

Ranks vs. Officers

Split the Army in Portugal and Spain!



Actualidad Espanola

Generalissimo Francisco Franco with Henry Kissinger.



Eduardo Gageiro

Leftists demonstrate in front of Ministry of Information in Lisbon last week protesting government occupation of radio stations.

Basque Strikes Rock Franco Regime

OCTOBER 6—As Generalissimo Francisco Franco's fragile regime is battered by repeated waves of social unrest, its manifest incapacity to impose public "tranquility and serenity" has given rise to protest on both the left and right. The working class is so imbued with determination to be rid of the senile hangman and his entourage of sadistic torturers that renewed repression only generates more massive and more militant opposition. The fascist butchers, well knowing what their fate would be once the strait jacket of the corporatist state is removed, fight against the slightest "opening" of the dictatorship.

Reactions to last week's execution of five leftist militants spread rapidly across Spain as three Madrid policemen were fatally shot and the entire Basque region erupted in a general strike. The ETA (Basque nationalist) appeal for a "dead-still region" succeeded in halting all economic activity, particularly in the Bilbao and Algorta industrial zones. The 48-hour strike was highlighted by a protest funeral procession, numbering in the thousands, in the native village of one of the ETA martyrs, Juan Paredes.

Meanwhile, stung by denunciations

from Common Market governments and strikes against Iberia Airlines in many European cities, Franco addressed a large Madrid rally where his vapid denunciations of a "leftist Masonic conspiracy" in conjunction with "Communist terrorist subversions" were hailed with the traditional fascist salute. The regime's death throes have also spurred increased activity by the fascist Falange and the ultrarightist death squads, the Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (Warriors of Christ the King). At a recent burial of a slain policeman, Franco's premier, Carlos Arias Navarro, was jeered by reactionaries who denounce the "liberalism" of the present cabinet and call for a complete military takeover.

Carnations and Monocles

But the fascists are not the only ones looking to the army. Ever since the April 25 "Revolution of the Carnations" last year, the example of Portugal has loomed large in the minds of its Iberian neighbors. The Madrid press has closely followed developments in Lisbon, and in particular the role of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The liberal reputation of the Spanish defense minister and

(continued on page 10)

Program for Workers Power in Portugal

OCTOBER 7—During the past week there have been rumors of possible putsch attempts by both right-wing and left-wing officers in Portugal. On Wednesday the Socialist Party claimed to have discovered a plot by the leftist Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment (RALIS, formerly RAL-1). RALIS countercharged that the "moderate" commander of the northern region was preparing to rain bombs on their unit, which guards the capital's airport, the road to Spain and approaches from the north. Then yesterday the Supreme Revolutionary Council, leading body of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), reportedly decided to undertake the disarming of civilian leftist groups. The situation in Lisbon is balanced on a razor's edge.

The program of the Sixth Provisional Government—a popular front of the MFA leadership, the bourgeois Popular Democrats, and the two largest reformist workers parties (Socialist and Communist)—has been stated in no uncertain terms by Premier Azevedo: to put an end to the escalating pre-revolutionary situation by forcibly reimposing military discipline, dissolving the soldiers councils and workers militias,

imposing strict censorship of news, and breaking the backs of the workers commissions.

But although the "moderate" officers were able to impose their views within the MFA—the officer corps of the bourgeois military—the regime has been unable to gather sufficient strength to enforce its will on the soldiers and workers. Its decree on news censorship had to be withdrawn under fire from the entire press; the occupation of the radio stations was largely a failure due to fraternization by troops and workers; and soldiers committees continue to spread.

While the right wing of the MFA has had great difficulty finding "secure" army units to follow its orders, and objective conditions for successful working-class resistance against its plans for repression exist, it would be a grave error to think that the bourgeois state could be toppled simply by administering a deft blow from left-wing sectors of the military. The officer corps remains intact, although rent with divisions. Thus the regime resulting from a left-wing coup would still rest on the core of the capitalist state. A

(continued on page 10)

16 September 1975

Dear WORKERS VANGUARD,

Please enter my subscription. Really, your paper is far and away the most articulate and most sophisticated organ on the left.

I attended a forum sponsored by IS on the events in Portugal tonight and outside was re-introduced to WV. I had been working loosely with IS for the past several weeks, trying to convince myself that there was some real potential for the organization and its voice, WORKERS POWER. But compared to WV, WORKERS POWER seems limp indeed, little more than pepping and rallying. It is a relief to see that there is an organization whose writers know how to *think*.

On the other hand the weaknesses of your organization were also apparent this evening. One of the distributors of WV engaged me in conversation, and as soon as I began to contribute some criticism of Spartacist he became bitterly defensive. His tactics were reversed by a more mature member of your organization. But still your main problem so far as personal propaganda and especially polemics is concerned remains arrogance, impetuosity, impatience—in short, idealism: engaging in ideological struggle

without sensitivity as to the particular opinions of particular individuals in particular situations. Being right is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for winning over potential recruits. There is a self-destructive aspect in your members' propaganda. It is the bourgeois intellectualist pride of beating instead of winning over. This is the result of insecurity not overconfidence. You recruit largely from the intelligentsia. It's about time you took it upon yourselves to eradicate this amateurism, this snobbishness, this self-righteousness only thinly disguised as the courage of your convictions.

Your strategy seems to me to be thoughtful and deliberate, and not at all pretentious. You say what you are, no more, and even verge on self-effacement. Your contribution at this stage must be basically programmatic and polemical. Excellent. You cannot help but grow.

I would only make two main suggestions. First, advanced workers are not necessarily as advanced in intellectual skills as in outlook. You must try harder to use a vocabulary and grammatical structure which is not as intimidating, which is not as elitist. Your writers must rub their hands at their own brilliance (and much of your writing *is* brilliant!) a

little less often and concentrate more on the enormously difficult problems of *popularizing* social science. Put definitions in parentheses, annotate common formulae, inhibit the usage of the less familiar word (even if it is somewhat less exact), etc. Though this may appear as the contradiction between exactness and comprehensibility I think this is often deceptive. Popularization as often means clarification as simplification.

A more important suggestion has to do with your program, the basis of your propaganda. Though you identify yourselves as a propaganda organization you base yourselves on an *agitational* program, the Transitional Program. You do not say what you want if you came to power. You do not express your maximum program in any detail. In fact, the communist movement has not produced a maximum program since the *ABCs of Communism!* I believe that such a document is the most pressing theoretical task of our movement, a statement of the political, economic and social aims of a workers' state; an explanation and defense of the proletarian dictatorship, of economic and political internationalism.

I have spent the last eight years among the proletariat, most of them as an open communist. (Now I am working in a ...

with an independent union and am its vice-president.) Most of my discussions with workers center around the maximum program, what is socialism, how would it solve the problems of capitalism, and so on. It is true that during a mass upsurge it is necessary to pose demands which expose the inability of capitalism to fulfill the objective needs of the workers. Thus the Transitional Program. But during present times the workers do not want to discuss "fair" but impossible demands upon the capitalists. They want to hear formulated a solid alternative. It is not as important to expose capitalism as to counterpose to it the socialist future. Especially the political future. Given the examples of the USSR and China, what is popularly needed is not so much an attack on capitalism but a defense of socialism.

Congratulations on becoming a weekly. I am glad to begin reading your paper regularly again.

Sincerely,
David S.

Workers Vanguard replies:

WV enjoys publishing informative or controversial political letters. This thoughtful critical contribution from a

SLA: From "Heroic Guerrillas" to "Police Plot"

Workers League Bitten By Seven-Headed Cobra

The uproar over recent assassination attempts against Gerald Ford together with the capture of Patricia Hearst and the remnants of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) has spotlighted the chronic inability of ostensibly socialist organizations to analyze social phenomena and events from a Marxist viewpoint. The Spartacist League has been unique in consistently maintaining that the SLA is not part of the left but "an irrational and cultist expression of lumpen-proletarian rage having nothing in common with the struggle of the working class for socialism" (*WV* No. 43, 26 April 1974).

Quite a different line is presented by the fake-Trotskyist Workers League (WL), which asserts that, "This fantastic tale [Patricia Hearst's 'amnesia'] is being whipped up as a smokescreen to cover up the fact that the SLA was a police operation from beginning to end" (*Bulletin*, 26 September). This is at least consistent with its cop-plot "theories" at the time the SLA kidnapping of Hearst first hit the headlines: according to a 19 February 1974 *Bulletin* editorial, "The SLA has all the characteristics of a CIA or FBI creation."

However, between then and now the WL said something entirely opposite. Shortly after Patricia Hearst announced her "conversion" to the SLA, Melody Farrow wrote in the *Bulletin* (19 April 1974):

"There can be no question of the courage and dedication of the SLA members who are willing to risk their lives to fight capitalism. They must be unconditionally defended against the plans of the government to massacre them."

Thus with consummate fake-"dialectics" the SLA was transformed from a group with "all the characteristics of a CIA or FBI creation" into a band of courageous and dedicated anti-capitalist fighters. And with a wave of the Healyite magic wand—presto!—the SLA again becomes a police creation from start to finish, without a word of explanation.

The explanation is, however, self-evident to those who know the Workers League: discovering that Patricia Hearst and the SLA evoked sympathy from various petty-bourgeois radicals, the WL decided to appeal to these strata by transmogrifying their heroes from cops into revolutionaries. Nor is this something new for these practised political bandits.

Under the leadership of Tim Wohlforth the WL gained widespread notoriety for its political dishonesty, its subordination of political principle to pursuit of organizational opportunities. A truly gross instance was Wohlforth's hailing of Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton for turning to "dialectics" just weeks before Newton turned to the church and the Democratic Party. In the same issue of the *Bulletin*, Wohlforth also called for all-out labor support to the strike of New York City cops!

Wohlforth is gone, reduced to spending his time sniffing around the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the unsavory, ethereal sectlet of Michel Varga, the International League Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI). But his fabled "method" remains. Under its new lackluster manager, Fred Mazelis, the WL is every bit as unprincipled and dishonest. (See page 8 on the *Bulletin's* recent flipflops over Portugal.) In addition to the time-honored technique of the Big Lie, one of its favorite modes of argumentation is the amalgam. Thus the 30 September *Bulletin* attempts to lump the Spartacist League together with the snivelling reformists of the SWP, claiming the SL has been driven into a frenzy by the bourgeoisie's anti-terrorism campaign.

Mere facts are of little importance to the WL, but for anyone else there is an obvious difference between the SWP's condemnation of assassination attempts on Ford as "part of the violence, hatred

and irrationality which seem to poison American society today," and the SL's forthright statement: "We wept no tears over the death of John Kennedy, and class-conscious workers are not concerned to protect the physical safety of the chief imperialist warmonger, Gerald Ford" (*WV* No. 78, 26 September).

The *Bulletin* writer is particularly upset that we could say: "That a disturbed crackpot like Lyn Marcus, for instance, can gain a following of hundreds of youth (some of whom want to see a socialist society) is an expression of the extreme weakness of the U.S. left and the present quietism of its misled and racially torn working class."

"Aha!" cries the *Bulletin*. "Here in its purest form, is the enormous cynicism and despair of the American middle class." It continues: "The exact opposite is the case. The use of provocations by the ruling class expresses its enormous weakness when confronted by the labor movement. ... The key issue is not that the working class lacks sufficient strength to defend its rights, but that it is not conscious of its strength. The task of making it conscious is the central responsibility of the revolutionary party."

