

Racist Reaction on the Rise

'75 Elections: Politicians Move Right

ERA Defeated in NY, NJ Anti-Labor Propositions Pass in S.F.

NOVEMBER 16—The week before this year's November elections, leading opinion pollsters testified before Congress that, as a UPI dispatch (30 October) put it: "Americans are so glum over the economy that eight out of every ten think the recession is still thriving, seven think their leaders are lying, and six think neither political party cares about people...."

The widespread distrust of bourgeois politicians and frustration over the economic situation indicated by such reports is real. But although the U.S. has been in the deepest depression since the 1930's, with unemployment running well over 8 percent month after month and employed workers faced with drastic cuts in their wages and benefits, the labor movement remains generally quiescent with only sporadic outbursts of militancy.

Due above all to the key role of the race question in the U.S.—the systematic discrimination against minorities and scramble for jobs among black and white workers—and the union bureaucracy's bitter-end opposition to militant labor action, the economic downturn, rather than leading to sharply increased working-class radicalism, has produced

a noticeable *rightward* political shift nationally.

A general upsurge of racist demagoguery, fiscal conservatism and social reaction was evident in the recent local elections, a development that was not missed by various right-wing presidential hopefuls. Significantly, several days after the voting George Wallace formally announced his bid for the Democratic nomination. Calling for a return to the "old moralities," Wallace denounced "forced busing" and declared war on "the ultra liberals who have gotten us into this mess." He added that "the social and economic issue on the domestic scene is whether the great mass of middle-class Americans is able to survive economically in this country." Wallace's call for a "political revolution" comes at the same time that conservative Republican Ronald Reagan, also perceiving the new opportunities for the right, states that this is a "watershed moment...in which government must be turned around...."

Mayoral Campaigns

Broad discontent in traditional leaders and parties has historically been the breeding ground for both labor radicalism and for the reactionary right. But the United States today is marked by the near-total absence of any mass expression of militant working-class discontent. Instead, the political vacuum has generally been filled by



People

Alabama governor George Wallace

AP

Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo

reactionary demagogues beating the drums for "law and order," a thinly coded appeal to white racism.

During the last year there has been a reemergence of various ultra-right groups, emboldened by the passivity of the unions. In Chicago candidates of the National Socialist White People's Party for alderman won 16 percent of the votes in two districts while in Houston the Ku Klux Klan ran an "imperial wizard" for mayor on a program of racial genocide. But more significant is the general rightward drift of mainstream bourgeois politicians.

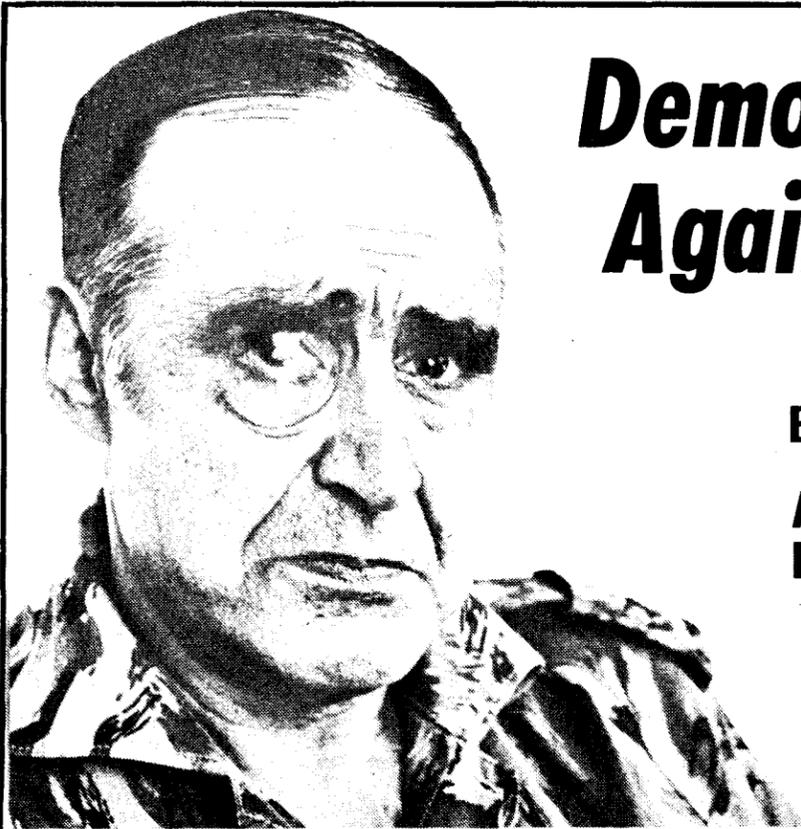
Mayoral campaigns in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Boston reflected a deepening racial polarization conditioned by the economic crisis. In cities where black candidates faced whites, the voting followed racial lines in a far more rigid pattern than in previous years, and white candidates showed little restraint in playing on the racial fears of their constituencies.

In Philadelphia Frank Rizzo, the incumbent mayor and former police chief who likes to call himself the "toughest cop in America," won reelection in a blatantly racist campaign

(see "Rizzo Strongarms Philadelphia Elections," *WV* No. 85, 14 November). While denouncing "crime in the streets," Rizzo had his own goons in the streets beating up campaign workers for his major opponent Charles Bowser, the black candidate of the "Philadelphia Party." Aside from a minimal number of votes that went to the third-place Republican candidate, voting divided strictly along color lines between racist bully-boy Rizzo and lackluster liberal Bowser. A measure of the corruption of the encrusted labor bureaucracy was the Philadelphia AFL-CIO's endorsement of Rizzo, who viciously smashed the 1972 teachers strike in that city.

The Cleveland election followed much the same pattern. Incumbent Republican Ralph Perk, marshalling a heavy turnout of the city's white voting wards, easily won a third term over black Democrat Arnold Pinkney. Perk sought to discredit Pinkney by linking him to Carl Stokes, the city's black mayor from 1967 to 1971. Perk's administration, like Rizzo's, has been riddled with public scandals, from a city contract for inferior grade coal awarded

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Aspiring Pinochet of
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Whitlam Ousted
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For a
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Restore
Labor
Government!

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Liberals, Conservatives Unite Against Busing

Jim Crow Bills in Congress

The vicious mob attacks on school buses carrying black children in Boston and Louisville are not isolated incidents but merely the most spectacular expression of a broad assault on integration and the democratic rights of oppressed minorities. The President, the House Democratic leader, the mayors of most big cities and virtually every major politician are now on record in opposition to "forced busing." Further testimony on the hardening of bourgeois opinion against further efforts to desegregate the country's school systems is provided by the mass of anti-busing bills presently flooding Congress.

It is the duty of Marxists to wage a political struggle within the working class to win support for busing as a minimal step toward integration, at the same time making clear the totally hypocritical, treacherous nature of the bourgeoisie's occasional espousal of "civil rights." But, as usual, various fake socialists are totally unable to draw a class line on this question and demonstrate utter confusion about the government's present strategy toward the democratic demands of black people.

For instance, according to the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), formerly the Revolutionary Union, and some other allegedly "Marxist-Leninist" organizations, busing is nothing but a capitalist plot to divide the working class. According to the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and assorted other reformists, the bourgeois state, which initiated the school busing programs, can be pressured to eliminate de facto school segregation. In addition, the SWP would have black people believe that the very same racist cops who murder ghetto youth at will can be trusted to defend the school buses.

There is a certain symmetry to these views. Both assume that the American ruling class is conducting an "offensive" against de facto school segregation. Both see the bourgeois state as fundamentally committed to enforcing desegregation orders. And both are wrong.

Retreat on Busing

Neither group recognizes that the bourgeoisie is no longer interested in integrating schools. Since 1964 anti-busing legislation has been introduced in every session of Congress, and at least eight federal legislative acts now on the books contain anti-busing provisions. At present some 20 bills and more than 50 constitutional amendment proposals aimed at depriving federal courts and agencies of jurisdiction over school busing cases are pending before the House and Senate. In September, for example, the Senate passed measures prohibiting the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from threatening a cut-off of federal funds to compel school districts to carry out desegregation programs and from ordering the busing of students beyond the schools nearest their homes. At the same time, the House tacked onto an omnibus energy bill an amendment to prevent the use "of any vehicle using gasoline or diesel fuel to transport pupils beyond the schools nearest their homes." According to its author, Representative James Collins of Texas, this amendment was aimed at "more energy conservation" (*New York Times*, 24 September). Most important, the federal courts,

which have been the bourgeois "vanguard" in attacking public school segregation, are now in full retreat. The Boston and Louisville court decisions were not the first shot in a new battle to extend the democratic rights of black children outside the deep South. They were actually rearguard actions, essentially announcing the end of the liberal bourgeoisie's willingness to extend civil rights for blacks.

It is now clear that the high-water mark of court action against school segregation was the Supreme Court's decision in 1971 to desegregate the Charlotte, North Carolina, school system (the Swann case). There the Court held that even though the Charlotte system was not segregated by virtue of any specific state law, a pattern of state laws regarding school locations, district lines, transfer policies and the like violated the 14th Amendment's ban on legal segregation. As a result of the Swann and several similar cases, desegregation plans calling for busing of students across district lines were adopted in a few states with the result that, at present, somewhat less than 3 percent of the 20 million American school children are now bused to school under court orders.

Three percent! And that was the beginning of the end of the so-called "civil rights revolution." For in 1973 the Supreme Court held that federal judges in Richmond and San Antonio were wrong to order "metro busing"—the busing of school children across city-suburb lines. Although several lower courts had held that de facto segregation violates the Constitution, these rulings have been regularly overturned on appeal. A plaintiff must now show that a state has passed a law or pattern of laws with the intention of keeping the schools segregated. Even then, he will probably lose in the courts.

In 1974, in *Bradley v. Milliken*, the Court outlawed "metro busing" in Detroit even though the Detroit schools are two-thirds black and the surrounding school districts more than 80 percent white. The Court ruled that no evidence of willful discrimination on the part of the suburbs had been produced. As if this hypocrisy weren't enough, the Detroit case was remanded to District Judge Robert DeMascio, who initially ruled, in effect, that it was not even worth trying to desegregate the Detroit schools since this would have the effect of creating a black majority in every school.

This month DeMascio approved a plan effective in January to bus about 8 percent of the city's public school students, almost all of them black, while leaving about half the city's 300 schools all black. This tokenism, which puts the burden of busing entirely on black students, is consistent with the general pattern of judicial retreat. It means that in predominantly black school systems like those of Chicago, Wilmington and Indianapolis, and a growing list of cities, not only will a "metro solution" be out of the question, but few inner-city black students will even get a chance to attend the "better" city schools.

The Bourgeoisie and Integration

Those like the RCP and SWP who believe that the government is pushing school desegregation fail to see the contradictions in the bourgeoisie's actions on the democratic rights of

minorities. They do not view social phenomena dialectically. Thus beginning in the Eisenhower administration (the Brown case ordering an end to *de jure* school segregation throughout the South was decided in 1954), the bourgeoisie showed a greater responsiveness to the increased militancy and social weight of black people, who flocked to urban centers North and South as mechanization struck a death blow to the sharecropping system. Young blacks moving from rural backwardness to

style segregation, which makes it impossible for workers to ride the same bus to work, toil on the same assembly line, etc. It is also inconsistent with Northern-style segregation which creates a large pool of undereducated "unemployables" at the heart of the industrial system. But here is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism between an increasingly socialized mode of production and an increasingly privatized (through monopoly ownership) mode of appropriation. The



School buses in South Boston, September 1974.

Boston Globe

industrial jobs joined black college students in challenging the "Jim Crow" system of legally enforced social and economic discrimination. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie had a stake in the development of a Southern workforce capable of exploitation by industries moving South, and in furthering the creation of a mass consumer market in this relatively underdeveloped region.

