

## UNITA Collapses, South Africa Retreats

# MPLA Scores Victories in Angola

FEBRUARY 10—As we go to press, forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) have taken the inland city of Huambo, which since last November has served as official "capital" for the rival National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) and its sometime ally, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

According to the Associated Press, some 6,000 troops of the Soviet- and Cuban-backed MPLA closed in on Huambo from four directions as refugees streamed toward UNITA military headquarters in the town of Silva Porto, 90 miles to the east. All UNITA and FNLA troops had evacuated the city several days previously. State Department sources in Washington explained the fall of the capital of their Angolan puppets as due to "Soviet rockets and tanks."

The MPLA is continuing a multi-pronged offensive all along its southern front. Pressure is being stepped up against Luso, an important junction further east on the Benguela Railway, and MPLA forces are expected to capture the port of Lobito in a matter of days. In the north, troops of the FNLA are confined to a thin strip of territory along the border of Zaïre, the ex-Belgian Congo.

The FNLA's projected counter-offensive, relying on an influx of hundreds of white mercenaries, has not materialized. On February 3 MPLA political commissar Julio Almeida reported that his forces had beaten back an attempt by a column of white mercenaries to push southward from Maquela Do Zombo. Even more indicative of the FNLA's dire prospects are news reports from Kinshasa (capital of Zaïre) that 14 British "soldiers of fortune" were executed by fellow mercenaries for refusing to fight. Even these professional assassins have no stomach for a losing battle.

The South African army regulars who formed the backbone of anti-MPLA

operations in southern Angola have now pulled back from the front, reportedly to a defense line some 50-100 miles above the border with South West Africa (Namibia). Approximately 4,000-5,000 of Pretoria's troops are patrolling this buffer zone that stretches hundreds of miles east from the Atlantic Ocean to Zambia.

Last week South African defense minister Pieter Botha for the first time admitted the full extent of the invasion, saying that the buffer zone was necessary "for the security of our border and on account of the growing refugee problem. We are prepared to withdraw from Angola when we are satisfied that Angola won't be used to overrun the Ovambo with independent elements and refugees" (*Washington Post*, 4 February).

The Ovambo is the tribe inhabiting the northern part of South West Africa, a former German colony seized by South Africa in 1915. The Ovamboland district is now a "Bantustan" or reserve administered by traditional tribal chiefs under the tutelage of the white supremacist South African government. In the grand *apartheid* scheme of Premier Balthazar Vorster, Ovamboland is destined to achieve nominal independence as part of a cordon of black statelets under the economic and political heel of the South African jackboot.

While remaining in place to massively intervene in the Angolan war at any point, the South Africans are now concentrating on wiping out the MPLA-allied guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) who operate from Ovambo-populated regions of southern Angola. SWAPO is fighting to wrench all of mineral-rich South West Africa from Pretoria's mail-fisted grip.

### Guns For Hire

The FNLA and UNITA hoped to reinforce their crumbling defenses with a last-ditch infusion of hundreds of mercenary soldiers, both white and



MPLA soldiers with Soviet-supplied heavy anti-aircraft gun.

Stern

black. These killers for hire have captured headlines in the bourgeois media, which have romanticized the "soldiers of fortune" while the U.S. disclaims any role in their recruitment or financing.

Mercenaries have been involved in the Angolan war from the very beginning. According to an authoritative report prepared by Professor Sean Gervasi and released by the American Committee on Africa on December 19, the joint FNLA/UNITA column "responsible for the initial thrust against MPLA forces in southwestern Angola at the end of October" included "some 500 whites of South African, U.K., Portuguese and U.S. nationality" (our emphasis).

Gervasi also reported that some of the U.S. "mercenaries have come from regular [military] units by volunteering and that they leave behind them letters of resignation from the regular forces in case such letters should be needed. Regular commissioned and non-commissioned officers have been approaching enlisted men to ask whether they might be interested in volunteering." The January 5 *Christian Science Monitor* cited "sources close to" the CIA in reporting the presence in Angola of 300 American mercenaries trained by the CIA at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Meanwhile, in an effort to minimize the taint of using white guns for hire (having enough trouble already denying his reliance on white supremacist South Africa), UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has taken to procuring black mercenaries from the U.S. Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, has been publicly advertising for black Vietnam veterans to serve as

"medical technicians" with UNITA's forces. After a recent trip to Angola, however, Innis revealed the real meaning of his project: "The best assistance we can give Savimbi now is to send enough black patriots to chop up one of those Cuban units and put the fear of God in Castro."

With its cover blown and a Congressional insurgency against covert aid to the U.S./South African-led anti-Soviet coalition in Angola, the Ford administration has opted to shift the recruitment operation overseas, in particular to Britain. Last week, 128 mercenaries hired by the London-based Security Advisory Services (SAS), left Heathrow Airport en route to join the FNLA. The courier who transported \$84,000 in fresh U.S. hundred dollar bills to finance the deal told *Newsweek* (9 February): "It is an open secret that we are spending United States money for our recruitment of military advisers." Another British "military adviser" to the "pro-Western" Angolan forces told reporters that a total of 1,000 British mercenaries would be signed up the end of the month (*New York Times*, 3 February).

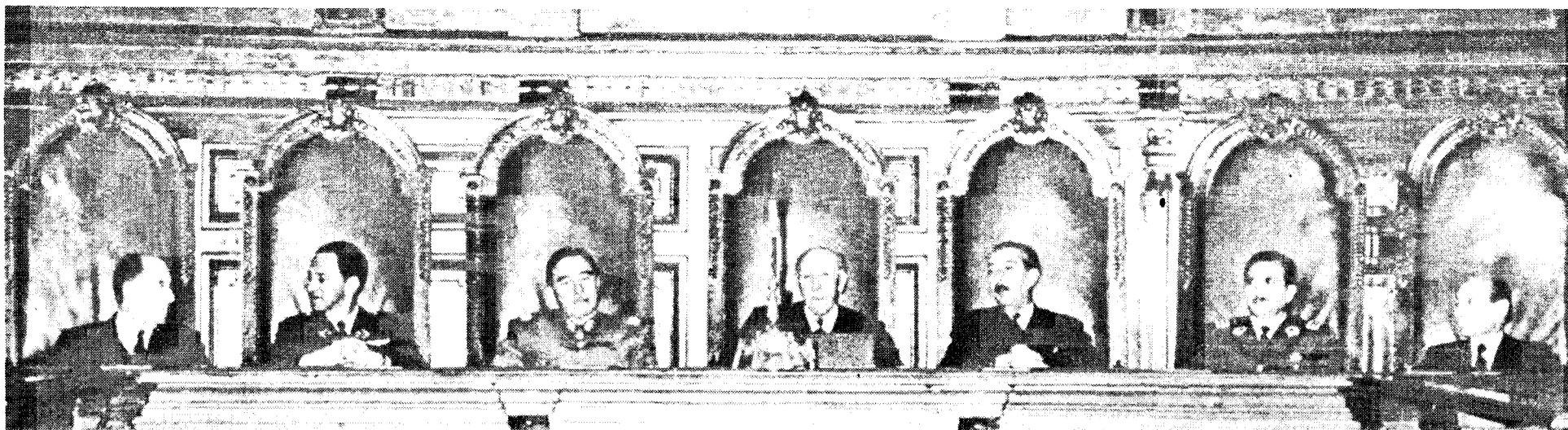
One SAS spokesman told an American correspondent that his group was dealing with Major James Leonard, listed as an "assistant army attaché" by the U.S. embassy in London. An embassy spokesman immediately denied the report (*Observer* [London], 1 February).

### Imperialist Killers

Suddenly, in a blatant attempt to hide the bloody carnage caused by its hired

*continued on page 9*

**Stalinist Goons vs. Revolutionaries at Angola Demos... 8**



Der Spiegel

The Chilean junta in 1973: Generals Gustavo Leigh and Augusto Pinochet are second and third from the left, respectively.

# Economic Disaster Causes Rifts in Chilean Junta

In recent weeks there has been a rash of reports in leading Western newspapers to the effect that Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet is on his way out. A 10-16 January *Economist* article was headlined, "He's failed, but won't get out," and the *New York Times* (25 January) noted that "Within the country, General Pinochet stands dangerously isolated."

Most spectacular of all the reports was the revelation in the 5 January *Sunday Times* (London) that ten top Chilean generals had signed an ultimatum to Pinochet demanding his resignation as president by March. They also demanded the dissolution of DINA—the all-powerful secret police which Pinochet has turned into his private preserve—and a change in the disastrous economic policies which have caused massive misery and starvation among the poor and working people of Chile. Increasingly vocal criticism is being raised by even the most conservative sectors in Chile.

While all news reports of the generals' ultimatum have been banned in Chile, public denials have been issued for foreign consumption. The most emphatic came from General Gustavo Leigh, the man who publicly announced he would "veto" any action by Pinochet of which he disapproved and who last summer openly criticized the government's economic "shock" program. Leigh, purported to be the brains behind the 1973 coup which overthrew Allende's Popular Unity government, claimed disingenuously that "Among the members of the government junta there reigns the most absolute frankness. There exists not the least difference among us" (*Le Monde*, 9 January). Yet all the "well-informed" international news media indicated Leigh as one of the signers of the ultimatum, and the reported source for the story in the London *Times*, the British Ambassador to Chile, mentioned Leigh's name several times in connection with the document.

Although there is apparently a well-orchestrated campaign afoot to oust Pinochet and perhaps ease up slightly on his draconian economic starvation policies, it is certainly not intended to remove the iron grip of the junta on the battered Chilean masses. Even the *New York Times* realizes that the generals who were responsible for the bloody 1973 coup are not about to accept a democratic government and quickly end up in the dock "like the Greek colonels." Indeed, so bloodthirsty were these butchers in their treatment of the Chilean workers and peasants that many of them would probably never

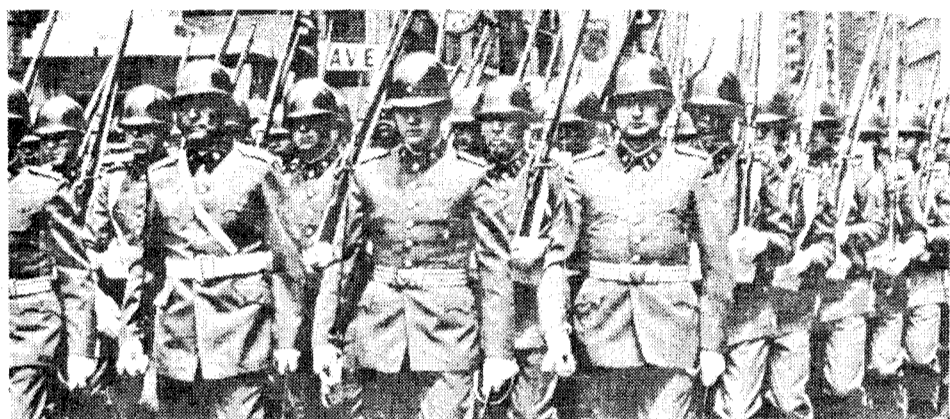
even make it to their "day in court."

The opponents of Pinochet among the top officers are no democrats. General Leigh was the one who said, "we want to cancel the last fifty years of Chilean history." Another, General Arellano Stark, the army chief of staff whose resignation was forced last month, was the commander of Santiago on 11 September 1973, and personally directed the murder of literally thousands of leftists and union leaders in the first days after the coup.

In an attempt to get a potential adversary out of the country, Pinochet in October had "offered" Arellano the post of ambassador to Spain. Arellano refused. However, when rumors reached Santiago of a conspiracy to oust Pinochet and replace him with a triumvirate of Arellano, Admiral Horacio Justiniano and Air Force General José Berdichevsky, the nervous president demanded Arellano's resignation. As it turned out, Arellano made a trip to Spain anyway—accompanying Pinochet to the coronation of Juan Carlos on November 22 (*Le Monde*, 11-12 January). It is an indication of the shakiness of the regime that Pinochet could not leave the head of his army behind for fear of a palace coup.

Of the original members of the military junta that overthrew the Popular Unity (UP) regime, Arellano is ousted; General Oscar Bonilla, who was known as a populist, died in a helicopter "accident"; and General Leigh and others are now in opposition to Pinochet. Meanwhile no prominent civilian politician is willing to lend his support to the widely hated regime. Recently, former president Eduardo Frei Montalva refused to join Pinochet's "Council of State," a supposed advisory body to be made up of "elder statesmen." To have accepted would be the political kiss of death in the future.

