutte Ouvrière and the Maoist Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT) presented candidates in 30 different large cities and the capital. The coalition demagogically baptized "For Socialism, For Workers Power," and modeled on the Democrazia Proletaria joint list in Italy—scored an unexpectedly high percentage of the vote, averaging just under 5 percent in the districts where it presented candidates.

Jubilant was the order of the day in the LCR, since its electoral combine paid off: it had achieved nirvana, becoming a "credible alternative" which could now hope to court the Union of the Left more freely and with a certain amount of bargaining power. In a style reminiscent of the electoral cretinism of its American "fraternal" organization, the Socialist Workers Party, the LCR's *Rouge* revelled in quoting endless statistics to prove its success.



Jacques Chirac, Gaullist victor in the municipal elections.

However, a careful examination of these statistics reveals the reality of the "far left" electoral success: rather than conscious votes for a revolutionary program, the score of the LCR/LO/OCT coalition reflects vague discontent with the limited program and passivity of the Union of the Left. The "far left" bloc did well precisely in those areas where the PSU was not present in

the popular-front slates and where the ecologists were more overtly right-wing. Conversely, where PSU candidates were included on the Union of the Left ticket and the ecologists spiced up their rhetoric with some leftist phraseology, the "far left" averaged around 2 percent.

For example, in Orléans where the bloc received a surprising 13 percent of the vote there was no ecologist slate and the PSU (which won 15 percent of the vote in 1971) did not present candidates. In contrast, in Toulouse where the PSU was in a bloc with left-talking ecologists, the LCR, LO/OCT cartel got only 1.9 percent, less than the combined vote of LCR and LO presidential candidates in the 1974 elections. The same pattern held throughout the country. In short, the votes for the "far left" bloc were precisely what LCR leader Alain Krivine labeled them: a "warning" to the Union of the Left.

With all its components looking for instant popularity, the election combination did not project the image of lasting unity. The pressures and contradictions in the bloc came to the surface shortly before the second round when Lutte Ouvrière publicly rejected an LCR call to continue the coalition. The LO leadership was clearly under pressure from its own membership for having formed a rotten bloc with the "petty-bourgeois" LCR and Maoist OCT. LO argued vociferously during the campaign that organizational blocs had to be based on fundamental programmatic unity, and wrote several editorial replies to letters insisting that it had not compromised any principles in forming the electoral agreement.

Following the first round, the LCR's Krivine wrote a front-page editorial asserting that the vote totals proved the existence of "a unitary dynamic which enables the revolutionaries to enlarge their audience...." The LCR called for a common "action platform" which would encapsulate the "broad current of men and women workers and youth who are...solidarizing themselves from the policies of the reformist leaderships..." (*Rouge*, 18 March).

At what was billed as an election rally at the Mutualité that evening, the LO leadership did an about-face and rejected Krivine's call to extend the electoral agreement. Throughout the meeting LO spokesman Arlette Laguiller pointedly ignored her OCT bloc partner sitting next to her on the stage. Appealing to her cheering supporters (and watching the Ligue leadership turn ashen), Laguiller lectured to the LCR that, "The revolutionary workers party will be Trotskyist, or it will not be." LCR speaker Daniel Bensaïd, whose Guevarist sympathies were notorious, sprung to the defense of the OCT and attacked this "sectarian" assertion.

Lutte Ouvrière's attempt to appease the class instincts of its membership is manifestly self-contradictory. For if the bloc represented insufficient programmatic agreement, then why did the LO leadership enter it at all? But such considerations did not bother the "Trotskyist" LO. On the day following the "rally," an article by LO published in *Rouge* explicitly attacked the LCR's analysis of the first-round voting:

"Presenting the electoral battle on the second round as something important to the workers, as a chance to 'fight the right' or even as a chance to 'eliminate an obstacle' to future struggles of the working class is merely propagating illusion."

So what did LO do to combat these illusions? It, too, called for voting for the popular front on the second round, advocating "solidarity with millions of workers who trust in the Union of the Left"! It welcomed the popular front to

power "to the extent it is desired by the majority of the workers" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 9 April). Obviously, Arlette Laguiller is in no position to wag her finger at Bensaïd and Krivine for capitulating to the Union of the Left.

While the LCR/LO/OCT bloc more or less openly advertised its support to the popular front, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), claimed to oppose it. However, it refused to say "no vote for the Union of the Left," instead enigmatically insisting "we know who we will vote for." The focus for the OCI's capitulation to the popular front was in its ostensibly simple democratic demand for new elections to the National Assembly. In a statement on the first-round results, the OCI political bureau confirmed the real content of this demand, namely to put the popular front in power:

"...the so-called majority has been crushed. It is in the minority in France. From this point of view, to which the leaders of the Union of the Left subscribe, dissolution of the National Assembly, dominated by the Giscard and Chirac parties, should be the logical consequence of the first-round election results..."