The socialization of production is obviously inconsistent with Southern-

bourgeoisie cannot fully integrate the industrial proletariat without greatly weakening the major obstacle to the development of revolutionary class consciousness by American workers—racism. Nor can it function without an industrial reserve army of unemployed, the semi-lumpenized black and Latin youth trapped in ghettos and barrios across the country.

Thus, the socialization of production creates conditions which compel the bourgeoisie to take a few steps down the road toward racial integration, especially in the schools, which turn out the workers of tomorrow. But the need to suppress the development of an "integrated" class consciousness among working people and the shrinking demand for black labor in a period of depression force the bourgeois state to draw back—to retreat from steps which attack the racial barriers which the capitalist system has created. The shift to the right among dominant sections of the bourgeoisie is soon communicated to their kept judges and politicians. And now they are in full flight.

This wavering ruling class, whose general program for the black masses is deprivation combined with brutal cop terror, is seen by the RCP as the instigator of an integrationist plot against the white workers of South Boston and Louisville. This bourgeois state, which will not even defend the judicial gains of the 1960's, is seen by the SWP as the guarantor of minorities' democratic rights.

The Spartacist League fights for the integration of public schools and all social institutions. We demand that busing be extended to the privileged suburban schools. We raise a program to lead the struggle for jobs, decent housing and education for oppressed minorities and for all working people. And at all times we counsel the exploited and oppressed to rely only on their own forces, never on the bosses' state. ■

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General António de Spínola Der Spiegel

The aspiring Pinochet of Portugal and butcher of Angola and Guinea-Bissau, General António de Spínola, is touring the United States and Canada. His purpose is ominously clear: he is speaking in centers of Portuguese immigration and talking to influential circles of American policy-makers to win backing for his plans to drown the Portuguese workers movement in blood! This organizer of counterrevolutionary plots and imperialist intervention must not be allowed to freely peddle his terrorist intrigues! We call on the entire labor and socialist movement to protest his tour.

Who is Spínola? Best known as head of the military junta after the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974, his earlier exploits as Portuguese High Commissioner in the colony of Guinea-Bissau are seldom mentioned by the capitalist media. In that capacity he ordered the assassination of nationalist leader Amical Cabral and supervised the extermination of thousands of independence fighters. He was also armed forces chief of staff for a time under Caetano. Placed in power following the "Revolution of the Carnations," Spínola immediately began intriguing to crush the combative workers movement. In September 1974 he was deposed after attempting to rally a "silent majority" for a coup against the Communist Party and the more left-wing officers of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). Spínola's next move was to join a takeover attempt by reactionary officers last March 11. Having thoroughly botched the putsch, he joined Caetano in exile in Brazil. There Spínola continued his plotting, having found a congenial milieu among the wealthy Portuguese industrialists and ultra-right former generals.

In recent months Spínola has traveled to various European capitals seeking money and assistance for his bloody schemes. The Lisbon newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* recently reported that international monopolies have created a \$250 million slush fund to finance a rightist coup in Portugal which would have as its goal the restoration of Spínola to power and the crushing of the

Demonstrate Against Spínola!

Butcher of Angola—Aspiring Pinochet of Portugal

labor movement. In connection with this conspiracy, John McCone, formerly head of the CIA and now vice-president of ITT, met with the general in Lausanne, Switzerland, earlier this year. Another Spínola backer is the notorious German monopoly of Krupp Steel.

Today the general with the monocle is head of the "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP). The MDLP's Madrid representative and actual operations chief is one Captain Alpoim Calvão, another of the the March 11 plotters. Calvão has a record of atrocities to equal Spínola's: it was he who in 1971 led the operation which resulted in the murder of Cabral in Conakry, Guinea. In an interview published in Portugal, Calvão has

admitted that the MDLP works with the "Portuguese Liberation Army" (ELP), a terrorist group run by former agents of the PIDE, the despised Salazarist secret police (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 30 October 1975).

Having organized and trained for months inside Franco's Spain, representing a constantly poised threat of bloody counterrevolution in Portugal, the ELP is now marching at the head of the white mercenary column organized in South African held territories in Angola. They are attempting to seize the capital from the Moscow-backed MPLA and install an imperialist-controlled puppet regime or, failing that, to set up a South African protectorate in the south and a Gulf Oil fiefdom in Cabinda. With the MDLP/ELP doing the organizing and providing the mercenaries, the CIA is footing the bill. Now Spínola has arrived in the U.S. to collect his reward for helping Ford and Kissinger's power play in Angola.

Meanwhile in Lisbon the treacherous Socialist Party continues to demand a crackdown against the rebellious workers and soldiers. The reformist Communist Party, while organizing mass demonstrations, simply tries to exert pressure in order to get more cabinet posts for itself. These reformist workers parties—and most of the smaller leftist groups as well—continue to tie the workers to the class enemy, talking of an "MFA-People Alliance." As was the

case in Chile, this support for the "progressive" officers and "democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie leaves the exploited masses unprepared for the proletarian uprising which alone can save them from the bloodbath being prepared for them by Spínola and his ilk. Portugal must not become another Chile!

There should be no illusions about what a Spínolista coup would mean. "I cannot let myself be paralysed by the spectre of fascism," the general told a western correspondent in Rio de Janeiro (*Le Monde*, 10 October). True to his murderous convictions this executioner of the Portuguese proletariat will unleash every sinister force that longs to behead the workers movement with the methods of Pinochet-style "law and order": torture, assassination and concentration camps.

It is above all by struggling to construct a Trotskyist vanguard party—in Portugal, in North America and throughout the world—that class-conscious militants must prepare to crush the plans of Spínola and his backers for a nightmare of unrelenting terror against the exploited and oppressed.

—Arm the Workers—Split the Army!
—Workers to Power in Portugal!
—Smash the Imperialist Power Play in Angola!
—Abolish the CIA!
—Stop Spínola's Terrorist Intrigues!

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Sunday, 23 November
Time and place to be announced

San Francisco

Wednesday, 26 November
Time and place to be announced

Demonstrate against Spínola, Aspiring Pinochet of Portugal and Butcher of Angola and Guinea-Bissau!

Spartacist League U.S./
Spartacus Youth League
Trotskyist League of Canada

CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 83 (31 October) the article entitled "Vote No on Anti-Labor S.F. Charter Amendments" incorrectly mentions Roland Sheppard as the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for lieutenant governor of California. Although originally announced for that post, Sheppard actually appeared on the ballot as SWP candidate for San Francisco mayor.

A confusing typographical error appeared in the lead article, "NYC Faces Default," of *WV* No. 84 (7 November). One sentence referred to "advocates both of bankruptcy and of default." It should have read "advocates both of bail-out and default."

Also, a back-page ad in *WV* No. 85 (14 November) lists a demonstration against CUNY cutbacks as being sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League. The rally was actually co-sponsored by the SYL and the Emergency Committee for CUNY.

CUNY Students Fight Cutbacks

SYL Demands, "Seize the Campuses"



WV Photo.

A rally was held November 13 at the City College of New York (CCNY) to protest educational cutbacks in NYC. The demonstration drew about 80 people, including members of the Spartacus Youth League, Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Young Socialist Alliance and the YSA-led National Student Coalition Against Racism. The SYL made a significant impact with a substantial contingent and a banner demanding: "For a General Strike of City Workers! Students Seize the Campuses!" Following the rally a contingent led by the SYL militantly marched across the campus to attract students to a planning meeting for a demonstration at CCNY preceding a November 20 anti-cutbacks Wall Street rally. The planning meeting voted to build the campus action around the demands: No tuition! Open admissions! No cuts in SEEK and special programs! No cuts in staff and services! Expand educational programs for all New Yorkers! Rehire dismissed faculty and staff! Decent salaries, class size and teaching load!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Courts No Answer to Discrimination Against Black Steel Workers

FACT: 75 percent of the coke oven work in American steel plants is done by black and other minority workers.

FACT: Long-standing discrimination in hiring and a system of "departmental seniority" has kept blacks in the hottest, dirtiest and lowest paying jobs in the steel industry.

FACT: A multitude of judicial "remedies" based on the 1965 Civil Rights Act have not alleviated the pervasive discrimination suffered by blacks, other minorities and women in steel and throughout the economy.

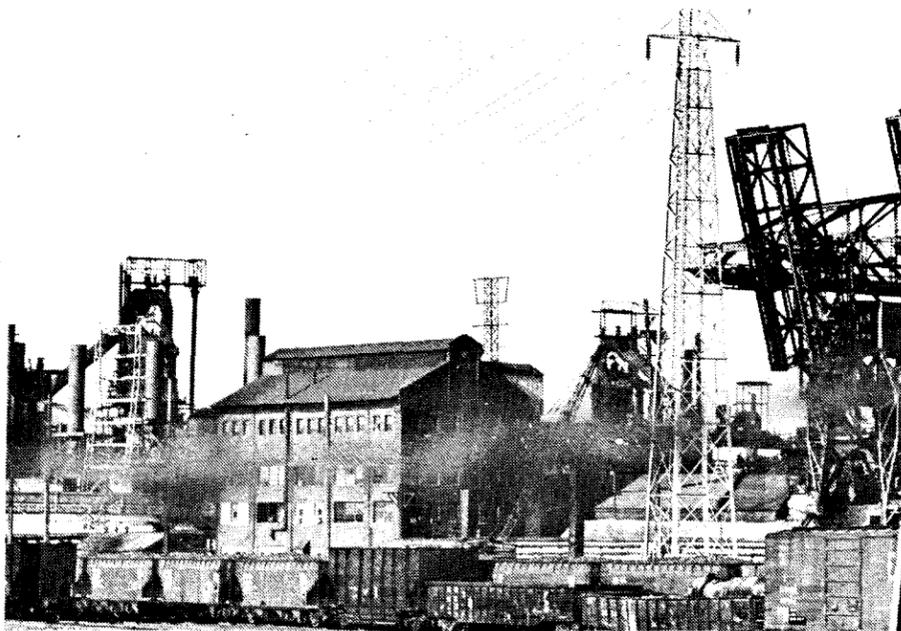
In the most recent decision in a drawn-out court battle, the U.S. Appeals Court in New Orleans last month reversed an earlier decision concerning back pay for 2,700 black workers at U.S. Steel's Fairfield works near Birmingham, Alabama. The appellate court ordered Alabama judge Samuel Pointer, who originally heard the case, to reconsider the workers' claims, with the presumption that they had been damaged by discrimination and were due compensation. But how long this new review will take, and how many of the workers will actually receive money, is open to question. With the deadening slowness typical of U.S. "justice" for the victims of racial oppression, the courts have already taken nearly five years on this case, only to return it now to Judge Pointer for "further consideration."

The Fairfield saga began with a series of cases filed against U.S. Steel and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) by the NAACP and private attorneys in 1970. Six cases were consolidated for trial in late 1972 before Judge Pointer in the U.S. District Court for Northern Alabama. Hundreds of witnesses were heard as the trial dragged on for over six months. Finally, in May 1973, Pointer rendered what has become known as the "Fairfield decision." While not denying discrimination against nearly 3,000 black workers, Pointer awarded only 61 of them back pay, on the grounds that "choice and chance" had played such a role in each individual's fate that compensation could not be determined "within the physical and fiscal limitations of the court" (*New York Times*, 12 October 1975).

This miserly result was hailed as a "historic milestone" by liberals and the reformist Communist Party. The decision additionally ordered changes in hiring, upgrading and transfer practices to give preferences to black workers, as well as partial implementation of plant-wide seniority instead of departmental seniority. However, these provisions were not enough to mollify the plaintiffs, who (joined by the Justice Department) continued to appeal, resulting in the latest decision throwing the ball back to Judge Pointer.