Frei last month published a booklet condemning the pervasive official violations of civil rights as well as torture and assassination of the junta's enemies. Only a few thousand copies were printed in defiance of the censors, by a Catholic publishing house in Santiago. While Frei has in the past occasionally lamented the "excesses" of the junta, he was the main civilian politician who worked to bring about and then supported the 1973 coup. Now he accuses the junta of wanting to establish in Chile "a form of nationalism with many totalitarian characteristics" (*New York Times*, 25 January). In response to the publication of the book, Radio Balmain, the station of Frei's Christian Democratic Party, was temporarily closed down for broadcasting supposed-



Vida Mundial

Pinochet's army marching through the streets of Santiago.

ly anti-patriotic reports. All printed commentary on the book was banned by Pinochet.

## Ruinous Economic Policies

The dissension among the reactionary butchers of Chile's junta has been fed by Pinochet's personal thirst for total power—for instance, his use of DINA to spy not only on the "reds" but on other members of the junta as well. (Walter Rauff, a Nazi war criminal, is influential in the running of the agency, and other sectors of the government are resisting DINA's effort to supplant all police and intelligence agencies in Chile.)

Arbitrary terror is only part of Pinochet's policy of oppression. An equally important aspect is the disastrous economic program initiated by "the Chicago boys," a group of right-wing economists around University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman (see "Protest Barbaric Chilean Junta's Collaborators!" *Young Spartacus* No. 36, October 1975). This academic pimp for the Chilean butchers advocates fighting inflation with a "cold turkey" policy of drastically impoverishing the masses. The plan accepts an unemployment rate officially put at 16 percent but actually much higher. Industrial production is down 22-25 percent from a year ago according to the *Wall Street Journal* (22 January) and, as an indication that prospects for rapid recovery are dim, the dollar value of Chile's copper exports fell by 40 percent last year. Taking into account that the real value of the dollar itself also fell, this is a disaster for the Chilean economy, which is heavily dependent on copper sales.

All this was accepted as part of the "shock treatment," but even government statistics show that the treatment has not curbed inflation at all: instead, consumer prices rose by an official 340.7 percent in 1975, the highest rate of inflation in the world. On January 28 Chile devalued the peso for the third time since January 1, making a total decline of 11 percent this year alone! And still Milton Friedman "optimistically" counsels patience: "If they can hold on for a few more months, I have great confidence you'll see some good

things from this economy" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 November)!

Recently it was reported (in *Business Week* of 12 January) that protégés of Friedman were connected with covert CIA operations in Chile during 1973, and witnesses testifying before a Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities have disclosed that students of Friedman received CIA money for "economic research" projects for Pinochet.

In an attempt to dig itself out of near bankruptcy Chile has sought international aid, but with little success. The imperialists may have wanted to get rid of the "Marxist" Allende, but they are still interested in their profits. Last month the International Monetary Fund held up a scheduled \$33 million loan to Chile, and while the U.S. is planning a \$77 million grant in 1976, \$55 million of it is going for food relief. As to foreign investments, so far the total since the coup is less than the amount of money spent by the U.S. to topple Allende!

But if the imperialists are not being generous to Chile, there is always another source: "People's China" is rushing to assist the butchers of the Chilean workers with both military and economic aid. In an interview between Pinochet and C.L. Sulzberger published in the 29 November *New York Times*, the journalist asked what truth there was to the rumor that "Chile was discussing with Peking a loan of \$58 million to aid this economy on the brink of collapse." "To my great surprise," Sulzberger went on, "he confirmed the rumor." Earlier, Agence France Presse reported that a Chilean trade delegation was welcomed in Peking and an arms deal was concluded in which the junta would buy Chinese-made small arms and munitions.

China's criminal actions in Chile started immediately after the coup when the Chinese Embassy closed its door to the thousands of leftists who were desperately asking for asylum. On October 11 of that year, the Peking authorities withdrew accreditation from Armando Uribe, who had been the ambassador to China from the Allende

continued on page 11

# Editorial Notes

## Is There Life After Birth? RMOC Surfaces in New York

FEBRUARY 7—A forum held in New York City last night on the subject of "Portugal, Angola and the World Revolution" marked the public political debut of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC), which subtiles itself "supporters of the Fourth International."

Some 50 people attended the meeting. The audience was composed of the former New York area IT (Internationalist Tendency, expelled from the Socialist Workers Party on 4 July 1974), supporters of the Marxist Education Collective around former SWPer Murray Weiss, supporters of the Spartacist League and miscellaneous curious leftists.

Ernest Liane, billed as the main speaker for the RMOC and "an activist of the Chilean left," spoke for about ten minutes; visibly sick, he couldn't continue his presentation and sat down. None of the "supporters of the Fourth International" present bothered to take his time to introduce the RMOC and explain what it stood for. The other featured speakers were Carl Feingold, "recently returned from Portugal," who explicitly declined to present anything resembling a general political outlook ("I'll leave the world revolution to the representatives of the Fourth International"), and a spokesman for the Marxist Education Collective.

Studied political naiveté was the tack taken by the RMOC during the discussion period, dominated by critical questions from Spartacist supporters. In response to a question as to why the supposed "Fourth International" remains in a rotten bloc with the reformist SWP, the meeting's chairman Hedda Garza finally replied that "the Fourth International has so many sections in so many different countries, it's hard to keep it all together, so one must be patient." Another question, about the vile slanders currently being leveled by Gerry Healy and his "International Committee" against the SWP's Joseph Hansen, was met with embarrassed silence.

The RMOC, "founded in Baltimore in October," is a fragment of the former Internationalist Tendency which reluctantly opted for launching a public grouping in the hope of eventually obtaining the franchise of its international mentors, the United Secretariat of the "Fourth International" (Usec). It consists of the New York and Houston ITs in alliance with the Los Angeles

Socialist Union of Milt Zaslow, which sought in vain to gain entrance to the SWP prior to the IT expulsion.

Another IT fragment, around John Barzman, is continuing the suicidal course counseled by Usec leader Ernest Mandel and is being "reintegrated" into the SWP as discredited and politically compromised individuals. Much of the IT, however, will not be reconstituted either inside or outside the SWP. As a result of the cynical maneuverings of the Usec majority, which has refused to break politically with the SWP despite years of factional squabbling and major splits in numerous countries, the IT squandered its supporters, leaving many to fall victim to apolitical demoralization and disorientation. Former IT leader Bill Massey has defected to Sam Marcy's Youth Against War and Fascism, which he apparently believes is the "new mass vanguard" for which the Usec has been searching for years.

At the RMOC forum, a speaker from the floor explained that Leon Trotsky's Fourth International was politically destroyed in the 1950's by Pabloism, a revisionist current characterized by a liquidationist methodology which sees the role of revolutionists as pushing other forces (Stalinism, petty-bourgeois nationalism) to the left rather than as putting forward an independent proletarian program. He showed how the methodology of the RMOC/Usec is precisely the same: having refused to characterize the Chilean Unidad Popular of Allende as a popular front, having given political support to the MFA's capitalist "fifth government" in Portugal, the RMOC/Usec now cheerleads for the nationalist MPLA in Angola.

Ironically, the oppositional speaker, now a supporter of the Spartacist League, had been bureaucratically expelled from the IT for putting forward a motion that the IT should break from the SWP, which was no longer a revolutionary party. It is no wonder that the RMOC is reticent about its roots and prefers to present itself as having been born yesterday.

## Bay Area Anti-Kissinger March

SAN FRANCISCO, February 4—Imperialist warmonger Henry Kissinger came to town yesterday and was met by an army of Secret Service agents and more than 800 protesters. He spoke to the World Affairs Council, the same crowd of local bigwigs who heard Portuguese right-winger General Spínola in December, where the *San Francisco Examiner* (4 February) reported the secretary of state as "Saying the Angolan battle could have been won had not Congress denied the necessary funds for the U.S. to give aid to the pro-West factions...." Outside, the demonstrators chanted "U.S. Out of Angola!"

The rally was a carbon copy of numerous social-patriotic anti-Vietnam War rallies during the late 1960's, complete with a prayerful taped message from the late Martin Luther King, Jr. ("a plea for my beloved country"). Although many of the militants doubtless wished to *smash* the U.S. power play in Angola, the reformist organizers of the march raised only those demands acceptable to liberal "doves": "Jobs Not War" and "Recognition and Support of the People's Republic of Angola," led by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

While covert U.S. military supplies and mercenaries continue to prop up the imperialist puppets, an Angola Solidari-



San Francisco

WV Photo

ty Coalition leaflet agreed with Kissinger that "Congress has been forced to cut off all direct and indirect military aid to Angola"! It also called for reducing (but not eliminating) the U.S. war budget "to provide jobs and needed social services." No mention was made of independent working-class action, much less "divisive" topics such as the need for proletarian revolution in southern Africa and the U.S.

In contrast to this liberal reformist pabulum, the Spartacist League (SL) raised hard-hitting anti-imperialist and class-struggle demands. Some 40 militants marched behind an SL sign calling for "Military Victory to MPLA Against Imperialist-Led Forces." A sign which drew the particular ire of the Coalition's "security squad" was one reading "No Confidence in the MPLA. For Workers Revolution in Angola!" In addition, members of the Committee for a Militant UAW carried placards calling for "Labor Strikes Against Imperialist Intervention." ILWU oppositionists (supporters of the *Longshore Militant* and *Warehouse Militant*) called for "hot-cargoing" South African goods and the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA called for driving the imperialists out of Angola.

Throughout the march, the SL supporters and militant unionists were repeatedly shoved and punched by Solidarity Committee goons, who tried to keep all criticism of the MPLA from "contaminating" the rest of the demonstration. However, the well-disciplined contingent more than adequately defended itself, successfully maintaining its position in the line of march and repelling the attackers who, as one SLer remarked, "won't be so eager to volun-

teer for that kind of job again."

After the crowd dispersed, some mouse-like Maoists came out to hold their own pathetic "anti-imperialist" rallies. The Revolutionary Student Brigade attracted about 30 people, chanting innocuous apolitical rhymes such as "Kissinger you bum, put you on the run" and head-in-the-sand banalities like "Angola for the Angolans!" It also trotted out the slanderous equation of the Soviet deformed workers state with American imperialism: "Angola: US-USSR Cause of the Civil War." The "true-blue" Maoists of the OL were, if anything, even more shameless in their attacks on the USSR ("the No. 1 enemy"), choosing the Russian consulate as the site for a meager picket line of 20.

Meanwhile, across the Bay in Oakland, the SWP was holding a forum on Angola, featuring its "Africa expert" Tony Thomas. Exhorting the small audience to build a "mass movement demanding U.S. Out of Angola Now!" the SWP didn't bother to send a contingent to the largest Angola rally thus far. Its lack of seriousness was further demonstrated when Thomas, speaking today before a pro-MPLA audience at the University of California (Berkeley), opportunistically proclaimed: "Insofar as the MPLA fights against South African military intervention and American mercenaries, of course anybody would support them in what's positive in what they do"! Anybody but the SWP, that is. While Thomas is squirming through this sticky wicket, these fake-Trotskyists are still sitting on the fence in the war between U.S./South African-led forces and the Soviet- and Cuban-backed MPLA!

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman),  
Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory),  
Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff),  
Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster  
(West Coast)

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

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

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

includes SPARTACIST

- Enclosed is \$5 for 48 issues (1 year)  
 Enclosed is \$2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

## No Skilled Trades Breakaway!

# UAW Must Strike for Jobs for All!

The United Auto Workers (UAW) Skilled Trades Conference, to be held in Detroit February 17-19, should be a somewhat less sedate affair than last month's Production Workers Conference. At that meeting the Woodcock bureaucracy excluded any discussion of economic bargaining issues and easily obtained approval for its program from the tame delegates, most of whom were ranking local union officials.

Particularly since the 1973 contract sellout, discontent among UAW skilled tradesmen has increased sharply. That November, skilled trades units at Ford Motor Co. exploded in anger when it was learned that union vice-president Ken Bannon had signed a secret agreement with the company for work turned down under the "voluntary overtime" agreement to be contracted out to non-UAW members. Skilled trades workers turned down the contract by a margin of four to one.

According to a union provision for separate voting on the contract by skilled and production workers, the UAW leadership should have immediately called a strike against Ford. This was doubly true since, as it was later revealed, production workers had also voted down the contract. Instead, fearful of a repeat of the wildcats which swept Detroit auto in August 1973, the bureaucracy stopped reporting vote totals and ordered unit-by-unit revotes in recalcitrant locals until it finally produced a phony "majority" for the settlement. Tension was particularly high in the key River Rouge Local 600, where a pistol was reportedly pulled on a member of the executive board during a meeting. At the Michigan Casting Center, the unit president shot a militant skilled tradesman after an argument over the contract.

The skilled workers subsequently appealed their right to veto the contract to the Public Review Board, an "independent" body provided for by the UAW constitution for appeals by the members against their officials. The "independents" on the board include businessmen, and neither they nor the bureaucrats will ever support militants on a question of striking the companies. Such class-collaborationist boards cannot defend the membership and are a threat to the class independence of the unions—the Review Board should be abolished!

