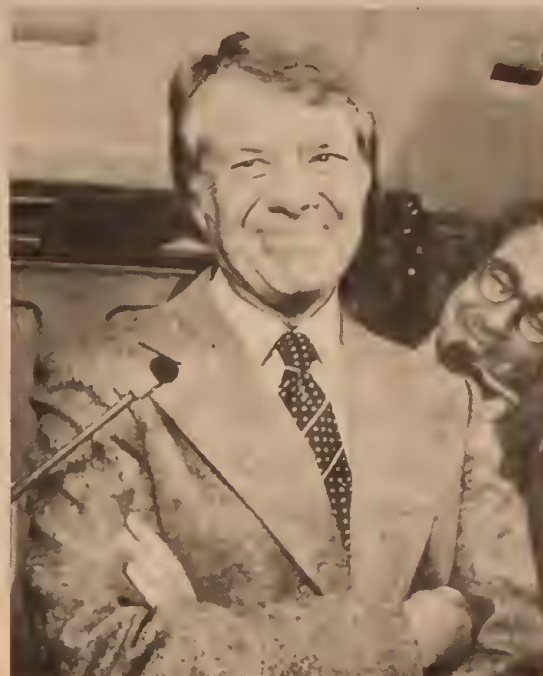




Bloody 1973 coup in Chile brought imperialists' "democracy" to Santiago stadium where thousands of workers were tortured and killed.

Gamma



Jimmy Carter

Der Spiegel

Imperialists Howl Over "Human Rights"

The Main Enemy Is at Home

Jimmy Carter, the commander-in-chief of the world's leading counterrevolutionary power, has embarked on a grotesque con game to pass off American imperialism as the liberator of the world from totalitarianism. Castro praises Carter, the fake-lefts try to pressure him, but the duty of the Marxists is to tell the truth to the working class. And the truth is that despite all the "human rights" hypocrisy, the

main enemy is at home. Karl Liebknecht said so in World War I, the Trotskyists in the imperialist countries said it again in World War II. But revolutionaries in the United States of America have a special duty to tell this fundamental truth, for "their" bourgeoisie is the central imperialist power, which in one way or another oppresses all the peoples of the world.

Two years ago last month, the U.S. ambassador in Saigon folded up the embassy's American flag, picked up his attaché case and boarded a waiting helicopter to take him to a warship off the Vietnamese coast. The macabre scenes of the chaotic evacuation which followed—generals and landlords, drug pushers and secret police torturers desperately scrambling to get on the last flight out; planes running over refugees on takeoff; Marine sharpshooters poised to keep out any of the small-fry criminals of the Thieu puppet regime—projected an image throughout the

world of the strongest imperialist power in history thrown into disarray.

U.S. imperialism has not yet recovered from the drawn-out defeat it suffered in Indochina, and on its heels came the Watergate affair which deeply shook the trust of the American population in its government. In addition, there was the steady erosion of the United States' previously unchallenged economic predominance among the Western imperialists, culminating in the August 1971 devaluation of the dollar. Taken together, these events sent the credibility of U.S. pretensions to hegemony over the "free world" to an all-time low. The bubble of the "American Century" had burst barely 30 years after it was proclaimed.

But while weakened, U.S. imperialism is still top dog among the Western powers, and its rulers are impatient to assert their "rightful place" at the head of the capitalist world order. Having made do for two years with a bumbling non-entity as president—and with a cynical Metternichian secretary of state representing unbroken continuity with the disastrous Nixon reign—the American bourgeoisie was more than willing to bring in an "outsider" who had all the right connections, yet promised to give America a new sense of purpose. Managing to get himself elected on the basis of almost no program and vague appeals to "trust me," Jimmy Carter has set out to bring off a similar shell game on a global scale, under the guise of a crusade for "human rights" and a "moral" foreign policy. Significantly, it's working.

The post-Vietnam domestic reaction to foreign adventures played an important role in blocking plans by the Ford



Appeal to "democratic" U.S. against apartheid South Africa? Which is the greater mass murderer? Left, My Lai massacre. Right, Soweto, June 1976.

Ronald A. Haeblerle



AP

continued on page 3

Letters

On WSL's Labour Party Loyalism

26 May 1977
London, England
Comrades:

The article in *WV* 157 [13 May 1977] on the recently concluded municipal elections in London requires one additional note on the craven Labour-loyalism of the Workers Socialist League (WSL). These workerist-centrists took a position well to the right of the Pabloite International Marxist Group (IMG) in the elections—calling for votes to Labour and chastising the IMG for daring to stand candidates against Labour at all. In fact, as was noted in the article, the IMG's explicitly reformist campaign was in no sense aimed at breaking workers from their allegiance to Labour—it was only intended to serve as a rallying point for Left Labourites, and as such it deserved no support from revolutionaries.

Having recently capped two and a half years of wage freezes and social service cuts (the "Social Contract") by forming a coalition with the bourgeois Liberal Party (thus giving up any claim to represent the independent class interests of workers) the present Labour government has certainly disillusioned its mass base. That is why the recent local elections show a 15-20 percent swing to the Tories; Labour's working-class supporters are abstaining, while more middle-class voters are opting for Thatcher. This is, in fact, an optimal time to run a revolutionary socialist opposition to the Lib-Lab coalition.

In a polemic aimed at the IMG the WSL explained its attitude toward Labour in this period as follows.

"...we therefore disagree with the standing of alternative candidates to Labour at this stage of the fight within the workers' movement.

"We call on our readers and supporters to vote Labour in these elections, and to take up the fight within their union branches and Labour Parties for a breaking of the coalition with the Liberals, for the expulsion of the crypto-Tory right wing, and for a programme of alternative policies in opposition to those of the Callaghan-Steel government."

Socialist Press, 30 March 1977

At this point it should be clear that the "left" MPs [Members of Parliament] of the Tribune group, who have consistently supported the Callaghan leadership on every important question (including the Social Contract and the coalition with the Liberals), have no intention of either breaking with their esteemed colleagues in Labour's right wing or of opposing the policies of the leadership.

The WSL's call on the thoroughly compromised "lefts" to wage a fight within the Labour Party is an attempt to provide a left cover for its own policy of

continuing support to Labour. In its article commenting on Labour's poor showing in the local elections the WSL casts itself in the role of the left advisor to the Labour traitors and warns that "... unless the Labour Party's political course is changed, there will be no more than a handful of Labour MP's to pick up the pieces after the next General Election" (*Socialist Press*, May 11, 1977). Needless to say any "alternative policy" or "change of course" put forward by the "lefts" would only be designed to contain leftward motion and class-struggle militancy among Labour's rank and file.

In arguing that it would be wrong for revolutionaries to counterpose themselves to Labour "at this stage" (i.e., while the Labour Party is in open coalition with a capitalist party!), the WSL places itself in the camp of those ostensibly Trotskyist groupings in Britain (i.e., the Militant group, the Chartists, Blick-Jenkins, etc.) who make loyalty to the Labour Party their first principle in politics. The difference between the WSL and these other tendencies on the question of the Labour Party is not so much one of formal programme as of arena: the WSL's Labour-loyalism is essentially the "political" expression of its economist capitulation to the present level of consciousness of militant trade unionists, whereas groups such as the Militant exist only as currents within the Labour Party.

Fraternally,
Tom Riley

Protectionism and Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

26 May 1977

To the Editorial Board:

I found the article "Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War" (*WV* No. 158, 20 May) to be a fine and timely presentation of the Marxist internationalist opposition to imperialist protectionism. However, two passages in the article may lend themselves to an economic rationalist interpretation that could distort the intent and political thrust of the article.

The first passage treats divisions in the U.S. bourgeoisie with regard to protectionism:

"Protectionism has produced a certain division between industrial vested interests, supported by the unions, and the more responsible representatives of American imperialism."

I find "responsible" a rather unfortunate description for the representatives of American imperialism. This is particularly the case here, given that the "responsible representatives" referred to are "Nixon/Ford/Kissinger and Carter/Vance/Brzezinski."

The susceptibility of U.S. politicians to protectionist pressures is conditioned by the relative strength or weakness of U.S. imperialism, not by "responsibility" to some abstract imperialist rationalism. The "executive committee" of capital attempts to have a broader viewpoint than any particular sector of capital. Nonetheless, even the broader interests of capital may demand protectionist measures, as Nixon's "New Economic Policy" demonstrated. Especially the devaluation of the dollar had as one of its major motivations economic protectionism for the entire U.S. economy.

Further, the same paragraph in which this passage occurs states that maintaining the "U.S.-led alliance against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state" restrains the U.S. from all-out trade war. While a restraint today, this alliance does not suppress the relentless drive of inter-imperialist

conflict—as World War II demonstrated. The revisionist theory that inter-imperialist rivalries can be definitively suppressed was held by Kautsky in his notion of "super-imperialism," and later implied by the early Pabloite conception of a global division between "two camps."

Equally important in maintaining both a U.S.-dominated alliance and restraining inter-imperialist economic conflict is that, while the U.S. may no longer be (especially after Nixon's NEP) the hegemonic imperialist power economically, it still certainly is militarily. Even here, the other imperialist powers are jockeying to erode U.S. military hegemony; however, it has hardly suf-

WV replies: Comrade Samuels' first point—that the phrase about "the responsible representatives of American imperialism" opposing increased protectionism could suggest the existence or possibility of a trans-national imperialist policy—is well-taken. All U.S. bourgeois politicians are fundamentally committed to maintaining the profitability of American industry. They cannot subordinate this nationally centered interest to some conception of the best policy for world capitalism in the abstract. The economic rivalries between the U.S., West Europe and Japan must eventually erode and split up the American-led military alliance against the Soviet Union.



UAW pushes American protectionism.

fered its August 15 [the Nixon devaluation] in this field.

The other passage which seems to me open to misinterpretation involves the economic relationship between advanced and backward countries:

"Under a rational international division of labor, advanced countries would import much of their clothing and other textile products from backward countries."

The problem here is that a "rational division of labor" is equated with the present division of the world into backward countries, which serve as a reserve of cheap labor, and the industrially advanced countries. The article states: "Textiles and apparel are relatively labor-intensive industries using simple technologies." But textiles and apparel do not have to remain labor-intensive industries. As pointed out in a recent article in the business section of the *New York Times*, in West Europe and England especially, where labor costs are relatively high, textiles and apparel are being rapidly automated. The technology exists to turn textiles and apparel into capital-intensive industries; they remain labor-intensive only insofar as there exist neo-colonial countries economically subjugated by imperialism, which engenders a reserve of cheap labor. From the standpoint of socialism, this is neither "rational" nor desirable.