Enter the Consent Decree

The Justice Department's commitment to the appeal proved shallow and short-lived. Eager to avoid a mushrooming of black workers' claims, it arranged a package deal "consent decree" between nine major steel companies, the USWA and the federal government. The Justice Department subsequently dropped out of



WV Photo

the Fairfield appeal.

The April 1974 consent decree ordered industry-wide concessions similar to those Judge Pointer had ordered, but as at Fairfield limited so as to make them a mockery of equality. The granting of plant-wide seniority was largely gutted by acceptance of company "lines of progression," which partially continued the old policy of forcing those wishing to transfer to a new department to begin at lower-paying jobs before having access to better positions. It also locked black workers into giving up further court claims by making token back pay awards—a meager few hundred dollars for each worker—conditional on signing a waiver against any further legal action! Like the Fairfield decision the consent decree made white workers financially liable for past company discrimination, ordering part of the back pay to come from a levy on the union. And by putting whole sections of the union contract under its control, the government set itself a useful precedent for further dictation and manipulation of labor-management agreements.

Even the stingy palliatives of the consent decree continue to be withheld from black steel workers. The "audit and review committee" composed of company, union and government representatives charged with implementing the decree has used every possible excuse to stall on the back-pay awards for over a year. As a result, the allotted monies continue to collect interest for the companies in various bank accounts.

Now further delay of the payments is expected in the wake of the appellate court's recent action. The possible conflict of legal principles between its ruling and the consent decree has been seized upon by audit and review committee lawyers as grounds for further haggling and procrastination. While the court held that Fairfield works employees are not covered by back-pay sections of the consent decree, estimates of the exact impact of the latest ruling vary widely.

The general counsel of the USWA, Mike Gottsman, argues that the decision will be limited entirely to the Fairfield workers, that it will produce less money than the consent decree and that, quoting the company, some 90

percent of the workers involved will end up with nothing. The NAACP, however, suggests just the opposite. One spokesman told a *WV* reporter that the appeals court ruling would mean thousands of dollars more in back pay and, although refusing to be quoted, clearly expected a challenge of the consent decree's back-pay provisions in many other steel mills. Implicit in his remarks was that the NAACP would wage a major campaign against signing the waiver stipulation in the consent decree. But in any case, black steel workers are slated to remain ensnared in months and perhaps years of hapless litigation.

Capitalist Courts Will Not End Racial Oppression

The dismal spectacle of these endless courtroom shenanigans underscores the hopelessly utopian character of the liberal view that viciously racist capitalism can significantly reform itself "with a little pressure." Taking the companies (*not the unions*) to court can be a correct tactic if pursued without illusions as part of a broader class-struggle offensive against capital. But the courts cannot and will not remove their masters, the capitalist class, from power. So long as the latter remain, they will always find ways to avoid episodic inconveniences handed to them by the courts. A good example is the current

practice of many steel mills in hiring skilled tradesmen off the street to evade the upgrading provisions of the consent decree.

Moreover, the efficacy of the court-suit tactic is sharply reduced in depressed economic periods, such as at present with a quarter million steel workers on layoff. Judges will not force the companies to provide full employment; instead, at best they can only make partial redistributions of the existing pie such as "preferential layoffs," a reformist scheme currently in vogue that accepts capitalist cutbacks, pits white against black, and sabotages seniority for all workers. Such "solutions" ensure that white workers will easily fall victim to the racists' arguments that all gains for blacks must necessarily come at their expense. Instead of such hoaxes which set one section of the working class against another, it is vitally necessary to unite black and white workers in struggle to strike down such discrimination and to provide jobs for all.

Faced with discrimination that is both degrading and costly—one estimate calculated that black workers with comparable seniority to whites, when calculated on a plant-wide basis, were actually paid about \$1,750 a year less (*Militant*, 18 May 1973)—some black workers have turned to the NAACP's dead-end legalism only because of the seeming absence of a class-struggle alternative. Neither the incumbent union leadership nor its ostensible "opposition" has pointed toward another path.

The Steelworkers union, led by "no-strike" I.W. Abel, has sanctioned the industry's racist departmental divisions for years, turning a deaf ear to the legitimate complaints of its black members. The USWA also consistently defends the companies' practices in court. But suing the union along with the companies is joining the class enemy to destroy the only organ for defensive struggle that the workers have! And it will not protect the interests of minority workers any more than the present sell-out, racist union leadership has done. While the bureaucrats conspired with the companies and government lawyers to produce such legal straitjackets as the

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consent decree, token payments and court-imposed penalties would come out of the membership's pocket with the union forced to further surrender its independence to control by a strike-breaking, union-busting capitalist government which is racist to the core. It is precisely this independence from the bourgeoisie that is vital for a class-struggle fight against racial oppression.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

Betrayed by the union officialdom, black steel workers could find no militant alternative in the policies of the pseudo-radical opposition formations within the union, none of which rejects the practice of suing the unions in the capitalist courts. Most prominent and brazen in its intentions is the National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC), a liberal-reformist group politically endorsed by the Communist Party. Upholding the Fairfield decision as a sterling model, the NSWRFC offers alternating mild and militant criticism of the consent decree, while defending its implementation.

Never objecting to suing the union, the entire orientation of the NSWRFC is toward getting improved legal decisions and better government enforcement. Refusing to mobilize the rank and file in a fight against bureaucracy and racism, the NSWRFC goes so far as to demand that the USWA in effect be put under government trusteeship through "an independent representative of the federal court," who would be appointed to enforce the consent decree, instead of



Village Voice

USWA president I.W. Abel

"leaving it up to the 'good faith' of those who have been found guilty of bias in the past" (NSWRFC Report, June 1974). As if the federal government had not "been found guilty of bias in the past"!

Black steel workers will not find justice through the offices of the USWA fat cats, nor through NSWRFC-pushed illusions in "government impartiality." Steel workers must take up a program demanding full back pay from the companies for victims of discrimination, as well as repudiation of the consent decree, a struggle against layoffs and for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make jobs for all, and full plant-wide seniority with union control of all hiring and upgrading to end racist practices. Basic to this program is the principle of working-class independence from the bosses' state: Hands off the union! Only on this road can the steel workers weld the anti-racist class-struggle unity necessary to throw out the present treacherous bureaucracy and eliminate discrimination. The workers themselves, not the bosses' courts, will settle accounts with the corporations and the union leaders who serve as their henchmen within the labor movement! ■

21 NOVEMBER 1975

USec on Angola and Algeria

They Never Learn

The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) over the past several years has been factionally polarized by a "two-line struggle" between its European-based centrist majority and a reformist minority grouped around the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But the cosmetic "unity" precariously preserved by the feuding factions in this so-called "United" Secretariat has become acutely strained by developments in the tumultuous class struggle in Portugal.

While Ernest Mandel and the other Pabloist patriarchs-leading the centrist USec majority have been tailing the Portuguese "far left," the Communist Party and "revolutionary officers" of the Armed Forces Movement, the ultra-legalist SWP has rushed to the defense of "democracy" and...the CIA-financed Portuguese Socialist Party. The political appetites expressed in these counterposed positions would place the two wings of the USec on opposite sides of the barricades with an outbreak of civil war in Portugal. Some "International" this is!

The inability of the USec to present a coherent revolutionary policy in Portugal is characteristic of its response to every major political event. Thus, naturally enough, the factional dispute has spilled over to the civil war in Angola where once again two contradictory lines are presented. The USec majority cheers the radical-nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), while the SWP plies its pen to whitewash the anti-communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and, less brazenly, the neo-colonialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Communists extend *military* support to such petty-bourgeois nationalist movements when they are engaged in actual struggles against imperialism. But Leninists remain sharply politically opposed to nationalism, even when cloaked in "socialist" rhetoric and commanding a mass plebeian following. At every step Marxists uncompromisingly struggle for the political independence of the proletariat, expressed through the vanguard party fighting for the leadership of the national-social revolution. In the civil war presently raging in Angola, with Portugal out and the FNLA/UNITA forces having been effectively subordinated to U.S. imperialism and its South African ally, we call for military support to the MPLA against the CIA-financed South African-organized military offensive (see "Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!" *WV* No. 85, 14 November).

The Pabloist epigones of Trotskyism, however, long ago discarded the Leninist-Trotskyist program. Regarding Angola, both camps of the USec are "united" today by their common refusal to expose the Angolan nationalists—the MPLA no less than FNLA/UNITA—as *bourgeois* formations and to fight for working-class independence in Angola.

Apologists for MPLA and FNLA

As vociferous enthusiasts for petty-bourgeois-led "armed struggle," the USec majority expresses its unqualified political support to the MPLA, raising the slogan "all power to the MPLA" (*Inprecor*, 11 September 1975). While grudgingly acknowledging simply the most glaring betrayals of the MPLA, these revisionists contend that the MPLA is only "partially controlled by a petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership."

For Mandel & Co. "the only alternative to the present MPLA leadership" is the development of a so-called "vanguard" within the MPLA, *not* the struggle for a Trotskyist party.

In an earlier article, entitled "In the Whirlwind of Permanent Revolution" (*Inprecor*, 17 July 1975), the USec hails the MPLA's alleged "real break with reformist nationalism" and its "empirical revolutionary approach with a socialist dynamic." When the dust from this "whirlwind" of revisionist claptrap settles, the call for a Trotskyist party and for the political independence of the working masses from all the treacherous nationalists is buried.

Eager to make use of another opportunity for thinly veiled public factional polemic against the pro-MPLA USec majority, the SWP last summer cranked out a three-part series on Angola (*Intercontinental Press*, 7 July, 14 July and 21 July 1975) marshalling the evidence to demonstrate—quite correctly—the anti-proletarian character and past opportunism of the MPLA. But while seeking to cut the demagogically leftist MPLA to ribbons, the SWP wields its polemical rapier against the openly rightist FNLA far less aggressively. The SWP either ignores or disingenuously questions all the well-established facts documenting the FNLA's sordid anti-communist and pro-imperialist record.

While typically refraining from any hard programmatic statements, the SWP, like the USec majority, never so much as obliquely hints at the need for a Trotskyist party in its articles on Angola. On the contrary, despite its occasional pseudo-orthodox posturing, the SWP, too, suggests that the Angolan nationalist groups may be caught up in a "revolutionary dynamic": "In a tumultuous situation marked by the sudden collapse of a centuries-old empire and a steady rise of the colonial revolution, the nationalist forces may yet be pushed further than they are now willing to go."

Although each now apologizes for different hostile nationalist forces engaged in bloody combat, the two wings of the United Secretariat stand on the same revisionist methodology and tradition. Prior to their present falling out, USec leaders in the past unanimously backed whichever was the most popular and active Angolan nationalist force of the moment, while denying the need for a revolutionary communist party and calling for revolutionaries to work under the leadership of the nationalists.

A USec declaration on Angola issued in 1964—at a time when the MPLA had been all but shattered by repression and when the FNLA was leading guerrilla actions based on the Bakongo secessionist revolt in northern Angola—stated:

"The FNLA leadership is being forced to turn more and more towards revolutionary sources for aid including workers states, above all China. That this leadership has given indications of being willing to turn in this direction is an encouraging sign.... The most effective way in which the revolutionary Marxists can help the Angolan freedom fighters find their way to the program of socialism is to participate actively in the struggle led by the FNLA."

—*Fourth International*, June 1964

Algeria Revisited

The approach toward the nationalists in Angola shared by both factions of the USec today is simply a repetition of the Pabloist liquidationism followed during the nationalist-led struggle in Algeria against the French colonial regime. The Pabloists for years gave uncritical



J.P. Laffont/Syigma

political support to the petty-bourgeois National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria with the rationale that radical nationalist formations can provide a "possible substitution in the role which traditionally is played by the revolutionary Marxist party, of a more restricted [!] leadership of a different [!] ideological origin" (Michel Pablo, "The Colonial Revolution and the Theory of the Permanent Revolution").