## For an Authentic Trotskyist Party!

This squabbling among the bloc partners has continued in negotiations over what policy to adopt in May Day demonstrations. Traditionally, the Communist Party has excluded the "far left" from marching in the main parade, forcing it to bring up the rear, as much as half a mile behind the rest of the contingents. Organizations such as the OCT have countered by organizing their "revolutionary" demonstration separate from the PCF/CGT parade. This year the LCR, LO and OCT agreed to organize a joint contingent at the end of the main march, but there was a dispute over slogans.

The LCR has made a point of raising only those slogans which would not disturb the popular front, such as "Out with Giscard" and for wage increases. LO rightly takes exception to these slogans and warned that the joint contingent must not "appear as a far left cover—a minority and childish cover to boot—of the present and, in particular, future policies of the Union of the Left." A common slogan was finally hammered out for this propaganda bloc—

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Workers perform skill during recent occupation of GM plant near Paris.

stating that governments of both right and left exploit the workers—but the LCR is insisting on demands which speak to the “immediate needs” of the workers. As if clarity on the popular front were not the most urgent and immediate need of the proletariat!

Despite its electoral “success,” the LCR/OCT bloc holds no answers for French workers. Like the Democrazia Proletaria in Italy, it was explicitly intended as a left pressure group on the popular front, pledging to vote for Union of the Left candidates on the second round. (The LCR held up a fig leaf to cover its capitulationist policy by calling for abstention in Perpignan, where the popular-front slate was headed by a Left Radical. This, however, was only one more “warning” to PCF and PS leaders; perhaps next time around Krivine can even work himself up to a “censure.”) Because the “far left” list did not represent an attempt to fight for working-class independence against the class-collaborationism of the Union of the Left, revolutionaries could not call for votes to it.

Krivine, Laguiller & Co. are not concerned with such questions of Marxist principle: for them the test is the number of votes in the ballot box. But even at the level of organizational growth, the demagogic “far left” propaganda bloc is no success. Democrazia Proletaria also received a substantial vote in last June’s Italian elections, but since that time two of its three major components have had major splits and the third, Lotta Continua, has practically dissolved itself into the “broad vanguard” of “autonomist” students.

The crisis of Democrazia Proletaria is reproduced in its French counterpart, not only in squabbles between the LO and LCR, but within each organization as well. The last LCR congress was marked by the appearance of a sizable feminist caucus and the leadership received a bare majority of the votes. Recently several dozen members quit the LCR by publishing a notice in *Liberation* that they were “on strike” against the leadership. This farce bears witness not only to the bureaucratic practices of Krivine and his cohorts, but also to the abysmal political level on which the Ligue recruits.

From the appearance of a male-exclusionist caucus in its ranks, to the “strike” of a dozen militants, to the loss of votes to PSU and ecologist candidates, it is clear that the widely recognized crisis of the “far left”—in particular of the LCR—is a direct result of its attempts to recruit by appealing to the present consciousness of what it calls the “broad vanguard” rather than building a homogeneous Leninist combat party around solid recruitment to the Trotskyist program. When the constituencies come into conflict, the shaky organizations or coalitions which hold them together shatter.

These would-be Trotskyists are

caught in the consequences of their perennial search to find an “easy path to the masses.” As fast as they piece together rotten-bloc electoral combinations the pressure of the class struggle breaks them up. Political struggle is not a horse race, and attempts to find a “winning combination” are doomed to failure.

The international Spartacist tendency and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France, have uniquely upheld the policy of refusing to give electoral support, however critical, to the candidates of the *bourgeois* popular front or to its “left” appendages. We hold with Trotsky and Lenin that there is one experience which revolutionists do not share with the working class, that of class collaboration. The job of Marxists is to warn against its dangers, to draw the lessons of Chile and Spain, and to defend a consistent policy which can show the proletariat the way out of the popular-front impasse. ■

## Atlanta...

(continued from page 12)

er for an economic structure based on luring industry from the unionized North. Up for re-election in a few months, Jackson saw an opportunity to solidify business support by cracking down on the municipal workers and took it.

The gambit seems to have worked. Both of Atlanta’s daily newspapers rallied behind Jackson, baiting AFSCME as a tool of “northern labor bosses.” Bert Lance, Carter’s budget director and a weathervane of Atlanta business opinion, said that Jackson’s position had been strengthened. And in the second week of the strike, a statement was issued by Martin Luther King, Sr., of the Atlanta Baptist Ministers Union, Lyndon Wade of the Urban League, the Atlanta Business League and Atlanta Chamber of Commerce which stated:

“Although we fully sympathize with the plight of the workers of our city, we deplore the tactics of this union which purports to represent some city workers, while using these same workers in a cynical power play aimed at taking over city government in Atlanta, and a campaign to discredit Atlanta generally and Mayor Jackson in particular....”

“Daddy King” was more blunt: “If you do everything you can and don’t get satisfaction, then fire the hell out of them” (*Atlanta Journal*, 5 April).