The only rational international division of labor, as is pointed out elsewhere in the article, especially in the epoch of capitalist decay, is global economic integration and planning based on world socialism. Of course, under world socialism there would still be an international division of labor based on the location of natural resources. But we reject as "rational" the division of labor based on the unequal distribution of technology, itself a product of colonial and imperialist subjugation. Truly "responsible" and "rational" economic planning based on world socialism will seek to overcome the technical underdevelopment of the backward countries and unchain the colonial masses from the slavery of labor-intensive industry.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

Concerning the second point—on the international division of labor—the economic goal of socialism is, of course, the elimination of the division between advanced and backward countries. Technologies, cultural levels and consumption standards will be everywhere comparable. Global socialist economic planning will involve the massive transfer of advanced technology to backward countries. Comrade Samuels is also correct to point out that economic relations between advanced and backward workers states will not replicate colonial trade patterns.

However, the inherited division of labor will not disappear overnight. Whether industry is "labor-intensive" or "capital-intensive"—i.e., the level of what Marx called the technical organic composition of capital, or the ratio of the means of production to the living labor needed to set it in motion—is governed by technological and not simply by economic factors, such as wage levels. In all countries, industries like basic steel and petrochemicals have more capital equipment per worker than industries like apparel and machine tools. Backward workers states, which are initially poor in capital equipment relative to labor, will therefore be limited in establishing capital-intensive industries.

Finally, while the international division of labor in the transitional epoch will still be influenced by the uneven spread of technology and capital equipment inherited from capitalism, and by differing wage levels, this obviously does not mean that rational international planning is impossible until the advent of world socialism. At the initiation of proletarian rule on a global scale, it may well be rational for a certain period for Singapore to concentrate heavily on textiles and assembly of electronic equipment and for the U.S. to produce computers... and wheat.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Main Enemy...

(continued from page 1)

administration to massively supply the South African-led offensive against the Russian/Cuban-backed MPLA in Angola. When Congress, mindful of intense popular opposition to another Vietnam, heavily defeated the administration bill in December 1975, Ford bitterly charged that this "abdication of responsibility" meant that the USSR could "operate with impunity," signifying the "gravest consequences" for U.S. interests. Kissinger gloomily repeated these warnings for months while shuttling from one crisis to another, but he could not stir up support for his cynical brand of anti-Soviet *Realpolitik*.

This was not accidental. The sapping of the strength and ability to act of the American war machine was not just a question of lost military and economic power, or limited to instances of opposition from Congress and the voters. For the first time since the United States became an imperial power, the fake innocence masking U.S. foreign policy aims was ripped off. Beneath it was revealed endless lying, spying, criminality and corruption at the highest levels of government and business.

Woodrow Wilson, after several years of spectacular war profiteering supplying both sides of the European conflict, at least pledged to "make the world safe for democracy" when he sent American soldiers to fight in World War I. Franklin Roosevelt had promised an international "New Deal" and to "quarantine the aggressor" in the imperialist war against the Axis. Kennedy felt obliged to come up with the "Alliance for Progress" to justify the invasion and blockade/embargo of Castro's Cuba.

But it was impossible to drum up enthusiasm for Thieu's venal generals, especially when the "American Way of Life" was visibly deteriorating from year to year and the NLF/DRV were pummeling Saigon troops on the battlefield. How could the American populace believe "their boys" were fighting for freedom when on their television sets they saw the My Lai massacre, B-52's napalming villages and rice paddies, the National Guard shooting down student war protesters at home? With LBJ deceiving Congress to get his Tonkin Gulf war powers resolution and Nixon lying through his teeth for more than a year to cover up Watergate, who knows what they were really doing in Washington.

Along comes Carter, the "outsider." While using the normal Democratic Party machine to bring out the vote, he appealed to a wider audience by capitalizing on the pervasive distrust of the government. Having been deliberately vague on foreign policy (as on all other major issues) during the campaign, in mid-May he went to Notre Dame university to spell out some of his new "principles." Foremost among them was laying to rest the ghost of Vietnam:

"The Vietnamese war produced a profound moral crisis, sapping worldwide faith in our policy. The economic strains of the 1970's have weakened public confidence in the capacity of industrial democracy to provide sustained well-being for its citizens, a crisis of confidence made even more grave by the covert pessimism of some of our leaders."

—New York Times, 23 May

Carter's answer is the by-now familiar litany of "America's commitment to human rights as a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy," from the Soviet Union to South Africa. Dazzled by the shift from the openly reactionary rhetoric of the Nixon/Ford administration, the reformist left has been sucked into the wake of Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. In general, they seek to force the new administration to "live up to its words." Even Fidel Castro, whose Stalinist regime is a natural target for Carter's hypocritical moralizing, sought to entice the number one imperialist into lifting trade and diplomatic embargoes by calling him "an idealistic man."

But what is this state led by "moral" and "idealistic" men? It is the bastion of world reaction, the operational base for counterrevolutionary terrorists of six continents. This is the ruling class which fire-bombed Dresden, Hamburg and Tokyo (apologizing afterwards that they had no idea there would be fire storms). These are the mass murderers who dropped nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (to try them out, of course, and to "prevent further bloodshed"). They are the "innocents" who slaughtered two to three million people in Vietnam, and now renege on a promised several billion dollars in reconstruction aid agreed to at the Paris "peace" talks—because North Vietnam supposedly violated the treaty.

We repeat the warning we have sounded since the beginning of Carter's "human rights" ploy: behind the liberal rhetoric stands the threat of imperialist war, principally directed against the Soviet Union. We are no friends of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which murdered thousands of Left Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, and suppressed soviet democracy for all dissidents, socialist or otherwise. But in the face of this imperialist propaganda blitz aimed at undermining the Soviet degenerated workers state, we insist that the incomparably greater danger is the restoration of capitalism through bloody counterrevolution.

The Soviet Dissidents

It should be recognized that Carter's heavy exploitation of the Soviet dissidents issue reflects a recent focus of attention for the imperialist bourgeoisies. The Trotskyists, of course, have always fought for the Bolshevik pro-

who proclaimed that a "new class" had come to power in the Soviet bloc. But Djilas was a social-democratic breed of oppositionist, and moreover not inclined to becoming an active counter-revolutionist. What is distinctive about the more recent Russian dissidents, and what has caught Carter's eye, is their willingness to openly ally with the imperialists against the USSR. This is what has suddenly awakened the bourgeoisie's "concern" for "human rights" in the USSR.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has played an important role in this evolution. Initially appearing as a politically undefined dissident, his published writings became increasingly anti-communist (identifying Stalin's Gulag with the repression of White officers and plotters under Lenin) and reactionary to the point of apologizing for the tsar. Upon being exiled to the West, Solzhenitsyn unleashed a barrage of anti-Soviet diatribes which rivaled the "Black Hundreds" in their Russian nationalist reaction.

His "Letter to the Soviet Leaders," for instance, was described by Western Kremlinologists as "the most anti-Communist public statement made by a Russian since the Bolshevik Revolution." It attacked urban society (houses should not exceed "two stories, the perfect height for a human dwelling"), the social emancipation of women (they should be freed from "the crowbar and the shovel" so they could return to the family) and Marxism, described as a "dark, un-Russian whirlwind that descended on us from the West." He goes further, openly revealing himself as a virulent anti-democrat as well. Denouncing "rampant democracy" which made

ment note warned against the consequences of "any attempt by the Soviet authorities to intimidate Mr. Sakharov..."

The imperialist media had been markedly less enthusiastic about other dissidents whose political views were unclear (such as the Ukrainian Vladimir Bukovsky) or avowedly Marxist (Leonid Plyushch). But Bukovsky's behavior after being released from a Soviet mental hospital and exiled—in a prisoner exchange involving the freeing of Chilean Communist Party leader Luis Corvalán by the Pinochet dictatorship—has been characteristic of the current batch of dissidents who have run screaming out of the USSR straight into the waiting arms of the imperialists. Bukovsky received a cordial White House reception with Carter and vice president Mondale, and in testimony before a Senate committee called on the U.S. to exert "firm, relentless and constant" pressure through economic blackmail (trade restrictions, such as the Jackson amendment).

For Soviet Democracy—Defend the Conquests of October!

The Soviet dissidents issue has been toned down somewhat in the Western press recently after dominating the front pages for the first two months of the Carter administration. However, it is the key point of contention at the Belgrade conference to monitor progress on the Helsinki accords, and it is certain that the Carter administration will continue to harp on the issue. This is because the "human rights" crusade is fundamentally an anti-Soviet ploy, a means of applying pressure against the U.S.' chief adversary on the world scene.



Left, Sakharov with letter from Carter. Right, vice president Mondale with Bukovsky at the White House in early March.



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

gram of soviet democracy in the USSR and the other deformed workers states. But when it was communist oppositionists who were being sentenced to death in Stalin's monstrous frame-up trials during the late 1930's, civil libertarians like the ACLU's Roger Baldwin and petty-bourgeois "socialists" like the Webbs parroted the bureaucracy's slanders.

The imperialists have been consistent, however, in their fundamental goal of restoring capitalism to the USSR, and now East Europe as well. The bourgeoisie's interest was caught, for a time, by the Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas,

the United States "ungovernable," he railed at American courts for "acquitt[ing] undoubted enemies of their country simply to play along with the passions of the masses."

While his tsarist authoritarianism was mildly bothersome to liberals, hard-line cold warriors soon realized what an anti-Soviet bonanza had fallen into their laps and began touring Solzhenitsyn through the United States and Europe. To the American AFL-CIO he fulminated against détente, but not just the Brezhnevite version. He also denounced the West for "capitulation" at Yalta and even for the Allies' wartime alliance with the USSR. Sounding like General Curtis LeMay threatening to bomb North Vietnam "back to the Stone Age," he slammed the "flabbiness" of the Paris truce. In an interview over BBC television he spoke of the Helsinki accords as a new Munich: "What does the spirit of Helsinki and the spirit of détente mean for us within the Soviet Union? The strengthening of totalitarianism."

The imperialist media have been quite careful to focus their support for "Soviet dissidents" on overtly pro-imperialist elements, such as Sakharov, who has long advocated technological and economic boycott of the USSR by the West. One of Carter's first acts in office was to send a well-publicized "private" letter to this "freedom fighter." Treating the eminent physicist almost as an honorary U.S. citizen, a blustering State Depart-

The only "democracy" the imperialists are interested in for the USSR is the freedom for capitalist exploitation—and therefore oppression of the working class.

As revolutionary Trotskyists, the Spartacist tendency has from its inception consistently fought for proletarian democracy in the bureaucratically deformed workers states. We have opposed the suppression of Solzhenitsyn's writings in the USSR as well as the expulsion, Siberian exile or jailing of other critics of the Stalinist regime, including many who are petty-bourgeois liberals and even open reactionaries. However, we do not defend those who engage in activities which militarily threaten the fundamental achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Four years ago, at the time of the secret political trial of Soviet dissidents Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, we wrote:

"We resolutely condemn the new witch-hunt in Moscow precisely in order to defend the conquests of the October Revolution. It is necessary to draw a class line between revolutionary opposition to Stalinism and the bourgeois anti-communism of such 'friends of the workers' as the *New York Times*. As Leninists we sharply oppose the peaceful coexistence fantasies of the Sakharovs and the mystical Russian nationalism of the Solzhenitsyns.... We must distinguish between liberal reformist currents which, like Dubček in Cze-

continued on page 8

Lifestylers Attack Trotskyism at RFU Conference

LOS ANGELES, June 13 — The "Stonewall '77 Conference" — called by the Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender and Red Union) around the question, "What is the importance of gay liberation in the revolutionary struggle?" — became an event of far broader political scope. The meeting was kicked off by the reading of a statement by the RFU's Majority Tendency announcing its intention to pursue fusion discussions with the Spartacist League (SL).