The revisionists cynically trampled on the fundamental Marxist principle of the political independence of the proletariat from all alien classes, rejecting the perspective of struggling for a Trotskyist party politically counterposed to the bourgeois nationalists, with the twaddle that "the FLN will transform itself into a political party which will have a programme with a clear socialist orientation" (*Quatrième Internationale*, July 1962). As early as September 1962 the Pabloists claimed that the FLN could establish a healthy workers state: "the Algerian revolution already has a programme, the one adopted unanimously at Tripoli, which, if it is carried out, will make Algeria a society belonging to the Algerian peasant and worker masses, and the Algerian state into a workers state building socialism" (Pablo, "Impressions and Problems of the Algerian Revolution").

This illusion-mongering was not limited to Pablo. The United Secretariat, shortly after its formation, referred to "the socialist revolution as it spreads from Algeria to Morocco and throughout the Maghreb [northwest Africa]" (*World Outlook*, 23 October 1963). By 1964 the USec declared that Ben Bella's Algeria had become a "workers' and peasants' government," a regime capable of evolving into a workers state without the intervention of a Trotskyist party and without a civil war, similar, it said, to Cuba under Castro (*World Outlook*, 21 February 1964). Both the SWP and the Pabloists in Europe had embraced Castro as an "unconscious Marxist" able to establish a "workers state" in Cuba without the intervention of a revolutionary vanguard party. Agreement on this anti-Trotskyist perspective was, in fact, a key element in bringing about the 1963 reunification which produced the USec. But what Castro consolidated was a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state which excluded the proletariat from direct political power and which has consistently pursued policies fundamentally no different from the degenerated/deformed workers states of Russia and China. The Pabloists hoped that Algeria's Ben Bella would be "forced" to take the same road as Castro. They were to be sadly disappointed.

While the Pabloists could only vicariously cheer Castro from afar, in Algeria the USec was able to at last

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Bureaucrats Squabble in UMW Executive

Keep the Labor Department Out of the Mine Workers Union!

Besmirched by its record of bringing in the federal government to run the last union election, selling out on the right to strike and crushing wildcats such as the massive, month-long work stoppage in West Virginia and other states in August, the top leadership of the United Mine Workers (UMW) is now having a public falling out over which of two officials will be the next president of the union. The dispute revolves around Vice-President Mike Trbovich's challenge to President Arnold Miller for the top spot, although elections are not scheduled to be held until 1977.

No differences of any consequence to the ranks of coal miners can be discerned in this long-simmering squabble, and the dispute has a tone of macabre childishness, with Trbovich accusing Miller of "intimidating" his secretary, and a pro-Miller official accusing the majority of the UMW's International Executive Board (IEB) of being "functional morons." A more serious and ominous note, however, was introduced by Trbovich when he wrote a letter to the Labor Department suggesting possible violations of federal law in Miller's record-keeping. Ironically, it is the victim of this implied attack, Miller, whose name is most associated with bringing in the Labor Department to run union affairs, in the 1972 UMW election which brought him into office. Trbovich's act contains a new threat of government intervention, perhaps including seizure of the union's files or other harassment, which must be resisted by miners and all workers as a

issues of fundamental importance to the entire working class. Beginning over the firing of a local union official, the strike rapidly turned into a broad protest against the failure of the grievance system to stop company abrogation of the contract, and chiefly against the use of court injunctions by the companies to crush the strike. This strike for the right to strike was led by local unions and groups such as the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, while all factions of the union leadership moved might and main to break it.

Although forced to flee from the angry ranks at one meeting during the strike, Miller mobilized local leaders and finally succeeded in getting miners to cross picket lines maintained by roving militants, thus breaking a 50-year UMW tradition of respecting pickets. The defeat of the strike placed the union in grave jeopardy. While the employers' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) filed a suit to require more strenuous "union" efforts to crush "illegal" strikes, the U.S. Steel Corporation filed for \$10,000 in damages to be made payable through seizure of all union dues monies, and Judge K.K. Hall of Charleston levied a \$700,000 fine on the union to be paid directly to the coal operators!

Following on the heels of these vicious company and government actions, the UMW bureaucracy remained united in its determination to prevent any repetition of the membership's taking matters into its own hands. The IEB passed an omnibus resolution by a



Arnold Miller and Mike Trbovich

recent series of IEB meetings, supporters of Trbovich slipped through a resolution tacked onto a routine report, requiring that a special convention be called to oust Miller from office. Although the resolution passed by a 14 to 6 majority, Miller ignored it, calling it "unconstitutional," and apparently secured a decision not to implement it at a later meeting (without, however, repealing the resolution).

While firing off his "charges" to the government, Trbovich failed to make any explanation to the members for this clumsy attack on Miller other than the accusation of "intimidation" reported in the press. Miller and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick called a press conference attended by rank-and-file members in which they denounced Trbovich and the IEB majority as "morons" and "14 dictators." Miller called on members to file recall petitions against the 14 (most of whom are district directors), and threatened that if Trbovich didn't get in line with his administration, "I can suspend him, and I will" (*New York Times*, 7 November). Thus collapsed what had remained of the "reform" administration of 1972, with Trbovich, naturally, lining up both former Miller supporters and backers of the previous Boyle regime.

Left Apologists for Sellout Bureaucrats

Reacting empirically to the particularly venal character of the UMW bureaucracy under W.A. "Tony" Boyle, most supposedly "revolutionary" groups had fallen, more or less "critically," into the trap of supporting the "union democracy" campaign in 1972 in which Miller and Trbovich ran together on the Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate. The International Socialists, for example, supported Miller because it was under the illusion that Miller would be a step forward over Boyle. The Revolutionary Socialist League, claiming to have no such illusions, supported Miller because the workers have illusions. The *Guardian*, reflecting Maoist double-think, supported Miller because he was a step forward and a step backward.

As pointed out by the Spartacist League, the MFD was founded, built

and run by liberal Democratic Party politicians and lawyers, such as Congressman Kenneth Hechler and former ADA head Joseph Rauh, Jr. Rather than building a democratic movement of rank-and-file miners, the MFD relied on the courts and was run through behind-the-scenes deals and bureaucratic suppression of opposition. In one such deal, the lackluster Miller was picked over Trbovich (who had been a more prominent MFD spokesman) to be the group's candidate for the presidency after Trbovich had apparently understood that he would get the top spot—thus causing the resentment that has now risen to the surface.

The MFD's main tactic was to get the Labor Department to order a re-run of the 1969 election, which "Tony" Boyle stole from the subsequently murdered "Jock" Yablonski. During the 1972 re-run, Boyle consciously played on Miller's known association with liberal bourgeois politicians, lawyers and government intervention in the union. So hated is the bosses' government in the mine fields that 40 percent of the miners responded to this and opted for the nakedly corrupt Boyle rather than the "reformer" Miller. Although Miller has ended most of Boyle's bureaucratic trusteeships over the districts, the district directors on the IEB still include many former Boyle supporters.

Squirming through various contortions as Miller presents the miners with betrayal after betrayal, "left" pundits have made much of the fact that the presence of Boyle forces on the IEB has led to a never-ending series of top-level squabbles over secondary issues, with the latest bickerings merely their continuation in a new guise. In the battle over the last contract in late 1974, the bargaining council twice rejected Miller's draft offers, only to capitulate to Miller under the pressure of a federal mediator brought in—no surprise—by Miller.

The final deal was little changed from the first package—its main distinguishing characteristic being sellout of the right to strike promised by Miller—but the Communist Party (CP) came to Miller's defense against the bogeymen anyway. "Attack on Mine Pact Seen Plot by Old Boyle Clique," ranted the *Daily World* (4 December 1974), which tried to smear opposition to the deal with the brush of "agents at work."

Others, such as the Maoist Revolutionary Union (now Revolutionary Communist Party), tended to get off the bandwagon at the time of the contract betrayal. Said the RU's *Revolution* (November 1974), Miller "may not be a staunch defender of the strike"! They noticed! The IS, too, took this opportunity to note that the UMW ranks were no longer with Miller and to conclude that "the Miller Administration begins to look more and more like its predecessor rather than a 'reform' leadership" (*Workers' Power*, 28 November-11 December 1974). Though less blatant—and less consistent—than the Communist Party, the IS and RU/RCP lack the Marxist program which could have told them long before that Miller represented no fundamental break with the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and thus would inevitably betray the Mine Workers' ranks. The task of explaining this



Striking miners in Charleston, West Virginia, August 25.

WV Photo

danger to the entire labor movement by the bosses' state. No new "investigations"! Let Trbovich submit his charges to the membership!

Bureaucrats Unite to Smash Strike

Although the personal rivalry has caused a deep split at the top of the union, it was only two months ago that the entire leadership—national and local—was firmly united. The issue then was a wildcat strike which at its height embraced nearly two thirds of the union's membership of 120,000, extended to six states, and touched on

22 to 2 majority against wildcat strikes, which included invalidating the union's long-standing "24-hour rule" (under which all shifts strike if any one goes out), forbidding the use of union funds to defend victimized militants who spread strikes or locals that lead wildcats, and providing IEB authority to bring charges against members who "jeopardize the integrity of the union" by "willful and deliberate defiance of International directives" (*UMW Journal*, 16-30 September).

Now that the ranks have been smashed and driven back to work in defeat, the self-satisfied officials are feuding over the spoils of office. In a

truth—the need to break with *all* wings of the union bureaucracy in order to put forward a class-struggle opposition was left to the Spartacist League.

The Socialist Workers Party, which saw the Miller leaders at the time of the last contract as “coal miners not long out of the pits,” now apes the CP in its defense of Miller against the leaders of the August wildcat:

“[Miller’s] refusal to champion the demands of the strike permitted enemies of the reform movement remnants of the Boyle regime—to pose as the ‘most militant’ strikers and attempt to turn the entire struggle around, focusing it on the demand to oust Miller from office, instead of demands against the companies.”

Militant, 17 October

To suggest that the strike leaders were tied to the “Boyle clique” is a gross smear. Several militants went to jail for principled refusal to cross picket lines, others paid fines and strike leaders were heavily red-baited. Former Boyle supporters on the IEB had no fondness for the mass wildcat, and the miners were correct to direct their wrath for the betrayal of the strike against the Miller-controlled administration. Thus the SWP reveals the depths of its descent into reformism: no better than the CP, it still apologizes for Miller the “reformer” in the middle of the latter’s efforts—fully in league with the “Boyle gang”—to suppress a massive rank-and-file strike over a fundamental union issue.

The interests of the rank and file in the August strike could have been fulfilled, not by a “reformer” with a program of government intervention, but by a class-struggle leadership which knew the class nature of the government and pointed out that calling on the government to interfere in union affairs is a fundamental betrayal of the working class. This is why opportunists like the RU/RCP, which was for fighting government intervention in August 1974 but not in the 1972 election, will never be able to build real class struggle leadership in the unions.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

The Boyle gang and the Miller clique—and now the separated Miller and Trbovich cliques—are qualitatively indistinguishable from one another, and becoming more so as Trbovich builds his wagon out of driftwood from both “Miller” and “Boyle” swamps. There is no real choice for miners between Miller and Trbovich just as there was none between Miller and the Boyle regime. Miller was the example *par excellence* of the trade union “reformer” of the early 1970’s, and his “alternative” has been so fully revealed as just another wing of the same reformist bureaucracy that even some (but not all!) of his opportunist “left” backers have deserted him. The only possible “reform” of trade-union leadership that would be a qualitative step forward is the transformation of the trade unions into instruments of the struggle for workers power. This requires throwing out all factions of the present bureaucracy, “reformers” included, and their replacement with a principled, consistent and militant class-struggle leadership. ■

PUBLIC MEETING

Stop Racist Terror!