The Workers League specializes in the preposterous truism, first presenting false premises, then obscuring the issues and conveniently missing the point. Yes, we said the U.S. left is weak, the working class is quietist, i.e., not conscious of its strength and unaware of its true interests. Why? Because it is misled, by confusionists and opportunists. Given the WL's penchant for changing its line as casually as most people change their underwear, it is evident that Mazelis and Co. offer no alternative but only more of the same. The construction of a truly revolutionary, Trotskyist party in the U.S. will have as one of its byproducts the political destruction of such pettifogging snake oil peddlers. ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Milton Friedman and "Chicago Boys" Implicated in Chilean Repression: Protest Barbaric Junta's Collaborators!
- Pat Swinton Acquitted: Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!
- SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement": Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms
- Banker Barons Slam New York City!
- Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
\$2/11 issues

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____ 80

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

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.

reader expresses a conception of press which if systematized is at variance to the party-building press policy of the Spartacist League.

The characterization of "elitism" is not a point of style but a political characterization, which seems to be based on *WV*'s angular polemical edge and its meticulous attention to political preciseness and correctness. In the IS milieu, the charge of "elitism" is generally a jargonistic shorthand to conceal a social-democratic revulsion against seriousness, professionalism and our insistence on aiming *WV* at an audience of advanced workers already interested in a perspective of basic social change. The IS, like other ostensible Marxists, chooses instead to produce a fake-popular press which talks down to the radical petty bourgeoisie's stereotype of the working class. The function of *Workers' Power* is to pretend to mass influence, not to build cadres and lead militants on the basis of program.

More important, *WV* is not simply a newspaper; it is a weapon in the class struggle and a means toward the construction of a hard revolutionary organization. "Independent" radicals, who do not accept the centrality of the fundamental Leninist proposition of the need for a party, tend to see press policy as static rather than as reflecting the specific needs of the embryonic vanguard formation in a particular period. *WV*'s present main function is not to attempt to convince broad masses of the general desirability and feasibility of a socialist solution to the evils of capitalism. It is rather to regroup those most conscious and committed class-struggle militants and subjective revolutionaries around the authentic Trotskyist program, as part of winning them to active participation in the fight to build the Bolshevik organization.

Explanation of socialists' general long-range goals is an important aspect of our work, and is certainly not absent from the activities of *WV* supporters in the working class. Nor is it absent from *WV* propaganda. We disagree with the writer's implication that presentation and argumentation of a concrete programmatic orientation toward specific situations is an ineffective means for illuminating what the socialist world of the future will be like.

Over particular issues, for example recently in discussing the protectionist anti-Soviet grain boycott, *WV* has printed articles and resolutions explaining concretely why workers must solidarize with the historic gains of the October Revolution. Perhaps out of disagreement with the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states, the writer may overlook the way in which such articles present the basic Marxist arguments for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the inherent advantages of a rational division of labor in a worldwide planned economy, the potential for human freedom which would be unlocked by the demise of oppressive bourgeois institutions such as the nuclear family, etc. Similarly, in explaining the counterrevolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracies, such articles present the need to place political power in the hands of workers soviets through political revolution.

WV believes that the presentation of the Marxist world view as elucidated in the treatment of concrete issues links the fundamental solution of the burning problems of mankind to the central issue of our epoch—the crisis of revolutionary leadership. To proceed otherwise implies abstract propagandism in the manner of utopian socialists. ■

CORRECTIONS

Due to an editorial error, an article in our last issue on a Bay Area lawyers guild conference incorrectly located the meeting in Berkeley. The conference actually took place at Hastings Law School in San Francisco.

Also, a correspondent has informed us that a factual error appeared in the article, "Stop Indira Gandhi's Repres-

"All the Way With the MFA!"

Archie Brown's Recipe for Defeat in Portugal

BERKELEY, September 25—As the Portuguese officer corps moves rightward to "discipline" the Portuguese working class, threatening a bloodbath à la Chile, the American Communist Party (CP) has experienced considerable difficulty explaining the sudden setback. This was obvious at a CP-sponsored forum on Portugal held here tonight, with featured speakers including Archie Brown, advertised as "member Executive Board longshoremen's union" and "national council—Communist Party, U.S.A."

Brown is a veteran apologist for Stalinist class collaborationism including a stint in the late 1930's as defender of the Spanish CP's participation in the bourgeois popular-front government. His recent record includes a long campaign in support of the bourgeois Chilean "Popular Unity" government during 1970-1973, and his non-support of a boycott of Chilean goods organized by ILWU Local 10 militants to demonstrate solidarity with victims of the blood-stained junta.

For almost a year and a half the CP has been enthusing over the Portuguese "Armed Forces Movement" (MFA). Recently (*Daily World*, 17 September) it went so far as to state that while "the imperialist news media will describe the new Azevedo cabinet as a 'defeat' for the Communists" in fact "going from no cabinet members at all to some cabinet posts is a gain for the PCP"! This cynical idiot optimism notwithstanding, the Stalinists both here and in Portugal are in fact quite nervous about the recent sharp right turn in the Lisbon government. This was clear from *People's World* reporter Stephanie Allan's speech in which she said that "the working class is not in power in Portugal," and that the country is only in "a process of a democratic revolution." Allan warned that while the masses support the "revolutionary program of the MFA," people should "make no mistake, there are Pinochets in the Portuguese armed forces" (surprise!). She did not bother to mention the fact that from May of last year on, the Portuguese CP has been a member of popular-front governments together with the future Portuguese Pinochets!

Archie Brown seemed not to have caught up with the new line yet. Ecstatic over the "revolutionary process" in Portugal, he complained that the CP-controlled Intersindical union federation still faces tough problems, such as "making sure people get to work"! He might also have mentioned the CP's "difficulties" in preventing strikes. In June 1974 the Intersindical tried to break a militant postal strike in Lisbon by sending goon squads to beat up the strikers. But Brown preferred not to talk

sion!" (*WV* No. 73, 18 July 1975). The article stated that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) had been banned in Gandhi's campaign against her opponents. However, although some of its leaders were arrested, the CPI(M) was not outlawed. On the left, it was the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and other Maoist groups that were banned.

about this, just as he now remains silent about his support to the job-cutting ILWU contract in 1960 and his failure to oppose the same sellout in 1966.

Incredibly, Brown assured the audience that the present government "will be the one to carry out a socialist revolution." When in the discussion period a spokesman for the Spartacist League challenged this reformist illusion, warning of the danger of "another bloodbath" similar to Spain and Chile, CP goons began to move in. They were halted by protests from two black members of the audience who insisted on hearing the question. Continuing, the Spartacist speaker asked, "How can you make a socialist revolution with a bourgeois army?"

The CP's confusion deepened. Stephanie Allan responded that "nobody has claimed you can make a socialist revolution with a bourgeois army," but then alluded to a "left section of the MFA" which allegedly could make such a revolution. The parallels with Stalin's disastrous policy in China were obvious: first supporting Chiang Kai-shek, who butchered thousands of Shanghai workers in April 1927, and learning nothing from that tragedy, the "Great Organizer of Defeats" then accommodated Left Kuomintang leader Wang Ching-wei, by ordering the disbanding of an agrarian insurrectionary movement the next month, leading to the slaughter of 20,000 peasants.

Later in the discussion, when another Spartacist spokesman again asked how the CP could support the bourgeois military government, it was Archie's turn to put his foot in his mouth. "Everyone wants to take potshots at Communists," he complained. "We have read Lenin," he insisted, "and Lenin said, 'Look out for blueprints.'" Brown then argued that the "method of arriving at workers power is not the same in every country." In Portugal, he exclaimed triumphantly, "the vanguard movement arose in the armed forces." Anyone who tries to "divide the people from the Portuguese military" is doing the work of reactionaries, he intoned.

"The opportunist has even forgotten how to think about proletarian revolution." That remark from Lenin's *State and Revolution* aptly fits the Communist Party. It is those who, like the CP, tie the working class to the class enemy that are "doing the work of reactionaries." Time and again Lenin stressed that far from merely weeding out the most blatant reactionaries from the capitalist state apparatus (what the Portuguese CP calls "saneamento") and attempting to perfect it (the French CP's "advanced democracy"), the state machinery including especially its core, the armed forces, must be broken and smashed. This is no blueprint, but an iron law of revolution. The task of proletarian revolutionaries in Portugal is not to capitulate to the leftist pretensions of the MFA, but to win the most class-conscious soldiers away from all wings of the bourgeois officer corps to the working class under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party. ■

Drop the Charges!

Anti-Racist Militants on Trial in East Boston

BOSTON—As a result of vicious racist assaults on black residents from the Sumner Maverick housing project in otherwise lily-white East Boston, eight people will stand trial October 8 in East Boston District Court, seven of them charged with disorderly conduct and one with assault and battery. In a typical display of bourgeois "justice," the defendants are not the perpetrators of the attacks but the victims and their defenders.

The arrests took place on August 25 following a successful effort by an organized, integrated defense force to fend off a gang of racist white youths who beat up two black teenagers and then hurled rocks through windows in apartments of the project's black residents. This was not the first time that black tenants had joined with members of a city-wide tenants' coalition and a group called Greater Boston People against Racism (supported by Youth Against War and Fascism) to defend themselves against attacks designed to drive all non-white families out of the project. The racists were emboldened by the obvious sympathy of the police and the success earlier in the summer of white thugs at another East Boston project, who forced out a number of Puerto Rican families by firebombing their homes.

On August 25 a number of police stood by and watched the rock-throwing. They only moved into action when a defense formation was set up. The cops then dispersed the tenant guards and broke into the home of Mrs. Anna Mae Lewis without a warrant, where they arrested her and the seven other defendants. Mrs. Lewis, a member of the East Boston bi-racial council set up under the court-ordered busing plan, has been a particular target of the racists.

This racist frame-up must stop! All charges must be dropped!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 9, Summer 1975

- Black Women Against Triple Oppression
- German Social Democracy: Work Among Women
- United Secretariat Betrays Women
- Joan Little Must Not Be Sent to Death Row!
- Anti-Abortion Laws: Weapon of Church and State
- Sheila Rowbotham: Hiding from History

Subscription rate:

\$1 for 4 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

SL Debates Milt Zaslow in L.A.

Socialist Union: Mandel's Orphans

LOS ANGELES—A long-postponed confrontation between the Spartacist League (SL) and the L.A.-centered Socialist Union (SU) finally materialized on September 21. Milt Zaslow, father figure of the SU, consented to the debate in a last-ditch effort to turn his few remaining peripheral sympathizers away from the SL. Among the topics touched on in the debate were strategy in the trade unions and orientation to the military regime in Portugal.

Predictably, Zaslow served up the usual opportunist theme about supposed SL "sectarian abstentionism." He charged that the trade-union caucuses supported by the SL are completely isolated because they oppose the bureaucratic misleaders on the basis of a principled class-struggle program. To Zaslow "lesser evilism is absolutely legitimate" as a revolutionary policy in the labor movement. In a crescendo of opportunist demagoguery he proclaimed, "A movement to set workers into motion on a partial demand is 100 times more important than to give them a perfect formula that moves no one."

In contrast to Zaslow's advocacy of tailing labor's sellout artists, SL spokesman Doug Hayes cited modest successes achieved by SL-supported caucuses in applying a full political program to the workers struggles. He described successes both in winning partial victories (like defeat of a reactionary anti-red clause in the Communication Workers as the result of a struggle led by the Militant Action Caucus at the 1973 CWA convention) and in gaining support through election campaigns for class-struggle programs that included the call for a workers government and expropriation of all major industry.

On Portugal, Zaslow was made uncomfortable by the fact that the group supported by SU, the International Communist League, supports the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement. While Zaslow contended, "they are not exactly selling out," Hayes demonstrated precisely how the LCI was selling out, how it employs the same disastrous methods as the POUM did in Spain. But this analysis didn't disturb Zaslow, who earlier had made the utterly false and slanderous assertion about the Spanish Civil War that "Trotskyists... subordinate the class struggle to the war... restrain the class struggle in the interest of the [Republican] front." Hayes pointed out that this call for political support to the popular front government was in stark contrast to the actual Trotskyist position, "that military victory could only be achieved by a successful socialist revolution."