### Organized Discontent in the Skilled Trades

Opposition to the union leadership in the skilled trades began well before the 1973 blow-up. Many of today's older skilled workers are veterans of the organizing and early struggles of the UAW, and the heritage of that experience has left its imprint on the craftsmen. As far back as 1958, Reuther abolished the Greater Detroit Skilled Trades Council because it went against official policy. The contract veto provision was a concession to skilled trades wage militancy in the mid-1960's and an attempt to head off a breakaway movement. Many of the leaders of the reformist United National Caucus (UNC), like Pete Kelley and Al Gardner, got their training as oppositionists in the skilled trades \$1-an-hour increase movement during 1966-67.

Since 1973 agitation against the Woodcock leadership has mushroomed among UAW craftsmen. In many plants local skilled trades caucuses have arisen. Recently, for example, at the Ford

Rouge complex in Detroit a group called Separate Program for a League of Industrial Trades (SPLIT) has arisen in opposition to the pro-International policies of Rick Martinez, head of the Skilled Trades, Maintenance and Construction unit at the plant. Although SPLIT's program is somewhat ambiguous, and seems oriented to reforms giving tradesmen a larger voice in UAW affairs, its initials are indicative of a growing sentiment among skilled auto workers.

On a national level there are two groups actively organizing skilled tradesmen against the Woodcock regime. One is the Independent Society of Skilled Craftsmen (ISSC). The ISSC is an independent craft union with a notoriously reactionary leadership and is currently trying to have the NLRB decertify the UAW as bargaining agent for the tradesmen. Although it is generally known that contracts negotiated by the ISSC are markedly inferior to those of the UAW, the craft union has received support from many UAW members trying to put pressure on Woodcock. It is significant that the president of Local 600, Mike Rinaldi, devoted the entire front page of the 19 January issue of *Ford Facts*, the Local's newspaper, to warning workers that if the ISSC is successful at Rouge it would achieve the necessary 30 percent support to force a Labor Board-ordered nationwide de-certification election for UAW craftsmen.

Also organizing discontented skilled auto workers is the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), which claims the support of some 5,000 UAW members. The ISTC is essentially a pressure group on the UAW bureaucra-

cy. While the ISTC correctly reaffirms the need to maintain the UAW as an industrial union representing both skilled and unskilled workers, and is verbally committed to uniting with production workers, it capitulates to craft union and protectionist impulses.

### Row Over Subcontracting

One of the key problems for the skilled trades is subcontracting. In order to cut costs, UAW-contract companies frequently farm out work to various job shops (both union and non-union), particularly in the tool and die trade. At the same time, non-UAW building trades workers are often utilized for on-plant construction. These practices have undercut the job security of UAW tradesmen. The Coalition for a Good Contract, a sub-reformist opportunist bloc set up by the UNC and recently joined by the ISTC, demands that "all sub-contracting must be prohibited while layoffs are in effect."

Tradesmen must be protected from the very real threat to their employment and conditions posed by subcontracting. Frequently outside building workers are used to do jobs that have traditionally been done by UAW maintenance and construction workers. UAW locals must have the right to strike against these jurisdictional violations. The existing contract does provide the right to strike over this issue. However, the International must grant prior approval to such actions, and this restriction which has hampered any effective response to company attacks must be abolished.

Furthermore, the International's failure to organize the unorganized has only encouraged the companies to

contract work out to scab shops. A number of tool and die shops have sprouted up in the Detroit area which have made large profits through the use of cheap, non-union labor. Organizing drives should be launched at these companies, demanding that UAW pay and benefit scales be met; were such a campaign backed up by the refusal of the organized UAW workers to handle scab tool and die products, it would be relatively easy to win UAW recognition at these shops. Woodcock has proven not only unwilling to launch such a struggle in tool and die, but he has allowed the big auto companies themselves to set up non-UAW factories. Thus, *General Motors is currently operating five non-union plants in the South!*

Behind the "opposition to subcontracting" of the ISTC leadership lies a real job-trusting impulse, aimed at simply redistributing the existing work (and unemployment)—a position which they carry to the extreme of fomenting squabbles within the UAW itself. In February 1975, when Ford awarded a new contract for tool and die work to a Budd Corporation plant in Philadelphia, Al Gardner, chairman of the ISTC and president of Local 600's tool and die unit, led a protest campaign demanding, "Ford Work for Ford Workers!" However, as he was well aware, the Budd workers Gardner wanted to deprive of jobs were fellow members of the UAW! Gardner took this one step further when he subsequently ran for re-election (and lost) with a campaign calling for "Jobs for American workers."

This is the same protectionist program endorsed by the Woodcock bureaucracy itself: restrictions of foreign car imports and demands that auto manufacturers transfer their production to the U.S. from abroad. This program only makes other workers the scapegoat for the unemployment of UAW members, and does not attack the real enemy—the capitalists.

Subcontracting is a particularly acute question for skilled tradesmen because of the high rate of unemployment. It is the economic crisis that enables non-union shops to recruit skilled workers at relatively low wages. UAW tradesmen must strike against fresh layoffs due to subcontracting (and other causes), but to be effective these strikes must be linked to the actions of production workers, whose ranks have also been decimated by unemployment. Only a powerful mobilization of all automobile workers, culminating in an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, can provide a solution to unemployment. This struggle, combined with a campaign to organize the unorganized, could provide jobs at union conditions for all workers in the industry.

### Veto Rights Over the Contract?

A second fundamental defect in the ISTC program is its demand for restoration of veto rights over the contract for skilled tradesmen. In 1973 the Spartacist League supported the demands of Ford tradesmen that the UAW International call a strike when they voted down the contract. Not only did Woodcock & Co. have no right to unilaterally set aside established union policy, but the contract itself was a total sellout. On the other hand, a veto right over the contract for any particular section of the membership is divisive. Strikes should only be authorized by a



Free Press Lippincott

Incensed by Woodcock's gross sellout, the skilled trades spearheaded an opposition movement within the UAW against the 1973 contract.

majority vote of the affected membership. Giving different sections of the union special veto rights will only lead to competition among these sectors and a further weakening of industrial unionism.

An industrial union like the UAW must maintain a certain balance between the skilled and non-skilled workers. It would be utopian to demand equal pay for tradesmen and production workers. However, in many industries there is a wide disparity between craft and non-craft labor, and militant unionists would strive to narrow the gap between the two sectors. Even in industries where the differential is not nearly so drastic, as in auto, a flat wage increase applying equally to all union members is preferable to a percentage increase, which widens the gap.

A contract veto right given to the skilled trades undermines the authority of the overall membership to determine relative wages and overall benefits of trades and production workers. Similarly, it would be undemocratic for skilled craftsmen—with their rather narrow racial and social composition—to exercise veto power over contract provisions relating to skilled trades apprenticeship programs.

The UAW skilled tradesmen are a contradictory grouping. On the one hand, they are militant around certain economic issues; on the other hand, they tend to be older, overwhelmingly white and more conservative than production workers, and see their interests as more in line with non-UAW craftsmen. During the present period this tendency is accentuated, with legitimate resentment against the union bureaucracy growing over into resentment against the UAW itself.

Historically, craft and other divisions within the working class assert themselves most strongly at ebb periods in the class struggle. The apparent conflicts between skilled and production workers would quickly evaporate during a major class offensive against the capitalists. Thus all UAW members have a common interest in putting an end to speed-up and overwork, wage and pension erosion due to inflation, and unemployment. Even the special needs of skilled workers can only be realized in common struggle with the production workers. The Woodcock regime, whose "strategy" is to beg crumbs from the capitalists and their government, is a roadblock in the way of achieving these aims.

On the crucial question of job security—a major issue for UAW members in the upcoming contract—Woodcock only demands that the companies increase their contributions to the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) by a few cents an hour. This is wholly inadequate to prevent the SUB funds from bankrupting themselves at the first sharp economic downturn, just as they did last year in GM and Chrysler. Such an approach does not fight unemployment—it accepts the layoffs, seeking only to moderate their impact.

### For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The existing national opposition groups in the UAW are just as impotent as the present misleadership. The Coalition for a Good Contract (including UNC and ISTC) claims to support a shorter workweek to fight unemployment. However, at the Production Workers Conference, Bob Weisman, president of Local 122 and a leader of the Coalition, distributed a leaflet with a scheme to reduce the workweek by only two hours a week each year! Weisman claimed that such a "phased" approach would enable the companies to absorb the increased labor costs.

This is obviously deceitful. The companies will never willingly grant a demand like the sliding scale of hours, historically expressed in the UAW with the slogan: "30 hours work for 40 hours

*continued on page 9*

## "Hard Times Conference" in Chicago

# Weekend of the Living Dead

CHICAGO—The Hard Times Conference held here over the January 30-February 1 weekend was a witches' sabbath of old New Leftism. Initiated by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (the Weather overground) and heavily publicized by Sam Marcy's Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and other left groups, the conference drew about 2,000, consisting mainly of aging New Left leftovers, soft-core Mao enthusiasts and guilty liberals.

The main sponsors of the conference were actually indifferent to its supposed aim. The proceedings were one big hustle, each group primarily interested in recruiting to its campaign of the moment and/or its associated front groups. The PSP was pushing its July 4 "Bicentennial Without Colonies" extravaganza; YAWF was building its March on Washington for Jobs, cheer-leading for the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and recruiting to its union-busting, "community control" Parents Against Racist Education. Of the sponsoring groups, only the American Indian Movement and its spokesman Vernon Bellecourt displayed a modicum of dignity and integrity; the rest approached the conference with the attitude of used-car salesmen.

### Somewhere to the Right of Hubert Humphrey

The ostensible purpose of the confab was to develop a program to fight "hard times"—the current depression—codified in a "Bill of Rights." This laundry list of ridiculously elaborate schemes ran from special elevators and ramps for wheelchairs at workplaces to cheaper (not even free!) food stamps. The central axis of the "Bill of Rights" was "useful jobs for all at a living wage and a decent income for all who are unable to work."

In criticizing the reformist slogan of a "living"/"decent" wage/income, a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) leaflet to the conference recalled Karl Marx's 1866 dictum: "Instead of the conservative motto: 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banners the revolutionary watchword: 'Abolition of the wages system!'" As to full employment, the leaflet pointed out:

"Even Hubert Humphrey recognizes that government intervention through some kind of economic planning is necessary to achieve that end, but not the organizers of this conference. Even the U.S. government theoretically supports the concept of 'jobs for all,' and in fact has had a full employment act on the books since 1946."

During the entire two days only about 15 minutes (!) was allowed to the participants for debating the supposed purpose of the conference, in the form of



Ed Jarvis speaks for Spartacist League at Hard Times Conference.

two speakers for and two against the preamble to the "Bill of Rights." Mark Laughton, SL supporter, was the only speaker able to denounce the conference for its stupid liberal reformism, counterposing the Leninist/Trotskyist program of proletarian revolution as the only solution to global depression. In the vote on the preamble a few largely black, left-critical Maoist groups (such as the Detroit Marxist-Leninist Collective) joined with the SL/SYL in voting against.

### Angola—Nationalism vs. Communism

In general, YAWF provided much of the organizational muscle at the conference. The strong presence of the Marcyites is closely related to their stagnation in recent years: of all the ostensibly Marxist tendencies which have spanned the period since the late 1960's, they have been the most wedded



Jennifer Dohrn of Prairie Fire.

to polyvanguardism and vicarious "Third Worldist" nationalism. Unable since the collapse of the antiwar movement to attract militants with its almost apolitical activism, YAWF hoped the Hard Times Conference could reheat the stale New Left brew.

One of the sharpest debates of the weekend took place in the YAWF-dominated workshop on Angola. The Marcyites presented a motion, rivaling the *Iliad* in length, which celebrated the MPLA as liberators of the Angolan people. The SL/SYL presented the Leninist position on bourgeois nationalism in the colonial world and put forward a counter-motion:

"This conference gives military support to the MPLA against the U.S./South African-led forces, recognizing that the MPLA is a bourgeois-nationalist anti-working-class party."

The philistine anti-communist tailism of YAWF came clearly to the fore when

one of its members said, in effect, that it didn't matter what the MPLA was since they were fighting imperialism and that was all that mattered.

Comic relief was provided by Andrew Pulley, prominent spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the only SWPer in evidence. Pulley argued that one could build a "mass U.S. Out of Angola movement" only by refusing to take sides in the war there. In an act of despicable political cowardice, Pulley left the meeting room just before the vote on counterposed YAWF and Spartacist positions.