Ironically, this statement appeared on the ninth anniversary of the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., who was shot down in Memphis while supporting a sanitation workers strike there. Some liberal observers and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *Militant* of 22 April expressed “shock” at King’s crude attack on Atlanta’s miserably paid, overwhelmingly black workers. But the alliance of civil rights preachers with big

ATLANTA, GA., April 26—Atlanta AFSCME strikers, turned away when they attempted to return to work Monday morning, today occupied the City Hall offices of Mayor Maynard Jackson. Nearly 100 strikers and their supporters held the sit-in, demanding that they get their jobs back, that the city resume negotiations and that Federal mediators be called in to settle the dispute.

While Jackson was predictably absent, Atlanta city cops showed up in force within ten minutes, arresting AFSCME area director Leamon Hood and strike leader Willie Bolen. When the rest of the strikers refused to leave, the cops began a club-wielding assault that resulted in eight more arrests on charges of assault, destruction of property, disorderly conduct and inciting to riot. Six cops and four strikers were reportedly injured.

The desperate demands of AFSCME now amount to no more than getting back to work without victimizations. At a meeting of Local 1644 tonight, union leaders in fact urged the workers to accept the temporary federally-funded jobs and end the strike. But the embittered strikers rebuffed their “leaders” and voted this proposal down.

business financiers should not prove shocking to Marxists.

In order to rule more peaceably with an aura of “democracy,” the worst excesses of Jim Crow were eliminated, civil rights activists were pieced off with “Great Society” jobs in community centers and a place was found in Southern country club politics for loyal black Democratic toadies. Yet their strikebreaking calls do not represent an about-face from the 1960’s; the moderate leaders of the civil rights movement, including Martin Luther King, Jr., always pursued a policy of liberal reform through the Democratic Party.

## Black Workers vs. the Democratic Party

The current all-out attack on Atlanta AFSCME may sound the death-knell for this predominantly black union local. Such a bitter setback must serve to debunk the illusion that the black masses will fare better under black Democrats than under their white counterparts. Jackson’s union-busting also underscores the need for the labor movement to break with the Democrats to form a militant workers party on a class-struggle program. Jackson has served notice that his strikebreaking actions are part and parcel of an employers’ war against Southern labor organizing. “If AFSCME went out of business tomorrow, I’d never think twice about it. ... I see myself as only the first domino in [labor’s] Southern domino theory” (*Atlanta Journal*, 10 April).

The AFSCME bureaucracy, however, is so entwined with the Democrats that it cannot learn even the most bitterly imposed lessons. In 1969, AFSCME supported Sam Massell for mayor of Atlanta; in 1970, Massell fired every striking AFSCME sanitation worker in the last major strike of city workers. (At that time, vice-mayor Jackson, hustling votes for his upcoming mayoral bid, marched with the striking workers and declared their wages a “disgrace before God.”) AFSCME and the rest of Atlanta labor then supported Jackson in 1973 and are being repaid today with billy clubs and termination notices.

Despite Jackson’s unequivocal stand, union leaders are still trying to figure out how to support him *again*. When *WV* asked AFSCME spokesman Owen King if the union would consider running a labor candidate against Jackson, or breaking with the Democrats to form a labor party, King replied:

“No, I’ll tell you what we’d still like to do...we’d like to convince Maynard he’s made a mistake and that we want him back on our side and we want to continue to support him.”

The entire strike strategy of the AFSCME leaders has been subordinated to pressuring factions within the Democratic Party, instead of mobilizing the rest of Atlanta labor behind the striking city workers. AFSCME launched a \$60,000 nationwide newspaper campaign (“pitched to the liberal Eastern establishment,” as one union aide admitted) in an effort to bring liberal pressure on Jackson. (This at least put AFSCME one step ahead of the Communist Party, which is so committed to “progressive” black Democrats that it has yet to print one word on the Atlanta strike in its *Daily World*.) AFSCME also offered from the beginning to submit the strike issues to federal mediation, in the forlorn hope that the anti-labor Carter administration might be more sympathetic.

Given the political and economic centrality of Atlanta in the South, a defeat of the city workers’ struggle will have an impact far beyond the strikers’ ranks. It will be a blow not only to AFSCME’s drive to organize public employees but to all attempts to unionize the South. Faced with the cops, courts and city hall’s union-busting, AFSCME’s only road to victory—and, at this point, even to continued existence—is to call on the rest of Atlanta labor to strike in its support. Atlanta’s large poor black population, which has far more in common with the striking workers than with the Jacksons and Kings, should be called on to support the strike and bolster the picket lines. No progress can be made by a fruitless search for “better” Democrats. The South will be organized by militant union struggles and a mass mobilization of working people...or it will not be organized at all. ■

## ISO...

(continued from page 5)

even sooner, and Harris’ scheduled appearance at the Red Rose Bookstore, a collective of assorted “third campers,” was abruptly canceled after Red Rose insisted that norms of workers democracy be upheld. The ISO at first agreed but quickly backed out, ludicrously claiming that it was in danger of a physical attack by the SL.