Speakers:

JOYCE CALHOUN

Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family

MATTIE SHEPHERD

Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton

ELLERY ALLEN

Philip L. Allen Defense Committee

Friday, December 5 at 7:30 p.m.

Laney College Room D-200

OAKLAND, California

Sponsored by the
Partisan Defense Committee

From Hansen to Healy to Hansen

Wolforth Crawls Back

“Then [Jack] Stachel, the inveterate and most unscrupulous factionalist, suddenly got a twinge of conscience—or maybe it was something he had eaten....”

—James P. Cannon,
*The First Ten Years
of American Communism*

Less than a year ago Tim Wohlforth—for over a decade top dog in the American satellite operation of Gerry Healy’s English-based “International Committee”—found himself unceremoniously deposed from leadership of his own creation, the Workers League (WL). Smarting from the blow, he treated the radical public to a luridly accurate 39-page account of his removal (“The Workers League and the International Committee,” 11 January 1975). This document was so devastating a portrait of internal life among the Healyites that it was reprinted in its entirety in four installments of *Intercontinental Press*, the organ of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, edited by Joseph Hansen. In recent months Wohlforth has been observed lurking around public functions of the SWP/YSA, which had expelled him in 1964.

Now it appears that this homeless petty despot has come full circle. The 10 November 1975 issue of *IP* publishes without comment a document dated 19 October by Wohlforth and his close collaborator Nancy Fields which purports to demonstrate that the SWP has turned toward the working class and is putting forward basically correct politics in opposition to the sectarian, cultist WL. This fulsome application for SWP membership concludes:

“Those like the Socialist Workers party who turn toward these struggles, and are willing to learn from them, will reach the best fighters of our generation. It will be these fighters who will build the revolutionary movement to lead the American Socialist Revolution. We intend to be with those real fighters of our day!”

The document strings together a few correct criticisms of the Healy tendency, obviously cribbed from the pages of *WV*



Tim Wohlforth

WV Photo

“The Toad saw at once how wrongly and foolishly he had acted. He admitted his errors and wrong-headedness and made a full apology to Rat.... And he wound up by saying, with that frank self-surrender which always disarmed his friends’ criticism and won them back to his side, ‘Ratty! I see that I have been a headstrong and a willful Toad! Henceforth, believe me, I will be humble and submissive, and will take no action without your kind advice and full approval!’”

—Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*

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over the years (the timeless, ritualistic Healyite warnings of “the crisis,” the sectarianism analogous to Stalin’s “third period”) with grovelling praise tacked on for some of the worst aspects of the SWP’s reformist line (Portugal, the reliance on federal troops to protect blacks in Boston). The document also includes the requisite section on “philosophy” without which no Healyite or ex-Healyite literary venture would be complete.

Of the years preceding this conversion, Wohlforth has little of importance to say. After more than a decade in which his only rationale for political existence has been denunciation of the revisionism of the SWP as a cover for the more “leftist” Healyite brand of cynical opportunist zig-zags, Wohlforth now wants to crawl back into the fold. The SWP is certainly no less revisionist than it was when Wohlforth departed; in fact, it has locked onto a grossly reformist course. It is, however, bigger, and Wohlforth’s tendency is considerably smaller—two people, to be exact.

At the time of his ouster from the WL, Wohlforth declared with typical modesty that although his service to the Healyites was apparently terminated, “we have left a priceless heritage....” It has not taken very long for Wohlforth’s imperishable contribution to perish. With consummate cynicism, Wohlforth styles his reconciliation with the SWP “In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective”—the same title, word for word, as the basic statement which codified the positions of the Revolutionary Tendency (which included Wohlforth as well as the founding leaders of the Spartacist group) in opposition to the SWP leadership some thirteen years ago!

The SWP is rapidly becoming adept at changing bloc partners in midstream. The marriage of convenience between the SWP-led rightist faction and the centrist majority of the so-called “United Secretariat” continues to come unstuck. The SWP wing and the French OCI increasingly gravitate into parallel

orbits, concretized above all over the issue of Portugal (where the centrist USec majority backs the CP and the “progressive officers” of the MFA, while the SWP and OCI apologize for the CIA-financed SP as it fronts for the massing reaction). The bureaucratic SWP, which continues to hold at arm’s length the supporters of the international majority expelled from its ranks, may have a use for Wohlforth. A totally discredited element incapable ever of mounting any threat to the regime, his spectacular capitulation can be utilized to bolster the SWP’s democratic pretensions as it seeks to become the all-inclusive party of revamped American social democracy.

Still, the “reintegration” of Wohlforth would pose certain tactical problems. He is uniquely the individual whose record of sectarianism, violence and slander has been exploited by the SWP over the years to discredit left critics. Wohlforth, more than anyone else among the political bandits of the Healy tendency, has been Hansen’s incarnate horrible example of the ignominious fate awaiting anyone who opposes the SWP from the left. In Hansen’s long gloating comment on the original Wohlforth defection (“The Secret of Healy’s ‘Dialectics,’” *IP*, 31 March 1975), he characterized the Healyite organizational method as using people like Wohlforth “until the last drop is squeezed out and they are dropped into the bin marked ‘Vaporized Lemons.’” We would be remiss if we failed to protest this amalgam of a rotten renegade and cynic with lemons, which after all serve useful purposes.

While we wait for the predictable howls of indignation from the Workers League/Healy cabal, let us observe that Wohlforth is only following out the counsels of his mentor, Healy, who some years ago dictated to the WL the opportunist strategy for the future: “the road to the American working class lies through the YSA.”

But what is Hansen going to do with a super-cynical squeezed lemon? ■

Whitlam Ousted in Australia

For A General Strike to Restore Labor Government!

On November 11 the Australian Governor-General ousted the Labor Party government and invited Liberal Party leader Malcolm Fraser to form a minority government for the purpose of holding elections, now scheduled for December 13. The pretext for this high-handed removal of the majority party from the government (by the official representative of the British queen) was the refusal of the Senate, dominated by the bourgeois parties, to vote for the budget. Immediately after Fraser was installed as prime minister the Senate voted for the Labor budget it had previously held up.

The dramatic sacking of the Labor government produced a wave of workers protests. In Sydney 3,000 dock workers and students marched on the Stock Exchange and battled police. In another action, an angry crowd reportedly broke into the offices of an anti-Labor publisher and burned large bundles of papers. Union demonstrations against the new government drew over 10,000 participants each in the federal capital of Canberra and in Melbourne. There were also several political protest strikes, including a one-day walkout by Sydney dock workers and a four-hour strike by all Melbourne unions on November 14.

We reprint below an Australasian Spartacist supplement (13 November), published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

Sir John Kerr, the right-wing ex-grouper¹ appointed Governor-General by [Australian Labor Party (ALP) Prime Minister] Gough Whitlam himself, has thrown out the elected Labor Government in [favour] of the bosses' parties, the Liberal/National Country Party (L/NCP) alliance—the coup de grâce in their year-long manoeuvres to get into position for a vicious attack on the working class.

The capitalists are solidly behind the move. After it was announced there were cheers on the floors of the stock exchanges and the Sydney Stock Exchange index shot up more than 17 points in a few hours. It received universal acclaim from the daily papers, owned and controlled by tycoons like Fairfax and Murdoch. The bosses want to dump the burden of the recession caused by their system of production for profit onto the backs of the workers, and they don't trust the Labor Party to do it well enough, no matter how much it has tried. That is the class conflict behind the constitutional crisis.

Fraser, the rich [rancher]-aristocrat, is a notorious union-basher like the rest of the reactionary L/NCP crew. It was they who tried to shackle the unions with the penal powers in 1969. That time they were defeated by massive national strike action which freed Clarrie O'Shea² from jail. Now the ruling-class plot to put them back in office must also be smashed. The working class must use its industrial power to veto the Governor-General's appointment of Fraser, an act undemocratic even by the standards of bourgeois parliaments. The ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] must immediately call a general strike to kick Fraser out and restore the Labor Government!

Workers voted for a Labor Government because the ALP is the mass party of the working class tied to the trade unions, and because they believed it represented their interests. Whitlam and the rest of the ALP tops have betrayed workers' true interests at every turn. The best way this can be proved is to keep the Labor Government in. But in order for the working class to go forward, the labour movement must be rid of class traitors like Hawke and Whitlam.

Whitlam's Capitalist Government

Whitlam's government has been and can only be strictly a capitalist government, dedicated to the efficient running of the capitalist system. Its few paltry reforms have been largely thrown out



Demonstrators in Sydney protest ouster of Labor government.

the window with the economic recession. It has not lifted a finger to stop the growth of massive unemployment. It has attempted to impose a wage freeze on the unions in the guise of "wage indexation." Its budget was completely pro-capitalist, with heavy indirect taxes on consumer goods, sharp cuts in social service expenditure, cuts in company taxes and other concessions to "private enterprise."

It is not enough to stop Fraser. The ACTU must include in the demands of a general strike immediate measures to halt the recession's attacks on working-class living standards and defeat the former Labor Government's anti-working-class policies: *Smash the indexation wage freeze and Labor budget cuts! For an immediate 35-hour week at full pay for all workers and a full, unconditional cost-of-living adjustment to all wages!*

These measures can only be a temporary defence of working-class interests. A sliding scale of hours is needed to maintain full employment with no loss in pay by sharing the available work. The "capital strike" by the bosses who refuse to invest because their ill-gotten profits are not high enough, the "right" of the bosses to sack or speed up anyone they see fit, cannot be accepted. Their stranglehold on society must be broken by taking industry out of their hands. *Open the books of the corporations! Workers control of hiring! Nationalise all basic industry and financial institutions under*

workers' control—no compensation!

These measures—expropriating the capitalist class and opening the road of planned production for social needs to build a socialist society without the exploitation, misery, war, bloody repression, racial and sexual oppression, and degrading servitude on which capitalism thrives—can only be carried out by a workers government, only if workers have their own state power based on their own organisations. The bosses will not give up their riches without a fight! For an ALP/ACTU government pledged to expropriate the capitalist class!

Parliament is the Bosses' Tool

Whitlam, in opposing Kerr's actions, is only interested in upholding the capitalist system—and the [perquisites] it offers him as one of its political servants. He says that if he is not re-elected "there can be very great apprehensions that people in Australia will believe that Parliament is not a vehicle for reform. They'll try to go outside the system." Thus Whitlam threatens the ruling class: keep me in power or there might be a revolution. Whitlam is a counterrevolutionary to the core. He knows that the great deceit of Parliament is one of the best means of preventing the working class from throwing out the bosses once and for all.

Parliament is not democratic. It is forbidden to tamper with the foundations of capitalism. Corrupted by capitalist bribes and influence, it is rotten from top to bottom, useful only to a capitalist system in its historical decay, unable even to grant any substantial reforms. And when its class rule is directly threatened, capital will cast aside parliamentary niceties and attempt to drown workers in blood with naked armed force. By creating illusions in Parliament Whitlam is helping to prepare such a fate for Australian workers, just as Salvador Allende led the Chilean masses down the "peaceful road" to slaughter.

But deferring the budget is not quite the same as a fascist or military bloodbath. Whitlam has not been shot, but sacked, through a slight stretching of bourgeois legality—by exploiting a constitutional contradiction. Fraser is no Hitler or Pinochet—he is at worst

just another Menzies.³

Even in bourgeois terms, the dismissal of Whitlam was undemocratic. The existence of the Governor-General and the Senate are not even in line with consistent bourgeois democracy, and they should be abolished. But not because that will fundamentally change the character of Parliament—on the contrary. Workers must support consistent bourgeois democracy only in order to obtain the best conditions for fighting to overthrow the entire capitalist system, and only to expose to the masses that even the purest bourgeois democracy is only the best political shell for the dictatorship of capital, completely impotent to satisfy their needs.