Zaslow fared little better in discussion. Only "independents" were allowed to speak, a condition imposed by the SU who feared that the questions raised by SL supporters might prove unpleasantly embarrassing. Unfortunately for Zaslow, the independent speakers were quite capable of asking questions that were too hot for him to handle. When asked about the SU position on the Cuban state, he could only reply that Fidel had "personified in his own self the permanent revolution."

What is the Socialist Union?

After being bureaucratically expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the members of the former Internationalist Tendency (IT), American supporters of the majority faction of the misnamed United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), were directed by their European mentor, Ernest Mandel, to crawl back to the reformist SWP and

plead for reinstatement as the loyal opposition. Some refused the trip, instead finding a place with Zaslow. This loyal opposition from without continues to pledge its allegiance to the USec majority, which in turn scorns it in favor of the SWP. Thus the SU has become a pathetic home for Mandel's wayward orphans.

They did not get what they bargained for, however. Instead of an independent organization where they can put Mandel's politics into practice, the SU is an undisciplined cult around Milt Zaslow. It is one of the least serious groups on the U.S. left, a trait which Zaslow has made into a political principle in order to justify his long and sordid opposition to "Cannonism." Early in his presentation Zaslow lashed out at the "SL's Cannonite tradition." He referred to James P. Cannon's long history of providing revolutionary leadership to the SWP as a "regime always tainted by Stalinism." "Cannon after Trotsky's death—you can have him," he sneered.

This fear and trembling in the face of Cannonism is really an objection to serious democratic centralist organization. Zaslow's faith in the rotten-bloc USec demonstrates that objection ideologically, and his present rag-tag collection of dilettantes shows it in practice. Not unexpectedly, he consistently argued in the debate that democratic centralism "couldn't be enforced in the Fourth International."

The SU certainly can't be accused of having a "Cannon regime." Members do not attend meetings regularly, particularly if they have "something better to do." The top dues-payers contribute \$7.50 a week, and some members with full-time jobs pay as little as 50 cents a week. The SU has almost no literary output and often cannot mobilize its membership for demonstrations, simply because of lethargy. Certainly no taint of "Stalinist" Cannonism there.

Who is Milt Zaslow?

"I was there" intoned Zaslow in self-praise for "long experience in the Trotskyist movement." His personal history is important not only because the SU is a personality cult but also because Zaslow derives much of his authority from claims to "experience and continuity." Yet what exactly was his "experience"?

Known as Mike Bartell in the SWP, Zaslow split in 1940, joining the Shachtmanites whose attack on Cannon's "bureaucratic conservatism" masked their own capitulation to petty-bourgeois Stalinophobia. He later rejoined, only to factionalize again with the Pabloites against the "brutal Cannon regime."

Bartell/Zaslow "was there" when Cochran, Clarke et al. were expelled in 1953 after their faction's provocative boycott of the SWP's 25th anniversary celebration of American Trotskyism. The central, overriding question facing the international Trotskyist movement at that time was the party question. Under the misleadership of Michel Pablo the Fourth International was faced with a crisis of confidence in its role as vanguard party of the international proletariat. Pablo and his supporters organized the liquidation of Trotskyist parties into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the U.S. this tendency was represented by the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell group, while the integrity of the party was represented by Cannon.

As organizer of the New York City local, Bartell tried to slide his liquidationist political positions under the door as "local tasks." He wanted the SWP to

continued on page 8

Rolling the Buses in Both Directions

SWP For and Against Integration

The extreme racial polarization and fierce segregationist backlash in Boston for the last year have sharply posed the busing issue before all self-proclaimed socialist and civil-rights organizations.

The Spartacist League (SL) has consistently supported busing as a means of implementing the democratic right of black people to equal access in public education facilities. Criticizing the limited scope of various busing plans reluctantly instituted by the bourgeoisie the SL has called for extension of busing, to incorporate the relatively superior schools in the suburbs and other exclusive white neighborhoods. As opposed to the feeble enforcement afforded by the capitalist state, we call for the organization of an integrated labor/black defense to ensure the implementation of busing and to protect black people from racist reaction. Marxists advocate on principle the elimination of every form of racial segregation and the all-sided integration of black people in every aspect of social life. The enforced social isolation of black people in the ghetto is poison for the united class struggle against special oppression and capitalism.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its captive National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) have attempted to parade as the most active and stalwart champions of black equality around the busing issue in Boston and elsewhere. Until recently the "most consistent" cheerleaders for black nationalism, the SWP/YSA for years has uncritically enthused over schemes for "community control," which translates into the "right" of the oppressed black masses to accept forced segregation in return for token "control" of the decrepit ghetto schools. Today the "most consistent" bootlickers for Uncle Tom "leaders of the Black community" like the ultra-legalist NAACP, the cynical SWP/YSA now parrots respectable, gradualist integration.

Gearing up for its October 10-12 "Second National Student Conference Against Racism," the SWP/YSA wishes to avoid repeating the political clash between Maoist-influenced black nationalist militants opposing busing in the name of "community control" and the liberal-oriented NSCAR leadership which polarized the first bureaucratically manipulated conference of NSCAR. SWP/YSA leader Tony Thomas has recently ventured an "explanation" that busing and "community control" are complementary as a two-pronged

approach.

Thomas "polemically" slays all those who contend that "community control" and busing—i.e., separatism and integration—are counterposed strategies with the single "devastating" argument: "If we lose this fight for integration, we won't be able to talk about community control as an alternative [!], because we'll be in no position to win it." However, the inescapable conclusion flowing from this argument is: If we win the fight for integration—eliminating the entire system of "community schools" based on residential segregation—then indeed we won't even be able to talk about "community control"!

Just as the SWP/YSA today bases its "support" for busing on the sentiment of allegedly authoritative "leaders of the Black community," these "consistent democrats" have taken a programmatic stand on the fundamental democratic questions involved. When busing in Pontiac, Michigan, provoked KKK bombings of the school buses and reactionary demonstrations by local white racists in 1971, the SWP/YSA, at that time pushing various black nationalists and ventilating a few criticisms of the NAACP, refused to support the NAACP-sponsored busing or even call for any measures of defense for the black students under attack (*Militant*, 24 September and 15 October 1971)! In the face of this racist onslaught, the SWP/YSA claimed that the "real issue" was not busing but "the question of Black people controlling the schools and other institutions in the Black community" (*Militant*, 17 December 1971).

When busing in Atlanta provoked a furious racist reaction across Georgia the same year, the SWP/YSA likewise refused to support busing (*Militant*, 7 April 1971). And when the 1972 National Black Political Convention, convened by black capitalist politicians, adopted an anti-busing, pro-"community control" platform, the SWP/YSA wildly applauded, hailing Gary mayor Hatcher's bombastic speech as "really very good" and promoting the platform of these bourgeois politicians as a "fairly radical, militant, nationalist platform" (*Militant*, 31 March 1972)!

The segregationist logic of the SWP/YSA's slogan, "Black control of Black education," was fully exposed by the 1972 struggle over busing in Canarsie, New York, where bigoted white parents fought busing with the battle cry, "community control" of the schools. The SWP/YSA, desperate to cover its political posterior, brazenly announced,

"It is the right of the oppressed community to decide whether busing will or will not be used in order to achieve an equal education for their children, and it is also the right of the oppressed community to exercise control and supervision over such programs." [original emphasis]

—*Militant*, 10 November 1972

According to the SWP/YSA, the whites opposing busing in Pontiac, South Boston and Louisville, even though overwhelmingly working people, are in no way oppressed and must not be granted the "democratic right" of so-called "community control." But the SWP/YSA apparently does consider the Catholic clergy to be an "oppressed community," since the *Militant* (17 September 1971) hailed nuns who called for black control over parochial schools!

Black people and all who stand for racial equality should judge these social-democratic fakers by their record. The SWP/YSA's "support" for busing rests on the shifting sands of the most rank opportunism. ■

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

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

**U.S. \$5—12 issues
(airmail)**

**U.S. \$2—12 issues
(surface mail)**

order from/pay to
**Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia**

I.S. Chases General Carvalho

OCTOBER 6—To kick off its autumn campaign to instantly recruit 100 workers through show-business gimmickry and "impressive rallies," the International Socialists (IS) last month sponsored a speaking tour for António Silva, billed as "Portuguese soldier and revolutionary." Silva is a delegate to the "Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors," a body which despite its pretentious name is actually little more than a satellite of the New Left-syndicalist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP). He was accompanied on the tour by IS chairman Joel Geier, who unctuously hailed the PRP as the "most revolutionary" and "most far-seeing party" in Portugal.

Far from demonstrating the revolutionary mettle of the IS and PRP, the tour made graphically clear their total confusion and inability to present a class line on the most burning questions of the hour in Portugal. In city after city supporters of the Spartacist League demanded an accounting from Silva and Geier of the wretched history of PRP support to the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA). While Geier repeatedly tried to suppress left criticisms and open discussion through high-handed bureaucratic manipulation, Silva chose evasion. Although at the start of his tour he attempted to defend the PRP's many



Antonio Silva

WV Photo

rhetoric, will differentiate a revolutionary party from the morass of opportunism. And on the key question, the class nature of the MFA and the correct orientation to it, the PRP employs a theoretical muddle to rationalize its class-collaborationist practice.

Silva's tour provided ample illustrations of the PRP's total lack of clarity and revolutionary integrity. In Seattle on September 16 he asserted, "at this time the MFA does not exist." A translator provided by IS attempted to "clarify" the statement, but Silva insisted in English that the MFA does not exist! The following day in the course of a WV interview in San Francisco, Silva said that with the August 25 formation of a "United Revolutionary Front" the non-existent MFA was "subordinated to the workers vanguard." He added, "If the MFA had been left out, some of the MFA officials would go on saying that they were the vanguard of the revolutionary process in Portugal." In Los Angeles the next day Silva lapsed into total confusion about this military apparition, saying "Today I cannot characterize the MFA."

Incapable of characterizing the Armed Forces Movement, Silva along with Geier also had difficulty justifying the PRP's capitulation to it. During the course of the tour the speakers worked up a stock answer to accusations of class collaboration, consisting of reading quotes about "workers power" from the so-called "COPCON Document." (In Oakland, Geier claimed the PRP actually wrote the document.) While the IS and PRP ballyhoo the radical reforms enumerated in this platform, they purposely ignore its popular-frontist core, the "MFA-People Alliance," labeled in the document "the keystone of power to be built." The "organs of workers power" foreseen are to be "recognized," presumably by the bonapartist MFA, and discipline strengthened in the armed forces. Thus the PRP, like most other "far left" parties in Portugal, provides a left cover for the MFA, armed fist of the bourgeoisie and main guarantor of capitalist rule in Lisbon.

The inflated rhetoric of this grandstand tour was continually punctured by SL questions. In Los Angeles we noted, "On August 25 the PRP signed a popular-front type pact with seven other parties which openly called, in point 3, for political support for the... strikebreaking, capitalist government of Gonçalves.... What are the reasons why the IS and/or António Silva think this doesn't represent support for a capitalist government—political support?" Silva never got around to explaining the PRP's signing the August 25 communiqué and its political support to the now defunct Gonçalves government.