The conference took place in the wake of the recent defeat of an anti-discrimination ordinance in Dade County, Florida — an attack on homosexuals' democratic rights which will be a real shot in the arm for Bible-thumping ultra-rightist bigot Anita Bryant's nationwide reactionary crusade. The conference drew about 85 people, including representatives of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), New American Movement (NAM), Socialist Union (SU) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). These fake-socialists turned out in force as spoilers, hoping to impede the RFU majority's deepening convergence with the SL.

Despite substantial political differences among the diverse opportunist formations, they readily coagulated as an anti-Spartacist rotten bloc and applauded each other's speakers with gusto. This centrist/reformist hodge-podge substituted for substantive political intervention the disgusting slander that the SL is "anti-gay" in theory and organizational practice. These jackals were also hiding for the allegiance of any among the RFU ranks who prove unable to complete the leap from the "gay left" to Trotskyism.

For the RFU, which *WV* recently characterized as being at a crossroads (see "Red Flag Union at the Moment of Decision," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977), the conference represented a further break from New Left "lifestyle radicalism" in the direction of Bolshevism, as its members were forced to confront central political questions outside of a study-circle context. Although the RFU several months ago solidarized with the Trotskyist analysis of the class nature of the USSR, it had continued to feel pulled between the politics of the SL and those of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the "United Secretariat" (USec), supported in the U.S. by the Marxist Education Collective (MEC), the Seattle-based FSP and the SU of Milt Zaslow.

The RFU's attraction toward the centrist IMT reflected a lingering impulse toward a variant of New Left polyvanguardism, which dissolves the need for a proletarian vanguard party into "autonomous" struggles of different strata of the oppressed, each stratum organized around a parochial program. At present, following the SL's exposure of the MEC's opportunist impressionism at a recent MEC-sponsored RFU forum in New York, it would appear that the state-capitalist RSL has replaced the Pabloist IMT as the likely resting place of those who resist the RFU's evolution toward authentic Trotskyism.

Internal Polarization

The RFU's leftward political motion began more than two years ago, when the Lavender and Red Union emerged out of the New Left/Maoist milieu as a "gay liberation/communist" organization. Recoiling from Stalinist bigotry against homosexuals, the RFU developed toward Trotskyism through its study of

Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, and later of the class nature of the deformed workers states as well as of the Bolshevik position on the need for a party of professional revolutionaries. Inevitably, the process of political struggle and clarification was accompanied by internal differentiation and recently by a sharp organizational polarization into the Majority Tendency and the small Revolutionary Faction, which is orbiting around the centrist RSL. At the democratically conducted conference, both factions, as well as the other participants, had full opportunity to present their positions.

The two questions which dominated the conference were the vanguard party

that the RFU, which they had come prepared to tail, was far to the left of them. Consequently, instead of simply proclaiming their solidarity with oppressed homosexuals and expounding reformist/utopian "solutions," they were forced to discuss Leninism.

Wayne Heber of the SWP initially appeared to be under the impression he was attending a meeting of one of the SWP's minimum-program front groups. He reacted with baffled incredulity to the political debate and could only repeat numbly that it was important that everyone turn out for an upcoming "gay rights" demonstration. Professing ignorance of his own party's history, he was unable to defend its documented past

stances be detrimental to their political work. The FSP's hypocrisy in portraying the SL as apologists for anti-homosexual prejudice is belied by its own flag-waving for Chinese and Cuban Stalinism, whose "program" for homosexuals is prison.

But the FSP is not incorrect in seizing on what it called the SL "closet rule" as a potential stumbling block for former "gay liberation" activists. The RFU has grasped the fact that capitalist oppression of homosexuals does not make homosexuality a political act. Lifestyleism is precisely the attempt to generate a program out of private sexuality. To integrate themselves into the work of the SL, the RFU comrades — like all disciplined Bolsheviks — would have to subordinate aspects of their public conduct to the organization's objective needs.

The struggle for the democratic rights of homosexuals has always been part of the SL program. We oppose all forms of discrimination and victimization; we oppose all state interference into consensual sexual conduct and all criminalization of "deviance." We are unshakably determined to protect our members' right to conduct their private sexual lives as they see fit. But in public, all our members must seek to be known by their politics, not by their "life-style." Members of a tiny communist nucleus confronted by the power of the bourgeois state must seek to avoid facilitating their own isolation and possible repression by unnecessarily affronting bourgeois social norms in non-political or secondary matters.

The SL concretized its counterposition to petty-bourgeois "life-style radicalism" in discussing a proposal currently before the California state legislature which would require teachers to take an oath that they are not homosexuals in order to qualify for teaching positions. The SL opposes this despicable measure and would fight the victimization of teachers who refuse to submit to this violation of their privacy, or who publicly avow homosexuality.

Communists are, of course, opposed to the bourgeois morality which labels homosexuality a sin or sickness. But the oppression of homosexuals is not merely, or even primarily, the result of narrow-mindedness. Homosexuals are repressed by capitalist law and the widespread bigotry on this issue is fundamentally conditioned by the institution of the family. The program of the lifestyle radicals, who advocate "coming out" as a political principle, will not eradicate these class-rooted institutions and can be positively foolhardy in a repressive climate. For a communist who is a homosexual, his fundamental aim must be to fight effectively for the Marxist program. This means taking precautions to protect against victimization and also making personal adjustments to remove secondary obstacles which could stand in the way of comprehension of the program. We do not favor self-isolation or self-exclusion from the workers movement. As one SL supporter explained:

"We tell the truth to the masses of workers in this country and to the masses of oppressed. We don't say 'Come out'... In a country where they can't even pass the ERA, we don't advise people to just come out into the streets.... There are no personal solutions under capitalism. That's the key thing."

At an SL-sponsored workshop on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions," supporters of the SL outlined a strategy for political struggle within the unions to



Red Flag Union conference in Los Angeles in early June.

WV Photo

and the Russian question. The minority faction charged the RFU leadership with "hustling the gay question off the agenda at breakneck speed to oil the wheels of the SL-fusion steamroller." Though it claims to agree with the RFU's established position that the question of gay oppression is not primary in outlining a revolutionary perspective, the minority claimed the refusal to center the conference — the major RFU public political event thus far — on the gay question showed the RFU was abandoning concern for the rights of homosexuals.

SL spokesman Martha Phillips refuted the scurrilous charge that the SL is "anti-gay":

"Yes, the SL says quite clearly that the question of discrimination against homosexuals, the question of 'gay liberation,' is not a strategic question. It is a secondary question. In terms of the great forces, the great programmatic issues that it is going to take in terms of using the transitional program to mobilize the masses of workers in the crucible of struggle to bring down capitalism.... But when we say this, this does not mean that we are saying that oppression is trivial. Oppression is deforming.... It is precisely in order to build a party that can wipe out that kind of oppression that we in the SL are sitting in this room today, because we genuinely want to become the tribune of the people that rallies all sectors of the oppressed to the banner of communism."

Anti-Spartacist Bloc

The opportunist organizations at the conference were dismayed to discover

policy (rejected when homosexual radicalism became popular, but never publicly acknowledged nor repudiated) of excluding homosexuals from SWP membership.

The SWP's ardent support of fascists' "democratic rights" and its supplications to the bourgeois state to send in federal troops to "defend" oppressed racial minorities have, in fact, helped to politically disarm the working people in the face of the current right-wing offensive against democratic rights, of which the stepped-up anti-homosexual campaign is only a part.

The FSP, a "socialist/feminist" sect in Seattle, tried to claim the SL would oppress homosexual members. This nonsense is of a piece with the FSP's espousal of "socialist feminism," which "elevates the woman question to equal and interlocking status with the class question" and consequently views Leninist insistence on the primacy of the class line as a capitulation to social backwardness and male chauvinism. The FSP's politics — centering on the New Left line that the most oppressed are of necessity the most revolutionary — are compatible with those of the IMT/USec, and the FSP is currently discussing with other local groupings which identify with this impressionist-centrist current.

But the FSP tried to scare RFUers with the spectre of the SL's allegedly oppressive guideline that public avowal of personal homosexuality by communist militants would in most circum-

replace the present reactionary bureaucracy with a revolutionary leadership. A guest speaker from the longshore industry (ILWU) discussed the importance of a caucus based on a full class-struggle program, pointing to the active role that organized ILWU oppositionists have played in initiating labor boycotts of military goods bound for Chile and South Africa and in supporting an ILWU strike against a government raid on undocumented workers. A veteran militant in the telephone company (CWA) counterposed the fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to the divisive union-busting government-backed "affirmative action" plans. The RFU majority, which had not previously taken a position on this question, met afterward and solidified with this stance, which is also supported by the SL.

During a panel discussion, Chris Hudson, a leading spokesman for the Shachtmanite RSL, also accused the RFU majority of "capitulating" on "gay liberation. Later there ensued a hilarious exposure of the RSL's capitulation to whatever milieu it happens to be in. Although only two weeks before at the New York MEC-sponsored forum, Hudson had asserted that homosexuals are not a strategic social force for class struggle, at this conference he asserted that they are. When confronted by an RFUer who had been present at the New York meeting, Hudson denied making the former statement, whereupon the RFUer played a tape of the meeting! Trapped, Hudson said he would refuse to recognize the distinction between a strategic and a non-strategic sector.

Forward to the Leninist Party!

At an RFU forum held Sunday evening after the conference had formally concluded, two members of the RFU majority presented the RFU majority position on the class nature of the degenerated and deformed workers states. The RFU's embracing of the unique analysis of the Spartacist League had been a watershed of its evolution toward authentic Trotskyism.

After noting the origins of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, isolated in a backward and impoverished country following the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, the speaker emphasized that the Russian question is important not only historically, but is

central to the development of revolutionary strategy today:

"It is certainly true that the methodological approach of the checklist, or basing one's views simply on empirical evidence, can be very faulty; but nevertheless, if you want to tell if someone is alive or dead, you check their pulse. You check their heartbeat. You see if they are breathing. Not just some, but most of the vital signs of capitalism do not remain in the degenerated and deformed workers states."

The RFU minority now espouses the RSL line that the USSR and all other Stalinist regimes are state-capitalist. This position, which denies the proletariat's stake in defending these states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution, is at bottom a capitulation to anti-communism.