### Running Amok

The amorphous hodgepodge of aging hippies was incapable of being hard in anything—even in its liberal reformism—and the conference soon turned into an orgy of white guilt-tripping. On the morning of the second day, workshops were suddenly informed that the conference had not fought racism and must now do so.

In order to avoid controversy, the sponsoring organizations had ducked the issue of black nationalism in the "Bill of Rights" while playing up the oppression of Puerto Ricans and American Indians. They paid dearly for this tactical error. Led by the Republic of New Africa (RNA), which had no more than ten people present, the nationalists slapped together a black caucus which denounced the "Bill of Rights" as chauvinist and demanded that the conference support a provisional government of a black nation in "Cush district, Mississippi." (The RNA had in the past demanded all of Mississippi, but in line with the pervasive minimalism of the conference lowered its asking price to a single district!)

The conference organizers announced they were scrapping the "Bill of Rights" and placed the plenary session in the hands of the black caucus, which let forth a torrent of unrestrained race-baiting. Not only were the white participants savaged for their alleged chauvinism, but even the Puerto Ricans and Indians were castigated for having earlier upstaged blacks as the highlighted oppressed minorities. While the most serious elements (black as well as white) coming out of New Left polyvanguardism have since broken with black nationalism, the participants in this conference were, in the main, precisely those who since the 1960's had learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In the face of the black caucus assault, the fragile conference leadership collapsed. Even though the Marcyites do not support the "black nation" position, their political cowardice permitted the black nationalists to wreck the conference. The rest of the event was bureaucratized anarchy.

After endless demagogic speeches, the audience became restless to express

*continued on page 9*

## Dissident Plyushch Freed

# Stop Stalinist "Psychiatric" Torture in USSR!

Following a widely publicized international campaign which ultimately encompassed even the French Communist Party (PCF), dissident Soviet mathematician Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch was released last January 8 from the psychiatric torture center where he had been imprisoned for three years. Permitted to emigrate by the Russian authorities, Plyushch held his first news conference in Paris on February 3, where he declared that "the savage persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union is a shameful taint on the bright ideals of Communism" (*New York Times*, 4 February).

The persecuted socialist militant said there were at least 60 other political prisoners among the inmates at Dnepropetrovsk special mental hospital. He also called for international pressure to free Vladimir Bukovsky, a dissident writer jailed in 1973 for exposing the scandalous treatment of political prisoners in Russian mental institutions; Mustafa Djerjilev, a leader of the Crimean Tatars who has been on a hunger strike for 31 weeks; and Vladimir Moroz, a leftist Ukrainian historian. Plyushch remarked that (as in the 1930's) the Stalinist jailers use "particularly cruel tactics against Marxist dissidents."

Although his case had become something of a cause célèbre in Europe, due largely to the efforts of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), the U.S. public is far more familiar with emigré dissidents such as Solzhenitsyn, Chalidze, Litvinov and Galich, who have become rabid anti-Communists and are openly working for anti-Soviet forces. The bourgeois press prefers to feature these pro-capitalist apologists; only the vigorous efforts of the workers movement will bring to public attention the tragic plight of those who are persecuted, jailed and tortured for attempting to defend Marxism against its cynical perversion by the privileged bureaucracy which monopolizes political power in the USSR.

While most Western observers tend to associate the dissident movement with various Moscow liberals, it began earlier in the Ukraine, traditionally the most volatile and political of the USSR's constituent republics. Even during the Khrushchev "thaw," Ukrainian dissident socialists were being put to death. In the 1960's, the repressions in the Ukraine were more massive in scope and less publicized than those in Russia. In August 1965 some 25 intellectuals were arrested in several Ukrainian cities and hundreds of other citizens were interrogated. The major figures of the Ukrainian dissident movement, such as Dzyuba, began their political careers by protesting these repressions.

The Ukrainian dissident movement was much larger and more proletarian in composition than its mostly petty-bourgeois Russian counterpart, and was more vigorously suppressed. It has been estimated that Ukrainians com-

prise 60 to 70 percent of all political prisoners in Mordovia, a region bordering Rumania with a large number of prison camps. The main documents of the Ukrainian *samvydav* (clandestine "self-publishing") reveal a relatively leftist political profile. For example, *Ukrainsky Visnyk* ("Ukrainian Herald"), the equivalent of the well-known Russian "Chronicle of Current Events," declared in its statement of principles that it "will not reproduce documents... which are anti-Soviet, that is, which repudiate the democratically elected Soviets as a form of citizen participation in governing the state, or anti-communist, that is, which reject the entire Communist ideology as such" (reprinted in *Samizdat*, 1974). According to Plyushch's wife, the editors of the *Ukrainsky Visnyk* were friends of the Plyushch family (*Le Monde*, 13 January).

### "The Most Dangerous Patient"

Plyushch told the Paris press conference that he was considered "the most



Mass rally in support of Plyushch at the Mutualité in Paris last October.

dangerous patient in the hospital." It is not difficult to understand why. An examination of the career and opinions of this man, who forsook a comfortable and promising existence as a scientist in order to protest the anti-democratic arbitrariness of the Soviet Union's ruling political elite, demonstrates why this avowed Marxist was considered more of a danger than criminally insane rapists and murderers with whom he was incarcerated.

The son of a soldier who was killed in action in the early part of World War II, Plyushch studied physics and mathematics at universities in Odessa and Kiev. Until 1968 he was a member of the Cybernetics Institute of the Academy of Sciences in the Ukraine. It was in 1968 that he first became politically active, signing—along with 138 others—a civil-libertarian petition addressed to Russian leaders Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny which protested the 1965-66 trials in the Ukraine:

"We call upon you to exert your authority and influence so that the



Leonid Plyushch

courts and the prosecution adhere strictly to Soviet law, and that difficulties and disagreements which appear in our socio-political life be solved in the realm of ideas and not fall under the jurisdiction of the prosecution or state security organs."

At the same time, he became a member of the Moscow-based Initiative Group, an umbrella formation with a civil-libertarian orientation including Sakharov, Chalidze and Pyotr Yakir, which was later broken up by the KGB secret police.

Plyushch soon distinguished himself from his liberal and anti-Marxist colleagues by refusing to renounce the Leninist tradition. In a letter of March 1968 naively directed to the editors of *Komsomol'skaya Pravda*, Plyushch elaborated this analysis:

"Alas, the time is past when the Bolsheviks proudly proclaimed: 'We do not fear the truth, because it works for us.' Their bastard heirs (the legitimate heirs were exterminated in the Stalinist

prisons of Beria), the Thermidorians of October, fear the truth....

"I accuse those who do not know and do not want to know what happened and what is happening in our country. Raskolnikov [liquidated by Stalin] wrote, in his letter to Stalin, that the people would condemn him for everything he has done with our revolution. I hope that the time will come when Stalin and his lackeys will be judged according to the laws of our country...."

—*Informations Ouvrières*, 23-30 October 1975

As a result of this letter (which was, of course, not printed), Plyushch was dismissed from his position at the Cybernetics Institute. He was arrested in January 1972. His wife Tatiana (who does not share her husband's views) was dismissed from her position at the Ministry of Education.

In May, Plyushch was sent to the notorious Serbsky Institute outside Moscow and recommended for psychiatric care. (There he was "examined" by the same trio of "experts" who two years earlier had treated the Soviet biologist

Zhores Medvedev, brother of the historian Roy, with the barbaric methods described in his book, *A Case of Madness*.) In January 1973, the dissident mathematician's trial began in Kiev. Plyushch—who was not allowed to attend his own trial (!)—was sentenced to confinement in a psychiatric detention center. One of the judges at the trial reportedly remarked, "Plyushch is as crazy as Grigorenko" (*Bulletin of the Committee for the Immediate Liberation of Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe*, No. 10, June 1974).

Drugged and tortured, Plyushch apparently retreated from his radical ideas. According to a commission headed by KGB doctor Snezhnevsky, he underwent a "transformation of ideas concerning reforms" (pamphlet published by Smolokyp, the Organization for Defense of Human Rights in the Ukraine). Plyushch told his recent press conference that "At the beginning I argued with them [the doctors] and then I came to the conclusion that they were right" (*New York Times*, 4 February). Another prominent Soviet oppositionist, General Pyotr Grigorenko, had been similarly tortured into partially renouncing his views on the necessity of overthrowing the bureaucracy.

But this coerced "conversion" by sophisticated drugs (haloperidol and triftazin) and primitive tortures (such as not being permitted to go to the toilet) did not outlast Plyushch's incarceration. Once freed, he returned to his previous ideology, an amalgam of partial Trotskyism and naive state capitalism.

### Cause Célèbre

The international campaign to free Plyushch was spearheaded by the French OCI through a "Committee for the Immediate Liberation of Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe" which it initiated and led. A leading role was also played by the International Committee of Mathematicians, headed by Michel Broué, which during early 1974 gathered the signatures of 3,000 mathematicians throughout the world for a document demanding the freeing of their colleague Plyushch.

The campaign was a huge success. A mass meeting at the Mutualité in Paris last October drew 4,000 participants and enlisted the support of the International League for the Rights of Man, Amnesty International, internationally respected left liberals such as Noam Chomsky and sections of the French trade-union movement. Two days later the French Communist Party (PCF) ran a front-page story in *L'Humanité* saying that:

"If it is true—and, unfortunately, so far proof to the contrary has not been provided—that the mathematician was interned in a psychiatric hospital solely because he took a position against certain aspects of Soviet policy or against the regime itself, we can only confirm with the greatest clarity our total disapproval and our demand that he be freed as soon as possible."

After two years of pressuring, the OCI had succeeded in putting the PCF in an extremely uncomfortable position on the Plyushch question, particularly by winning the support of groups which the PCF wants to continue associating with, such as the Socialist Party and the National Teachers Union (FEN). The OCI's efforts won over mathematician Lucio Lombardo Radice, Central Committee member of the Italian Communist Party. Even before the PCF officially came out for Plyushch's release, many of its individual members, especially mathematicians, had solidarized with the campaign.

In large part the move no doubt reflected the PCF's desire to dissociate itself from a too close identification with Moscow and to solidarize with liberal "anti-totalitarian" sentiment. Following the showing on French television of a news film portraying

conditions at a Soviet prison camp, the French party had issued a statement expressing "surprise" and "formal reprobatation" (*New York Times*, 14 December 1975).

The OCI can be justifiably proud of playing a major role in Plyushch's liberation. His release is a victory for the proletarian cause and his views, although naive and confused, are a healthy antidote to the poisonous anti-Communist diatribes of oppositionists of the Solzhenitsyn ilk. The OCI's Committee, however, has been far from clear on the fundamental distinction between efforts such as those it carried out in the Plyushch campaign and pro-imperialist "anti-totalitarianism" which serves the ends of the deadly enemies of the Russian proletariat.

The Committee declares that it "defends Marxists, non-Marxists, anti-Marxists, all those who are struck by repression, because they are struggling for freedom of expression, and because freedom of expression in the countries where capital has been expropriated cannot but have an eminently positive value" (the Committee's *Bulletin*, June 1974). While it is indeed necessary for the international workers movement to defend freedom of expression, even of anti-Marxist views, in the USSR, socialists active in defense of the persecuted dissidents must sharply distinguish between the Plyushches and the Solzhenitsyns. Revolutionary defense work must be unambiguously placed in an explicit context of solidarity with the gains of the October Revolution and unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Classless rhetoric like the OCI's constitutes an open invitation to pro-capitalist liberals to subvert the struggles against the anti-socialist repressions perpetrated by the Russian bureaucracy into a weapon against the deformed workers state itself.

In the capitalist countries there is no lack of supposed "civil libertarians" all too happy to expose the crimes of Stalinism. In the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party's classless propaganda in defense of Solzhenitsyn contributed to such an anti-communist campaign for imperialist "democracy." The Spartacist League (SL) and the class-struggle defense organization, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), defend the cause of democratic rights in Stalinist countries. For instance, we publicized the cases of the Cuban Trotskyists, arrested in November 1963; Ludwik Hass, jailed in Poland in 1965; and the pro-Maoist Hungarian writer Miklos Haraszti, tried in 1974. The SL and the PDC refuse to be used for defense campaigns whose real purpose is to refurbish the tarnished image of U.S. imperialism—the ultimate enemy of freedom from oppression.

Today Plyushch considers Russia "state capitalist." In his view: "state capitalism had been built in the Soviet Union, property belongs to a state which is alienated from all classes, property does not belong to the people. The bureaucracy is the servant of the abstract capitalist—the state." However, he has not renounced the Bolshevik Revolution.

While sharply distinguishing ourselves from the "state capitalist" view—which is fundamentally idealist in that it elevates the Soviet state above the proletarian property forms which that state defends, albeit in a hideously deformed way—Marxists must understand that the "state capitalism" of socialist-oriented Soviet dissidents like Leonid Plyushch frequently represents a confused attempt to reconcile the defense of the ideals of communism with gut-level revulsion against the repressive atrocities of the Russian bureaucracy.