Another topic of repeated discussion

was the PRP's hero, General Carvalho. In Oakland Silva lamely pointed out that the COPCON chief "sometimes does things for the workers." In Cleveland Geier hinted that Carvalho might even be won over to the revolution. Did the IS and PRP perhaps consider it a revolutionary step when Carvalho carried out the military occupation of leftist-controlled radio and television stations on September 29? Perhaps they also share the general's fears that soldiers committees "despite their good intentions... increasingly disintegrate the armed forces" (quoted in *República*, 26 September). While the PRP does not condone everything done by Carvalho and COPCON, the critical support it extends to the "Carvalho wing" of the MFA leaves the workers and plebeian ranks of the

armed forces unprepared for the necessary resistance *against the left-posturing bourgeois officer corps.*

Echoing Carvalho's self-serving demagoguery, Silva deplored the fact that the Communist, Socialist and other parties are fighting for influence within the workers commissions. Silva advocated "councils without parties," certainly an appealing prospect for some sections of the MFA. So long as troublesome workers parties are eliminated and the military retains an exclusive right to "recognize" the councils, Carvalho's bonapartist appetites will be satisfied. But in the process of conciliating the generals, the PRP (and its IS shills) sows fatal illusions among the Portuguese workers and helps dig the grave of the revolution. ■

Death in Chicago Strike

Scab Trucker Runs Down OCAW Official

CHICAGO, October 3—The 240 workers at the Capital Packaging Plant in Melrose Park, Illinois, have been on strike nearly three months. The strikers' quite limited demands include a 25-cent across-the-board pay raise, minor fringe benefits and a settlement retroactive to the date their last contract expired, in January. Faced with a small isolated strike, the giant Alberto-Culver Corporation decided to smash it, hiring in some thirty scabs, maintaining production at a runaway shop in Georgia and using the full brunt of the Melrose Park Police Department to muscle down picketers. The cops have escorted and protected scabs while arresting and harassing the strikers.

Brazenly demonstrating their role as guardians of the bosses' interests, Melrose Park police last week released on \$25 bond a scab trucker who had run over a picketer, Dave Watson, vice president of the striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-507, resulting in his death several days later. The killer, reportedly a member of Teamsters Local 325 (Rockford, Illinois), was let off on a charge of *failing to yield to a pedestrian!* The day after Watson died, these same cops arrested 14 strikers and supporters at a mass picket line.

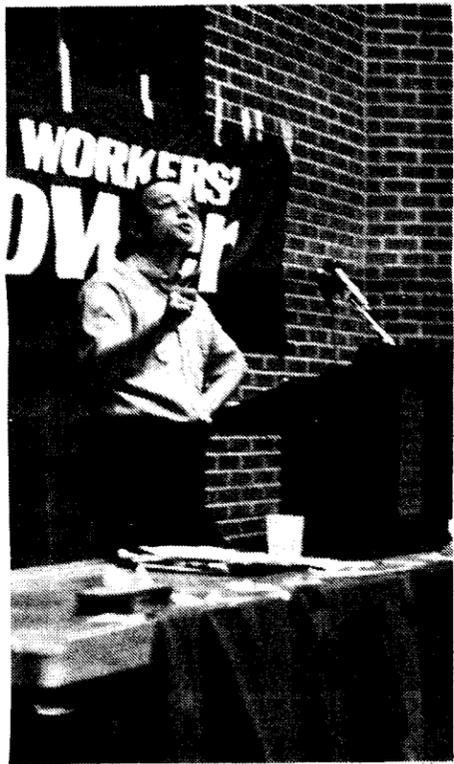
A leaflet put out by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle opposition in UAW Local 6 (located at the International Harvester plant a few blocks from the strike site), demanded that "The outrage of all unionists must express itself in the demand that [the scab] be expelled from his local and the entire union movement. The labor movement cannot allow such murderous activity to pass unpunished and unprotected." The LSC pointed to the recent experience of Local 6 in forming a defense guard to protect the house of a black member and to the flying picket squads of the thirties as the way to deal with strikebreakers.

While the neighboring UAW local has contributed \$200 to the strike fund and several OCAW locals donated proceeds from plant gate collections, little else has been done to support the beleaguered strikers. Much of the blame for this situation rests with the OCAW Local 7-507 leadership itself, which has done nothing to mobilize active support, even from sister locals in the area or from other

plants in the Alberto-Culver chain. Nor have the 3,000 members of 7-507, which covers 32 other plants in the area, been brought in to defend their striking brothers and sisters. •

The LSC has argued that "This strike could be assured of victory if our local, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and every union in the area committed their full support to the Capital workers." In contrast, other ostensible militants have offered the kind of "support" which is guaranteed to keep the strike isolated and ineffectual. In an act of stupid adventurism, the October League-supported Workers Solidarity Committee (WSC), which apparently has no members among the strikers, violated union picket discipline and attempted to overturn scab cars (resulting in the above-mentioned arrests, nine of whom were reportedly WSC members). While strikers must repel scabs and defend the picket lines, this ill-considered action by a small handful of supporters only provided OCAW bureaucrats with a red-baiting justification for excluding the WSC from the picket lines, which they proceeded to do.

The WSC's tactics, far from being a display of militancy, amounted to a cover for its failure to put forward any strategy of militant, united labor action to support the strikers. At a mass meeting of over 200 strikers and supporters held at the UAW Local 6 union hall on September 23, WSC members actually joined the OCAW leadership in arguing against the suggestion of an LSC supporter that the strike be broadened by seeking official support—financially, on the picket lines and through hot-cargoing of scab products—from other unions. After the WSC's exclusion from the picket lines, an October League leaflet distributed to the strikers argued lamely that unions, to be victorious, "need to unite with organizations like the October League which has won respect throughout the U.S. for giving revolutionary leadership to the people's struggle." However, OCAW and UAW workers in Melrose Park have had a chance to see in practice that behind the Maoists' gung-ho "action" mania lies a political program not qualitatively different from that of the present bureaucracy. Victory in the class struggle can be achieved only by militant labor action going beyond the limits of simple trade unionism to attack the very foundations of capitalist society. ■



Joel Geier

WV Photo

capitulations, by the time he reached Los Angeles on September 18 Silva was complaining that it was "dishonest" to make him defend "every position of the PRP." While describing himself as a "sympathizer of the PRP," he said that the purpose of his tour was "simply to defend the Portuguese Revolution."

But in Portugal today virtually everyone claims to "defend the revolution." Just ask them. Ask Mario Soares, head of the Socialist Party, whose document "Conquer the Crisis, Save the Revolution" calls for the severe punishment of armed workers militias and popular vigilance committees. Ask General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the COPCON security force, who "defends the revolution" by smashing strikes and arresting leftists. Ask the right wing of the MFA, who plot a counterrevolutionary bloodbath while their "Document of the Nine" demagogically proclaims a "new social and political organization of the socialist type."

Empty socialist verbiage like "defense of the revolution" is shared by all wings of the MFA, by centrist and reformist workers parties and even by the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party. Only a clear Marxist political program, not vague

Paris Printers Defend Closed Shop

PARIS—From the formation of the Union of the Left (a would-be-governmental alliance between the reformist workers parties and a small capitalist party, the left Radicals) in 1972 on, the central question for the French working class has again become popular frontism. Confronted by a rise in the class struggle, the reformist leaderships of the workers movement have sought to codify their treacherous policy of class collaboration by a formal coalition with representatives, however seedy, of the bourgeoisie. The Marchais (Communist Party) and the Mitterrands (Socialist Party) present this line in the name of "advanced democracy."

Although in themselves not very significant in influence, the Radicals provide the reformist leaderships of the workers movement with a ready-made excuse for betrayal: "keeping faith" with their bourgeois allies. As soon as the workers enter into struggle they find their road blocked by the popular-frontist policy of the misleaders of their organizations. The workers can go forward only *against* the popular front, which thus becomes the central political question for all the so-called revolutionary organizations. But the vast majority of the French "revolutionary" left, faced with the popularity of the Union of the Left, veered rightward to capitulate before the popular front.

From the beginning the Union of the Left went all-out to reassure nervous bourgeois elements of its reliability. Particularly revealing is the bitter eight-month-old strike at the *Parisien Libéré* newspaper. The strikers, who walked off the job on March 3, showed great determination and courage. When the paper was shut down, *Parisien* owner Amaury first attempted to have a pirate edition printed in Belgium. But the French and Belgian workers joined forces to form armed border patrols which physically prevented trucks carrying the scab edition from entering France.

On May 10, when the strike was two months old, *Parisien* workers occupied the printing plant, barricading themselves behind stacks of 1200-pound rolls of paper and giant metal plates to block production of scab editions. The workers have fought off Amaury's hired private militias and attack dogs from behind their barricades.

But the *Parisien* workers are being sold out by their union leadership. A mere ten days after the dramatic plant occupation began in protest against the attempt to lay off 500 workers, the printers' union stated that "two-thirds of the layoffs could be avoided" (*Humanité*, 21 June)—in other words, the workers should passively have agreed to the elimination of 150 of their jobs.

The union bureaucrats have refused to extend the strike to the industry as a whole or even to the other publications owned by Amaury, which include glossy magazines such as *Marie-France* (the French analogue of *Mademoiselle*) and the main French sporting daily, *l'Equipe*. Striking the other Amaury papers would have been extremely effective since the high point of the *Parisien* strike coincided with the beginning of the Tour de France bicycle race, sponsored by the Amaury-owned sports newspaper, *l'Equipe*. The prestigious and immensely lucrative Tour de France is probably the major yearly sports event in France and shutting down *l'Equipe* at that time would have been a serious blow to Amaury.

Not only did the union bureaucrats refuse to extend the strike, but one union federation, Force Ouvrière (FO), led by André Bergeron, actively organized its members to print a scab edition of the *Parisien* in Chartres, about 60 miles outside Paris. After running battles with striking workers, the scab *Parisien* was



Workers blockade the printing plant of *Parisien Libéré*.

Rouge

transported to Paris under heavy police guard.

Closed Shop Under Attack

The bureaucratic sabotage of the *Parisien* strike is all the more disgusting because the main union of French printers—the Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre (FFTL—French Federation of Printing Workers) has a virtually unique status. In a country where closed shops are unknown and every factory normally has four or five competing unions, 90 percent of the workers in the printing and publishing industry are organized in the FFTL. Printers in Paris have an essentially closed-shop system. Although the FFTL is affiliated to the CP-controlled Confédération Générale de Travail (CGT—French Federation of Labor), the FFTL itself is not dominated by the Stalinists.

Much of the union's powerful position rests upon the "technical annexes" to the contracts (worked out in the immediate aftermath of World War II in reaction to the collaboration of elements of the French bourgeois press with the Nazis), which provide the Paris FFTL with control over all hiring. The "annexes" also determine the number of workers that must be employed in different positions, the specifications for each job, the increase in the number of workers employed proportional to increased circulation, and so on—all unheard-of in other industries. With union control of hiring and an essentially closed shop, the FFTL-CGT starts out from an exceptionally strong position among French unions.

It is due to this that the strike has been able to continue until now. French unions normally do *not* have strike funds, but the FFTL has been able to constitute an effective strike fund by levying small percentage contributions on members' salaries. Through the fund the union has been able to continue the strike, but the

bureaucrats have refused to take the measures necessary to win it.

In a whole series of strikes in the French printing industry—notably at Néogravure, Larousse, Lang—the main target of the printing bosses has been the "technical annexes" and union control over hiring. The owners' determined assault against the *Parisien* strike is the spearhead of their drive against the workers of the entire industry. Yet the FFTL leadership and the whole Union of the Left is prepared to surrender these historic gains. A CP member of parliament was quoted in *Le Monde* as saying that "although the union monopoly over hiring can be explained historically, it is not desirable" (!) (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 2-9 July 1975). He later denied having made this statement, although the *Le Monde* reporter insisted that the interview is on tape.

In his main speech launching the CGT's fall campaign (autumn is traditionally an important time of labor struggles, when the bulk of the French workforce returns from the four-week August paid vacations which were won in the 1936 general strike), CGT head Georges Séguy implicitly abandoned union control over hiring (*Le Monde*, 9 September). And the general secretary of the FFTL-CGT, Roger Bureau, in an interview with the publishers' weekly, expressed his confidence in the mediation of "experts" to end the strike:

"We have confidence in expert Thouvenot's mission and we suppose he will make proposals such that the conflict can be ended. We are prepared to take steps in the direction he determines. Naturally, management will have to have the same attitude...."