The RFU minority echoes the RSL that the SL is "Pabloist" for defending these states, and "throws out the role of the proletariat" by recognizing that states such as China, Cuba, Vietnam, the East European countries—which did not come into existence through proletarian revolutions—nonetheless rest on proletarian property forms. It is the deepening of commitment of the overwhelming majority of the RFU to the prospect of fusion with the SL which impelled this group to launch an opposition in the name of "anti-Pabloism." No such "anti-Pabloist" scruples obtained when the RFU majority was less certain of its pro-SL course and was also considering investigating fusion with the IMT/USec—though the latter is the contemporary organizational embodiment of the Pablo current and is defined politically by unashamed tailending of "Third World" Stalinism. The RSL and IMT/USec represent revision of Marxism which at their origins are formally diametrically counterposed to each other, the former abandoning defense of the deformed workers states while the latter drop the call for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The political process evidenced at the conference demonstrated a further consolidation of the RFU majority in its motion toward the program of authentic Trotskyism. An SL spokesman had pointed out that the RFU, despite its impressive political motion, entered the conference still viewing political questions "through the prism of gay liberation." The political struggles between reformism/centrism and Bolshevism assisted the wrenching process of breaking from New Left-derived radicalism to the communist movement. In the words of one RFU leader:

"If we fuse with the SL, we will not enter as gay liberationists.... I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity as a fighter for the proletarian revolution. If this fusion is carried out, it will bring the most advanced detachments of the gay liberation movement under the leadership of the nucleus of the party. It will serve as a concrete example of the way that communists enter into movements, seeking to win their most advanced layers to the program of revolutionary Trotskyism."

As the representatives of the fake-left groups fled from the conference hall following the last session on Saturday night, the comrades of the SL and RFU majority broke into the singing of the "Internationale." ■

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Cop Agent Exposed in Australia

—Reprinted from AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST SUPPLEMENT, 15 June 1977

These people are ASIO agents: Janet Langridge, Mark Tiernan

Janet Langridge, 21, is a first-year student at Sydney University. Janet Langridge had been, until Friday, 10 June, a member of the campus Spartacist Club and a candidate member of the Spartacist League (SL) for a little over two months. That night Langridge voluntarily confessed to having been a paid agent of ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Organization] for almost a year, a confession further detailed the next day in a taped interview with a



Australasian Spartacist

Janet Langridge, self-confessed cop agent.

Spartacist spokesman and Tom Kelly, solicitor. She was immediately expelled by the Spartacist League.

Langridge initiated her spying activities last September when she was directed by ASIO to infiltrate the Young Socialist League (YSL), youth group of the Socialist Party (SPA). Until she encountered the SL and shifted her activity over to us two months later, Langridge submitted written reports on members and activities of the SPA/YSL in return for \$50 per month. Langridge was given a special direct line phone number, 92-7920, to get in touch with her ASIO "contact," Terry Poulos. Poulos' home phone number is 625-5660.

After being accepted to go to university in January, faced with the prospect of extending her activities with the SL, Langridge began to express doubts to ASIO about continuing her involvement with either ASIO or the SL. Having never infiltrated the SL, which they told her was "an extremely hard target," ASIO considered Langridge's work important. She was offered a 12-month contract "to work my way into their confidence, become a member, do everything that was expected of me, go to the local meetings, make thorough reports of the people, how many were there, the positions they held" (Langridge, from the interview). ASIO was particularly interested in the method of election to and the composition of the SL's leading bodies, and our international ties.

In return for filing written reports on such information as frequently as once a week, Langridge would receive \$600 per month tax free. Most of the money would be banked in Langridge's account at St. George's Building Society in Crows Nest and ASIO would keep the pass book to make sure Langridge didn't look like she was living beyond her means and draw suspicion. She accepted. In her own words, Langridge's reasons for working for ASIO were because "it was exciting... I wanted to go to

university and to have plenty of money."

Langridge's accomplice in her cop activities was her boyfriend, Mark Tiernan, an apprentice electrical fitter at Delairco, 90 Sussex Street, Sydney. Tiernan attends courses one day a week at North Sydney Technical College. It was Tiernan who first "dared" Langridge to apply to ASIO. When Langridge notified Tiernan that she was about to turn herself in to the SL, he warned ASIO, thereby preventing the possibility of further exposure. According to Langridge, Tiernan was also in the pay of ASIO this year, at the rate of \$75 per month, to aid Langridge's work.

Langridge revealed her spy role to the SL, she claims, because she came to "respect them and... what they stand for and I don't respect myself for what I've been doing." This may well be true. The truth of the class struggle and the honesty, dedication and commitment of those fighting for the cause of proletarian revolution have often proved more attractive than the bourgeoisie's blood money. It is not surprising that ASIO's "major fear" was that Langridge might follow in the steps of ex-ASIO agent Lisa Walter, who exposed her ASIO connections after infiltrating the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Adelaide.

But unlike the social-democratic SWP, who "recruited" self-confessed former police agent Walter to their organization, we have no place for Langridge in ours. The most vile and murderous state agency of the bourgeoisie stands behind small-fry like Walter, Langridge, and Tiernan. Their confessions and self-portrayal as victims must not obscure the left and labour movement to the danger they pose. For a fistful of dollars and a few kicks they were prepared to hand working-class militants over to the ruling class's apparatus of repression. They cannot be trusted. No radical student should want to sit in the same classroom with these police pimps. Tiernan's co-workers should want to rid their work place of the putrid stench of this still-loyal ASIO accomplice. The Electrical Trades Union should keep him out of its ranks. He is a conscious enemy of the workers movement.

There is no failsafe defence against police infiltration in the workers movement. The best defence is to maintain a high level of political debate unmarred by slander and violence. Gangsterism and cop-baiting—for which the Maoists and the Healyite Socialist Labour League are particularly notorious—by creating an atmosphere of apolitical

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Striker Murdered by Pro-Company Thugs

Ligue Trotskyste Calls for Workers Militias

Two weeks ago a group of pro-company goons attacked a union picket line outside a glass works in the industrial city of Reims, to the northeast of Paris, killing one worker (Pierre Maître) and wounding two. The wanton slaying shocked French public opinion and led to protest marches in both Reims and the capital.

The attack was directed against a militant strike which had begun a few days previously. On June 1 the police had also attacked the picket line in an effort to disband it. However, the workers, affiliated with the Communist Party-led *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT) labor federation, repulsed the attack, hospitalizing one cop. After that the police were content to watch from a distance.

The shooting took place following an attempt by the thugs to rip down a CGT strike banner. They, too, were beaten off, managing to escape in their car only by using a tear gas spray can. Fifteen minutes later they returned to open fire with an automatic rifle. The alleged leader of the attack (who has a long record of gangster assaults against the CGT) and his confederates are members of the *Confédération Française du Travail* (CFT).

While issuing vehement press releases denouncing the cold-blooded murder, the CGT bureaucrats "answer" to this atrocity was to call a five minute "general strike" to honor the slain unionist...and to call off the strike off without obtaining its central demands! However, the workers of Maître's department heatedly refused to return to work before their comrade had even been buried, whereupon the rest of the factory also voted to stay out.

The recent dramatic increase in strikes in France—in particular factory

occupations and militant picket lines—has led to a number of confrontations with cops and goons and is rapidly making workers self-defense into a burning immediate question. The response of the Stalinist CGT and social-democratic CFDT (*Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail*) tops, however, has been to beg the bourgeois state to dissolve the CFT. (This outfit, ostensibly a trade union, is actually a gang of enforcers for virulently anti-union employers. In addition, there is a significant overlap between CFT thugs and members of the SAC, a paramilitary private army of militant right-wing Gaullism.)

Not only is it illusory and downright dangerous to call on the bosses' state to ban fascists and company thugs (police "unionized" in the CFDT are calling for the outlawing of all "parallel police," which could easily include union militias), but the reformists have failed to challenge the CFT power base. The CGT is the dominant union at the state-owned Renault auto company, but the CFT (in close cooperation with management) maintains a reign of terror at Citroën and Simca and is threatening at Peugeot as well. Union militants must demand an organizing campaign to drive the CFT thugs out of French industry!

On Wednesday, June 8, a demonstration in Paris called by the *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire* (LCR), the *Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs*, the *Parti Socialiste Unifié* and the recently formed *Comités Communistes pour l'Autogestion* drew approximately 10,000 protesters. We reprint below the leaflet put out for this march by the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency.

down by the bullets of the bourgeoisie's goons.

When picket lines and occupied factories are systematically attacked, we must fight for a militant defense of picket lines, the physical expression of the class line—and for the formation of workers self-defense squads. As was already stated by Trotsky in the *Transitional Program*:

"Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office, but in the factory, and ends in the street. Seabs and private gunmen in the factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense... It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward seabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to



Massive demonstration June 6 in Reims protesting murder of strike picket.

advance the slogan of a workers' militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press."

But instead of organizing the masses of workers to crush even the embryos of fascist gangs, company militias and organizations like the CFT, the reformists, in the name of their class-collaborationist coalition [the Union of the Left], systematically break strikes. The PCF [Communist Party] and PS [Socialist Party] weaken, divide and disarm the workers, delivering them up to bourgeois repression. As if that were not enough, the CGT and CFDT insult the working class by calling a so-called "general strike" of five minutes!

Cops Out of the Unions!

The Union of the Left makes legalist appeals to the bourgeois state to dissolve the fascist gangs. But at the same time, it is the CFT's good friends in the state apparatus, such as Chénaut, who are asked to "democratize" the armed fist of the bourgeois state, the police. Thus the Stalinist and social-democratic betrayers and the union hacks subvert to the Union of the Left welcomed the "democratic police" into the workers demonstration [against government austerity policies] on May 24 with open arms. By its actions, the popular front announces in advance that it will not touch the army, police or fascists.

We already have a good idea of what will be the policy of the Union of the Left in power. On 16 March 1937 in Clichy, the Popular Front government's minister of the interior ordered [the police] to open fire on workers demonstrating against a fascist meeting. Several workers were killed so as not to break the contract signed with the bourgeoisie: to preserve at any cost private property and the bourgeois state, and therefore its watchdogs—the police, the army, the fascist gangs. And in Chile, [Allende's] popular front systematically deprived the working class of the necessary arms, leaving it defenseless against the reactionary junta's coup d'état.

The Pseudo-Trotskyists: Loyal Opposition to the Union of the Left

The *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire*, taking up the reformists' slogan, asks the bourgeois state to dissolve fascist organizations and other capitalist hands. The LCR thereby reinforces

the workers' illusions concerning the nature of the bourgeois state and implicitly demands application of a law which was already used against its predecessor, the *Ligue Communiste*, and other working-class organizations in June 1968 and June 1973. This is a suicidal policy! The same logic leads the LCR to congratulate itself on the unionization of cops and judges—that is, on introducing the bourgeois state into workers organizations.

In the name of its united-front strategy and of a supposed dynamic of the mass movement which can only be expressed within the framework of the traditional organizations of the working class, the *Organisation Communiste Internationaliste* lines up behind the gestures of Maître [head of the CFDT] and Seguy [head of the CGT]. For *Lutte Ouvrière* as well, appeals for self-defense belong in the pages of "theoretical" journals.