It was not physical threats which had struck fear into the heart of the ISO, of course, but revolutionary politics. Only a few weeks earlier, the ISO had been politically defeated in a Red Rose-sponsored debate entitled “What Next for Steelworkers?” An ISO supporter in the steel union had topped off her pro-Sadlowski presentation with a defense of the apolitical focus of the women’s committee in her local on more women’s bathrooms by uttering the memorable statement: “Toilet paper is not the road to workers revolution, but it should be.” She had nothing to say in response to the charge leveled by a class-struggle militant in the same Chicago-area local that during the last big layoff she had demanded the recalling of five women while ignoring the several thousand male steelworkers who had been laid off.

The sputtering tour petered out completely in Los Angeles, where there was no attempt to hold a public meeting of any sort. The cowardly thugs of the ISO could only arrange an RSVP dinner in a private home. ■

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return the union to the rank and file "union democracy." But union democracy, as the officials mean it, is a farce. As soon as they get in office, they act just like their predecessors. Every leaflet which Lloyd McBride [Abel's candidate] put out said we're for union democracy, and the Socialist Workers Party [SWP] says Sadlowski is for union democracy so we should go out and vote for him.

In 1965 Abel won in a squeaker by 10,000 votes. That election has been characterized as which side stole the most. An old-timer once told me how they would steal votes. When Rarick ran, a lot of union members in this local voted for Rarick and left blank the slot for district director. They went down to the union hall, boarded up the windows and locked the doors. On every blank ballot they just wrote in the name of their candidate for district director. He picked up 2,000 votes which nobody cast this way! This same guy told me he himself had voted 50 times for Rarick, who was supposedly going to clean up the union. On McDonald's side they were voting 150 times. The same was true in 1965. The election boiled down to who stole more, McDonald or Abel, and apparently Abel did.

What is important is that Abel was able to split the bureaucracy. The lineup on district directors was 15 to 14. There was a real split. Sadlowski split nobody but himself—no other district director supported him. This is why his campaign looks much more like Rarick's than Abel's in terms of organization. But that's not a product of program, it's only a product of the relationship of forces within the bureaucracy. Believe me, Sadlowski would have liked a palace revolt. He would have loved the same kind of deal as occurred in 1965.

Then Abel turned around and did what McDonald had done before him. There was another wave of dissatisfaction directed at the newly entrenched Abel bureaucracy. In 1969 Abel was challenged by an obscure staff lawyer of the USWA, Emil Narick, who got over 40 percent of the vote. Narick, of course, did not offer a programmatic alternative, either. His campaign showed that almost anyone can get a lot of votes running against the International in steel.

This brings us up to the present. Steelworkers Fightback is what we have now. Sadlowski's program is very vague, which is not surprising. His support is mainly among younger workers, many of whom really believe he would end the no-strike pledge. His real position is that in 1981 he would have a referendum. Even McBride at one time came out and said: look, if it doesn't work we'll scrap it. Sadlowski talks out of both sides of his mouth, depending on his audience. In Toronto he said he was a socialist. At more conservative plants: "Don't worry. I'm not a communist."

Let me go through what our opponents on the left are doing. One funny thing is that all these groups, which supposedly hate each other, are right at home doing donkey work together for Sadlowski. You go to a typical Sadlowski meeting in a large city: the SWP is selling raffle tickets and manning the literature table, the I.S. [International Socialists] are setting up the microphone, the CP is showing people to their seats, and a Maoist kicks off the meeting by singing a folk song.

The biggest left group supporting Sadlowski is the CP. Their politics are the same old reformist pop-front stuff.

They talk about how Sadlowski is really fighting for democracy, etc. Of course, they said the same thing about Abel in 1965. In many ways you could simply substitute pages of the CP's *Daily World* for the SWP's *Militant* and you wouldn't realize you were reading a different press. The CP has had a large concentration in steel for a long time. They're very cynical, they supported Sadlowski, but Sadlowski wanted nothing to do with them: Their response was, "The CP always gets excluded. We expected that." But they will probably come out of the Sadlowski thing in the best shape simply because they did not liquidate their own groupings.

There was a big debate in the pages of the U.S. *Workers' Power* on whether or not they should liquidate into Steelworkers Fightback, and of course they liquidated. The SWP never discussed whether they would liquidate. It came naturally.

Jack Barnes of the SWP toured the country to whip up support for Sadlow-ski. Barnes couldn't even defend his positions without resorting to dema-gogy. The SWP would try to call on only the most inexperienced-looking people in the room, which was kind of amusing because even they could get up and say a lot of stuff about Sadlowski that embarrasses them. And the SWP's answers were the following: the SL refuses to use court suits against the union; therefore it refuses to use the courts in principle, therefore it's against court suits for busing, etc. Their stock in trade is to use the old Stalinist slanders—the SL is the most reaction-ary group on the left, etc. This is the SWP. For them the trick is not even capitulating to the backward conscious-ness of Sadlowski's rank-and-file sup-



David McDonald

went to court together and sued the union.