This is all the more true since Trotsky's post-1928 writings on the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR are strictly banned in Russia and certainly not available even to the more informed Soviet dissidents. But now that he is out

# NMU Pilot Defends Jobs Piracy

The January issue of the *Pilot*, newspaper of the National Maritime Union (NMU), carried an unusual news item. It seems that Shannon Wall, the union president and a veteran piccard who hasn't worked aboard a ship for more than 15 years, showed up at the San Francisco hiring hall to throw in for a seaman's job on the *Austral Glen*. Actually, Wall was not seriously looking for work; according to the article, his bid for a bosun's job was only meant as a "light-hearted" climax to what the union leadership termed a major NMU victory.

The *Austral Glen* is one of four ships recently sold by the Pacific Far East Lines (PFEL)—owned by the family of San Francisco ex-mayor Alioto—to Farrell Lines. When the projected sale was announced last summer, it set off a minor storm on the S.F. waterfront. The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders (MFO) and the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) set up picket lines protesting the deal, which would replace West Coast crews with NMU members.

The dispute split the maritime unions down the middle. Lining up with the MFO and SUP was their affiliate, the Seafarers International Union (SIU). On the other side were the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), the NMU and the International leadership of the West Coast longshoremen (ILWU), whose president Harry Bridges is a crony of Alioto. The NMU and ILWU hoped to pick up jobs for their memberships by raiding what had traditionally been SUP/MFO contracts. (For additional details see "Scabbing, Raiding and Union-Busting in West Coast Sailors' Strike," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975).

At the time, the leaders of the MFO and SUP argued correctly that they should maintain jurisdiction over these jobs, despite the change in ownership,

of the USSR Plyushch must face a concrete choice: he will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists anxious to use the issue of the persecution of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism.

Every victory in the fight to liberate the pro-Marxist victims of Stalinist terror in the Soviet Union brings closer the day when the new generation of communist militants will rediscover the suppressed history of the struggles of the Left Opposition and find in the analysis of Trotsky the road forward to political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution and re-establish the rule of the workers soviets over the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union. ■

and swore that retention of these contracts was crucial to the existence of their unions. However, after several months of court suits and countersuits, the SUP and MFO agreed to give up the jobs in exchange for a contribution of \$2 million to be paid by PFEL into the pension funds of the MFO, SUP and MCS, with an equal amount to be put into escrow for use by the three unions (*Seafarers' Log*, December 1975). This payoff cleared the way for the NMU to crew up the ships.

While Wall and his fellow bureaucrats were crowing over this latest act of job-filching, the NMU membership was somewhat less elated. The 120 new positions hardly make up for the 70 percent reduction of seagoing jobs (more than 15,000 lost) under NMU contract during the past ten years. According to the *Pilot's* own figures, total shipping activity decreased again last year, so that even with the four newly crewed Farrell Lines vessels many NMU seamen are left ashore without work.

Moreover, while the NMU was stealing work from the SUP and MFO on the West Coast, the SIU was doing the same to the NMU on the East Coast. When NMU-crewed ships belonging to the Transatlantic Trailer Transport Co. (TTT) were taken over by the Puerto Rican Maritime Shipping Authority a year ago, NMU leaders

The same issue of the *Pilot* also carried a lengthy attack on NMU oppositionists from a union member who "got so mad at [their] anti-NMU, anti-American merchant marine, pro-Communist and pro-MFO-SUP line that I almost threw up." The letter combined crude anti-communism ("without subsidies... American ships would disappear and maybe that's what these guys are working for. That would make it easier for the Soviet merchant marine to take over...") with the most obvious demagoguery ("it would be suicide for the American maritime unions to strike for a pie-in-the-sky contract. The hundreds of laid-up foreign ships would be used to carry the cargo...").

Both these attacks on oppositionists were obviously directed at the Militant-Solidarity Caucus. An M-SC spokesman told *WV* that the letter was a faithful echo of the bureaucracy's own attacks on the Caucus. The spokesman noted that both letter writer and union officials concurred in their common aversion to strike against the companies. While the labor fakers try to insinuate that anyone who backs a strike wants the NMU to go it alone, he said, the M-SC program calls for joint strike action by *all* maritime unions, including the longshoremen, as the only effective way to fight the shippers.

As to the assertion that foreign seamen would break such a strike, the



After facetiously applying for a bosun's job on the *Austral Glen*, NMU president Shannon Wall (center, with newspaper) waits with crew to go on board the ex-SIU ship to seal his "successful" job raiding.

brought in Rafael Colón, the colonial governor of Puerto Rico, to assure the union membership that existing contracts would be honored. Nonetheless, shortly after the West Coast fracas erupted the four TTT ships were turned over to the SIU to man.

The NMU tops were quick to condemn *this* act of raiding, of course. But within the union, only the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), a class-struggle opposition which publishes the *Beacon*, took a principled stand against both the TTT raid and the NMU's identical behavior on the West Coast. A *Beacon* supplement, dated 21 October 1975, blasted the bureaucracy's reliance on imperialist stooge Colón, demanded a halt to all union raiding and called for maritime unity directed against the companies, to fight for jobs for all seamen.

While they were still toasting their "success" in stabbing the SUP and MFO in the back, the NMU hacks were casting a nervous glance over their shoulders at a dissatisfied membership. In his February column in the *Pilot*, after laying out his class-collaborationist "strategy" to get together with American shippers to demand from the government a higher quota of trade for U.S.-manned ships, Wall asserted: "We cannot muster any sympathy for those who complain of U.S. 'protectionism.'"

M-SC points out that it is the bureaucracy itself that reinforces national rivalries among sailors by chauvinist support for protectionism and calls for subsidies to American-flag shipping. "The bureaucrats and their flunkies assume that foreign seamen would scab on an NMU strike because that's what they would do if the tables were turned," said the Caucus spokesman. A militant leadership would appeal for solidarity from all foreign seamen and dock workers, asking that they refuse to crew or load and unload scab ships. The M-SC also calls for extending the gains of U.S. seamen internationally, demanding all sailors be paid at least NMU-level wages while in American ports and fighting for a single international federation of maritime workers.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus has a principled record against union raiding. This stands out in sharp contrast to the narrow parochialism of the NMU, SIU, SUP, MSC and MFO leaders who, refusing to battle the capitalists for more jobs, can only steal work from one another or from foreign seamen. Such scabbing and strikebreaking, reinforced by vicious anti-communism, cannot prevent the continuing deterioration of the maritime unions. Only a class-struggle leadership, dedicated to fighting the bosses and their lieutenants in the labor movement, can lead seamen forward. ■



Chicago

WV Photo



New York City

WV Photo

# Stalinist Goons vs. Revolutionaries at Angola Demos

FEBRUARY 9—Demonstrations in support of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) were held in major cities across the U.S. last Saturday to commemorate the February 1961 uprising in Luanda against Portuguese rule. Although brutally suppressed by the colonial authorities, that revolt marked the beginning of armed resistance by independence forces in Angola. The 15th anniversary celebration in Luanda itself, on February 4, hailed recent military advances of the MPLA-dominated People's Republic.

Ever since early November, when regular South African troops invaded Angola and the Portuguese army left, the previous three-cornered civil war between rival nationalist groups was fundamentally internationalized. In the present conflict, Marxists must give military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition. But this does not cause us to drop our proletarian opposition to the bourgeois politics of *all* the nationalist groups in Angola.

For the various fake-lefts, however, whose politics consist of chasing whatever is popular at the moment, the latest round of Angola demonstrations was their chance to prostrate themselves before yet another set of anti-working-class misleaders. Their first task was therefore to attempt to suppress all Marxist criticisms of the MPLA, a battle which recurred at each of the demonstrations as soon as the Spartacist contingent arrived. But despite the best efforts of the tailist reformists and centrists, the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism was not lowered.

## New York

In New York a "February 7th Coalition" drew approximately 300 demonstrators for a midtown march and rally at Times Square around the slogan "Support to the People's Republic of Angola!" But the leaders of the demonstration—primarily liberal supporters of the MPLA Solidarity Committee and the Marcyite Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF)—did their best to make the small turnout even smaller by excluding the Spartacist League (SL) because of one of our banners, which read "Not [MPLA leader] Neto, But a Workers Revolution!" With the Stalinist and Stalinoid

goons trying to keep the Spartacist banner five blocks behind the rest of the demonstration, several clashes took place with the "marshals." The cops then intervened to enforce the exclusion, keeping the SL 100 feet behind the main body of the march.

Of the other groups present at the demonstration, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the NMU marched with the SL and protested the exclusion. The militant seamen carried signs calling for "Boycott U.S. Arms to Angola" and "Military Support to the MPLA Against CIA/South African Forces in Angola." The Spartacist demonstrators chanted, "Smash the Imperialist Power Play, Military Victory to the MPLA!" and "Not Neto, Not NATO, But Socialist Revolution!" Altogether about 35 people marched in the excluded contingent.

Tacitly endorsing the SL's exclusion by participating in the "February 7th Coalition" were the International Workers Party (IWP) therapy cult and the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee, latest incarnation of the former Internationalist Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. Even more duplicitous opportunists were the Revolutionary Socialist League, which differs with the political thrust of the pro-MPLA coalition but saw no reason to mention this in banners or signs, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which doesn't give even military support to the MPLA but slithered into the march regardless.

As for YAWF, its goons grumbled all along the march that by refusing to give political support to the MPLA the SL closes the door to Angola's "socialist development" and therefore "objectively" blocks with U.S. imperialism. The Spartacist leaflet pointed out that if YAWF et al. were in Luanda today their political support to the MPLA would mean smashing strikes, disarming the masses and arresting socialists. Back home, YAWF's reliance on the New York Police Department to exclude revolutionary politics shows in practice who allies with the bourgeoisie.

## Boston

In Boston, where 250 people showed up, it was the International Socialists (I.S.) who were the main MPLA enthusiasts and censors of Marxist politics. Official marshals tried to force 20 SL supporters to take down all their

signs critical (even implicitly) of the MPLA or China—including "Military Victory for the MPLA!"—and to march at the end of the line. The SL refused to acquiesce in this Stalinist-inspired censorship and aggressively chanted its slogans while keeping its signs and place in the march. Proclaiming "Total Victory to the MPLA," the I.S. is only too willing to politically support such a capitalist regime while refusing military defense to the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states.

At a rally after the march in Faneuil Hall there was the predictable patriotic claptrap ("we're going to make [the American flag] a flag of liberty.... It is our duty as American citizens... to make sure our Congressmen provide no money for Angola..."). At YAWF's assurance that this is how the MPLA operates, the demonstration organizers agreed "never to attack any socialist country, either the USSR or China," as guidelines for the rally. Speakers were also prohibited from espousing their organization's specific political views! After black Democrat Mel King spoke, the SL chanted "Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!" to the embarrassment of the sponsors.

## Philadelphia

A 200-strong demonstration in Philadelphia followed much the same pattern as New York and Boston. SL supporters were informed that "independent" chants were not allowed and official marshals attempted to stop them from carrying signs "not in keeping with the spirit of the demonstration." That category included, "Down with Mao's Bloc with the CIA and South Africa!" "No Confidence in the MPLA—For Workers Revolution!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Angola—For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!" Although the SWP was not among the sponsors, it was not about to be left out of something "popular," so some SWPers were passing out leaflets calling for "Victory to the MPLA!" (The SWP's official line is neutrality.)

## Chicago

In Chicago, about 250 participated in a U.S. Out of Angola demonstration called by a coalition of the CP, the Communist Labor Party (CLP) and YAWF. Originally organized on the basis of political support to the MPLA,

the coalition's public propaganda concentrated on "U.S. Out Now!" Upon the arrival of approximately 35 Spartacist League supporters and union militants, the goons (primarily CLP) demanded to see the signs. After their request was refused, the marshals called Chicago police over to exclude the SL from the march for failing to submit its signs for censorship. While the SWP and I.S. marched with the main demonstration, doing nothing about this undemocratic exclusion, the RSL and IWP, unlike their New York relatives, marched with the SL, held half a block behind the rest of the march by the cops, as did the *Spark* group. At the post-march indoor rally, the CLP goons called the cops a second time to keep the Spartacists out. ■

*Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet*

### The Fight to Implement Busing

*For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats*

**Price: 75¢**

Order from/pay to:  
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.  
Box 825, Canal Street Station  
New York, New York 10013

### SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

*Revolutionary Literature*  
**BAY AREA**

Friday  
and  
Saturday ..... 3:00-6:00 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph (3rd floor)  
(near 17th street)  
Oakland, California  
Phone 835-1535

### CHICAGO

Tuesday ..... 4:00-8:00 p.m.  
Saturday ..... 2:00-6:00 p.m.  
650 South Clark  
Second floor  
Chicago, Illinois  
Phone 427-0003

### NEW YORK

Monday  
through  
Friday ..... 6:30-9:00 p.m.  
Saturday ..... 1:00-4:00 p.m.  
260 West Broadway  
Room 522  
New York, New York  
Phone 925-5665





British mercenaries boarding plane.