ACTU leader Hawke, pleading with workers to "trust me," immediately called for "restraint" from unionists. Along with Whitlam he knows that a massive working-class response will completely undermine their attempts to prove to the bourgeoisie their ability to better impose the cost of economic recession on the working class. The "left wing" of the trade-union bureaucracy—the Communist Party of Australia [CPA] and the Moscow-line and Maoist Stalinists, from John Halfpenny⁴ to Pat Clancy⁵ to Ted Bull⁶—are channelling strike agitation into demands for "saving democracy." Their calls for weak 24-hour "protest" stoppages and the black banning of elections are not only inadequate or misdirected but totally ignore the immediately necessary fight against Labor's anti-working-class policies.

The labor bureaucracy will inevitably try to sabotage a general strike. Immediate steps must be taken such as the calling of a national meeting of all shop stewards and job delegates. General strike committees must be established at all plant and job sites. A general strike cannot at this point directly challenge bourgeois rule without an overwhelming likelihood of defeat. But by successfully defending the working class, by beginning the organisation of its ranks and preparing the way for factory committees and workers' councils as an alternative to the bourgeois state, it will create better conditions for successful struggle.

What is needed above all is an alternative leadership to the treacherous bunch of misleaders now at the head of the workers movement. Oppositional caucuses, firmly based on a class struggle program, must be built in the unions in order to fight to build a mass revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class to victory. ■

* * * * *

¹Member of Catholic-dominated anti-communist "Industrial Groups" in the Australian Labor Party during the 1950's, most of whom later split from the ALP to form the Democratic Labor Party.

²Maoist leader of Melbourne Tramway Workers Union arrested in 1969 for refusing to pay fines imposed as punitive measure against a strike.

³Long-time Liberal Prime Minister.

⁴Victoria state secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, leader of the CPA.

⁵Federal secretary of the Building Workers Industrial Union, national president of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia.

⁶Victoria state secretary of the Waterside Workers Federation, leader of the pro-Peking Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

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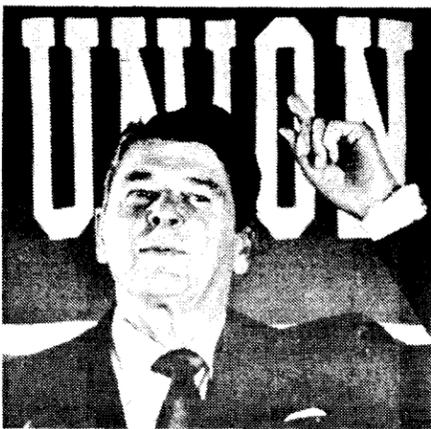
(continued from page 1)

to a firm with close ties to Perk to the appointment of a convicted killer and a convicted child molester to high city posts. But despite this, and despite last year's massive layoff of municipal employees, Perk was able to translate the garrison mentality of the city's white working-class neighborhoods into a victory at the polls. White voters who backed Stokes as "fire insurance," i.e., to contain ghetto rebellion, were now solidly behind a hard-line approach. And so this traditionally Democratic city voted for a Republican mayor simply to keep black candidates out of local office. Pinkney, who ran on a moderate platform, summed it up after the election: "Basically, white folks are scared of black folks in this community" (*The Cleveland Press*, 5 November).

In Boston there was a complementary pattern of liberals conciliating white racism. With black people a small minority and endangered by racist vigilantes, both mayoral candidates, incumbent Kevin White (who was re-elected) and challenger Joseph Timilty, simultaneously opposed busing and courted black and liberal votes. ROAR, the right-wing anti-busing group, did not endorse either candidate, in part because liberal mayor White and the ROAR leaders in city posts have a long history of behind-the-scenes sharing of political patronage. It was widely reported in the Boston press that ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks did not enter this year's race because it would endanger her cozy working relationship with White. However, ROAR leader Pixie Palladino, the racist zealot from East Boston, won election to the School Committee, joining the ROAR sympathizers who already dominate the Committee and City Council.

ERA Defeated in N.Y./N.J.— Anti-Labor Bills Win in S.F.

A general trend to the right was similarly evident in the vote on a number of ballot propositions across the country. State equal rights amendments were rejected in New York and New Jersey, despite their broad support from state politicians. In Washington state the death penalty was reinstated, and a corporate income tax was voted down. In San Francisco, a series of anti-labor propositions was approved by a petty-bourgeois electorate out-



Bernard Gotfryd/Newsweek

Ronald Reagan

aged over higher property taxes and blaming them on the wage settlement of municipal employees negotiated by outgoing mayor Joseph Alioto. Voters rejected 93 percent (in dollar value) of all new proposed bond issues (compared with 54 percent in 1974). These votes outline the trend toward fiscal conservatism and "law and order," a trend Wallace and Reagan hope to benefit from.

The defeat of the state equal rights amendments in New York and New Jersey—states which three years ago were among the first to ratify the federal

ERA, a supportable, if somewhat innocuous, statement of equality before the law was one of the sharpest indicators of this rightward political drift. With rejection of the amendments, conservatives in the two state legislatures are already pushing to reverse their support to the national proposal, a move which could kill ratification. Reactionary outfits like the Conservative Party, American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution spearheaded the opposition, peddling irrelevancies about unisex toilets and homosexual marriages. But fundamentally the vote reflected a resurgence of backward social attitudes and opposition to extending even the most basic democratic rights.

In San Francisco a number of disastrous anti-labor propositions sponsored by city supervisors were approved by an overwhelming two-to-one vote in a heavy turnout. A "craft pay formula," pegging the wages of city tradesmen to the level prevailing in San Francisco's highly unionized private sector, was eliminated, opening the way for the city to slash the wages of the 16,000 municipal workers affected. A similar bill, "Proposition L" which would have tied craft wages to a much lower state-wide average, was defeated only last year.

A proposition requiring dismissal of striking police and firemen was passed in S.F., as were others intended to cut police and firemen's wages and to increase the number of workdays per month for firemen. Revolutionaries oppose these propositions not out of sympathy for the cops, the enemies of the working class, but in order to defend the wages and working conditions of firemen and other city workers. The vote, described by Alioto as "an incredible revulsion of the police and fire strike," marks a shift from political collaboration with the labor fakers, as practiced by Alioto and his cronies, to direct state repression favored by the Board of Supervisors. It is notable that every supervisor was re-elected.

This defeat for the Bay Area working class is the direct responsibility of the venal labor bureaucrats, whose temporizing policies stand in the way of a militant defense of the unions and allow the petty bourgeoisie to be mobilized by reactionary demagogues. A determined use of labor's enormous social power is the only weapon which can decisively defeat union-busting and right-wing political threats posed in this period of capitalist austerity. Ousting from the unions the racist, gun-wielding cops—who only pretend to side with labor until they are called upon to smash strikes by real municipal unions—is the first step. A class-struggle union leadership would present a program of transitional demands which demonstrate to the economically hard-pressed lower levels of the petty bourgeoisie that it is the capitalists, not the working class, who are the real enemies, and that a workers government is the only solution to the price/tax/debt spiral. Defensive political strikes would quickly dispel the reactionaries' hopes that the working class can be tamed by a few anti-labor laws or right-wing politicians. But the San Francisco labor bureaucrats continue their no-win policies and now support their latest "friend of labor" George Moscone in the mayoral run-offs.

Race and Class

In Europe, the capitalists have met the current depression simply by exporting their reserve army of unemployed back to their countries of origin. Hundreds of thousands of foreign workers from Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey, who were brought to the central and north European industrial countries after the war, are now being uprooted and

deported, as competition for jobs becomes sharper. In the United States, similar policies have been implemented by governmental authorities, which last year expelled over a million "illegal aliens" from the country. But there is an important difference between the U.S. and Europe. Despite numerous newspaper stories of Detroit auto workers returning to Kentucky on Trailways' half-fare plans, the black industrial reserve army is internal to the country and cannot simply be sent "back to the farm." This situation will have an important impact on the future socialist revolution, in which black workers will play a central role, but there is also a dangerous potential to channel the economic insecurity of a divided working class into racial confrontation rather than class struggle against the capitalists.

For example, in the summer of 1919, during the economic dislocation following the end of World War I and the fierce job competition between newly industrialized blacks and returning white veterans, bloody race riots swept 26 cities. The revolutionary wing of the Socialist Party, deeply embroiled in the faction fight that led to the formation of the Communist Party, was mainly confined to groups of recent immigrant workers. They were as much the victims of the xenophobic frenzy whipped up among the petty bourgeoisie and native-born workers as were the black workers murdered in Chicago, Washington, D.C. and other attempted pogroms.

Major obstacles to a united working-class offensive against capital (in place of race war) in that period were the Gompersite bureaucrats, who demanded jobs for whites first, and the lack of unions that went beyond narrow job-trusting craft organizing.

In contrast, during the latter half of the 1930's and in the immediate post-World War II period, heightened class struggle—expressed in industrial union organizing, mass strike waves and demands for independent labor political action—muted racial divisions and shifted the national political climate dramatically to the left. A key factor was the broad support for left-wing and revolutionary militants in wide sections of the labor movement.

Now the economic decline of U.S. imperialism in the world market (codified in Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy), the Watergate scandal and subsequent government shake-up, the imperialist defeat in Indochina and the onset of a world depression have created conditions for a similar upsurge in the class struggle. But the question of leadership is key. The same generation of pro-capitalist union bureaucrats who presided over the "cold war" purge of radicals from the ranks of labor today continue to hold back the workers' struggles, allowing the bourgeois parties to orchestrate the cut-throat competition of white and black workers for a declining pool of jobs, housing and social services.

Without the independent class political mobilization of the proletariat in a workers party and the ousting of the present sellout, parochialist labor bureaucracy, the tremendous potential social power of the working masses will be dissipated in fratricidal racial conflict (as well as in escalating national chauvinism as the labor fakers promote protectionism as the "solution" to depression). The class traitors who channel white workers' discontent into votes for bourgeois "friend-of-labor" politicians—who promise lower taxes and a hard line against blacks—must be dumped. This can come about only through the emergence of a class-struggle union leadership to fight against the bureaucracy and for a workers party and a workers government that would lay the basis for eliminating forever the pervasive oppression of racial and national minorities intrinsic to capitalist rule. ■

200 at LACC Rally in Support of Philip Allen

LOS ANGELES, November 14—A united-front rally to free Philip Allen drew 200 today at L.A. City College. The fight against the frame-up of Allen, an LACC student sentenced to five-years-to-life in prison for allegedly killing a cop, has mobilized many students on campus in the last few months as the viciously racist nature of the state's frame-up campaign against Allen becomes increasingly obvious. The rally, initiated by the Associated Student Body and Executive Council, was supported by and included speakers from MECHA, a Chicano student organization; the Black Student Union; the Students Political Organization for Tom Hayden's Election; the United Farm Workers Support Committee and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).



Philip Allen

Several of the speakers addressed the need to broaden the defense struggle—to make Allen's case as familiar on the streets of L.A.'s black districts and beyond as it is on campus. Referring to Judge Rittenband's revocation of Allen's bail the day after an October 1 rally at LACC where the defendant reaffirmed his innocence, SYL spokesman Don Cane said that if it wasn't clear before, the bail revocation should have "dispelled any illusions that anything but a united mass movement could bring justice to Philip Allen." Under capitalist class "justice," Cane pointed out, "For black and other working people you're born guilty till you're proven innocent." Now behind bars at Chino state prison, Allen finds his life in danger as a "convicted cop killer" in the hands of cops.