—*Informations Ouvrières*, 18-25 June 1975

Struggle Against the Popular Front

The Union of the Left leaders' willingness to liquidate union control over

hiring flows from their eagerness to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie that they will collaborate in modernization of the printing industry. In other words, if placed in power the Union of the Left would refrain from any attacks against profits. From the bosses' viewpoint, modernization is synonymous with reducing the number of workers. The working class does not oppose modernization, as long as it is not at the workers' expense. This requires maintaining and extending union control of hiring—modernization without layoffs. Make the bosses pay for modernization—divide the work among the printing workers with no reduction in wages!

The bureaucracy calls for symbolic and useless actions, such as the June 26 one-day "general strike" of the printing industry. But the only effective way to win the *Parisien Libéré* strike would be to extend it to other Amaury publications and to the industry at large. This means breaking with the class-collaborationist leadership of the FFTL and the Union of the Left—which appeals to the Paris Prefect, to the Minister for Industry, to the Prime Minister and even to French President Giscard d'Estaing himself to make the press bosses negotiate. It means fighting against the rotten bureaucracies for a revolutionary alternative leadership in the unions.

The central axis of the struggle against the no-win policies of the reformist leaderships is the fight to break the workers movement from class collaboration, which is embodied on the political level in the bureaucracies' subordination of the class struggle to the popular-front Union of the Left. To be taken seriously, this political fight must be carried to the masses of workers, that is, into the trade unions, and must be based on the Trotskyist transitional program.

A recent exemplary struggle

continued on page 8



National Guard on duty during riot in Long Beach, California, August 1965. The liberals' campaign for gun control escalated after mid-1960's ghetto uprisings and is primarily aimed at disarming blacks and poor people, and reinforcing the bourgeois state's monopoly on violence.

Liberal Ploy to Disarm Workers and the Ghetto

Racism and Gun Control

Not ten minutes after a bullet from Sara Moore's pistol whizzed past Ford's head, liberal congressmen took to the air waves to denounce the "gun culture." Their proposed "solution" to assassination attempts is gun control. Gun control is also preached as the way to solve "crime in the streets," "rising violence," "urban violence" and so on.

Nearly 150 bills are before Congress dealing with gun control, ranging from the Administration's proposed ban on domestic sale of small arms and mandatory jail terms for crimes involving guns to Democrat John Conyers' bill for complete prohibition of all handguns (except, of course, for the police and military).

The liberal *New York Times* editorialized on September 24: "Absolute safety is unattainable, but one way to discourage the gun culture is to remove the guns from the hands and shoulders of people who are not in the law enforcement business." Press magnate and bourgeois ideologue Arthur Ochs Sulzberger of the *Times* has good reason to trust the "law enforcement" agencies of his state. Had gun-toting Sara Moore burst into Sulzberger's office as he was writing that editorial, he would simply have pressed a button and brought in immediate armed assistance not only from the bourgeois police but from the private armed-protection business as well.

It is no accident that the staunchest defenders of the capitalist order—from the viciously anti-labor *Times* to Teddy Kennedy—are the spearhead of the gun control drive. Their sanctimonious horror of violence is a cheap posture for

hypocrites secure in the knowledge that the awesome armed bodies of state repression exist precisely in order to protect *their* lives, *their* institutions, *their* private property and *their* imperialist investments.

The *Times* has always been "against" violence, but its definition of violence conveniently excludes wars in the "national interest," A-bombs, strike-breaking, imprisonment and torture of revolutionaries throughout the world, the casual brutality of the venal cops. Instead, the *Times* reserved the most venomous language for Malcolm X who, it insisted, was "for violence," unlike its darling, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Of course, Malcolm X said a thousand times that he was not *for* violence; he had lived with it all his life. He was for self-defense of blacks "by any means necessary" against racist attack. When Malcolm X broke from Elijah Muhammad toward revolutionary politics he knew that ruthless enemies were out to kill him. "I'm a marked man," he told an interviewer on 8 February 1965. When his house was bombed the police and press passed it off as a "publicity stunt."

The New York City Council zipped through some gun-control legislation against carrying rifles or shotguns in public; the bill was aimed at preventing Malcolm X from carrying his .30 calibre carbine in his car. When Malcolm X was savagely cut down at the Audubon Ballroom at possibly the beginning of his real life's work, one of his bodyguards who had managed to wound one of the assassins was jailed for violating the

state's handgun law.

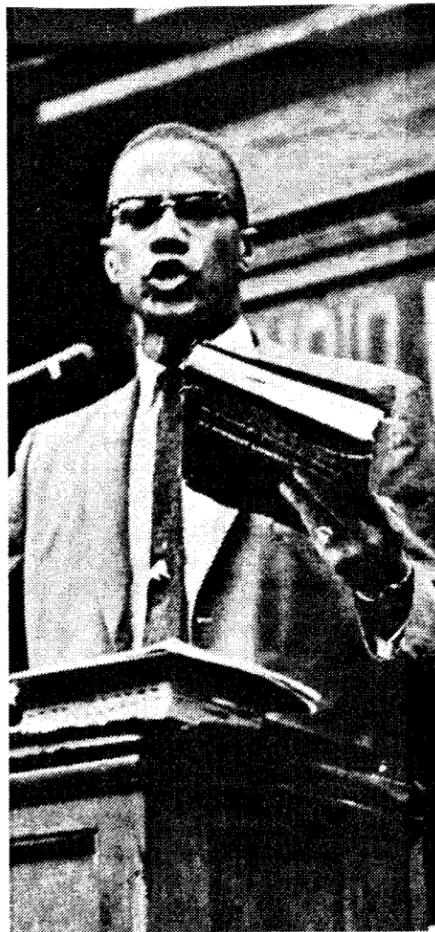
With consummate smugness the *New York Times* blithely blamed the murder of Malcolm X on... Malcolm X: "his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence... marked him for fame, and for a violent end.... The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of that darkness and killed him" (quoted in the *Militant*, 22 March 1965).

Policing the Ghetto

When convenient, the bourgeoisie dislikes death. This dislike has its blind spots: the furor over America's undeniably high murder rate (an estimated 750,000 homicides since 1900) is revealing contrasted with the casual acceptance of industrial accidents and job-related illnesses which produce more than 100,000 deaths each year. The clamor for gun control has as its purpose to complete the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the hired guns of the capitalist state. The aim is not merely to regulate guns but to control blacks and crush resistance to oppression. The bourgeoisie and the white middle class want the ghettos disarmed, while the cops continue unchecked their racist terror rampages.

Congressmen who found machine guns set up briefly on the Capitol steps when riots swept Washington, D.C., and 128 other cities after M. L. King was assassinated in April 1968 rushed to prepare the first federal anti-gun legislation in 40 years. Haunted by the spectre of black insurrection, they zeroed in on interstate mail-order guns and foreign imports, the cheap weapons that Robert Kennedy called the "tools of the urban rioter."

LBJ's Defense Secretary McNamara and liberal Attorney General Ramsey Clark (now head of the anti-gun



Malcolm X

SNCC

DISARM organization) spoke before Congressional committees in 1966 and 1967 urging stringent gun control *specifically* to curb black riots. Though there was great moaning and foot-stomping when Robert Kennedy was shot in June 1968, the anti-gun portions of the Omnibus Crime Bill had already been prepared, and were rushed through Congress the day he died.

One of the quickest bills ever to clear the New York state legislature was a 1969 law forbidding the carrying of arms on college campuses, enacted after armed black students seized a building at Cornell University. Similarly, legislation

was slammed through in California after Black Panthers entered the State Capitol with loaded rifles and shotguns to demonstrate their right to bear arms.

The connection between the race question and the mass arming of the (white) population can be easily demonstrated by example. Although there are other cultural factors (e.g., the so-called "frontier tradition") it is the centrality of black oppression within the class dynamic which distinguishes the U.S., and to an even more extreme degree South Africa and Rhodesia, from the vast mass of comparably advanced capitalist nations, in which the general availability of guns among the white plebeian masses is the exception rather than the rule.

Parenthetically, those who argue that violence can be explained by the availability of weapons rather than the intensity of social conflict should take a good look at Europe, where many years of stringent weapons controls hardly impeded the ultra-rightist terrorists of the white Algerian settlers and army men (the OAS) in France or the endemic communal violence in Northern Ireland.

Liberal Hypocrisy and Lumpen Criminality

The *New York Times* argues for gun control on the basis of the dominant hypocritical abstractions upon which liberals thrive: "non-violence is better than violence." Such banalities are perhaps useful in instructing the Sulzberger children to refrain from gouging out each other's eyes, but have no value—moral, political or even conceptual—in the real world. All such liberal epiphanies demand the qualification "all other things being equal." And in the social world, all other things are decidedly not equal. The liberal preference for "non-violence" is the political ammunition loaded into the guns pointed at militants like Malcolm X. "Non-violence" exhortations abstracted from social reality prove disorienting in the face of massive social decay. The critical distinctions among different kinds of violence are lost on bourgeois pacifists.

Traditional violence, from the *Iliad* to the Hatfields and the McCoys, at least had rules. Even a blood-feuding McCoy considered it unjustifiable to shoot innocent bystanders. The bourgeois order produces the most desperately violent conditions for human life while generating no rules for the social control of violence except one: monopoly of the means of violence in a *disciplined* state police force.

Capitalism in its death agony has witnessed the rapid rise of indiscriminate violence, the resurgence of private armies, increasingly brutal police terror and even official torture by the most modern electronic methods. Although liberal ideology refuses to distinguish different kinds of violence—all the better to conceal the indefensible ruling-class violence it favors—it is the indiscriminate criminal terror associated with urban crime which almost uniquely provokes fear among the masses.

The Mafia has its own rules; it generally kills its own. Drug pushers routinely kill one another. The family produces its share of violent deaths. Cops shoot each other in drunken arguments and when they have traffic accidents, etc. But the main reason why most people want guns is a legitimate feeling of powerlessness faced with the felt menace of robbery, rape, assault and murder.

Marxists do not simply dismiss the widespread feelings of fear which have become a constant feature of daily life among both black and white residents of America's urban hellholes. Nor do we prettify the criminal parasites who terrorize the working people, while industrialists and bankers retreat to well-protected suburban strongholds. In the preface to his *Peasant Wars in Germany*, Engels described the Marxist attitude toward the lumpen-proletarian parasites who leech off the working masses:

"Scum of depraved elements...this rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely
continued on page 10

Paris Printers...

(continued from page 6)

undertaken by Trotskyist militants in the banks points the way toward such a principled strategy. Bank workers, too, had experienced the treachery of the Union of the Left, which was instrumental in dismantling an industry-wide bank general strike just before the 1974 presidential elections so that they could take place under "normal conditions."

Presented as the basis for an orientation for the autumn campaign, the motion stated in part:

"Against the treacherous line of the reformist leaderships, against their subordination to the bourgeoisie within the popular front, we demand that the workers parties and the union leaderships break with the popular front!... In their struggle against capitalism, the workers have no choice but to throw out the bourgeois government and install a workers government whose task is the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie!... Either class collaboration via the Union of the Left or the independence of the working class and its organizations fighting for power! The autumn campaign lies between these two poles; there is no third path."

Break with Opportunism—Build the LTF!

The French pseudo-Trotskyists have long ago abandoned this principled battle. The supporters of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) shamelessly voted against discussing the bank militants' motion (i.e., opposed raising in the unions the crucial question of the popular front), and in at least one case even voted in favor of a motion stating "full support to the [Union of the Left's] Common Program for Government" (Resolution of the CGT Congress in the Compagnie Bancaire, 13 May 1975). In the *Parisien* strike the LCR applied its usual line of advancing purely economic slogans—in this case the same ones as put forward by the bureaucrats! After seven months of the strike, the LCR meekly objects that the bureaucrats' demand for negotiations is "inadequate."