London Express

## MPLA...

(continued from page 1)

killers, the bourgeoisie has developed a passion to glorify the "adventure-seeking," "aggressively independent" mercenary. From the best-selling novel *Dogs of War* to the recent *Newsweek* account of "The Mercenary Life," imperialism's myth-makers are having a field day prettifying these murderous scum. The 9 February *Newsweek* fawningly describes the professional murderers of the self-styled "Wild Geese Club" of Congo veteran "Mad Mike" Hoare as "graying at the temples but like old crocodiles still dangerous"; the younger Portuguese mercenaries fighting for the FNLA are described as motivated by "a mixture of reasons—adventure, idealism, hate, a lust for blood or money."

In his book *To Katanga and Back* former United Nations diplomat Conor Cruise O'Brien debunked similar attempts to romanticize the dirty mercenary trade:

"'Motives for enlistment given', according to the UN report, 'ranged from financial reasons, domestic troubles and lust for adventure to a desire to serve what they considered a good cause.' My own recollection, from reading the interrogatories [of captured mercenaries] in New York, is that, in about twenty-five of the thirty cases, the motives given ranged from financial reasons to financial reasons."

### A Reversible War

While calling for military victory to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the

## UAW...

(continued from page 5)

pay." Restricting auto workers' struggles to supposedly "realistic" "bargaining demands" is to accept the speed-up and layoffs. Real protection against unemployment can be won only through mobilizing the entire UAW membership for industry-wide strike action across the U.S. and Canada.

It is not accidental that the "Good Contract" coalition neither criticizes Woodcock nor explicitly calls for a strike for the new contract. It is dominated by apprentice Woodcocks, like Weisman, who are equally committed to the maintenance of the companies' "profitability" and the capitalist system. GM, Ford, Chrysler, etc. must be nationalized, without compensation. The boom-bust cycle of capitalism, with the resulting overwork and unemployment, must be eliminated through the expropriation of the means of production and the institution of a planned economy by a workers government. The labor bureaucracy, intimately tied to its capitalist masters, is unable to lead the militant class struggle necessary to achieve such goals. It must be ousted and replaced by a leadership prepared to do the job. ■

imperialist-led coalition ever since the advent of a "war by proxy" pitting the U.S. against the USSR beginning last fall, we have always stressed our fundamental political opposition to the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA. We warned that in its efforts to build a bourgeois state, the "People's Movement" would be the most ferocious strikebreakers, repressing every spark of working-class independence.

This has been fully confirmed by the MPLA's role in breaking dock strikes in Luanda and Lobito last year, its "normalization" and disarming of the "people's committees" in October, and its arrest of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist militants. Recently the MPLA newspaper, *Vitória E Certa* of 20 December (quoted in the 30 January *Militant*) carried a theme of "winning the battle of production." It described a campaign by an MPLA action group to replace the workers commission at a factory (SATEC) at Dondo, 100 miles southeast of the capital, Luanda. Denouncing the existing commission for not raising production and the workers for not being disciplined, the MPLA subdelegate told SATEC workers that their allies included "the patriotic comrades of the national bourgeoisie."

We also emphasized the reversibility of the present alignment of forces, the MPLA's willingness to strike a deal with the imperialists and the Kremlin's willingness to sell out battlefield gains on the altar of détente. Finally, we stressed the absence of a qualitative distinction between the three competing nationalist groups, which are all tribally centered. Our military support to the MPLA is by no means unconditional; in an essentially domestic power struggle or civil war, the working class would

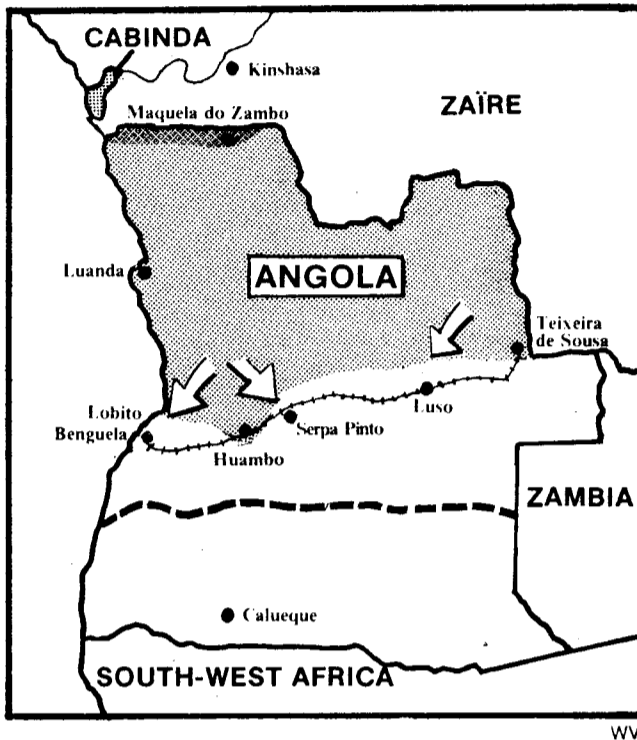
have no interest in backing any of the nationalists.

These factors become more relevant as the South Africans retreat and talk increases of a possible MPLA/UNITA coalition. In a lengthy authoritative article the Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* late last month said that it is an "open secret" that the USSR once welcomed a coalition government and still advocates "consolidation of all patriotic forces" (quoted in *Washington Post*, 5 February). The MPLA is under additional pressure to form a coalition because it is now entering Ovimbundu regions, UNITA's home base, where it has not had mass support in the past.

Given the present line-up of three

different tribally centered nationalist groups, it is clear that the alternative to coalition is ethnic oppression and tribal massacres. The main reason the latter have not happened recently on a mass scale is that the native population has fled *en masse* at the approach of "enemy" troops. This exodus cannot last forever.

Only an independent proletarian revolutionary party based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution can put an end to these ethnic divisions in a democratic fashion. Only through workers revolution can the ties with imperialism be truly broken, thus opening the way for the "elimination of exploitation of man by man." ■



Dotted line indicates South Africa's rumored fall-back defense line.

## RSB...

(continued from page 12)

newspaper salesmen (including the SL) at the plant gates, the UAW Local 1364 membership meeting on 8 October 1973 passed a motion saying: "No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside the plant of the literature of various labor/socialist groups, since this violates the basic traditions of free and open discussion within the labor movement."

In another incident, at an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) rally in San Francisco on 1 June 1974, RU goons viciously attacked women trade-union militants distributing a pro-ERA leaflet. SL members who came to the defense of the outnumbered militants were also set upon. A Spartacist supporter actually had his earlobe bitten off by a rabid member of the Maoist pack!

The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* carried reports in February and

June 1975 of RCP/RSB attacks on their salesmen in Portland, Oregon. Similarly, the Maoist *Guardian* of 23 October 1974 described an RU "visit" to their offices and its attempt to use "strong-arm tactics" on the newspaper's staff members.

At the root of the RCP/RSB's foaming rampage is their growing political isolation, a direct result of their synthesis of counterrevolutionary policies and macho glorification of low-life thuggery. Compelled to defend every treacherous twist and turn of Chinese foreign policy—from apologizing for Pakistani mass murder of East Bengalis and the Ceylonese government's massacre of JVP youth rebels in 1971, to Nixon's toasts with Chou in 1972 as B-52s rained bombs on Hanoi, to lining up with U.S. imperialism and white supremacist South Africa today in Angola—these small-time Stalinist hoods no longer recognize any constraints on their criminal anti-socialist antics.

In the U.S. they have aped China's willingness to unite with the most reactionary forces, opposing the Equal Rights Amendment and cheering on anti-busing lynch mobs in Boston and Louisville. With politics like these, it is really not surprising that the RCP/RSB prefer back-alley ambushes to political debate.

Stalinism, as Trotsky long ago observed, is the syphilis of the workers movement. The Maoist thugs of the RCP/RSB carry the disease in one of its most virulent forms.

The RSB's blustering threats at Boston University and elsewhere will not deter the SL and SYL from effectively defending themselves as well as workers democracy. We warn the RCP/RSB that they bear full responsibility for the consequences of their gangsterism. We call on all those claiming to uphold workers democracy to denounce this wave of Stalinist gangsterism. Such methods of dealing with political differences open the workers movement up to provocation and persecution by the class enemy. These thug attacks must *and will* be stopped! ■

## Living Dead...

(continued from page 5)

itself, if only to confess to white chauvinism. Amid chants of "Liberate the Hard Times Conference," the floor was opened up for discussion. The first, and last, speaker was Ed Jarvis for the SL/SYL. He denounced utopian separatist schemes and moralistic white-chauvinism baiting, asserting that the only road to black liberation was through revolutionary integrationism and proletarian power.

After Jarvis spoke, the conference leadership quickly put the lid on all further floor discussion. Amid generalized discontent and cries of "manipulation," YAWF and the PSP formed highly visible goon squads to enforce the gag rule, the Marcyites spreading a slander that the Spartacists intended to rush the platform. At that point, everyone with an ounce of self-respect or political sense left the hall. ■

### Prosecute the Murderers of Tyrone Guyton!

March from Laney College (9th and Fallon) to rally at Alameda County Courthouse (12th and Fallon)

Wednesday, February 25 at 10 a.m.

March and rally to demand that Alameda County District Attorney Lowell Jensen prosecute the Emeryville policemen responsible for the cold-blooded murder of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton on November 1, 1973.

Auspices: Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton

For more information contact: Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, 655-5662

SPARTACIST edition française

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.  
Box 1377 GPO,  
New York, N.Y. 10001  
USA

3.00 F.

\$.75 US/Canada

# Lawyers Guild...

(continued from page 12)

NLG will "support the rights of nations around the world to independence and freedom from political, economic and cultural domination by foreign powers and international business interests." But for the Maoist boosters of the new preamble, these ringing phrases boil down to: USSR out of Angola, kill the Cuban soldiers!

The NLG, almost against its collective will, finds itself confronted by one of the critical questions in the world socialist movement: the "Russian question." Is the USSR socialist? capitalist? imperialist? Should it be defended against imperialism? This is the subterranean political issue underlying the shadow-boxing which will take place at the Houston convention.

Just as the Maoists in the Guild seek to ape the political line of the Peking bureaucracy, the supporters of the Communist Party (CP) reflect the narrow interests of the Moscow bureaucracy and its long Stalinist history of seeking a global accommodation with imperialism at the expense of proletarian revolution. When the CP supporters talk about an "anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly" preamble, they reveal their appetite for an alliance with the liberal ("anti-monopoly") bourgeoisie. That these antagonistic forces can come together in Houston to agree on a self-description of the Guild as "anti-imperialist" merely demonstrates their thoroughgoing cynicism and mutually held commitment to Stalinist class collaboration.

The point on which all the Stalinists and liberals are agreed is their hostility

to the revolutionary analysis and program developed by Leon Trotsky and upheld in the U.S. by the Spartacist League. Trotskyists understand that the property forms established by the October Revolution represent a gain for the international working class. The Russian degenerated workers state (as well as China and all the states deformed by Stalinism but where capitalism has been overthrown) *must be defended against imperialism*. But defending the property forms of the deformed workers states in no way implies political support to their governing rapacious bureaucracies which strangle proletarian revolution world-wide and which must be overthrown in a *political revolution* to institute workers democracy and open the road to Socialist society.

Some of the New Left radicals in the NLG mistakenly see the "anti-imperialist" preamble as a step toward putting the Guild on a left political footing. Since the influx of the New Left into the Guild there has been considerable pressure on the organization to be less defense-oriented, more explicitly "political" and more broadly left-wing. The NLG cannot escape the major political questions and cannot separate defense from politics.

When the New Left students of the late 1960's talked about "anti-imperialism," "anti-racism," "anti-sexism" they most often reflected a politically primitive but genuine subjective hostility to capitalism. But the drama of history, as Karl Marx pointed out, never repeats itself in the same form. The attempt to parrot the "anti-imperialist" intentions of the old SDS, masking the "anti-imperialism" of Maoist betrayal in Angola, is certainly less noble than tragedy and sadder than farce. The political consequences of the Sino-Soviet split have at last come to the Guild. Again posed is the "Russian question," which the NLG has sought to evade since its founding.