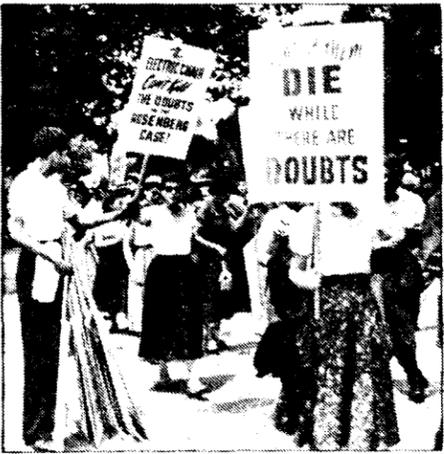
Today's successful demonstration in support of Philip Allen was also a ringing repudiation of the recent attempt to split such united efforts with vicious red-baiting. The LACC administration, supported by a small circle of campus red-baiters, suspended the SYL from campus in response to the sizeable October 1 demonstration initiated by the SYL. However the anti-communist campaign aimed at destroying the unity and effectiveness of the Philip Allen defense barely got off the ground before its sponsors retreated in the face of overwhelming campus support for a united defense and condemnation of administration victimization and sectarian anti-communism. *For a United Defense of Philip Allen! Free Allen Now!*

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 12)

eighteen years was supplied by two witnesses, Ethel Rosenberg's brother David Greenglass and a Philadelphia chemist, Harry Gold. Greenglass testified that, after being recruited to a spy ring by Julius Rosenberg, he had handed sketches of the atomic bomb—whose "secret" he had overheard from the conversations of scientists passing through the machine shop at Los Alamos where he worked—to Soviet spy courier Harry Gold.

The weakness of the prosecution's charge regarding an A-bomb sketch was pointed out by J. Robert Oppenheimer, the American physicist in charge of designing the first atomic bomb, when he said that "there are no unpublished secrets concerning atomic weapons, and no secrets of nature available to a few."



Paris Match

CP and liberals ignored political character of Rosenberg witchhunt.

Gold, the story goes, identified himself in the classic conspiratorial manner with the password "I come from Julius" and the torn side of a Jello box whose matching part Rosenberg supposedly had given to Greenglass. The prosecution's two key pieces of material "evidence" were the sketch of the "A-bomb secret" and the torn Jello box top. But the sketch was done in jail by Greenglass a month before the trial and the only Jello box ever produced was one torn in court!

Gold provided the only major corroborative testimony to the Greenglass story. The credibility of the prosecution's case, at least in strictly legal terms, rested solely on whether the jury believed these two witnesses. The Rosenbergs, of course, denied everything Gold and Greenglass had said.

The role of Greenglass and Gold in helping railroad the Rosenbergs makes these two characters interesting as case studies of how the FBI molded unstable personalities, devastated by the terror of the witchhunt years, into the witnesses that "cracked" the "Soviet spy ring." By the time of the Rosenberg trial Harry Gold already had named himself the American accomplice to convicted British spy Klaus Fuchs and had appeared as the principal prosecution witness in the Brothman-Moskowitz trial. Here Gold described not only his spy activities but also how for years he maintained the fantasy of a non-existent wife and their twin children, fooling even his close friends. Apparently awed by his powers of fabrication, Gold exclaimed that "it was a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears." Although Gold could not remember either Greenglass or their supposed rendezvous in New Mexico when first questioned about it by the FBI, his almost infinite suggestibility fastened on a few timely hints and, guided by the FBI, elaborated the full story.

FBI coaching similarly informed Greenglass' account. At the trial Greenglass testified that agents "told me about a man who came to see me" and told him when and where the meeting took place. Gold and Greenglass spent months together, working with the FBI

and U.S. attorneys, on the eleventh floor of the Tombs Prison in New York City, known as the "singing quarters." There they ironed out any inconsistencies in their story. The *pre-trial record* thus contains the record of government conspiracy, and the key to reopening the Rosenberg case. We demand these secret prosecution and government files, so hard to pry loose from the FBI, be made public now!

Elizabeth Bentley, the repulsive ex-Communist who claimed seven years on the Russian spy circuit, applied the finishing touches to the prosecution's case. Although she admittedly never met either of the Rosenbergs and told only a vague, if darkly conspiratorial story about midnight phone calls from a man named "Julius," her testimony as an "expert" on Communism was important to the government's case. Denying a defense motion against such a line of testimony, Judge Irving Kauffman made clear to the jury the purpose of Bentley's testimony, namely to show "the causal connection between the membership in the party and intending to give an advantage to...the USSR"—i.e., CP membership equals espionage. Bentley had already built a sensationalistic (and lucrative) career as an informer. Congressional hearings and federal grand juries thrilled to her tales of a vast "underground" carrying out "orders from Moscow."

A good deal of criticism has been directed at the defense lawyers, most recently by Sobel in his book *On Doing Time*. There is no question that the four lawyers, three of whom had little experience in criminal cases, made serious errors of legal judgment. But the most important error was adaptation to the witchhunt political atmosphere. Defense lawyer Emanuel Bloch demonstrated his patriotism by requesting that a replica of the alleged sketch of the bomb drawn by Greenglass be impounded, to ensure that it not "be used to the advantage of a foreign power."

And when Judge Kauffman sentenced the Rosenbergs it was "national security" that demanded their deaths. "I believe your conduct," Kauffman intoned, "has already caused...the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000, and who knows but that millions more may pay the price for your treason."

Who Were the Rosenbergs?

The witchhunters depicted their prey as arch-fiends of an international conspiracy, but the Rosenbergs were, until their arrest, a rather undistinguished part of a generation drawn to radical politics during the late 1930's. Inspired by the authority and achievements of the Russian Revolution, they looked for political leadership to American Stalinism, product of the revolution's degeneration. In a letter begun 45 days before his execution Julius Rosenberg described how as a teenager he became determined to help free Tom Mooney, and later as a college freshman protested against fascist students from Italy visiting CCNY. He recalled Ethel singing *No Pasarán* in Times Square to raise money for Spanish refugees, and how they had advocated the allies' opening a second front in World War II to relieve the bleeding of the Soviet Union by Hitler. Both were active trade unionists, Ethel in the clerical workers union and Julius as an organizer for the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians until he was fired from his job for CP membership in 1945.

Ardent believers in the disastrous Stalinist popular front against fascism, the Rosenbergs liked to consider themselves typical of the "progressives" who hoped for a U.S.-Soviet alliance continuing into peacetime in a worldwide New Deal. Yet it is clear enough that the Rosenbergs were deeply committed to support of the Soviet Union. Thus they were the right sort in the right spot and at just the right time to become

sacrificial victims to the frenzied anti-communist frustration of an American imperialism denied total global domination. The Rosenberg couple faced their martyrdom with fortitude and bravery. The great Soviet spy Kim Philby in his book, *My Secret War*, rightly calls them the "heroic Rosenbergs."

Throughout the McCarthy era the FBI relied on "fishing expeditions," poking around for someone who might break under the strain and "cooperate" with the government. Loyalty oath perjury was a useful lever in FBI hands to extort "confessions," particularly when coupled with promises of light sentences or immunity. Above all the state hoped to set off a chain reaction of FBI-authored "confessions," with the Rosenbergs and Sobel playing along, to finger the real "masterminds." During the trial and right up to the executions the Rosenbergs were promised time and again that the state would be lenient if only they would "cooperate" and name names. But in a political atmosphere fouled by stool pigeons like Whittaker Chambers talking for immunity, by finks like director novelist Elia Kazan taking out "I-was-a-Communist-dupe" ads in the *New York Times*, and by pathetic creeps like Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, with their lives at stake, never swayed.

Cast by an accident of history as martyrs of the anti-communist repression, the Rosenbergs refused to renounce the Soviet Union. Their political

the Rosenbergs whose alleged crime was providing information to an ally of the U.S. were given the death sentence.

The failure to defend the Rosenbergs rests squarely with the Communist Party, which first mentioned the case after the trial was over and the death sentence had already been handed down. The CP neither denounced the political frame-up nor defended the Rosenbergs as victims of the capitalist state but merely accused the government of "bad faith," similar to its refusal "to negotiate peace in Korea" (*Daily Worker*, 6 April 1951). In turn, the cowering liberal American Civil Liberties Union announced that the case "raised no civil liberties issues." It fell to the *National Guardian*, in a series of articles in the summer of 1951, to protest the Rosenbergs' persecution, incorrectly focusing on anti-Semitism (which was certainly a factor) as the main issue.

In late 1951 the CP and its Progressive Party periphery, organized in the National Committee to Secure Justice, started a defense campaign. But it did not attract much in the way of support until the winter of 1952, after the Supreme Court had refused to review the case. The treacherous policies of the Stalinists in the previous years had closed off the possibility of effectively mobilizing the labor movement against repression. Through its no-strike pledges and its policy of scabbing on strikes during the war, the CP had



Joseph McCarthy

Paris Match

training, however, as CPers during the New Deal heyday of class collaboration, had provided them little experience in swimming against the stream. Julius Rosenberg's *Death House Letters* are ample evidence of political naiveté, as he describes his "hope that as time passes my faith in the American people and American Justice will be reaffirmed." But the Rosenbergs' courageous stand is a testament to their unflinching personal integrity.

Class-Struggle Defense Needed

A revolutionary defense policy seeking to mobilize the working class was the necessary response to the continuing onslaught of reactionary repression whose main target was the CP. The Rosenberg case was not merely one of many espionage prosecutions. The arrest and show-trial became a focus for the mobilization of anti-communism as a section of the ruling class sought to gear up the country for a war against the Soviet Union. The central political nature of the case became evident when

isolated itself in the far right wing of the unions. The McCarthy period purges of CPers and all "reds" ruthlessly cleaned out the best militants from the ranks of labor and laid the basis for the unions' absolute domination by the reactionary bureaucracy which to this day maintains control of the AFL-CIO.

During an analogous red scare following World War I, the pioneer Communist movement had lasted out the Palmer Raids (in which as many as 2,000 people were arrested in one night). But the degenerated CP's class collaborationism made it vulnerable to the McCarthyite onslaught. Under the pressure of the national chauvinist hysteria which provided the backdrop for the Rosenberg trial, most of the U.S. left followed the CP's cringing example. Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League, weathervane of the Stalinophobic left, pretended not to notice the witchhunt character of the Rosenberg trial, using as a dodge the statement: "socialists have traditionally refrained from involving themselves in controversies in which espionage is involved" (*Labor Action*, 19 January 1953).

But indignation spread as the execution date approached. In France CP-led demonstrations drew tens of thousands, focusing on anti-Semitism as the motive for the conviction.

Contrasting with the Stalinists' vapid talk of "bad faith" on the part of the U.S. government, in its first editorial statement on the case, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party correctly recognized the central political thrust of the Rosenberg trial: "The

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Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling class terror by a state that is preparing a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union" (*Militant*, 27 October 1952). The SWP hailed the USSR's nuclear capacity an important act demonstrating considerable political courage in that period. It was a victory for the gains of the October Revolution that the Dr. Strangeloves were thwarted in maintaining a monopoly on nuclear weapons. The SWP was guided by the Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism (which must be coupled with a program of political revolution to bring down the class-collaborationist Kremlin bureaucracy).

Developing factions in the SWP (Marcy, Cochran-Clarke-Bartell) seized on the case in 1953 to claim that the SWP majority had failed to adequately defend the Rosenbergs. As their rapid evolution showed, the appetite of these critics was toward liquidation into the Stalinist milieu.

However one can find errors in the SWP's work during this period. The SWP could have recognized the political character of the Rosenberg case sooner and sounded the alarm earlier and louder. Nonetheless the defense record of the SWP was generally excellent. When the Smith Act was used against the CP in 1949, the SWP campaigned vigorously in the CP's defense, correctly recognizing the ominous threat of a concerted drive to "sanitize" the unions by obliterating all radical influence. The SWP denounced the Smith Act prosecution of CPers, undeterred by the vicious sectarianism which had led the CP to applaud the first use of the Smith Act—against the Trotskyists in 1941. Nor did the SWP allow its bitter first-hand experiences with GPU espionage (the GPU's assassination of revolutionists in Spain, the murder of Trotsky in Mexico in 1940, the Soblen network of spies and provocateurs which carried out anti-SWP activities throughout the war) to obscure the need to defend the Rosenbergs.