The scope of the LCR's liquidationism is strikingly shown in a recent pamphlet which in effect manages to support the prohibition of factions and oppositional formations in the unions:

"Quite another matter is the recognition of the right to factions in the trade-union

organization with a codification which appears to us unjustifiable. For us, the only real criterion is how representative the positions are within the union organization, which can be defined either by the number of union bodies adopting that position or by the percentage obtained in votes of the [CFDT] Congress."

"Where is the CFDT Going?"
Taupe Rouge No. 2

Instead of demanding the right of free expression for all tendencies in the unions, the LCR supports it only for "representative" currents—that is, its friends, the left bureaucrats of the CFDT.

In its haste to ally with strikebreaking social democrats, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) is equally unwilling to oppose the popular front. The OCI's trade-union policy is marked by grovelling tailing behind the social-democratic union bureaucracy. Its capit-

ulation to the miserable FO bureaucrats apparently goes so far that OCI head Lambert actually voted for the general political report given by Bergeron at this year's FO Congress.

The OCI was therefore understandably embarrassed when Bergeron's FO scabbed on the *Parisien* strike. Three months after the start of the strike, the OCI could manage only the most mealy-mouthed evasion:

"It is obviously not yet time to evaluate the tactics of the FFTL-CGT leaders and of the Inter-Union committee of the Paris printers in the *Parisien Libéré* affair. We will not fail to do so when the time comes."

For the OCI, the only "right time" to expose the bureaucrats is once the strike has safely ended. The harshest criticism the OCI can find for FO's scab role in the *Parisien* strike is that Bergeron's "posi-

tion is considered unacceptable" to the printing workers.

"The historical crisis of mankind can be reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership." The strike at *Parisien Libéré* is yet another instance of a combative working class held in check by its treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist leaderships, abetted by centrist apologists of all stripes. Only a Leninist party built on the authentic program of Trotskyism and systematically combating all forms of class collaboration can unchain the power of the organized working class. With revolutionary determination the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF—Trotskyist League of France) is preparing this vital struggle against the popular front.

Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Socialist Union...

(continued from page 4)

"become the fifth wheel" in the American Labor Party's electoral campaign for Vito Marcantonio; he also wanted an orientation to right Stalinists. Cannon defended the party against Pabloist liquidation and the minority's "cynical gibes" against "the mystique of the party." He characterized the problem this way:

"There is a certain sentiment of Stalinist conciliationism in our party, as we have to admit to our shame on the eve of our twenty-fifth anniversary. It is a foul disease, and we are going to fight it uncompromisingly, and clean it out of the party. Fortunately, it is confined to a small section of the party, almost entirely concentrated in New York under the dominion of Bartell. That is Bartell's chief contribution to the New York Local."

—*Speeches to the Party*

No wonder Zaslow says "the SL can have Cannon."

What became of Zaslow after his expulsion? When his small group fell apart in 1955, he bought and managed a small greeting card factory. It is reported that he employed some other political burnouts in his enterprise. For the next 14 years—during the Cuban Revolution, the civil rights movement, the critical years of the anti-war movement—Zaslow "was there," sitting in his manager's office

presumably rhyming birthday greetings and checking time-cards.

He left small-time entrepreneurship in 1969 to become a small-change radical hanger-on in Los Angeles. First he operated a liberal guilt club called "Friends of the Panthers," but the Black Panther Party decided they weren't needed. This amorphous group of professional tailists renamed itself Liberation Union (LU) in the early seventies.

As LU leader, Zaslow approached a Los Angeles Maoist collective, the Communist Working Collective (CWC), which was breaking politically in the direction of Trotskyism. He proposed that, since the SWP's politics were fine and only the leadership was bad, the two groups ought to enter the SWP for factional purposes. But the CWC wasn't bamboozled by this cynical power play. On the contrary, its political confrontation with Trotskyism led it to examine all the Trotskyist tendencies and then to fuse with the Spartacist League in 1971.

The LU had a unique demise, a 50-50 cold split over the question of *reading Trotsky!* After a year and a half, Zaslow had evidently not even whispered the name Trotsky in the LU. Zaslow's half then tried to get into the SWP as a group, but the SWP was having no part of him and would consider the LU members joining only as individuals.

After the IT formed in the SWP, Zaslow formed the Socialist Union as a

parallel external organization. With many of the same "friends" of the Panthers, the SU became "friends" of the farmworkers. And now with some ex-IT cadre Zaslow and Co. exist as the unwanted "friends" of the USec.

The debate represented another political defeat for this chronic opportunist. One of the independents present, a militant active in the Farm Workers Support Group, remarked afterwards on his reactions: "Throughout the whole debate he [Zaslow] repeatedly and completely revealed that the essence of his politics is an eagerness to gain popularity by political capitulation." He added, "'tailism' with Zaslow is both an art and a compulsion."

For all of Zaslow's hot air about the USec as the "only International" and his grandiose plans to build a nationwide tendency of co-thinkers, the SU is going nowhere fast. The Pabloite schemes of Mandel and Company have destroyed the legacy of more than five years of left oppositionist activity in the SWP. Militants looking for the revolutionary path out of SWP reformism are not wallowing in the wastelands of the SU and other such groups. They are joining the growing international Spartacist tendency, which is vigorously leading the struggle to build the revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard and preparing the way for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Workers League "Dialectics" on Portugal

Workers League/Late July

"With the deepening of the economic crisis and the deterioration of living standards, the Socialist Party, led by Mario Soares, has been forced by the movement of masses of workers to take up a struggle against the increasingly isolated AFM [Armed Forces Movement]

"But in recognizing the reformist character of the Socialist Party leadership, absolutely no credence should be given to the Stalinist attempts to blacken the anti-AFM demonstrations as pro-fascist."

—*Bulletin*, 22 July 1975

Workers League/Early September

"The Socialist Party has joined forces with the most counter-revolutionary generals such as Melo Antunes and Fábão who are openly conspiring to carry out a coup d'état."

—*Bulletin*, 9 September 1975

Portuguese Socialist Party/Late July

"... the SP believes that a personality of the MFA must preside over the Fifth Provisional Government....

"... some measures of national reconciliation must be taken immediately....

"5) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the state apparatus....

"6) Promulgate legislation severely punishing the 'armed militias,' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."

—National Secretariat of the Socialist Party, "Overcome the Crisis, Save the Revolution" (28 July), *Portugal Socialista*, 30 July 1975

Portuguese Socialist Party/Early September

"The SP...proposes a Government of Unity and National Salvation, agreeing to Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo to constitute it....

"There is a group of emergency measures which come to mind and are necessary....

"D) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the political-administrative apparatus of the state....

"E) Promulgate legislation severely punishing the 'armed militias' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."

—Mario Soares, "Clarify the Military Situation to Overcome the Crisis" (3 September), *Portugal Socialista*, 10 September 1975

The "76 Strategy" in Practice

CAP Unites with Urban League in Albany

Last March the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) published "76 Strategy," a declaration of political war on the "intermediate lackey sector" of society, including "petty bourgeois politicians (democrats, republicans or 'independents')..." The April issue of CAP's *Unity and Struggle* boldly proclaims that "the intermediate lackies must be grappled with, struggled against and exposed as practically bankrupt" in order "to win the workers to scientific socialism and revolution and away from reform or bribery."

The apparently revolutionary determination of this strategic perspective stands in pointed contradiction to CAP's concrete tactics for carrying it out. Electoral campaigns are a key aspect, and CAP unequivocally announces its willingness to "sacrifice our classical purity for the power of coalition and mass motion!"

The reformist program that lurks behind the hyper-militant rhetoric of "76 Strategy" is expressed in CAP's current participation in an electoral coalition in Albany, N.Y. Clarence Samuel Johnson, a black minister and Urban League member, is running for a seat on the

Board of Education. He is backed by a coalition which includes CAP, the NAACP, the Urban League and various church and community groups. The main components, according to the Albany press, are CAP and the Urban League, an odd coupling of Pan-Africanist disciples of Mao-thought and the most conservative of the petty-bourgeois, corporate and government-funded black organizations.

In fact, this alliance flows directly from the unprincipled combinationism which CAP and its leader, Amiri Baraka (formerly Imamu Baraka, and before that LeRoi Jones), have already demonstrated in the Black Women's United Front and the National Black Assembly. To attain the illusion of leading masses, Baraka embraces the programs of the "intermediate lackies" that he denounces in his press. Laurence Burwell, Albany Urban League executive director, described this coalition as "a first." "For the first time," he said, "we have been able to overcome our differences" (*Knickerbocker News and Union Star*, 17 September).

Johnson's electoral program indicates that this political unity was achieved by CAP's simply accepting the Urban

League's program: quality education, redistribution of educational funds, informing parents of their legal rights and a classic formula for union-busting, "accountability of teachers to the community." Johnson told a *WV* reporter that his platform explicitly does *not* include demands relating to desegregation of the schools or fighting budget cuts. Even within a program that narrowly focuses on educational issues, CAP has capitulated to the Urban League's sub-reformist "share the poverty" philosophy.

In a case where a working-class organization or black organization expressing the anti-capitalist aspirations of the oppressed minority masses advances an independent candidate against the bourgeois parties and politicians, a revolutionary Marxist organization could consider calling for a vote to this candidate. However, there is no basis for such critical support to Johnson's "independent" campaign, whose platform is, in some respects, more limited than that of a run-of-the-mill reform Democrat. But CAP, of course, is not even critically supporting this candidacy. It has politically liquidated into this coalition and

advances Johnson as its own candidate.

With the Albany coalition CAP comes full circle back to Baraka's former role as left mouthpiece and bullyboy for Newark's Mayor Kenneth Gibson, whose friends in the Urban Coalition and Prudential Insurance Co. are identical to the interests that back the Urban League. Moreover, it was on the issue of "accountability to the community" that Baraka launched a vicious attack on the Newark Teachers Union during the 1970 and 1971 strikes. Although the NTU was led by black teachers and advanced demands for educational improvements that would have benefitted black students (a majority in the city's schools), Baraka threw his forces into Gibson's strike-breaking campaign in order to preserve his opportunistic alliance with this black Democrat. Gibson's repeated attacks on Puerto Rican and black people subsequently forced Baraka to adopt a left posture, which echoes through "76 Strategy" and the advocacy of independent electoral activities. Nevertheless, the political essence of the Albany campaign is identical to Baraka's previous alliance with Gibson. ■

Half-Way Through—Sub Drive Hits 86%!

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

80

Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

\$5/48 issues \$2/16 issues (Introductory)

Women and Revolution

\$1/4 issues

Young Spartacus

\$2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL

\$6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS

As the supporters of the SL/SYL go into the third week of work to make the subscription drive a success in bringing the weekly *WV* to new readers, we also wish to note our appreciation for the readers who have written to express their solidarity with this important undertaking. During the month of September *WV* received many letters from subscribers saluting the inauguration of the weekly. We want to thank these friends of *WV* for their encouragement and support, and to note especially the contributions from N. P. of Brooklyn (\$25); R. T. of Flushing, New York (\$10) who wrote, "The weekly *Workers Vanguard* will be a welcome sight in my mailbox—Congratulations!!"; J. W. of Hamburg, New York (\$25); and J. B. of San Francisco (\$15) who told us that "... the paper has remained high in quality for the three years that I have been reading it and therefore feel it is well worthy of support from working people all over."

19 September-16 October 1975

SECOND-WEEK REPORTS

	total to date	quota	percent fulfilled
Berkeley/Oakland	119	200	59
Bloomington	21	35	60
Boston	130	135	96
Chicago	173	200	86
Cleveland	68	140	48
Detroit	116	130	89
Houston	86	70	122
Ithaca	39	40	97
Los Angeles	179	200	89
Madison	34	60	56
New York	394	400	98
Philadelphia	100	120	83
San Francisco	161	110	146
At Large	20	50	40
TOTAL	1640	1890	86

In addition, we have received thirty-five points from our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada.