Now this committee has fallen apart. Most of it went into the Sadlowski movement, although the OL has suddenly come out against him. The Revolutionary Communist Party supporters have a paper called the *Steelworker*. They have a position of critical support, which if you read their stuff, is the bare minimum of criticism and plenty of support.

## What Next?

There are two more points I want to cover: Why did Sadlowski lose? And what will become of the "Sادلowski movement"? An important point is that the bourgeoisie did not particularly



Having signed away the right to industry-wide strike, Abel backed the company's protectionist drive in 1973 ads.

porters, which is the stock in trade of most of the fake-lefts. The SWP really wants to be the waterboys for the "progressive" bureaucrats, just like the CP.

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) supports a tiny caucus that's been active in Chicago. They maintained in their press that they're not going to vote for Sadlowski but the RSL-supported caucus came out with a leaflet that was just dying to support him. They said: If Sadlowski will meet certain conditions we'll vote for him. But the question of court suits against the union and government intervention in the labor movement was not one of those conditions. Of course, that's because they supported Miller.

The Workers League capitulated to Sadlowski out of habit, since they have nothing in steel, and Workers World also came out for him. The Maoists have been active in steel. A couple of years ago the October League [OL] was instrumental in putting together the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which initiated the first court suit against the no-strike contract. This was essentially a bloc between the CP, the October League and the SWP. They all

want Sadlowski to win. They didn't need him. Abel was not like Boyle in the miners union. When Miller won Boyle could not control the ranks. There was wildcat after wildcat and Boyle could not stop them. This is not the situation in steel. Abel has got the union under his thumb. Sadlowski's court challenge will probably come up, but I don't think the Labor Department will touch it with a ten-foot pole. They do not want Sadlowski in office right now. They don't need him—Abel is doing his job.

Now, in terms of who voted for him, most of his support of course came from the younger steel workers who were opposed to the no-strike contract. By the way, people should be aware that there's a tremendous "generation gap" in steel. Just to pick up two figures that have come out in the press: first, over half the basic steel workforce is now under 30; and second, 40 percent of those covered by the steel contract have over 20 years seniority.

In steel there was a real class of '59. They support the no-strike pledge; they don't want to go out on strike for 116 days and lose their houses, because they know that the bureaucracy doesn't fight

to win. They know that if they go out on strike it'll be a big joke because they'll go out there with three pickets at a gate and they'll stay at home and lose money.

Sadlowski's program did not inspire a real movement in steel. There is no basis for critical support to Sadlowski. Nothing in his program represents a break from class collaboration. His program is the same as the Ahel program in 1965. So what's his future? I have pegged him for four more years. He is in a good position. He's going to return. His people won in District 31 [Chicago-Gary] and I guarantee that Sadlowski's not going to go back in the mills and work. He'll probably get put on the staff. Balanoff won in District 31 so he now takes the heat. We polemized and criticized Sadlowski for doing nothing as district director about layoffs and doing nothing about the racist mobilization in Marquette Park in Chicago. Think of the labor/black defense that could have been built with 100,000 steel workers in Chicago—Marquette Park wouldn't have happened. As staff rep Sadlowski will now be taking no heat. If Balanoff is popular, he's Sadlowski's man; if not, Sadlowski can say, "Well, I'm not responsible for those policies."

The campaign that he built was not a movement. It was an election campaign. Office rents will expire, telephones will be ripped out of the walls. They will not keep the Steelworkers Fightback Committee in cities around the country for four years, much to the chagrin of his supporters on the left who believe that that's what he's going to do. They vote for Sadlowski and expect him to give them office space to organize? That's crazy. He has no intention of doing that. There was nothing in the Sadlowski campaign which represented in any way, shape or form the building of class-struggle caucuses.

Let me finish up by covering what we've done and some of the issues that we've raised. Sinking roots and building authority in steel takes a long time. But we have succeeded in making two basic points clear about our program. We're the ones who are opposed to the government being brought into the labor movement. We're known for that, and we're known for being the ones who don't support Sadlowski. We're the only ones who have consistently opposed him. And the pressure to capitulate is real. As you know, virtually all the other left groups have folded to it.

We are now veterans of the Sadlowski campaign. Next time around we'll speak through direct experience. If you talk to some of the workers who've been around, they will tell you that Sadlowski sounds just like Abel in '65. We can get up and say the same thing but everyone knows we're youngsters; we weren't around then. But we were there this time, and we were the ones who told the truth about Sadlowski while everyone else was trying to clean up his speeches and make out like he really opposed the no-strike deal. There is at least a small layer of militant workers who know we fought Sadlowski every step of the way; these are the people we want to reach. And, of course, Sadlowski knows it. These are small things; we have no big successes, no big caucuses. But that will come. It takes time and a struggle for principle. ■

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# Riots in Pakistan...