## From the New Deal...

The history of the NLG is the history of whatever is popular on the radical left, delayed a few years and refracted through an organization which has always seen itself as the legal arm of "progressive" causes. The National Lawyers Guild was founded as an alternative to the arch-conservative, racially segregated American Bar Association during Roosevelt's New Deal. Its founders sought an "integrated, liberal and progressive Bar Association" which would represent the better instincts of the Bar" (*A Historical Sketch of the National Lawyers Guild 1936-68*).

The first NLG convention attracted 600 participants, and the following year saw membership soar to 4,000. Stalinism in alliance with Roosevelt's Democratic Party was popular in radical circles and the NLG became part of the class-collaborationist "People's Front," i.e., the liberal New Deal. The CP betrayed the proletariat by lining it up behind Roosevelt and the liberal bourgeoisie, and the Lawyers Guild became the legal arm of that popular front. The new Guild had a cozy relationship with the Roosevelt administration and wrote major portions of New Deal legislation.

The second convention, held in February 1938, saw the NLG embroiled in a controversy which remains unresolved to this day: whether the NLG should take political stands. This debate was prompted by the adoption of a resolution condemning the embargo on arms to Republican Spain.

By the time of the NLG's third convention, the political climate was changing dramatically. The American bourgeoisie, gearing itself up for entry into World War II, had initiated increasingly vicious anti-Communist legislation and witchhunting of leftists and labor militants. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was started up in 1938, and the Smith Act followed in 1940. The NLG

could hardly miss the import of legislation aimed at deporting, *by name*, Harry Bridges, or the anti-Communist expulsion of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from the American Civil Liberties Union.

Stalinism in the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact became a millstone around the Guild's neck. And so an overtly anti-Communist statement was adopted as official policy. The speech made by outgoing national president Ferdinand Pecora (judge of the New York Supreme Court) stated that "the Guild stood foursquare against all 'ISMS' fascism, totalitarianism and communism and he warned that adherents of any of these tendencies were not welcome in the Guild" (*Historical Sketch*).

Following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the Stalinists changed their tune and began beating the drums for the inter-imperialist war under the banner of the "United Front Against Fascism." The Lawyers Guild found itself once again able to bask in the CP's popularity among liberals.

The Smith Act's first victims, in 1940, were the antiwar Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. The jingoistic CP hailed the arrest and trial of these "anti-American Trotsky-

ists." And the Guild's priorities were turned toward "measures which brought together the joint interests of a progressive movement with the desire to win the war" (*Historical Sketch*). In other words, the NLG embraced social-patriotism and abandoned the Trotskyists to prosecution by the bourgeoisie. Seven years later, when the Smith Act was used against the CP, the NLG (as well as the Trotskyists) rose to defend the victims.

It is not possible to escape these crucial questions by ignoring them. Interestingly, even today's partisans of "saving the Guild" by depoliticizing it look back to the period of the popular front for inspiration. Arthur Kinoy, justly respected for his legal defense, in his article on "The Role of the Radical Lawyer," solidarizes with the analysis of "an astute and experienced student of the transition period from the rule of bourgeois-democracy to the rule by open terrorist dictatorship, Georgi Dimitrov." It was in fact this "astute and experienced" Stalinist who drafted the central document codifying the popular front for the Comintern in 1935, entitled "The United Front Against Fascism."

The NLG in the popular-front period

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 995-9645  
c/o SYL, Room 4316  
Michigan Union, U. of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

BERKELEY/  
OAKLAND ..... (415) 835-1535  
Box 23372  
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235  
(Indiana)

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928  
Box 188 (617) 436-1497  
M.I.T. Station  
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003  
Box 6441, Main P.O.  
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379  
Box 6765  
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632  
Box 663A, General P.O.  
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON  
Box 26474  
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES.... (213) 413-4297  
Box 26282, Edendale Station  
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON ..... (608) 257-4212  
c/o SYL, Box 3334  
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426  
Box 1377, G.P.O.  
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695  
Box 25601  
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO  
P.O. Box 2034  
Chula Vista, CA 92012

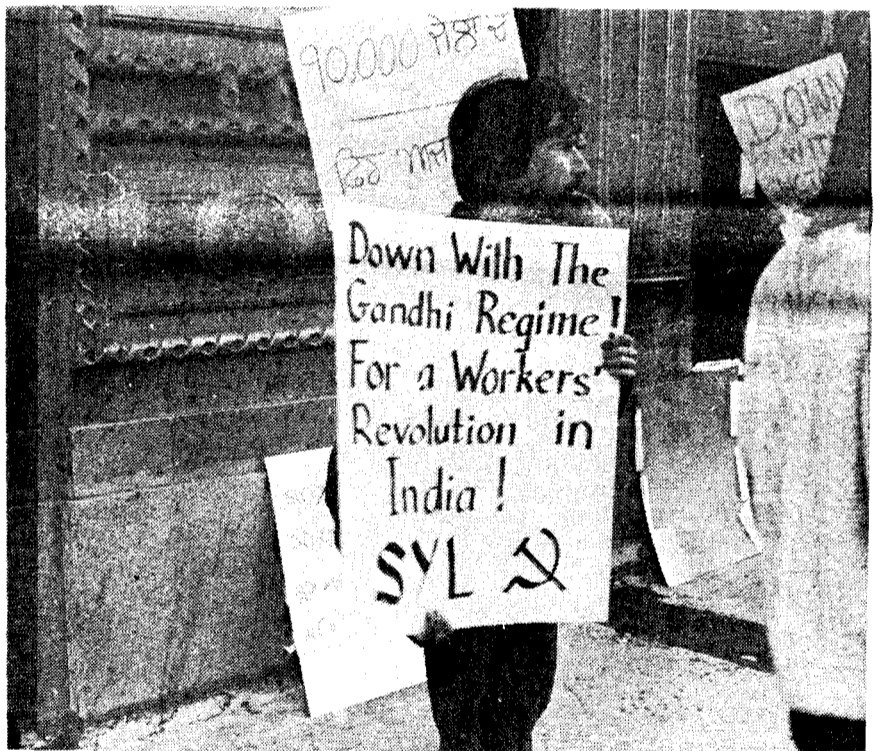
SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845  
Box 5712  
San Francisco, CA 94101

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107  
Box 222, Station B  
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER..... (604) 299-5306  
Box 26, Station A  
Vancouver, B.C.

# Anti-Gandhi, Anti-Shah Protest in S.F.



WV Photo

On Monday, January 26, about 35 Indian students and members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) demonstrated in front of the Indian consulate in San Francisco protesting repression by the "democratic" regime of Indira Gandhi. The "pacifist" Gandhi—fully supported by the Communist Party of India—has recently hung two Naxalite peasant leaders under the infamous "state of emergency" law. Over 30,000 leftists have been jailed since its promulgation. At the demonstration the SL/SYL carried signs in English and Hindi, chanting "Down with the Gandhi Dictatorship" and "For Workers Revolution in India!" The Maoist Indian students in turn shouted "Long live the Indian Revolution," but it was clear they were not talking about proletarian revolution. Only days before, these "revolutionaries" politely refused to protest the visit of India's representative to the United Nations simply because he had spoken against U.S. delegate Moynihan in the UN!

On the same day the Iranian Student Association was protesting the Shah's murder of 9 Iranian prisoners. Because of the close proximity of the two demonstrations, the Iranian students decided to join the Indians and invited all participants to a rally following the demonstration, on one condition: that SL/SYL members not be allowed to carry their signs. The Indian students, who were well aware of the work of the SL/SYL in opposing Gandhi's government, were upset at this attempt at exclusion and asserted to the consternation of the rabidly anti-Trotskyist ISA, that it was akin to what Gandhi was doing in India! The Iranians backed down and the SL/SYL attended the rally, engaging the Maoists in debate over the need for proletarian revolution in India and Iran.

was far from apolitical. The bloc with the New Deal represented a high-water mark in the Guild's collaboration with the capitalist state. It is on this very question that the CP, the Maoists, the "independents" can find their "basis of unity." for all seek a programmatic bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie.

The NLG came under heavy fire during the McCarthy witchhunts. Its lawyers defended virtually all those who were called before HUAC committees, and some found themselves facing victimization. With most of the liberals having deserted under the pressure, the Guild faced HUAC in virtual isolation. In typical fashion, the NLG responded to the inquisition by capitulating to it. In 1954, the Guild elected a new right-wing president, a respectable University of Chicago law professor. In his first address to the membership, he stated his purpose: "to preserve a free Bar as part of a free and conservative government" (*Historical Sketch*).

### ...to the New Left

The Cold War witchhunt period decimated the NLG, and only the rise of the civil-rights and antiwar movements broke down its isolation. It soon began to reflect the "movementism" characteristic of the New Left. The NLG defended many of those arrested for antiwar activities, gaining credibility with SDS which passed a resolution for joint work. The Guild also took on a "work project" orientation in line with the "community organizing" style of the early SDS. Pressured by the New Left's anti-elitism and anti-sexism the NLG foresook its professionalism and opened the organization to legal workers, primarily women.

The student antiwar movement declined and polarized, with most of it heading into the Democratic Party while the most radical elements found homes in various "vanguard party" organizations claiming a revolutionary perspective. Now, years after the split in SDS, after the McGovern campaign, after Nixon was toasted in Peking, the NLG belatedly finds itself faced with the breakdown of old New Left "unity," with whole chapters assuming the political thrust of a particular organization and some "independents" responding with witchhunt-style attacks on "organized sects" in the Guild.

### The NLG and the State

The heritage of the NLG is the heritage of class-collaborationist alliances expressed in its relationship to the capitalist state. Although it no longer elects judges as its presidents, the Lawyers Guild nevertheless has been consistent in its gross inability to identify the class enemy in practice.

For all the revolutionary rhetoric of NLG members, they are not able to draw the class line in the most elementary concrete situations. Taking the trade unions to court is a good example. *Guild Notes* ran a front-page story by Guild members involved in a suit against the UAW in favor of preferential layoffs. The article attacked the Spartacist League as being on the side of the Company because the SL supported class-struggle militants in the Fremont GM plant who opposed suing the union in the capitalist courts. The disagreement that surfaced within the NLG barely examined the crucial class issue of bourgeois state interference in union affairs. Instead, the criticism of the NLG members' handling of the Fremont suit came from some who agreed in principle with the proposition that unions should be taken to court but were disturbed that the suit was unpopular with the autoworkers:

"The article makes it sound as though everyone in the plant loves the lawsuit except a bunch of crazy Trotskyites. However...there is quite a lot of opposition from workers in the plant."

*NLG Labor Newsletter*, September 1975

The "bunch of crazy Trotskyites"

referred to in such red-baiting fashion was no doubt the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW). The CMUAW is "crazy" only if one is so steeped in class collaboration that it seems crazy to resolutely oppose the capitalist state's intervention into the unions. Unlike the NLG, many workers at Fremont understood the threat to the independence of their union posed by the court suit; more than 650 of them signed a CMUAW-initiated petition denouncing the suit "because it will weaken the union, which is the only weapon we have," and calling for union action to combat all discrimination and layoffs. It is indeed ironic that Guild members, who called for a "united front" with the "democratic" imperialists against Nazi Germany, refuse to understand the danger of the integration of the union movement into the capitalist state.

The labor law workshops at the San Francisco NLG "Law Student Extravaganza" last fall centered around suits against various unions by collectives inside the Guild. Dan Siegel of the Fruitvale Law Collective, who supports the Maoist October League (OL), discussed efforts to bring in the U.S. Labor Department to monitor elections in a San Jose Teamster local of cannery workers. Moreover, the Guild's *Labor Newsletter* is replete with uncritical "information" on such suits:

—October 1973: NLG Newark Law Collective formulated a three-pronged approach in assisting the "Action" caucus (UAW Local 736, New Departure Hyatt Bearings Plant, Clark, New Jersey) with one tactic being "use of federal law, particularly Landrum-Griffin and state common law remedies to ensure that union elections are conducted honestly."

—April 1974: "Legal Setback for Steel Workers" was the headline of an article supporting a suit by workers against the United Steel Workers of America.

There is scarcely a murmur of dissent among the self-proclaimed radicals of the NLG about these labor projects which make a principle out of crossing the class line.

The sponsors of the Law Student Extravaganza also demonstrated their utter cynicism toward the elementary Marxist understanding of the role of the capitalist police by calling on the cops to remove *Workers Vanguard* salesmen and an SL literature table. Later an NLG spokesman defended this action to an enraged audience:

"We shouldn't be ashamed of calling the cops...it's true that police can be an arm of oppression but also true that police are an arm of protection against violent crime. Oppressed masses have to be able to call on police for protection."

It should be noted that while the "oppressed masses" (the Extravaganza organizers) were busily excluding "violent crime" (the SL) outside the meeting room, China Books was selling literature at a table inside the hall.