Seventy-nine subs to *Women and Revolution* were also sold.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

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 (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES (213) 485-1838
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
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

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

Franco Regime...

(continued from page 1)

head of the general staff, General Diez Alegría, resulted in widespread speculation about a possible "Spanish Spínola." But Diez Alegría was sacked soon after he began receiving monacles in the mail.

Discussion of a "MFA solution" to the "Franco question" increased again this summer with the arrest of seven Spanish officers accused of having contact with their Portuguese counterparts and of membership in an illegal subversive organization. The seven were part of the "Democratic Military Union," estimated by the UPI to have as many as 1,000 officer members.

Although this group does object to the use of the military "solely" as a repressive force, it steadfastly rejects any analogy to the Portuguese MFA. According to its declaration (reported in *Le Monde*, 13 August 1975), the Democratic Military Union sees itself as "responsible and upset military men" reacting to international deprecation, snubs from NATO and the Common Market, and conditions whereby "the terrorists prepare their blows with near impunity." No army likes to be a loser.

While there is certainly discontent in the Spanish army, there should be no illusions that it represents a liberal alternative to the Franco regime and much less that it could be a "revolutionary vanguard." The extinction of the Civil War generation of officers through death and retirement does not change the

nature of the army. The young officers remain loyal to the armed forces, which are and always have been the power base of the bonapartist Franco regime. And if the Portuguese experience now in course is not yet conclusive for empiricists who chase after left-talking demagogues, the tragic experience of the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War should convincingly prove that the bourgeois army is necessarily counterrevolutionary. As Leon Trotsky wrote of the Republican Army under the popular-front government:

"The officers' corps represents the guard of capital. Without this guard the bourgeoisie could not maintain itself for a single day. The selection of the individuals, their education and training, make the officers as a distinctive group uncompromising enemies of socialism.... The danger lies not in the military braggarts who openly appear as fascists; incomparably more menacing is the fact that at the approach of the proletarian revolution the officers' corps becomes the executioner of the proletariat.... The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch."
—"The Lesson of Spain," July 1936

The Spanish Left and the Military

As occurred in the unsettled pre-revolutionary period following the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1931, and again during the Civil War years, the leaders of the Spanish working class are seeking to tie the proletariat to its class enemy by treacherous popular-front accords. The Communist Party (CP), led by Santiago Carrillo, has initiated the so-called "Junta Democrática," including the Popular Socialist Party, left Christian

Democrats and the followers of Don Juan de Borbón, the Count of Barcelona who is also a pretender to the Spanish throne and father of Prince Juan Carlos, Franco's designated heir.

The social-democratic PSOE (Socialist Workers Party of Spain), on the other hand, has put together a "Platform of Convergence" which includes the followers of the Carlist pretender. In response to an "anti-terrorist" law decreed in August, these two popular fronts issued a joint declaration in which they pledge to work toward the formation of a "large democratic coalition" (*Le Monde*, 20 September). Presumably, in addition to blocking the struggle for working-class independence, this super-popular front is supposed to resolve the century-old division of the royal house as well!

As opposed to the reformists, who leave the proletariat prostrate before the unchallenged military hegemony of the bourgeoisie, Marxists understand that a necessary precondition for the success of a revolutionary uprising is a class polarization in the bourgeois armed forces and the passing over of its plebeian ranks to the workers' pole in a dual power situation. It is through the formation and extension of democratically elected soldiers and sailors councils, and their linking to workers soviets, that the proletarians and peasants in uniform will become a powerful force for revolution—not by preaching continued loyalty and disciplined submission to the *bourgeois* officer corps. To uphold the Spínolas and Diez Alegrías is to prepare anew the sanguinary slaughter which followed Franco's victory in 1939.

But it is precisely to the Spínolas and Diez Alegrías that the class-collaborationist Stalinists and social democrats turn. The CPUSA's *Daily World* (6 August) was quick to label the Democratic Military Union as the "Spanish MFA." The Spanish CP sings the same tune, declaring in a statement by the plenum of its executive committee that:

"Within the heart of the officers' corps currents are asserting themselves which are opposed to the army's continued utilization as a repressive and praetorian force, and who favor democratic solutions which permit the Spanish people to be masters of their destiny, and who place the army in its true mission as defenders of the borders and of national sovereignty."
—*Mundo Obrero*, 22 January 1975

And Santiago Carrillo concludes: "Aren't conditions favorable to a Spanish April 25 thus created" by the appearance of the Democratic Military Union (*Le Monde*, 12 August).

Thirty-six years of the most brutal and naked capitalist dictatorship in Spain have only deepened the Stalinists' commitment to class collaboration. In their perennial search for the "progressive bourgeoisie" and "democratic officers," they prepare the way for new bloodbaths carried out by organized reaction. The struggle to disorganize the forces of counterrevolution and pave the road to workers revolution in Spain and Portugal is simultaneously the fight to expose and politically destroy these reformist "grave-diggers of the revolution." Down with Franco—Down with capitalism! Split the army—Destroy the officer corps! For a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula! ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

socialist revolution cannot be carried out by a capitalist army! The task of proletarian revolutionaries is to *split* the army along class lines.

The key to victory is a Marxist leadership capable of providing correct revolutionary direction: a Trotskyist party. Such a revolutionary vanguard would unceasingly struggle against the class collaboration of the reformist misleaders, in particular to break all ties with and illusions in the various wings of the MFA. Vigilantly resisting all attempts to strike at the workers' gains, it would put forward a *transitional program* capable of mobilizing the mass of workers and soldiers, together with the exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, to beat back the rightist onslaught and pass over to a revolutionary assault on capitalist rule.

—Smash rightist threats! For a united armed defense against attempts to purge army leftists and repress the workers!

—Polarize the MFA—Split the army on class lines! Build and extend elected soldiers committees, linked to the workers movement! For workers militias!

—Expropriate the bourgeoisie! Extend workers control through elected factory and enterprise committees!

—Build and unite workers councils nationwide, drawing in the workers commissions, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, neighborhood and agricultural workers commissions for the struggle for power!

—Down with the popular front—Communist Party and Socialist Party must break with the capitalists! Toward a workers government, based on organs of soviet power, composed of the mass and vital elements of the Portuguese proletariat, led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party!

—Toward a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula! For the socialist United States of Europe! For the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!

Gun Control...

(continued from page 7)

brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: 'Mort aux voleurs! Death to the thieves' and even shot some, they did it not out of reverence for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to get rid of that gang."

The American proletariat will vigorously suppress both street crime and organized gangsters—as the police who are tied to them through graft and kickbacks will never do—in the course of organizing the socialist revolution.

Marx characterized the lumpens as "the dangerous class" because they could easily be organized against a rising proletariat by a bonapartist, a fascist, a capitalist. At the same time, the pervasive fear of lumpen criminality can be dangerous as well. A rash of proto-fascist popular films has been released in the last few years; their insistent theme is the impotence of liberalism in dealing with street crime. In Don Segal's *Dirty Harry*, the "villain" is the first, fourth, fifth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution, which have "tied the cops' hands." In *Walking Tall*, another cop creates his own law on the street and cleans up the town. Black as well as white audiences applauded the objectively racist pro-vigilante *Death Wish*: nobody likes to get ripped off.

It should be clear that traditional U.S. liberalism, like the German Weimar Republic, will remain limp before the rise in indiscriminate criminal terror. Marxists must work to undercut the dangerous myth that the answer to street crime is increasingly autonomous cops or vigilante vengeance. The proletarian movement must not allow right-wingers and outright fascists to present themselves as the alternative to lawlessness. Fascism represents bestiality and terror elevated to the level of a principle. It is the working-class movement which stands for decency, humanity and peace based on equality; only the victorious proletariat can establish just law and international socialist order.

Disarm the Capitalist State!

There are criminals in and out of office. In the United States there is good reason

for the profound and pervasive distrust for a government which is continuously exposed as liars, snoopers, torturers, assassins, perpetrators of mass violence and mass illegality. The Mafia hero of *The Godfather* explains that his operation is really no different from the rest of big business and the government. Indeed, the Mafia is a small-change terror outfit in comparison to the torture campaigns unleashed in Indochina. The bourgeoisie buries its hit men in Arlington cemetery and blows bugles over them.

Recently it has been revealed that the CIA and the Mafia had collaborated in numerous criminal activities. In this context the Nixon administration's "enemies list" becomes even more sinister. The American public's resistance to gun control flows in part from an understandable reluctance to relinquish access to weapons solely to the government in a context in which it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish mafiosi from CIA assassins.

There is a fundamental class logic to the bourgeoisie's desire to check the proliferation of firearms. As Lenin demonstrated in *State and Revolution*, the essence of state power is the monopoly on coercion, concentrated in the standing bodies of armed men—the police and the army. In the introduction to Marx's *Civil War in France*, Engels noted that following every revolutionary uprising "the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeoisie who were at the helm of the state."

This impulse was not foreign to earlier rulers. Charlemagne, for example, collected the swords and pikes of the people whenever there was a famine, to protect the royal granaries. Bourgeois Europe, with the longest history of subduing plebeian and proletarian insurrections, has maintained the strictest gun legislation in the world.

But it would be a species of mindless urban Guevarism to confuse the struggle for power (as today in Portugal) with the present issue of American "gun control." And, in general, it is a profound mistake to fetishize the technical aspects of the military question in making a revolution, as do the Maoists and guerrillaists. The bourgeois state will not be defeated by simple military means abstracted from the consciousness, leadership, combativi-

ty and organization of the working class. Many workers will have received some rudimentary military training in the army, but it is the "lifers" and non-coms—who will overwhelmingly side with the reactionary forces—who are in advance effectively skilled in the use of weapons. In the early phases of the revolution, the insurgent workers are militarily no match per se for the armed bodies of the state power. The key to the workers' victory resides in their superior consciousness and ability to actively mobilize the broader masses including the military ranks. The success of the proletarian revolutionary struggle hinges on the central question of the *vanguard party*, which translates the workers' consciousness and heroism into effective organization and which, simultaneously with the creation of organs of dual power—including on the military level—works to split the bourgeois army and smash the capitalist state.

Because the U.S. Constitution and federal law are ostensibly class and color-blind, the "gun control" issue continues to be without a definitive outcome, to be *paralyzed*. On the one hand, the summits of the bourgeoisie and its state want a prohibition of private handguns and rigid regulation and control of long arms; on the other hand, in this racist and violence-ridden country the politically potent white middle class (and everybody else with felt vulnerability) *demand* the right to possess arms. Hence little piecemeal legislation gets through: partial bans where black militancy seems unduly threatening, elimination of cheap (i.e., poor people's) weapons, etc. But overall, the gun situation remains static, despite the howls at the top among the ruling pacifist-murderers.

Marxists must oppose the monopoly of armed might in the hands of the racist cops, strike-breaking National Guard and imperialist U.S. army. Unlike the smug liberals, we are all too aware of the fragility of bourgeois democracy and the real danger that significant upsurges in the class struggle will provoke the growth of paramilitary ultra-rightist and fascist bands devoted to the terrorization of blacks and Chicanos, striking workers and leftists. We must vigorously support the right of the populace to bear arms thus prefiguring the socialist future. ■

Pinochet's Lackeys...

(continued from page 12)

prescribed just such a "shock treatment." The results of this policy have been devastating—a 20 percent decline of industrial output in six months, an unemployment rate soaring to 20 percent and a projected 10 percent drop in gross national product for the year. For Chilean working people, the treatment prescribed by the author of *Capitalism and Freedom* means ever deeper misery, coming on top of a 50 percent decrease in the real wages of the lowest-paid workers during 1974 alone. Chilean monopolists and foreign predators are free to brutally starve the working class. The workers, whose democratic rights and labor organizations have been outlawed, are "free" to submit to untrammled exploitation (see "Protest Barbaric Chilean Junta's Collaborators," *Young Spartacus* No. 36, October 1975, for a full account of Friedman's and Harberger's complicity).