The workers movement must cleanse its ranks of direct agents of the class enemy: cops, judges and prison guards are not workers. As a defense against the bosses' thugs, appeals to bourgeois "justice" are worse than useless: such appeals sow illusions among the working class. The only effective way for the working masses to defend themselves against attacks like that at Reims is to organize self-defense squads, from the picket line to workers militias. To crush the Barre plan, to protect its struggles and organizations, the working class must exert its independence and demand that its treacherous leaders break with their bourgeois allies and the Common Program [of the Union of the Left]. Only by carrying out such a struggle can the proletariat, under a Trotskyist leadership, crush the CFT, the fascists and the company goon squads on the road to overthrowing the bourgeois state.

For effective self-defense of picket lines, for workers militias!

Cops, judges and prison guards out of the unions!

PCF, PS, unions, break with the popular front!

No calls on the bourgeois state to dissolve fascist and company gangs! For a workers government based on soviets!

For the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Ligue Trotskyste de France
Paris, 8 June 1977

For Workers Defense Against Rightist Thugs in France!

The death earlier this month of French union militant Pierre Maitre (see article in this issue) highlights the growing threat to the French trade-union movement posed by the bosses' thugs, company unions and openly fascist shock troops. In the struggle for industrial unionism in the United States similar forces were mobilized—at one point security guard outfits such as the Wackenhuts and the Pinkertons had become professional private strike-breaking police for some of the major employers. For decades, J. P. Morgan's Iron and Coal Police exercised a reign of terror to keep unions out of western Pennsylvania. But while this phenomenon still exists in some minor U.S. industries, its importance has considerably lessened since the 1930's.

In contrast, today in France not only are the company thugs a major factor preventing the unionization of key industries, but they are tied to openly right-wing terrorist groups such as the Gaullist militia, the Service d'Action Civique (SAC), veterans of the OAS (the secret army organization of supporters of General Salan who revolted over De Gaulle's settlement with the Algerian nationalists), and fascist groups such as the former Ordre Nouveau.

An idea of the scope of these tolerated political/criminal gangs was given in a 29 May *New York Times* article about

the paramilitary SAC, which it describes as "an extremist private militia ready for armed intervention on the political scene." SAC sources boasted of the ability to mobilize thousands on short notice and told the *Times* they had "an autonomous communications network that could function even under conditions of a general strike, a training camp near Nice and enough weapons to arm 50,000 people."

The combined forces of such "parallel police" and the thugs of the national company "union" federation, the CFT (Confédération Française du Travail) pose a real barrier to the unionization of key industries. In auto, for example, Citroën, Simca and Berliet (truck manufacturer) are all controlled by the CFT, while at Peugeot it is on the offensive and getting massive aid from the employers. This leaves only the state-owned Renault company as (for now) a stronghold of the Stalinist-dominated Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). As part of the campaign to drive legitimate labor organizations from the plants the CFT has killed trade-union militants on a number of occasions and has prevented the distribution of left propaganda.

What is the CFT?

A look at the past several years shows that the situation is not just a question of

Goon hired by Peugeot during April 1973 strike at Saint-Etienne auto plant.



Editions Sociales

the military balance of forces, but that the CGT with its reliance on the state to "ban" the company unions and the bosses' militias has aided the reactionary offensive. To make matters worse, pseudo-Trotskyist groups and the "far left" in general have opted for only a more militant version of this policy, combining calls for "dissolution" of the rightist bands with adventurist street battles pitting several dozens or hundreds of leftists against well-armed fascists recruited from degenerate elements of the bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie.

A recent book *Les truands du patronat* ("Management Thugs"), written by the French Stalinist Marcel Caille illustrates the intricate connections between the CFT, the state and the paramilitary right. The bulk of Caille's documentation was furnished by one Marcel Michaut, a former CFT leader at Berliet truck who has since gone over to the CGT. Michaut's information corroborates a great number of eyewitness reports, articles and brochures which have appeared in recent years.

While declaring itself "apolitical," the militantly anti-communist CFT actually is a direct instrument of the most virulently anti-union sectors of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of destroying the workers movement. While functioning to mobilize armies of scabs when strikes occur, on a day-to-day level CFT work in the shops consists of setting up complex networks of spies to inform on the workers and intimidate them, employing physical terror against union militants to neutralize them, drive them into quitting or get them fired. Breaking picket lines and storming occupied factories is another CFT specialty, the most famous example being its April 1973 attack on the occupied Peugeot factory in Saint-Etienne. The commando was composed of CFT members from Peugeot and Berliet factories throughout France, as well as ex-parachutists and foreign legionnaires recruited for the occasion.

In every case the CFT has been brought into the plant at management's request. Once implanted, CFT organizers set up an elaborate labor spy operation to root out the militant workers, a process in which access to "secret" police dossiers is readily available. The CFT budget is generously subsidized by the bosses. After a few years, with the militants identified and driven out, a new layer of workers, all carefully checked out, are brought in. Thereupon, new elections are rigged and

the CFT is duly recognized by the courts as the legitimate bargaining unit.

A November 1973 article in the right-wing journal *Les Informations* described this process by publishing the account of a director of a large enterprise telling how one Louis G..., a retired naval captain, offered his services to bust the union in a factory where the CGT was solidly implanted:

"The plan was very simple; you implanted trustworthy men in the factory—he already had a list made out—most of whom were veterans. Instructed in advance, these men were to spread the good word on the shop floor. For management's part, all we had to do was systematically act upon the demands of the CFT and ignore those of the others. Success was guaranteed with examples to back it up."

The link-up with the state apparatus is also made explicit from Michaut's recollection of the free hand he was given to consult police dossiers on union militants not only on the precinct level, but in the central Paris files as well:

"All I had to do was make a phone call to the central intelligence service of the prefecture of M. Richard, and within five minutes I had information on these people and knew all about them...whether they had files on them, whether they had been brought into court, whether they were short on cash, etc...."

Michaut adds that the personnel of the CFT and SAC, as well as the Comités de Défense de la République created in June 1968, have been intimately linked with central intelligence ever since the Gaullists took that particular police service in hand after 1958.

CFT recruitment, according to Caille, comes from various sources: through veterans associations, undercover agents, former OAS commandos, and so on. Another means of recruitment is through the black-mailing of immigrant workers who are numerous in the auto industry. Immigrant workers are frequently told to take out a CFT union card in order to be hired into the auto plants. If they refuse to do so, they run the risk of being sent directly back to

continued on page 10



AFP

CFT thug Claude Lecomte (cross) watching rally outside Relms Citroën plant during 1973 strike. Lecomte led CFT gang which recently killed picket at Relms factory.



Informations Ouvrières

200,000 demonstrators protested murder of Renault worker killed by company-hired thugs in 1972.

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Main Enemy...

(continued from page 3)

choslovakia in 1968, seek to reform the bureaucracy; outright capitalist-restorationist elements (particularly some of the nationalists); and tendencies and individuals seeking to return to the path of Bolshevism.

"As Trotskyists, we begin from our fundamental program of unconditional defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, against imperialism, and call for political revolution to remove the bureaucracy which is the principal threat to the achievements of the October Revolution. Only a return to norms of proletarian democracy, not only freedom to express dissenting political views but also the establishment of full power in the hands of the soviets (workers' councils), and the building of a Bolshevik-Leninist party can lead forward to socialism instead of backward in the tail of the bureaucracy toward accommodation with imperialism."

"Soviet Dissidents: Between Leninism and Liberalism." II 1 No. 29, 28 September 1973

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, has a sharply counterposed position on Soviet dissidents, based on their classless concept of "democracy." An editorial in the March 1977 *International Socialist Review* tails simultaneously after Carter's "human rights" platitudes and pro-imperialist dissidents, constantly referring to abstract "democracy":

"Before Stalin, the socialist movement was universally recognized as fighting for human rights. Far from being counterrevolutionary, the demands for democratic rights made by Andrei Sakharov and others express the historic interests and aspirations of the Soviet working people."

In the same article, the SWP approves of appeals by Sakharov and others for enforcement of the Helsinki accords, an open call for the imperialists to put economic/diplomatic/military pressure on the USSR.

For the SWP, defense of the Soviet Union has become an abstraction, while it pursues the contrary policy concretely. In countless articles on East bloc dissidents in the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* there has been no mention of military defense. The most explicit statement of this evolving policy has come in a recent exchange in the *Militant* (24 June) between SWP leader Joseph Hansen and Morris Starsky on "Washington, Moscow and the Arms Race." Starsky makes the unexceptionable assertion that the USSR has the need and right to arm itself fully against the United States' long-range goal of restoration of capitalism in Russia. To this Hansen replies:

"The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) against imperialist attack.... "The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, *political and military*. Of these the political is the more important by far....

"Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. 'Military defense' has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction....

"If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives." [our emphasis]

Hansen must be thanked for presenting a clear exposition of the SWP policy of anti-Trotskyist revisionism on the most fundamental issues. For the first time in months military defense of the USSR is mentioned... but in the context of past attacks only. Then we are told in so many words that "military defense" [in quotation marks, no less] has obviously become meaningless...! Hansen distinguishes between military and political defense, terming the latter "more important by far"; and then he explains that in the context of the nuclear arms race, a "political" defense is to disarm militarily!!

Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land!

Stalin hat 10 Minuten, hat dem Hauptfeind entgegen und... (text continues in German)

Die Weltmacht der Sowjetunion... (text continues in German)

Die Weltmacht der Sowjetunion... (text continues in German)

Die Weltmacht der Sowjetunion... (text continues in German)

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Lett, 1915 "Internationale" group statement written by Liebkecht bears headline "The Main Enemy is at Home." Right: Karl Liebkecht.

Aside from the proposals for a limit of "Armageddon One" ("a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity once"), the article calls for reducing nuclear capabilities to "one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on," and places the main blame for the failure of the arms limitation talks on Brezhnev. Nowhere in this article (or a previous one on the collapse of the Moscow SALT negotiations) does Hansen mention the elementary fact—recognized even by the liberal press—that the American proposals would have given tremendous superiority to the U.S. (see "Human Rights Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine," *WV* No. 154, 22 April 1977). This incredible article contradicts everything that Lenin and Trotsky ever wrote against the chimera of disarmament. Who would police it—the UN? Or does Hansen consider that U.S. observers, spy planes and spy satellites are part of a "political" defense of the Soviet Union?

We condemn the government of the Soviet Union for making its military strength a matter of negotiation with the imperialists.

"Majority Rule" in Southern Africa

Carter objects to his policy being labeled "cold war" and "one-sidedly" anti-Soviet. Consequently, in the last three months he has added a second leg to his "moral" foreign policy by coming out with great fanfare for "majority rule" in southern Africa. In his Notre Dame speech he proclaimed:

"What draws us [the American people] together, perhaps more than anything else, is a belief in human freedom. We want the world to know that our nation stands for more than financial prosperity....

"Finally, let me say that we are committed to a peaceful resolution of the crisis in southern Africa. The time has come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order, recognizing that in a democratic system the rights of the minority must also be protected."