The prosecution and execution of the Rosenbergs was a graphic symbol of the anti-communist frenzy of arrogant American imperialism. One of the important tasks in constructing an international Trotskyist vanguard party will be to construct mass class-struggle defense organizations capable of freeing the Rosenbergs of the future. ■

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USec on Angola, Algeria...

(continued from page 5)

implement its perspective of actively pressuring the nationalist formations to the left. While still a titular international leader of the USec, Michel Pablo entered the bourgeois Ben Bella government, serving as a top economic advisor. According to his pamphlet "World in Revolution," Pablo "helped codify and institutionalize self-management in Algeria, and draft the Algerian Reform Law and economic and social policy in the country between 1962 and 1965."

Pablo "Institutionalizes" Algeria's Unions

Having crossed the class line by entering a bourgeois government, Pablo, with the tacit support of the entire USec, proceeded to braintrust the

seeking to excuse its treachery with a halting "self-criticism" and liberal doses of falsification and demagogy. Shortly after the Boumedienne coup, SWP "theoretician" Joseph Hansen attempted to answer a scathing denunciation by the Socialist Labour League of Britain of the USec's capitulation to the petty-bourgeois Algerian nationalists (reprinted in *Spartacist*, November-December 1965). Hansen wrote sarcastically:

"We are told about the need for a Trotskyist party in Algeria. Wonderful! We are told that the national bourgeoisie cannot carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Superb!"

World Outlook, 23 July 1965

Anyone can "call for" a vanguard party, you see. But the USec occupied itself with the "new," more "profound" objective "dynamic" in Algeria. To simply insist on the need for the political independence of the proletariat from the exploiters, according to Pabloist pundit



MPLA troops marching in Luanda.

"social and economic policy" which was aimed at strangling the independent organizations of the working class by incorporating them into the bourgeois state apparatus. The "institutionalization of self-management" pushed by Pablo led directly to the state regimentation of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (UGTA) labor federation, whose leaders had sought to preserve at least a semblance of independence of the workers organizations from the post-independence Algerian state (Ian Clegg, *Workers Self Management in Algeria*).

The UGTA organized independent workers self-management committees in the factories and on the agricultural estates abandoned by the departing French. In July 1962 it called for factory occupations to prevent a consolidation of power by the nascent Algerian bourgeoisie. Such independent mobilizations of the working masses posed a direct threat to the bonapartist bourgeois regime of Ahmed Ben Bella. Thus when the first UGTA congress, convened in January 1963, opposed the regime's policy that "allows the exploiters to profit from the situation in reinforcing their privileges and consolidating their political power," the Ben Bella government packed the congress with FLN cadres who proceeded to elect a new "leadership" pledged to upholding and enforcing the policies of the government. Such was the "institutionalization of self-management" forced upon the Algerian masses by Pablo & Co.!

The successful putsch by Houari Boumedienne in June 1965 delivered a crushing blow to the Pabloists' illusion-mongering. This palace coup was accomplished with only minimal purges in the state apparatus and certainly nothing approaching mass armed resistance, much less civil war. Such was the dismal end of the USec's fabled "workers and peasants government."

Faced with the debacle in Algeria, the USec began an elaborate cover-up

Hansen, is a "barren ultraleft approach." Although Hansen ridicules the affirmation of the need for a Leninist vanguard party as though this were an undisputed question, he dares not suggest that the USec upheld the need for a party and warned against any illusions in the national bourgeoisie. Moreover, Hansen stressed the possibility of a resurgence of the "left" forces still intact in the Boumedienne regime, which could transform the Algerian government once again into a "workers and peasants government."

Years later—indeed, four years later!—the USec, unable to any longer promote the fiction of an FLN "left," finally brought forth a "balance sheet" on Algeria. "The Algerian Revolution from 1962 to 1969" (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 March 1970). The Pabloists, after years of reflection, seem to have been seized with an insight. Listen: "The victory of the socialist revolution in Algeria was possible. But a decisive factor was lacking: the revolutionary party."

We might congratulate the USec for paying homage to at least one fundamental principle of Marxism, but this entire "self-criticism" is spurious from beginning to end. Thus the draft resolution, a classic model of circumlocution and evasion, asserts that the Boumedienne coup was a "qualitative expression of the erosion and the molecular changes occurring both in the state personnel and the organization and consciousness of the classes... which the revolutionary party had not been able to counteract." What "revolutionary party"?! Such cynical falsification was evidently more than Mandel thought he could get away with, so an amendment (by Germain and Charlier) was offered conceding that the absence of a party did make some difference after all: "a revolutionary party would have been able to quickly attempt to reestablish contact with the masses." The final version, however, only admits to the necessity of a

revolutionary party because Ben Bella, unlike Castro, allegedly lacked broad support among the peasantry! Judging by Lenin's criterion—"The seriousness of a revolutionary party is measured by the attitude it takes toward its own errors"—the USec is revealed as totally unserious and fundamentally unprincipled.

The purpose of the "balance sheet" on Algeria was not to achieve Marxist clarity regarding the communists' attitude toward petty-bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonial and ex-colonial countries, but rather to cover up the USec's despicable role with a few drops of pseudo-orthodox verbiage and tons of obfuscation. Consequently, after years of "re-evaluating" their Algerian positions, the revisionists of both wings of the "United" Secretariat now end up repeating the exact same capitulation before the Angolan nationalists.

The USec tries to draw a parallel with Cuba, hoping that everyone will forget

Algeria. But the lessons of both Cuba and Algeria are that petty-bourgeois nationalists coming to power through guerrilla warfare can establish nothing more than an anti-working-class bonapartist regime: a bourgeois regime oscillating between "progressive" and outright reactionary coloration, as in Algeria, or—even in the best case, and only under highly atypical circumstances—a bureaucratically deformed workers state, as in Cuba.

While episodic military blocs with nationalist forces may be necessary, the proletariat of the backward countries must maintain its class independence from the bourgeoisie and all petty-bourgeois formations. Organized independently and under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, the proletariat must mobilize behind its banner the peasantry and urban poor, thereby assuming hegemony in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution rests upon the principle of the independence of the proletarian vanguard. ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Victims of Cold War Witchhunt and Stalinist Betrayal

In Defense of the Rosenbergs!

Like spectres, the victims of the post-war anti-communist witchhunt continue to haunt the United States. In one of the outstanding show-trials of that period, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of conspiring to pass the "secret of the atomic bomb" to the Russians. They were executed on 20 June 1953. The next day the papers ran lurid photo stories of the "red spies"—defenseless, heads shaved, strapped into the electric chair. Of all the terrifying images of cold war reaction it was that one which most seared the consciousness and scarred the memory of a generation.

The Rosenberg cause is now being revived for U.S. leftists as demonstrations called by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case are scheduled for November 21. Once again attention is focused on the Rosenbergs as sons Robert and Michael Meeropol demand reopening of the closed files. The Partisan Defense Committee, class-struggle legal defense organization which stands in the tradition of Spartacist League anti-sectarian defense work, joins in the demand to turn over the files and reopen the case. Unseal the crypt of McCarthyism to expose the real story: the mobilization of hysterical anti-communism in the service of imperialist war preparations. For those who came to intellectual maturity and to the left in the poisoned anti-communist atmosphere of the fifties, as well as for a new generation of revolutionaries not yet fully assembled, knowledge of this case and its historical setting can help to prepare the revolutionary future.

The Background

McCarthyism did not simply fall from the skies one day in 1950 with the Wisconsin senator waving his list of 205 names of alleged Communists "right here in my hand." It was prepared by several years of extensive witchhunting emanating from the highest levels of the U.S. government. Nor does Churchill's declaration of "cold war" at Fulton, Missouri, offer much more than a convenient historical fix on policies generated much earlier. Since October 1917 the imperialists have been at war against history's first successful proletarian revolution. Sometimes that war ran hot as when the "Fourteen Nations" invaded Russia after the revolution in an attempt to restore capitalism. But the threat of imperialist war against the Russian workers state, and later against all the deformed workers states, has been constant—reflected in bullets as well as diplomacy.

What is usually considered the "cold war" really began near the end of World War II when the U.S. realized that with its industrial base intact, its monopoly on nuclear weapons could assure it

imperialist hegemony, challenged only by the potential of the Soviet Union. The conference at Yalta demonstrated the contradictory Russian position as Stalin tried to reach a global accommodation with imperialism while simultaneously trying to defend Soviet war gains.

As the predominant capitalist power, the U.S., planning for an "American century," tore apart the U.S.-Soviet alliance and prepared the ground for a nationwide anti-red scare. When the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear bomb in 1949 and later that same year Mao's Red Army overthrew capitalism in China, politicians like Richard Nixon and Joseph McCarthy were building their political careers through a crusade to exorcise "Communism" from American life.

Republicans charged Democrats with "coddling" Communists, and made their determination to "ferret out" unreliable elements in government into a campaign issue. Truman set up a loyalty board as early as 1947 to screen all government employees, and the purge of left-wing militants from the CIO began. The witchhunt took on an added dimension in the summer of 1948 when "Red Spy Queen" Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, both former CPers, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and accused various New Deal officials, most notably Alger Hiss, of giving information to the Soviet Union. In a political climate already heated by the mutual recriminations between Democrats and Republicans about who was

"soft on Communism," the charges of Soviet spy rings in Washington emboldened the witchhunters to step up their attacks on the left.

McCarthy orchestrated the theme of "Communism in government." He played it for all it was worth, encouraging local chambers of commerce and American Legion posts to join the fight to root Communists out of government, Hollywood, the schools and the trade unions. McCarthy's victims were often liberals, with only the most marginal connections to the left. The hysteria he fueled tended toward indiscriminate snooping for any unconventional attitude or behavior. The results are well known: the black-listings, the strangling of political and cultural dissidence. Covered by this anti-communist reign of terror the witchhunters accomplished their main work, driving "reds" out of

the CIO, curbing the left and promoting a political atmosphere virulently hostile to the Soviet Union.

In 1950, with the Korean war heating up and the bourgeoisie preparing the public for an "arms race" and possible war with the Russians, American "weakness" and the failure to "get tough" with Communist "infiltration" was held responsible for the Soviet bomb. Until the launching of the first Sputnik in 1957 the American public believed that the Russian economic system was incapable of anything beyond a primitive technological level. The charges against the Rosenbergs—stealing the A-bomb "secret"—created a scapegoat to blame for the Soviets' developing a nuclear capacity.

This paranoid demonology was also used to "explain" the Chinese revolution, which McCarthy and the right-wing "China lobby" blamed on scholars and "pinks" in the State Department. This major blow to the bourgeoisie's post-war plans, they reasoned, must have been engineered in Washington, in McCarthy's words, by the "Communists and queers" who sold China into "atheistic slavery."

The Trial

Against this backdrop the Rosenbergs were arrested and hauled into court. Beginning with the prosecution's inflammatory opening statement that the Rosenbergs' "loyalty and allegiance were not to our country, but...to Communism, Communism in this country, and Communism throughout the world," it was the "Soviet threat" that went on trial. Federal prosecutor Irving Saypol hit the note of delirium from which the trial never departed as he accused the Rosenbergs of stealing "the key to the survival of this nation and...the peace of the world, the atomic bomb."

The "evidence" that sent the Rosenbergs to the electric chair and co-defendant Morton Sobel to jail for

(continued on page 10)

21 NOVEMBER 1975



Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

AP



2,500 people massed in New York's Union Square demanding clemency for the Rosenbergs.

Paris Match