The SYL-led campaign against these two academic servants of the hangman Pinochet has generated considerable controversy at the university. Today's *Chicago Sun-Times* carried an article on the demonstration and the campus newspaper (*Chicago Maroon*) had three articles, an editorial and two letters on the issue. In an interview with the *Maroon*, Harberger (director of the UC Economics School) denied being a consultant to the junta, although admitting that he has visited Chile five times since the overthrow of the leftist Allende regime in September 1973. But the facts show that these two economics "experts" have played a major advisory role in generating Chile's savage austerity program. The *Santiago* magazine *Ercilla* (2-8 April) trumpeted the March visit by Friedman and Harberger, noting that it "included presidential and ministerial interviews and a talk before 400 officials of the Armed Forces."

The University of Chicago Economics School has a history of intimate links with Chile's oligarchy. Both of the junta's top economic policymakers, Finance Minister Jorge Cauas and the new Minister of Economy Sergio de Castro, are long-time associates of Friedman and Harberger. According to the latter, between eight and ten economic officials of the present regime are graduates of UC. The top managers running the Chilean economy today are frequently referred to in

Santiago as the "Chicago Boys" because they were trained in the Friedman/Harberger school of freedom for capitalists and slavery for the workers.

Several speakers at today's rally ridiculed the lame excuses offered by these two henchmen of the reactionary Chilean butchers. Professor Rubinstein tore apart Harberger's deceitful cover-up in the *Maroon* interview. (Ignoring the tragic fate of more than 20,000 workers and peasants slaughtered by his gorilla friends, Harberger proclaimed his loyalty to "those poor guys"—his former students—who are trying to "get the country closer to recovery" by forcing still lower the pathetic living standard of Chilean working people.) Sandor John, speaking for the Spartacus Youth League, scored the "disgusting hypocrisy" of Friedman's claims to stand for freedom while he helps plan mass starvation in Chile and advocates cutting social services and smashing the unions in the U.S.

Author and radio commentator Studs Terkel sent a message saying he was ashamed to be a graduate from UC where policy is determined by "moral midgets" like Friedman. Joseph Persky, a professor at the University of Illinois' Circle Campus, graphically described the depression conditions which have resulted from Friedman's "shock treatment."

A Spartacist League spokesman called for mobilizing international labor solidarity to defend class-war prisoners in Chile. He described the SL's campaigns to free leftist prisoners and for implementation of the two-day longshore boycott of Chilean cargo in September 1974. He also pointed to the treacherous role played by the Allende popular front in tying Chilean workers to the class enemy, drawing a parallel to Portugal today, where the absence of a revolutionary vanguard party leading the workers to seize power may lead to another counterrevolutionary bloodbath.

The YSA spokesman resurrected the mouldering corpse of the class-collaborationist antiwar movement as a model of "what students can do" to stop repression in Chile. Individual YSAers admitted in discussion that their organization opposed the SYL's call to "drive Friedman off campus through protest and exposure."

In concluding, Sandor John described recent harassment of the SYL and other supporters of the committee, reaffirming the committee's determination to carry the campaign forward. "We are here to say that the university will not be used as a staging ground for the crucifixion of the Chilean people." ■

Philip Allen...

(continued from page 12)

and is trying to railroad him into the state prison, called for a campaign against police violence. Not surprisingly, the SCAR campaign which he spoke of will commence with a meeting in conjunction with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and various ministerial "representatives of the black community." Barrera tried hard to impress the crowd with this motley assemblage of liberals, and with SCAR's impotent non-strategy

Following the successful Los Angeles City College demonstration to defend Philip Allen, the administration attempted to suspend the Spartacus Youth League campus charter for two weeks. Prompted by a recently-revived administration "law" that all monies collected on campus property must first be handed over to the administration (which will then write a check to the recipient), this attempted suspension can only be seen as part of a generalized attack against the left. A PDC-initiated Committee to Defend the SYL challenged this suspension, demanding "Hands Off the SYL," "Hands Off Student Money" and "Repeal the Suspension." Following two days of petitioning at LACC for these demands, the Interclub Council—the body which approves charters for student groups—condemned the administration for "its attempted illegal and unjust suspension of the SYL."

to fight racial oppression by holding church meetings to plead with the cops.

Don Cane, speaking for the SYL, counterposed to this reformist claptrap a real strategy to fight police violence and the racist courts. The Allen case proved, he said, that "there is no justice for working people in the capitalist courts." When favorable decisions are reached, he pointed out, it is, as in the Joanne Little victory, "not due to the good wishes of the bourgeois courts, but to the involvement of mass support from socialists, labor, and the black community."

Cane linked SCAR's program to moderate the viciousness of the cops through community control or pressure with SCAR/SWP's treacherous calls for federal troops to "protect" black school children in Boston. "What is needed,"

said Cane, "is independent working-class action." To fight the racist thugs in Boston a labor/black defense built on the unions and black organizations is required. For Philip Allen and other victims of the racist thugs in uniform this means placing no confidence in the courts, whose job is not to "blindly" dispense justice but to maintain the class rule of the exploiters.

Cane's remarks met with enthusiastic applause and the rally concluded with his appeal for support for a picket line the following morning at the Santa Monica Court House where Allen was to be sentenced.

On Thursday the small and orderly picket line and an overflow crowd at the courthouse were stunned by the news that Allen had received the maximum possible sentence—five years to life in the state prison! As *WV* goes to press we learn that Philip Allen has now been denied bail by a judge who gave among his reasons the fact that Allen is waging a campaign in his defense and speaking at rallies such as the one at LACC! These outrageous atrocities must be overturned! The Partisan Defense Committee urges *WV* readers to send much-needed donations to the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005. ■

BERKELEY—On October 4 Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, addressed a Berkeley audience in a forum sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). Ms. Allen related the details and latest developments in her son's case, showing that his conviction in the shooting of a Los Angeles deputy is a racist frame-up by the police and courts. The conviction is now under appeal.

The Philip L. Allen Defense Committee is winning support in Los Angeles, Ms. Allen said. Though the committee has several substantial "benefactors," whose contributions were applauded at a recent meeting of the Allen Defense Committee, she said that "we had an even bigger clap for the dimes and quarters" (amounting to \$152) that came from a defense rally organized by the Spartacus Youth League at Los Angeles City College where Philip Allen is a student. In particular, she singled out the efforts of the SYL and SYLer Don Cane in building the LACC demonstration.

Another guest speaker at the Berkeley forum was Bob Mandel, executive board member of Local 6, ILWU. Mandel emphasized the need for partisan non-sectarian defense of the working-class movement and drew the connections between Allen's case and those of such labor militants as Jane Margolis, recently fired San Francisco telephone worker whose case is also supported by the PDC (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 77, 19 September). The Berkeley forum raised nearly \$100 for the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee.

The PDC, which stands in defense of the whole of the working people, in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League, has given wide publicity to the Allen case. In the Bay Area, the PDC sent press releases to local newspapers and radio stations, and also gave several radio interviews with Ms. Allen. In one of the interviews Ms. Allen spoke appreciatively of the PDC's help, pointing to the fact that the PDC came forward immediately after the case was made public not only with financial help but also with full political and moral support.

The Saturday forum, the first public forum of the PDC, was a historic step in the launching of a genuine partisan non-sectarian defense organization.



SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Philip Allen Gets Maximum Sentence

450 At Los Angeles Defense Rally

LOS ANGELES—A militant and spirited demonstration of 450 people, predominantly black, gathered at L.A. City College (LACC) October 1 to protest the frame-up conviction of Philip Allen on charges of voluntary manslaughter and to demand his freedom.

Allen, a young black LACC student, was accused of killing a Los Angeles County sheriff's deputy last New Year's Eve. As reported in *WV* No. 77, 19 September, Allen's trial was a racist mockery of even bourgeois "justice." The 5'3" Allen was "proven" to have overcome six to eight large cops, disarmed one and, without leaving any fingerprints on the gun, killed one cop while wounding two or three others. The facts—that Allen passed a police lie-detector test, that no one (besides the sheriff's deputies themselves) could testify as to how Allen accomplished the feat, and that no tests were done on the gun to see if Allen had fired it—were all disregarded in the state's frenzied rush to pin the blame for the deputy's death on the victim of the crime.

It is well known that victims of police beatings are invariably charged with assaulting an officer—Allen's case is simply an extremely grotesque example of a well-worn frame-up technique.

The rally at LACC, covered by the local ABC television news, reflected in its large turnout and broad sponsorship the full support which the campus community gives to Allen's defense. The rally was held under the auspices of a united front

initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL—youth section of the Spartacist League) and including LACC instructors Jay Kelly, Bob Lotts, and Bob Kort; Larry Woodard, president of the Associated Men's Student Body; Justice for United Students; the Black Student Union; MECHA, a Chicano student group; Jerry Freedman-Habush of the Jewish Hillel House; the Catholic Newman Center; and the Partisan Defense Committee.

The first speakers, Della Andrews (vice-president of the Associated Student Body) and Michael Zinzun of the Pasadena Community Information Center (who is currently fighting a Pasadena cop frame-up), both appealed for solidarity with the victims of police repression.

Philip Allen spoke and was enthusiastically received by the crowd. Allen vividly exposed the nature of the frame-up and the grossly racist progress of his trial.

Grady Daugherty spoke next for the Partisan Defense Committee. He explained the nature of the PDC's support for Philip Allen, both financial and political. He outlined the PDC's strategy for defense against racist injustice—not narrow bourgeois-legalistic courtroom conservatism, like that which has unfortunately hampered Allen's defense thus far, but reliance on the power of the masses. Joanne Little, another recent intended victim of the bourgeoisie's



Philip Allen addresses rally at Los Angeles City College, October 1. WV Photo

lynch-law "justice," was freed from a possible death sentence by a combination of mass demonstrations, vigorous publicity, and a well-financed legal defense. Daugherty's appeal for money for the Allen defense met with a good response and \$152.47 was collected and turned over to Allen's mother.

The remaining three speakers showed sharp differences in approaching the question of how best to defend victims of police violence.

Jim Burling of the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee compared the viciously racist L.A. Sheriff's Department with supposedly humane cops and police review in Jacksonville, Florida.

Manuel "Tank" Barrera spoke for the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). This former Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for head of the same Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department which beat up Philip Allen

continued on page 11

"Drive Friedman/Harberger Off Campus Through Protest and Exposure!"

SYL Leads Campaign Against Pinochet's Academic Lackeys

CHICAGO, October 3—A rally held today at the University of Chicago (UC) denounced the criminal collaboration of UC professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger with the Chilean military junta. Two hundred students, teachers and campus workers demonstrated in front of the Administration Building in response to the call issued by a united-front committee initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and chaired by Richard Rubinstein, a political science professor at Roosevelt University.

The "Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta" was formed to protest the role of these prominent professors as economic braintrusts to the murderous Pinochet regime and to demand freedom for all victims of the junta's repression. Also participating in the committee were the Chicago Union of Radical Political

Economists (URPE), Hyde Park/UC New American Movement (NAM), Indians for Political Freedom, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), along with a number of prominent individuals.

Far from merely being a disinterested academic purveyor of the ultra-reactionary Ayn Rand-F.A. Hayek brand of "free enterprise" ideology, according to the *New York Times* (21 September) Friedman is the "guiding light of the junta's economic policy." Following his visit to Santiago last March, sponsored by the Chilean Mortgage Bank, the Pinochet government effected a "shock treatment" designed "to hit inflation by cutting demand." The Chilean newspaper *Mercurio* (27 March) reported that in a speech to a select audience of military officials Friedman

continued on page 11



Rally at University of Chicago, October 3, to protest collaboration with bloody Chile junta by U. of C. economics professors Friedman and Harberger.