Having gauged the significance of the Angolan setback—not even a bloody nose in terms of U.S. global interests, but ominous for the lack of public support—Carter is laying the basis for possible future intervention if necessary to block Russian diplomatic moves and defuse guerrilla struggles: "The United States is determined to work together with our European allies and the con-

cerned African states to shape a congenial international framework for the rapid and progressive transformation of southern African society and to help protect it from unwarranted outside interference."

The clear duty of revolutionaries is to expose this hypocritical justification for future imperialist pressures, power plays and interventions. We must say clearly that the American ruling class is no ally of the oppressed non-white majorities of southern Africa. After sanctimoniously wagging a finger at South African prime minister John Vorster, vice president Mondale proclaimed that the United States had cleansed itself of a "moral blemish" by "coming clean" on apartheid. No, say the Marxists, American imperialism, the butcher of Vietnam, cannot wipe off the blood stains from its murderous deeds. The moral pretensions of this behemoth are as sinister as Hitler's claim to be civilizing Europe.

Yet this is not the response of the reformists. Seeing that the American bourgeoisie has decided to put on "human rights" airs, they seek to cash in on the sudden popularity of the South African blacks' cause by borrowing the

slogans of Carter and his front man Andrew Young. Instead of warning of the dangers posed by the U.S. intervention, they call on the government and American capitalists to live up to their own words. Thus on university campuses around the country groups such as the SWP and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) are demanding that boards of trustees divest their portfolios of shares in companies which have affiliates in South Africa.

While agitating for actions of international labor solidarity, such as "hot-cargoing" of arms shipments to South Africa, communists do not seek to drive industry out of the country, which would only further impoverish the black victims of apartheid oppression and weaken their capacity for struggle. Obviously nothing is accomplished by getting universities to sell off shares so that some bank can reap windfall profits. Nor do we call for boycott of cultural events with South African participation—we seek increased contact with the South African non-white masses, not a quarantine.

But most of all we do not call on "our" government, the main enemy of American working people and a menace to all the exploited and oppressed, to take action against the racist Pretoria regime. *White-supremacist South Africa is not qualitatively more reactionary than the "democratic" United States.* The racist South African police and army have killed more than a thousand black protesters during demonstrations over the past year. This vicious crime must be denounced—the working class will remember the victims, Soweto must be avenged! But not by calling on the imperialist power which massacred millions of Vietnamese peasants and workers.

American businessmen shouldn't invest in South Africa because of the moral stench? It would make as much sense to call on South African businessmen to withdraw their endowments from American universities which developed "counterinsurgency" techniques for Vietnam. The Afrikaner oppressor people has its back to the wall and believes it is fighting for survival. U.S. imperialism, however, swings its bloody sword around the world in the name of others' "freedom" and "human rights," i.e., to strengthen itself abroad.

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Revolutionary communists must tell American workers and anti-racist militants that the main enemy is at home. Those who want to pressure Carter should look at the history of the Rhodesian chrome boycott. After half a decade of ignoring these sanctions, the U.S. Congress just passed legislation calling for an embargo on Rhodesian chrome. This was not done out of dedication to human rights or majority rule, however, but because American business no longer needs Rhodesian chrome! The net result is that the Carter administration was able to score cheap propaganda points.

Finishing the Job at Home

The third leg of the Carter administration's policy of "moral" government is a hard line against labor and the poor, in the name of "fiscal responsibility" and independence from "any special interest." Carter became imperialism's top

cop thanks largely to the AFL-CIO which spent an estimated \$11 million and mobilized 120,000 union volunteers to get out the vote. In office, the hawkish businessman's democrat proceeded with a vengeance not only to deny the bureaucrats their special requests (like their preferred secretary of labor, John Dunlop), but also to prove himself as savage an enemy of the workers and poor as Ford or Nixon. The administration beat down the construction site picketing bill, rejected a meager AFL-CIO proposal for a \$3-per-hour minimum wage, reduced unemployment benefits and reneged on Carter's campaign promise to support repeal of the open shop section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

So now the "elder statesmen" of labor are wailing like babes led astray, while the workers wade through the filth and decay of dying cities. Providing no more money for the tax-starved urban areas

than his predecessors, Carter's proposal for the festering slums and minority ghettos which voted heavily Democratic in November is "workfare." Tens of thousands of destitute poor will be ruthlessly purged from the welfare rolls, while others are forced into hard labor at sub-minimum pay, often replacing union labor.

And the local wielder of the budget ax in New York City, Mayor Abraham Beame, brazenly proclaims: "I want to finish the job." Another so-called "friend of labor" and early Carter backer, Beame is demanding a second term to finish slashing vital social services, laying off municipal workers, enforcing the pay freeze and looting union pension funds to keep worthless city bonds afloat. Beame even offers a Gotham version of Carterite civic "morality" to hide his threadbare record: driving pornography from Times Square.

And of course the Concorde. As the average New Yorker rides to work or to the unemployment/welfare office jammed in a hot noisy subway car reeking of urine, its doors, lights, windows and fans defective, he reads in his newsless newspaper of the stalwart efforts of local officialdom to protect the environment—by banning supersonic airliners from Kennedy airport. Last spring we published an article, "You Can't Land the 'A' Train at JFK" (WV

American aircraft manufacturers who have yet to build a supersonic transport.

Hypocrisy and Democracy

Carter's "human rights" crusade has so far evoked widespread, albeit largely passive, support from the American population at large, making him the most popular president since Roosevelt. Not only has this sinister campaign met with the eager approval of professional anti-communist liberals and reactionaries, including most importantly the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, but it has also gathered wide support from previously disaffected layers of the petty bourgeoisie—especially among students and intelligentsia.

A rise in sharp class battles in Europe or the U.S. would quickly put an end to this hypocritical imperialist moralizing. Yet given the present period, characterized above all by the success of the labor bureaucracy in defusing potentially explosive class conflicts at home, Carter's "cold war" policy with a "human rights" face has served to accelerate the rightward motion of various centrist and reformist tendencies in the workers movement.

After Carter's first few months in office—mounting an anti-Communist attack on the USSR, taking a hard line against labor, doing nothing for the black masses of southern Africa—the

"Down with the War, Down with the Government!"

—Karl Liebknecht, 1914

We reprint below the statement by Karl Liebknecht, the German revolutionary Social Democrat and later Communist leader, before the Reichstag (parliament) on 2 December 1914, in which he proclaims his refusal to vote for war credits to wage the imperialist slaughter. This action, which meant an open break with party discipline, was the first decisive blow by the German internationalists against the patriotic fever which had seized official Social Democracy after its shameful act of August 4. The speech was published in the first issue of Spartacusbriefe (Spartacus Letters), the illegal organ edited primarily by Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marschewski and Franz Mehring.

In February 1915, police seized Luxemburg and imprisoned her for the duration of the war. Only Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity saved him for a time. Soon after he illegally published a pamphlet "Class Struggle Against the War!" In May 1915 he put out the leaflet (see facsimile on this page) entitled "The Main Enemy Is At Home!" which be-

came the watchword of the Spartacus group. By calling for an end to the "civil peace" and openly advocating struggle against the Kaiser and the government, the Spartacists broke also with the bourgeois-pacifist slogans of the centrists around Kautsky, who called for reaching an "understanding" among the belligerent powers. Although at the Zimmerwald conference and in Luxemburg's "Lunius Pamphlet" the Spartacus group hesitated to make a final break from the Kautskyan "Independents," the internationalists' main slogans corresponded to Lenin's call to "Turn the Imperialist War into Civil War!"

Finally, in July 1916, Liebknecht was tried in a closed courtroom on charges of preparation, instigation and advocacy of national treason. In an article published in the first issue of the clandestinely printed Spartacus (20 September 1916), Rosa Luxemburg reported that upon being informed of the guilty verdict Liebknecht proudly replied, "And yet I repeat: Down with the War! Down with the Government!"

I justify my vote on the bill before us today as follows: This war, which none of the peoples involved have themselves desired, did not break out on behalf of the welfare of the German people or any other. It is an imperialist war, a war over capitalist domination of the world market, for the political domination of important fields of investment for industrial and bank capital. From the standpoint of the armaments race it is a preventive war brought about by the war party in Germany and Austria in the twilight of semi-absolutism and secret diplomacy. It is also a bonapartist undertaking aimed at demoralizing and breaking up the rising workers movement. This has been demonstrated with increasing clarity in recent months, despite a reckless hysteria campaign.

The German watchword, "Against Tsarism" served—in a similar manner to the English and French slogan, "Against Militarism"—to mobilize the most noble instincts, the revolutionary heritage and hopes of the people on behalf of national hatred. Germany, which to this day is a partner in crime with Tsarism, the model of political backwardness, has no vocation as a national liberator. The liberation of the Russian as well as the German people must be their own work.

This war is not a war to defend Germany. Its historical character and

the course of the war rule out any faith in the claim of the capitalist government that its purpose, for which it requests appropriations, is to defend the fatherland.

An early peace, a peace which does not victimize any party, a peace without conquests must be demanded; all efforts toward this purpose must be greeted. Only the simultaneous strengthening of currents favoring such a peace in all belligerent states can stop the war before the bloody slaughter leads to complete exhaustion of all the peoples involved. Only a peace on the foundations of international working-class solidarity and the freedom of all peoples can be a secure peace. Thus it is the duty of the proletariat of all countries to carry out common socialist work for peace, even today in the midst of war.

...However, in protest against the war, those responsible for it and who orchestrate it, against the capitalist policies which brought it forth, against the capitalist aims which it pursues, against the annexationist plans, against the violation of Belgian and Luxemburg neutrality, against the military dictatorship, against the failure of the government and ruling classes to fulfill social and political obligations, I reject the war appropriations.

Karl Liebknecht



UPI

Bus burns during black revolt in Soweto.

No. 147, 4 March), which revealed that the noise on some NYC subway trains reaches the same decibel level as the Concorde, causing vastly more hearing damage due to sustained exposure. The New York Post picked up the story, but failed to tell the real reason for opposition to the Concorde: protectionism by

chief imperialist should be an object of revilement, confined to his bunker like Nixon, afraid to venture out to face the angry population. Instead, after squeaking by the election his popularity ratings now soar, he goes onto university campuses and poses as the democratic liberator of humanity.

The fake-revolutionary left in the U.S. has done little to combat this image. The Maoists, still smarting from last year's acute embarrassment over being lined up with Henry Kissinger and the South African army against the MPLA, have generally retreated from politics into low-level economism. In

continued on page 10

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número 4 mayo de 1977
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Main Enemy...

(continued from page 9)

the one area where they have been active, anti-apartheid campaigns on the campuses, they have fallen right into line with Carter administration policies. Any day now Andrew Young will walk onto a college campus and be hailed as a hero for saying the magic words "majority rule." The Communist Party, in turn, is so cynical that, while excusing Moscow's suppression of dissent, it merely urges Carter to adopt a more "balanced" policy, spending more time criticizing the right-wing dictatorships propped up by the dollars of U.S. finance capital.