(continued from page 3)

formation of the Muslim League. It pledged to "foster a sense of loyalty to the British government among the Muslims of India."

Although the upper-class Hindus benefited most from the British educational system and wielded dominant positions in commerce, the colonialists encouraged fierce competition for posts in the civil service and the military. The living embodiment of the Muslim petty-bourgeoisie's aspirations for a state and the opportunity to exploit their plebeian co-religionists was the wily lawyer and Muslim League leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Until the late 1930's he had advocated cooperation between the League and the largely Hindu Congress movement in a gradualist campaign for Indian independence. However, the repeated unwillingness of Hindu politicians to share the spoils in provincial elections led him to advocate partition and the creation of Pakistan.

The British empire emerged from the imperialist World War II impoverished and shaken to its core. There was a post-war resurgence of the "Quit India" movement and massive demonstrations of intercommunal solidarity around the 1945 trial of three leaders (a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh) of the militant anti-colonialist Indian National Army. This and the February 1946 naval mutiny demonstrated the potential for a radicalization of the Indian masses that could escape the grasp of their venal bourgeois communal leaders.

While relying on Mohandas Gandhi and the Congress to keep the Hindus "non-violent," the new viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, began to assiduously court Jinnah, softening Britain's formal opposition to partition and conniving in the Muslim League's communal provocations. On 16 August 1946, the League proclaimed a "direct action day" to demonstrate its determination to win a separate state. In that single black day, 6,000 Hindus and Muslims died in the streets of Calcutta alone, victims of a saturnalia of communal carnage.

Within a year, the British overlords washed their hands of India, acceding (as did the power-hungry Congress leaders) to the Muslim League's demand for partition, and created the abortion of an Islamic state divided into two halves, sharply different in their nationalities and separated by nearly a thousand miles.

The Pakistani bourgeoisie grew out of the same semi-feudal land-owning class which staffed the army. It was dependent from birth on direct subsidies from the state bureaucracy and on government manipulation of agricultural prices to channel the peasant surplus into the pockets of some 22 mainly Punjabi ruling families. The state apparatus was particularly rapacious in looting the Bengali peasantry in the East, whose jute and tea exports constituted most of Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings. When resentment over this shameless robbery exploded in 1971, the result was an Indo-Pakistani war (see "New Masters for Bangla Desh," *WV* No. 4, January 1972).

Bhutto was installed in power by the military ruling circle which forced General Yahya Khan's resignation and opted for a bonapartist "civilian" government enveloped in populist rhetoric. But Bhutto's high-handed rule and inability to placate the impoverished masses or stifle centrifugal tendencies among the ethnically distinct Baluchis and the tribes of the North West Frontier are again tempting the military to intervene.

## Trotskyism vs. Opportunism

The states of India and Pakistan today are nightmares of poverty, cultural backwardness and national/eth-

nic/religious oppression, a testament to the fraud of British imperialism's claim to a noble "civilizing mission." Only through a common mobilization of the toiling masses of the subcontinent under a proletarian internationalist vanguard can there be a truly democratic solution to the innumerable sectional conflicts and an end to the grinding misery of the masses.

Historically the only force which fought uncompromisingly for independence from Britain, for the right of



Leaders of Pakistan National Alliance being arrested at protest rally.

national self-determination and for proletarian unity across religious and ethnic lines in the Indian subcontinent was the Trotskyist movement. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India played a heroic role in organizing the Bombay general strike in support of the 1946 naval mutiny and in opposing the imperialist Balkanization of the subcontinent. During the same period, the Communist Party of India attempted to quash independence struggles in the interest of British and U.S. imperialism's "war for democracy," divided the party on religious lines (sending Muslim members into the League) and gave tacit support to the partition.

But today the remnants of ostensibly Trotskyist forces in India and Pakistan have abandoned the revolutionary program of the Fourth International. When the Indian army subordinated the East Bengali's struggle against genocidal occupation by Pakistani soldiers to Delhi's revanchist schemes, the Communist League of India (CLI) refused to take the principled stand of revolutionary defeatism on both sides. As Farooq Alim wrote in a letter to *WV* (No. 65, 28 March 1975):

"Trotskyists in India misguided by the two factions of the dis-United Secretariat [USec] failed to adopt a correct stand on Bangladesh, not to say of intervening effectively in Bangladesh. Either they wanted to tone down all criticism of the Awami League [the petty-bourgeois East Bengali nationalist leadership] or tended to identify themselves with one of the Maoist groups..."

While the USec minority led by the American Socialist Workers Party called for "unconditional support" to "the armed struggle against the capitalist rulers of Pakistan" (led by the capitalist Indian army!), the European-based USec majority threw a smoke-screen around its own tacit support to the Indian intervention with calls for a "United Red Bengal." Marxists certainly support the right of self-determination for the entire Bengali nation, separated in the 1948 partition, but this does not mean actively advocating the separation of the combative West Bengali workers from their class brothers throughout India.