Exclusions of homosexuals from the Guild have also been attempted, obviously initiated by OL supporters—who propound the most reactionary puritanical line on sexual questions and who, along with all other Stalinists, embrace the nuclear family with more fervor than the Pope.

Some NLG members have used the sectarian exclusionism of the OL to justify an anti-communist sectarianism of their own. OL supporters must be defended against any witchhunt in the Guild. The Guild must be non-exclusionist—and that includes the right of supporters of organized left groups to be members.

### The NLG, the ILD and the PDC

The present political identity crisis in the NLG may prompt some of its members to ask some fundamental questions about class-struggle defense

work. We direct those members to the history of the International Labor Defense (ILD). In the early 1920's the ILD established an impressive record for non-sectarian, class-struggle defense of "class war prisoners." The ILD campaigned in defense of anarchists like Sacco and Vanzetti, Wobblies, labor militants and Communists. According to its founder and first secretary, James P. Cannon, the ILD based itself on "the policy of the class struggle" and put "no faith whatever in the justice of the courts" (*Labor Defender*, January 1927). It is ironic that Cannon (who broke from the CP during the period of its Stalinization and became one of the founders of American Trotskyism) was one of the Smith Act victims left undefended by the NLG.

The ILD was based on the political authority of a revolutionary party, the CP, and the Russian Revolution before its Stalinist degeneration. The NLG, however, is a product of that degeneration and the consequent crisis of revolutionary leadership. That crisis will be resolved by the construction of an international Leninist vanguard party, the nucleus of which is represented in the U.S. by the Spartacist League.

Simply to ask the question "What happened to the ILD of the early 1920's?" demonstrates that the politics of defense work cannot be separated with "lawyers' arguments" from broad political questions. The degenerated CP no longer required a class-struggle defense organization, but rather a legal arm for its class collaborationism. Thus, the Guild of the New Deal days was a suitable vehicle for the defense policies of the reformist CP.

The principles and traditions of class-struggle defense work initiated by the ILD have been taken up by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which the Spartacist League politically supports. Like the ILD, the PDC is anti-sectarian, and defends all left organizations and the workers movement against bourgeois state repression. The PDC seeks to work with particular defense committees and with the NLG over cases and causes in the interests of the working people (such as the NLG's struggles against grand jury harassment and government surveillance and its work in support of those arrested at Wounded Knee and the victims of state terror at Attica). Unlike the Guild, the PDC refuses to cross the class line to appeal to capitalist "justice" to intervene in the workers movement.

Surely it is time for some members of the National Lawyers Guild to stop being the "legal arm" of some class-collaborationist "movement" and enter the struggle unequivocally on the side of the working class. Build the PDC, anti-sectarian class-struggle defense organization! ■

## Chile...

(continued from page 2)

government, and a month later a representative of the military junta took his place. Pinochet has been quoted as saying, "Peking has behaved well."

### Not Another Popular Front, But Workers Revolution!

Unlike various fake leftists who greeted the 1973 coup with pronouncements that this was a fascist takeover, *Workers Vanguard* emphasized the bonapartist nature of the Chilean junta and its lack of any sizable base of support in the population. The Catholic Church hierarchy's criticisms of the junta began just a week after the coup—albeit in a cautious manner, since it did favor the overthrow of Allende—and the junta's relations with the Christian Democrats, the largest bourgeois party in the country, have never been good.

But to say that the regime is bonapartist is not to imply that the working class should tie itself to the "democratic" bourgeoisie in order to effectively fight the junta, as a leader of the Chilean Communist Party recently said (*Daily World*, 7 February). He called for an "Anti-Fascist United Front" which would include "other political forces...among them the Christian Democratic Party." It is this very same policy of relying on the "patriotic" class enemy which led to the September 11 bloodbath in the first place. Class-conscious Chilean workers will remember that the Communist Party and Allende sought until the very end to negotiate with Frei and the Christian Democrats while the latter were supporting the military plotters.

An important component of the Stalinists' class-collaborationist popular-front policies under Allende was to instill faith in the "constitutional-jist" officers of the "professional" army, who would supposedly protect the workers from reactionary putschists. Learning nothing from the murder of more than 30,000 leftist militants, the Communist Party has again discovered the "progressive officers," remarking that the "Anti-Fascist United Front" will include "many active armed forces officers, NCO's and enlisted men..."

Had the Stalinists wanted to resist the coup, they should not have praised their future executioners but instead sought to split the army on class lines. But every democratic-minded officer in the Chilean armed forces today remembers that when Sergeant Juan Cardenas and a group of sailors and non-commissioned officers in the Navy signed a statement during the summer of 1973 pledging to defend the democratically elected UP regime, they were arrested and tortured by the Naval command with the acquiescence of Allende and the Communist Party.

The "Brazilian model" has failed to revive the Chilean economy, even though the torture and oppression of the Chilean working class certainly rival conditions in Rio. Dissatisfied generals and businessmen may now force a partial abandonment of the Friedman "shock treatment" and a very strictly limited "liberalization" of the regime. While this may be sufficient to once again put the Archbishop of Santiago and ex-president Frei on speaking terms with the country's rulers, the working class can only continue its struggle to sweep the entire murderous bunch into the dustbin of history.

To undertake this struggle, the first task is to correctly draw a balance sheet of the Allende period, steeling the proletariat in the struggle against popular-front illusions and defeating the treacherous reformist and centrist misleaders who led the workers to the slaughter. The indispensable condition for victory is the construction of a Chilean Trotskyist party, and the reforging of the Fourth International. ■

### Spartacus Youth League Forums

#### Mao's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism: Angola and Chinese Foreign Policy

Speaker:

CHARLES O'BRIEN  
Young Spartacus Editor  
SL Central Committee

**February 11**  
University of Connecticut  
Storrs, Conn.

**February 12**  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, Mass.

**February 13**  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Mass.

**February 17, 7:30 p.m.**  
H-S-P Room, Second Floor  
Houston Hall (Spruce near 34th St.)  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Penn.

For more information call:  
Boston area: (617) 436-1497  
Philadelphia area: (215) 667-5695

# WORKERS VANGUARD

From the New Deal to the New Left to...?

## Identity Crisis in the Lawyers Guild



National Lawyers Guild:  
Scales of Class-Collaboration

The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is having a political identity crisis. At its 39th national convention, scheduled to meet in Houston February 13-16, the various warring tendencies within the Guild will attempt to redefine its political purpose and "basis of unity." The focus of the debate will be a proposal to change the preamble to the Guild's constitution to describe the Lawyers Guild as "anti-imperialist." Yet adoption of the "anti-imperialist" nomenclature will leave unresolved sharp disputes over important immediate issues, such as what position the Guild should take on Portugal, on Puerto Rican independence; what to do about the trade unions, about defense work.

The dispute has shaped up as a several-pronged contest between supporters of numerous organized political groupings—mainly the Communist Party (CP) and the Maoists—and non-aligned "independents" who view the present debate as an attack upon their comfortable coffee-klatzsch political

club.

The current preamble to the Guild's 39-year-old constitution (amended most recently in 1971) defines the organization as "an association dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system. We seek to unite the lawyers, law students, legal workers and jailhouse lawyers of America..." The NLG claims over 4,000 members in more than 50 chapters across the country. This would make it perhaps the largest left organization in the U.S.—if, indeed, it can be considered an organization.

But it would be more accurate to term the Guild a petty-bourgeois radical milieu. Despite the pretensions of some sections of the Guild, far from being an alternative to the general weakness and eclecticism of the American left, the Guild is at present rather the most fulsome expression of the sorry state of the left.

Tension over how "political" the Guild should be has been a perennial

stumbling block for the organization, with a 1967 compromise proposal "that emphasized the need to act both as a bar association and as the legal arm of the movement" neatly summarizing the unresolved status of the problem.

### "Anti-Imperialism"

The convention will consider for adoption a revised draft preamble to the Guild's constitution which speaks for the first time of "the world-wide system of imperialism." The NLG's monthly newspaper, *Guild Notes*, reported that the National Executive Committee meeting in November was in agreement with the "anti-imperialist" draft preamble:

"The general consensus, with only one person dissenting, was that the draft accurately reflected a basis of unity consistent with the current work of the Guild and a correct understanding of the Guild's role in the progressive movement."

—*Guild Notes*, January 1976

Such a "basis of unity" represents the

height of political shysterism; "anti-imperialism" is left conveniently undefined so that it can include completely counterposed political programs under the same radical-sounding banner.

Maoist "anti-imperialism" amounts to nothing other than anti-Sovietism and a crude expression of the perceived national interests of the brittle Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking. The Chinese Maoists have forged an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR, and Mao's American toadies follow along. For them, "anti-imperialism" means the defeat of the Russian-backed MPLA in Angola, a stronger NATO, political support for the Shah of Iran, refusing aid to the victims of the Chilean junta while succoring the murderous Pinochet, putting a question mark over support for independence for Puerto Rico, and more—all in the name of preventing "domination by Soviet social-imperialism."

The new draft proclaims that the  
*continued on page 10*

## Stop RSB Gangster Attacks in Boston!

BOSTON, February 9—Last week the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and its parent organization, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), went on a rampage of frenzied gangster attacks against the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Boston University. This Stalinist campaign of threats, harassment, provocation and hooligan attacks was met with a determined defense of workers democracy. The SYL made it clear that it was prepared to exercise its democratic right to distribute and sell revolutionary literature at public meetings.

On Tuesday, February 3, the cowardly RSB tried to intimidate the SYL from staying away from the first in a series of public RSB classes on the campus. An hour before the class, a lone SYL supporter was grabbed by three RSBers near the meeting room, slammed against a wall and warned, "You better not show up tonight." At 7:30 p.m., members and friends of the SYL attempted to enter the narrow public hallway leading to the classroom in order to distribute literature. Some 40 feet from the room they were set upon by RSB goons. A scuffle ensued, and the RSBers called the campus police. The

SYL supporters vigorously defended themselves, and after the fight one of the Maoist thugs wound up with a bloodied head.

The next day, these so-called revolutionaries went running to the Boston University (BU) administration again, this time to finger SYL supporters to the campus cops and university officials. As a result, the administration suspended the SYL for allegedly "attacking" the RSB. This craven appeal for political repression by BU is particularly disgusting since the RSB claims to be fighting the university over attacks on student fees and the firing of clinic workers. Moreover, these are the same campus cops who viciously assaulted students protesting against the imperialist Conference for Latin American Development Studies in October 1974. The SYL defended the victims of the ensuing frame-up, including several members of the RSB.

Even the reactionary administration soon realized that the RSB's slanderous charges could not be substantiated and was forced to lift the suspension after two days. The university authorities did, however, take full advantage of the opportunity provided by the RSB to

clamp down on left groups at BU. In particular, they have tightened the rules for use of facilities in the George Sherman Union, making it difficult for all organizations to sell or distribute literature.

Since the February 3 confrontation, the hysterical RSB has embarked on a gangland-style vendetta. On Friday, February 6, an SYLer was accosted on the subway by a raving RCP punk who threatened to knife him and attempted to shove him around. Bystanders intervened to restrain the would-be assailant.

That evening, in front of numerous shocked witnesses in the Sherman Union, a leading member of the Boston University RSB threatened to "pay back" an SYLer who was going to a forum sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Eight RSB bullies were slinking around the building later, hoping to ambush the four SYLers attending the forum. They failed, however, when YSA members helped provide defense and other SYL supporters arrived.

The SYL and the Spartacist League (SL) have a well-known and intransigent record of opposition to violence

within the left. We have consistently defended the fullest freedom for political debate in the workers movement, including our own right to attend public meetings of left tendencies and to distribute our literature without interference. Unlike the RCP/RSB, we have consistently refused to bring the bourgeois state, its cops or courts into disputes between left organizations.

In contrast, the RCP/RSB have a long and despicable history of gangsterism against other socialist tendencies, both in Boston and elsewhere. Thus on October 21, a *Young Spartacus* sales team at an RCP/RSB film showing were the victims of an unprovoked goon attack in which one comrade was thrown to the floor and another kicked in the groin. A petition circulated by the SYL on campus condemning this scandalous assault was signed by numerous outraged students, faculty and staff.

Revelling in the bloody history of Stalinist atrocities against Bolshevik militants, at a meeting at BU on January 25 an RSB member snarled at several SYL leafletters, "You're going to be floating down the rivers just like the dead Vietnamese Trotskyites." A repetition of the earlier attack was prevented by the presence of a formidable defense team.

The attitude of militant workers to this cynical bragging and violation of workers democracy was shown in another incident at the Fremont General Motors plant in California. After repeated threats and assaults by RCP (then RU) supporters on socialist

*continued on page 9*