But the left organization which more than any other has been caught up in the phony "human rights" pretensions of the Democratic administration is undoubtedly the SWP. Everywhere in the world today they pose the main issue as "democracy." In Portugal they supported the CIA-financed Social Democracy's anti-Communist mobilization of mid- and late-1975 in the name of de-

peat "majority rule," knowing well that Carter/Young mean this to be a regime which maintains the social/economic substance of white supremacy while adding a veneer of black faces in the government. When Trotskyists call for a full program of democratic rights to smash apartheid, including a constituent assembly, and to lead the struggle forward to a workers and peasants government, the SWP denounces this as "sectarian" and "ultra-leftist."

In contrast, the Spartacist League has stated repeatedly that the Carter "human rights" crusade is not merely hypocritical but is aimed at whipping up chauvinist, anti-Communist sentiment in order to strengthen the hand of the U.S. to act as gendarme of the "free world" and put the Soviet Union on the defensive. In the same spirit, a Bolshevik response to democratic posturings of the imperialists was provided more than half a century ago by Leon Trotsky in the Manifesto of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, commenting on Woodrow Wilson's crusade for the League of Nations:

"Under the 'League of Nations' flag, the United States made an attempt... to chain to its chariot of gold, the peoples of Europe and other parts of the world, and bring them under Washington's rule. In essence, the League of Nations was intended to be a world monopoly corporation, 'Yankee and Co.'"

"The President of the United States, the great prophet of platitudes, has descended from Mount Sinai in order to conquer Europe. '14 Points' in hand, Stockbrokers, cabinet members and businessmen never deceived themselves for a moment about the meaning of this new revelation. But by the way of compensation the European 'Socialists,' with doses of Kautskyan brew, have attained a condition of religious ecstasy and accompanied Wilson's sacred ark, dancing like King David."

First Five Years of the
Communist International,
Vol. I

The end to Wilson's blustering, said Trotsky, came when he encountered the Soviet Republic and Communism. Again today, with the Stalinists lamely justifying their suppression of workers democracy and the social democrats eagerly tailing after Carter, only a truly communist, Trotskyist vanguard can expose the hypocrisy of the imperialist "human rights" hoax and show the road forward to real democracy for the exploited and oppressed. ■

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Rightist Thugs in France...

(continued from page 7)

their native countries, with their dossiers sent via the French police to their domestic counterparts. (On this important subject of the role of the immigrant worker, however, Caille's book is very sketchy, undoubtedly due to the Communist Party's call for limiting the total number of immigrant workers in France!)

Reformists Rely on Bosses' State to Control Bosses' Thugs

Although written mainly as an exposé of the nefarious activities of the CFT/SAC gangs, Caille's book demonstrates the criminal responsibility of the reformists in tolerating their spread. The CFT is able to implant itself in industry largely because the CGT relies on appeals to the bourgeois state. The CGT program for fighting the CFT, says Caille, is based on "calls for new legal provisions to strike at those responsible for the actions referred to in this book."

Along with his legal cretinism, Caille cannot resist throwing into his book a few repulsive accusations against the forces to the left of the Communist Party (PCF). Referring to the February 1972 assassination of Pierre Overney, a Maoist worker shot in cold blood by a company goon while leafleting outside a Renault plant, Caille implies Overney was a provocateur. At the time, PCF leader Georges Marchais stated: "What a gift for the authorities, what a monstrosity from the far left.... Are we going to start over again as in 1968?... I say no, it must not start again." At the time the PCF boycotted Overney's funeral, although a demonstration of virtually the entire left brought out over 200,000 people to march in the funeral procession.

If this was the PCF's "defense" of the Renault workers in 1972, it was only a reflection of the CGT's shameless scabbing on the 1947 Renault strike, which he attributes to the Syndicat Démocratique created by Voix Ouvrière. In an effort to discredit Trotskyists, Caille makes a vicious amalgam between this combative union and the company-union "syndicats indépendants" set up by Pétainist collaborators after World War II. This was the same slander the Stalinists directed against the Trotskyists—who were the first group to set up a clandestine press under the Nazi occupation—in order to prevent *La Vérité* from being legally published for more than a year after liberation.

The "syndicats indépendants"—the forerunners of the CFT—were prevented from obtaining official registration under a 1947 governmental decree stipulating that only unions which demonstrated a patriotic attitude during World War II can be recognized. Such laws for state control of the unions must be opposed by revolutionists. It is clear that they could be used at any time against the Trotskyists, who called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the imperialist war (while actively fomenting opposition and sabotage against the Nazi occupiers in industry and within the German armed forces). However, this obvious fact has not stopped the Pabloist revisionists of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) from calling for the

dissolution of the CFT, i.e., implicitly demanding application of this law. The LCR and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) fully approve the PCF's dangerous call on the state to ban the paramilitary right, with the OCI calling for a united front to demand "dissolution" of the bosses' gangs in 1972, upon the occasion of the murder of a PCF militant by the Gaullist militia (*Informations Ouvrières* 4-10 May 1972).



Editions Sociales

CFT head Auguste Blanc

Also at this time, when the Ligue Communiste was at the height of its period of running around the streets engaging in frequently adventurist confrontations with the brown-shirted vermin, its action program of 1972 called for "dissolution of the armed bands of capital, CDR, SAC, Ordre Nouveau, CFT." In June 1973 the Ligue's wishes were fulfilled, and Ordre Nouveau was in fact banned, on the basis of a 1936 law passed by the Popular Front. But this very same law was used to dissolve the "far-left" organizations in June 1968, and again in June 1973 to ban the Ligue itself!

While it has been the long-standing policy of the PCF to call for the dissolution of the CFT, today it is hacking away from even this demand because it wishes to avoid confronting the CFT in the factories, fearing the explosion of working-class militancy which could ensue. The LCR is seeking to use this opportunity, interviewing Caille (*Rouge*, 9 June 1977) in the wake of the Maître assassination, to pressure the PCF to the left.

Moreover, while in the past the Pabloists have traditionally linked the demand for dissolution of the fascists with the call for workers self-defense, this half of the program is now being relegated to the fine print as the Ligue moves increasingly to the right. Throughout the recent events it said virtually nothing about workers self-defense; an LCR Political Bureau statement issued over the assassination at Reims failed to mention it at all.

While the LCR and their "far left" cohorts water down their slogans in order to appeal to Communist Party militants, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, passed out several thousand leaflets at the recent Paris demonstration protesting the assassination of Pierre Maître, ending with demands for effective defense of union picket lines and workers militias; for cops, judges and prison guards out of the unions; against calls on the bourgeois state, the executive committee of the ruling class, to dissolve fascist and company gangs; and for a workers government. ■



Leonid Plyushch

WV Photo

mocracy. In the 1976 American elections the SWP presented its "Bill of Rights for Working People," called for elimination of the "illegal" activities of the CIA and "cutting" the war budget, and propagandized for their "socialist Watersuit" as a means of democratizing the government.

Today on the Russian dissidents they again see only classless democracy, apologizing for the Sakharovs and thus aiding Carter's crusade. On South Africa, the SWP ex-Trotskyists simply re-

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UMW Elections

(continued from page 12)

rhetoric, disintegrated almost as soon as it was placed in office. This "reform" leadership hargained away the local right to strike in the 1974 contract and lined up with the coal operators and courts in opposition to the massive wildcats which repeatedly ripped through the coal fields. The Miller "democrats" passed a ten-point anti-strike program which included suspension from the union for engaging in wildcat strikes.

While virtually the entire U.S. left supported the MFD in 1972, the Spartacist League stood out for warning that these lakers' reliance on the government undermined the fight for union democracy and guaranteed that they would turn on the miners' militant struggles. The experience of the last five years has completely confirmed our analysis.

National Coal Strike Ahead

When the UMW's contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expires December 6, there will almost certainly be a nationwide shut-down of UMW-organized mines. The miners are restless and have repeatedly demonstrated both their eagerness to fight and their contempt for the existing contract. In addition to mine safety, benefits and pensions—all of which are below the standards of major industrial unions—one of the key issues is sure to be the right to strike over grievances, which all three UMW candidates claimed to be pledged to with, however, restrictions on the "roving pickets" which are a standard and vital strike-spreading tactic.

The BCOA is implacably opposed to the right to strike, and it is this issue which is sure to provoke a showdown. Miller's inability to sufficiently discipline the miners has already caused some of the operators to discuss dissolving the BCOA and dumping industry-wide bargaining in order to deal with the union on a company-by-company basis. In addition, the UMW's bargaining strength has been undercut by the union's inability to organize non-union mines in the rapidly expanding industry. The amount of U.S. coal production under UMW contract has fallen precipitously, from nearly 75 percent to just over 50 percent.

Facing the negotiations, the Miller regime is a combination of incompetence and spinelessness. Having fired virtually the entire staff which propped him up in the 1974 negotiations, Miller has neither a negotiating team nor, more decisively, a program to fight the BCOA. The Carter administration is pushing an energy policy projecting a huge increase in coal production and is demanding discipline in the coal fields, confronting the miners with the necessity of facing down the government as well as the coal companies.

The incoming Miller regime is a weak one, and repeated outbreaks of class struggle in the mines are a virtual certainty. However, the miners' courage is in itself not sufficient to guarantee decisive victories. In the absence of a militant opposition which has drawn from the disastrous Miller/MFD experience the correct lessons—the need for absolute independence from the capitalist state and for intransigent opposition to class-collaboration new struggles will throw up another layer of misleaders or, alternatively, exhaust themselves in demoralization. The crystallizing of a class-struggle opposition which transcends the reformist demagoguery of the Millers, Patricks, Pattersons and their hangers-on is the key task in the next period. ■

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Workers League Supports Redbaiter Patterson in UMW Elections

The U.S. left was generally restrained in its coverage of the June 14 United Mine Workers (UMW) elections, and for good reason. Almost without exception, self-proclaimed socialist groups had hacked Arnold Miller in the 1972 elections. Having ignored the massive Labor Department intervention in this government-ordered election, and overlooking the sub-reformist program of Miners For Democracy (MFD), they were put in an awkward position when Miller began siding with the companies and courts against wildcat strikes.

This time around the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialists both supported Patrick, although with obvious discomfort, suggesting that the tattered banner of the MFD had passed to this former Miller ally. The Communist Party maintained an awkward silence on Miller and Patrick, neither of whom is very popular these days in the coal fields, and concentrated on campaigning against Patterson with tired "fight the right" rhetoric. The Revolutionary Communist Party-backed "Miners Right to Strike Committee" dodged the elections altogether, burying themselves in economist emphasis on the contract. In contrast, the Spartacist League sharply opposed all three labor fakers, who despite their bickering and backstabbing have been united against the miners' militant wildcats.

The most unusual position by a left group on the Mine Workers elections, however, was certainly that taken by the political bandits of the Healyite Workers League (WL). Long accustomed to giving "critical" support to any left-talking out-bureaucrat, the WL recently came out for the most right-wing UMW candidate, Lee Roy Patterson! Without batting an eye, these unashamed hucksters explained their position in an article entitled "Stop Government Intervention in the UMWA!"