Moreover, in the context of the 1971 war, this slogan was simply an evasion of the necessary call (made only by the Spartacist League) for the workers, peasants and soldier ranks to "turn the guns the other way," against both the

West Pakistani hutchers and the Indian usurpers.

In an article entitled "Pakistan and Bangladesh: Results and Prospects," in the collection *Explosion in a Subcontinent* edited by Robin Blackburn (Harmondsworth England: Penguin Books, 1975), Tariq Ali, a Pakistani leader of the USec-affiliated International Marxist Group in Britain, made one of the more bizarre arguments in post-hoc justification for support of the Indian invasion.

"The decisive Indian role in the birth of Bangladesh by no means implies that its existence as an independent state is a pure fiction... An instructive parallel can, perhaps, be drawn with the circumstances whereby Cuba became an independent republic. In the late nineteenth century the Cubans waged a tenacious war against the Spanish for independence. However, during the course of the Spanish-American War of 1898 the US armed forces invaded and occupied Cuba, subsequently disarming the Cuban liberation fighters. The Cuban Republic was eventually set up by an act of the US Congress after four years of US military occupation. The other Spanish Caribbean island, Puerto Rico, became a US colony. The subsequent history of Cuba and Puerto Rico shows clearly enough that juridical independence can, under certain conditions, become a weapon which a genuine national liberation movement can use against imperialism."

Tariq Ali blithely ignores Cuba's semi-colonial status under U.S. overlordship during the first third of the century, codified in the Platt Amendment (another parallel to the vassal relationship of Bangladesh to India). Moreover, he incredibly confuses the correct call for independence of the U.S.' new colonies with the process by which it took them over from Spain, making a case for military support to the U.S.' first imperialist military adventure!

While enthusiastic for Bengali nationalists riding on Indian tanks in 1971, Ali carefully skirted the reactionary religious nature of the Pakistani state in his earlier book, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?* (New York: Morrow, 1970). He blithely dismisses the issue of partition ("The reasons for Partition are many and varied, and a proper explanation of them would require a lengthy analysis that is not, strictly speaking, relevant to my purpose in writing this book") and bows to the very architect of partition ("There can be no doubt that Jinnah represented the progressive wing of the Muslim League...").

In a laundry list of "transitional and democratic demands," Ali merely makes a single abstract mention of the right of self-determination for East Pakistan (otherwise barely touched on in the book), and advises that "we should distinguish between the reactionary Indian government and the Indian masses..." No mention is made of the historic interrelationship of Hindu and Muslim workers in the Punjab, Bengal and the rest of the subcontinent, or of the need for a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent.

The record of Ali on the 1971 war is fundamentally identical to that of the CLI on every major question: wavering capitulation to the popular mood. At the beginning of the Indian state of emergency in 1975 the CLI leaned toward Indira Gandhi, giving credence to her claims of a CIA threat; later it leaned toward the reactionary anti-Gandhi opposition.

Genuine Trotskyists must demand immediate abolition of the state of emergency and all special repressive measures in Pakistan. While mobilizing the masses to militant struggle against the Bhutto regime, they must give no support to the equally corrupt and reactionary opposition. Only under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, through the establishment of a revolutionary workers and peasants government in the framework of a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent, can the Pakistani working masses be liberated. ■

# Bennie Lenard...

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this badly needed money over to Lenard.

Local president Ed Graham showed up at the first meeting of the now unofficial Bennie Lenard Defense Committee with the Fair Employment Practices Committee to defend the leadership's stalling. Waving a letter he received from Snidarity House in Detroit (which he refused to show to the members), Graham claimed that since the case had nothing to do with the union and Lenard wasn't actually attacked at work, the union constitution forbids giving money to individual members for "traffic violations" or other causes.

This disgusting legalistic excuse is an insult to the entire membership and to Bennie Lenard—the victim of a brutal and racist attack, not a "traffic violation"! But it is consistent with the whole approach of the conservative and timid bureaucrats, whose strategy has been to appeal to State Attorney Bernard Carey to "investigate" the case and who are more interested in developing good relations with the local police and politicians than in defending their own members.

Meanwhile, a small spinoff of the original Bennie Lenard Defense Committee has renamed itself the "Provisional Township Committee" and is calling for an April 30 rally to feature Renault Robinson of the Afro-American Patrolmen's Association. This strategy not only completely ignores the need for the union as a whole to take up Lenard's defense but also fosters the dangerous illusion that the cops are the friends of workers and blacks. The LSC has argued to exclude all cops from defense activities, pointing out that "cops have historically proven to be the direct and immediate enemies of all working people."