"We give critical support to Patterson in order to defeat the slates of Arnold Miller and Harry Patrick, and deal a blow to the government and the Labor Department, who have gained unparalleled influence in the union during their term of office."

Bulletin, 7 June

Who would suspect that the Workers League in 1972 supported the Miller/Patrick forces, which had brought the Labor Department into the UMW in one of the most massive government interventions ever imposed on an American union? Not surprisingly, the WL doesn't breathe a word today about its earlier enthusiasm for the MFD "reformers" who led the government raid.

Moreover, the Bulletin offers no explanation for how a vote for Patterson would be a vote against government intervention. In fact, Patterson threatens

to drag the union into court to dispute the election. And, as the WL was forced to admit, Patterson stands shoulder-to-shoulder with Miller and Patrick in support for the Democratic Party, the main conduit for capitalist politics in the unions.

Workers League support to Boyle henchman Patterson has absolutely nothing to do with independence of the unions from the capitalist state. Figuring that their readers have short memories, the Bulletin clears the table with every roll of the dice, making little or no pretense to present a consistent political line. Nor did they expose Patterson's demagogic talk of a national strike this summer. (Similarly, the WL hailed right-wing Steelworkers union leader I.W. Abel's disgruntled mumbling about forming a labor party in 1972. What the Healyites didn't mention is that Abel was upset over the influence of blacks, feminists and antiwar activists at the Democratic convention which nominated McGovern, and that his "neutrality" actually tilted toward Nixon.)

The struggle for socialism is not a floating crap game. Miners have long memories and will remember who told the truth about Miller, Boyle, Patrick, Patterson and the rest of the sellout bureaucrats. Needless to say, it wasn't the Workers League. ■

Kremlin Hands Over Ethiopian Students to Bloody Mengistu

While Ethiopian butcher Mengistu Haile Meriam was being feted by top Soviet bureaucrats early last month, foreign newsmen reported an "unexplained incident." The Ethiopian embassy in Moscow was cordoned off by several hundred police wearing helmets and flak jackets. Ambulances parked at the scene indicated that a confrontation of some sort was expected. After several hours, about 60 Ethiopian students filed out and were whisked away without comment, leaving the reporters scratching their heads.

This week a public demonstration by some 40 Ethiopian students at Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University made it crystal clear that the students were protesting Mengistu's extermination campaign against young leftists in Addis Ababa. The demonstrators identified themselves as supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the group which has suffered hundreds of casualties in recent months at the hands of Mengistu's soldiers and neighborhood vigilante commit-

tees (see "Bloody Colonel Mengistu Slaughters Leftists," *WV* No. 162, 17 June).

The Soviet Union is sending thousands of weapons and the Cuban government has dispatched "diplomatic advisors" to aid the Ethiopian dictatorship in crushing leftist students and workers and the Eritrean independence fighters. Castro has hailed Mengistu as a "great revolutionary." And now Moscow is acceding to demands by its new ally for the deportation of its student opponents abroad. The demonstrators reported that one student, a 20-year-old woman, had been handed a visa and an airplane ticket by Soviet authorities and ordered to leave for Ethiopia. Rather than face Mengistu's sadistic hangmen, she reportedly went into hiding. It is clear that the Ethiopian students who courageously demonstrated in Moscow on behalf of their victimized comrades face death if deported to Addis Ababa. But with all the phony talk of "human rights," one can be sure that these "dissidents" will not receive the press coverage of a pro-imperialist opponent of socialism such as Sakharov. Class-conscious workers around the world must demand that the Soviet bureaucrats keep their hands off these young militants and cease their scandalous efforts to win the favor of butcher Mengistu by offering the leftists as a blood sacrifice! ■

Cop Agent...

(continued from page 5)

mistrust, only facilitates the work of the secret police, no less than the social democrats' complacency. It was the SL's Bolshevik discipline and programmatic integrity which broke Langridge. In contrast to its assessment of the SPA/YSL as a "soft target", ASIO considered the SL to be a "hard target" because our politics "went into a lot more depth and there's a lot more expected of a person."

We are not complacent. Despite the utmost vigilance on the part of revolutionists, it must be assumed that the bourgeoisie's secret police agencies can succeed in penetrating our ranks. Paranoid fear and slander mongering only make their task easier. Genuine revolutionists respond not by coddling inherently untrustworthy "turned" agents, or by spreading vicious, unsubstantiated rumours, but by exposing actual, known agents to the entire left and workers movement.

We are a legal organisation. We have nothing to hide. Unlike the stealthy would-be assassins of ASIO, we state our aims openly and explicitly: the abolition of capitalism and all class society around the world. We demand that ASIO and all secret police agencies be abolished, that all infiltration into the workers movement cease. But we also recognise that the bourgeoisie will never do away with its covert repressive apparatus. Just deserts for ASIO and all the bosses' secret police spies will come only after the proletarian revolution installs the working class in state power. Smash ASIO through proletarian revolution!

Spartacist League of Australia and
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15 June 1977

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WORKERS VANGUARD

In Three-Way Contest Between Labor Fakers

Plurality for Miller, No Victory for Miners

Badly discredited as the strikebreaking president of the United Mine Workers (UMW), Arnold Miller has won reelection only because his opponents were even more disreputable. But Miller will begin a second five-year term as a minority president, with a hostile majority on the union's International Executive Board (IEB) and the strong possibility that his victory will be challenged both within the union and through the courts. Above all he lacks a program to beat back the coal operators in the upcoming contract negotiations, where the UMW's strength and ability to fight will be put to a severe test.

With over 70 percent of the ballots counted in a moderate turnout, Miller won about 42 percent of the vote. Lee Roy Patterson, IEB member and crony of former president Tony Boyle, came in second with 33 percent while UMW secretary-treasurer and former Miller ally Harry Patrick ran third with 24 percent. Patrick posed as the continuator of the "reform" spirit of the now-defunct "Miners for Democracy" (MFD), while Patterson railed against the MFD and promised an "orderly" administration.

How Miller Won

Miller's narrow victory was based on the split in his opposition between Patrick and Patterson. As he did in 1972, Miller carried the bulk of the retiree vote, especially important in the Eastern Pennsylvania anthracite districts where up to 90 percent of the UMW voters are retirees. Miller also carried his home turf, the big West Virginia districts. But more than anything else, the liabilities of his opponents gave Miller his second term.

Harry Patrick, part of the original MFD "team," never did manage to stake out a position sufficiently distinguishing himself from Miller. Since Patrick broke from Miller only last fall, evidently many miners felt that it didn't make sense to switch to a second-stringer. Though Patrick had the strongest showing of the three candidates among the growing force of young miners, he could not overcome Miller in the union's strongholds in the Appalachians and the East.

The fraudulent character of Patrick's claim to be a serious opponent to Miller was immediately clear in his concession statement. Instead of pledging to continue a fight against the policies he claimed to oppose, Patrick called for unity behind Miller and said he would quietly return to his job as a mine mechanic.

Early on in the election race, Lee Roy Patterson was widely seen as the front runner. That Patterson could be a serious contender at all is testimony to the complete bankruptcy of the union's "reform" leadership. Achieving position in the union hierarchy by association with the corrupt Boyle gang, Patterson had



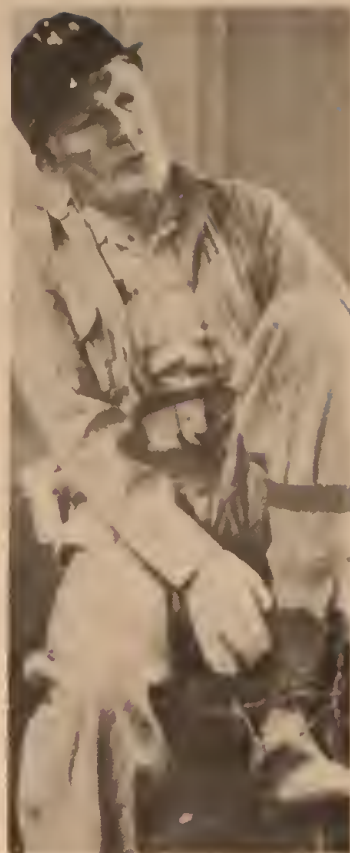
Harry Patrick

Robert Gumpert



Lee Roy Patterson

John Blair/Photoreporters



Arnold Miller

UPI

opposed moves to allow miners to vote for district officers and to ratify their contracts. He also had one of the worst district safety records in the entire UMW and opposed the militant miners' strikes of the last few years.

But what really torpedoed Patterson's candidacy were exposés in the final month of the campaign concerning his ties to the leadership of the United Steelworkers (USW). It was revealed that the Patterson campaign had accepted \$4,000 to \$5,000 from the USW tops. Far more important than this rather trifling amount were the political strings attached. In a May 5 Washington, D.C., press conference Patterson acknowledged that he would "definitely" consider merger with the USW.

Though the coal and steel industries are closely linked and joint strike action would strengthen both unions, the USW hacks are looking for an opportunity to

gobble up the much smaller miners union only in order to quash the strikes which frequently disrupt the supply of coal to the steel plants. The USW leaders are particularly concerned about the threat of a prolonged coal strike this winter.

The fiercely independent miners want no part of the no-strike deals of retiring Steelworkers president I.W. Abel or his flunky successor Lloyd McBride. When the revelations broke, Patterson feebly tried to deny his previous statements on merger, with little success. Miners began turning from Patterson in droves. Patterson won most of the southern districts but could not regain enough momentum to overtake Miller.

Keep the Government Out of the UMW!

Miller's victory, however, is far from secure. Patterson, who has the loyalty of

the bulk of the IEB and may strengthen his hand in continuing elections for IEB representatives, has indicated that he may appeal to the IEB to overturn the vote. While vote fraud is not a major issue (so far results have been challenged in only one small local), Patterson claims that decisions of the UMW tellers, charged with supervising the elections, caused his defeat.

The tellers ruled that Patterson's slate could not appear on the ballot as a unified group since he had not fielded candidates for every post. The tellers also overruled the IEB when it voted to knock one of Miller's candidates off the ballot in retaliation.

Two of Patterson's cohorts on the IEB, Frank Clements and his vice-presidential running mate Gene Mitchell, have indicated they will not support an IEB-ordered re-run. But Patterson may have enough support on the Board to order one anyway. Also, having filed five separate court suits against the elections prior to voting day, Patterson has prepared for a further court fight to overturn the elections.

No less than Miller, who relied on the Labor Department and courts to usher him into power in 1972, Patterson is quite willing to invite the bosses' government to dictate the union's course. After the devastating fiasco of the MFD and the strikebreaking court injunctions of the last five years, miners must not let the government again wreak havoc in their union: Labor Department and courts out of the UMW!

End of an Illusion

While Miller has won reelection, few UMW members still have the illusions which boosted him into power five years ago. Many miners once held high hopes that the victory of the MFD heralded a new era of militant and democratic union leadership. But the MFD, held together only by personal ambition and vague



UMWA L.U.1974

Earl Potter

Harlan County miners finally won union recognition in 1974 after 13-month strike in spite of Miller bureaucracy's refusal to aid struggle.

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