The leadership's bureaucratic maneuvers and reformist illusions in the cops must be resolutely opposed by the Local 6 membership. The Bennie Lenard Defense Committee must continue to fight for official status, for full union aid to Lenard and for the demands: "Full Compensation to Bennie Lenard and His Family!", "Indict and Jail the Cops!" and "Drop All Charges Against Bennie Lenard!" ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Black Capitalist Politician Does His Job

# Maynard Jackson Breaks Atlanta Sanitation Strike

ATLANTA—Mayor Maynard Jackson, darling of Democratic Party liberals, is busy proving what the "New South" really means. The "progressive" black mayor is on the verge of breaking a desperate strike by Atlanta's poorest-paid city workers, 80 percent of them black. Jackson has fired every striker, has had cops scab-herding on overtime and has mobilized a reactionary coalition spanning black civil rights leaders and white racist businessmen. While the notoriously egotistical mayor appears to be primarily concerned with bolstering his own electoral capital, his attempt to destroy Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) places him at the head of resistance to unionization by a solid front of Southern corporate interests.

With nearly 500 strikers already returned to work, hundreds of scabs hired with federal anti-poverty money (!) and only 450 of the original strikers still out, Jackson has brought the union to its knees. After a union rally last Saturday, the city finally made its first "offer" in the month-old dispute. Local 1644 spokesman Rodney Derrick told *WV* that in exchange for AFSCME calling off the strike, ceasing all anti-Jackson advertising and guaranteeing *never* to strike again, the city had offered to fill the remaining job vacancies with strikers. The remaining workers, up to a maximum of 200, would be offered federally funded jobs for three months; after that their jobs would be reviewed on a month-by-month basis "to the extent that Federal funds are or become available...." Thus, the strikers are not even guaranteed their jobs back! None of the strike demands was even mentioned.

This "offer" is nothing more than a death warrant for the union. While AFSCME officials protested the no-



Anthony Barbossa/New York Times

Mayor Jackson

advertising, no-strike provisions, they were eager to end the strike and ordered all strikers to return to work Monday morning and reclaim their jobs. Jackson, however, proved unwilling to settle for less than unconditional surrender. Without capitulation on every one of his union-busting terms, he ordered the workers turned back when they reported for work.

The strike began on March 28 when the 1,100 members of Local 1644—about half the city's workforce—walked off the job. The strikers were predominantly garbage collectors, laborers and public works employees. Their demands centered on a 50-cent per hour wage increase, as well as better insurance and hospitalization coverage, more shop stewards and an increase in dues check-off. The wage demand was certainly minimal: union members average a poverty-level \$3.55 per hour (before deductions) and have not had a wage

increase in almost three years.

But Jackson hardlined it all the way, claiming that there was no money in the city coffers. A union review of the city's budget, however, uncovered over \$28 million in unspent appropriations and contingency monies, far exceeding the \$5 million needed to meet the union's wage demand.

Undaunted, Jackson fired every striker on the fifth day of the walkout. He quickly obtained a court injunction limiting picketing and put Atlanta cops on 12-hour shifts to escort scabs across the picket lines. The city hired hundreds of unemployed and offered to rehire strikers who would immediately return to work. Clashes on the picket lines led to strikers being arrested on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault. It is expected that Jackson will soon try to financially cripple the union by revoking dues check-off.

### The "New South" in Action

Maynard Jackson, the first black mayor of a major Southern city since Reconstruction, was elected in 1973 by a coalition of liberals, church groups, civil rights organizations and labor unions. As one of the most prominent of an increasing number of "Black Elected Officials" (BEO's) he was hailed as the symbol of a new "spirit" transforming the racist and anti-labor South.

But the installation of a handful of black Democrats in city halls has made no difference in the conditions of the oppressed black minority. From Newark's Kenneth Gibson, who joined



AFSCME pickets in front of Atlanta city employment office.

Mangiafico/Atlanta Constitution

with a racist board of education to defeat a 1970 teachers strike, to Thomas Bradley in Los Angeles, who revels in the gestapo tactics of L.A. police "SWAT" squads, these black capitalist demagogues serve only to defuse the black masses' struggles. In an effort to appeal to disaffected black voters, "BEO's" flocked to the early conventions of the National Black Political Assembly, yet in the "New South" the Maynard Jacksons peacefully coexist with racist Dixiecrats like James Eastland and George Wallace by implementing the same anti-working-class policies.

The "New South" is a phony for both the black masses and labor. Its best-known spokesman, Jimmy Carter, was elected with labor and black support only to appoint an outright segregationist as attorney general and oppose jobs spending, the "common situs" construction trades picketing bill and the AFL-CIO proposal for a \$3 minimum wage. Another "New South" favorite, Andrew Young, was given the job of putting a better face on U.S. imperialism as Carter's man at the UN. And Maynard Jackson has proved to be just as much a strikebreaking servant of Southern financial and industrial interests as his predecessors.

Unions are still massively resisted by both the Southern-based bourgeoisie and Northern capital which has moved South looking for low-wage, low-tax profit-taking. As the corporate/financial center of the "New South," Atlanta is seen by the ruling class as a bellwether

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Bill Mahan/Atlanta Journal

