

## For Military Victory to MPLA Against U.S./South Africa-Led Attack!

# Imperialist-Led Forces on the Run in Angola

JANUARY 17—As the Organization of African Unity (OAU) abandoned its fruitless attempt to reach an "African consensus" on Angola, the Soviet-backed People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) scored major successes on the battlefield against its imperialist-led opponents.

The diplomatic victory which the OAU stalemate represented for the anti-Soviet axis of the U.S., South Africa and China was rendered hollow when CIA Portuguese mercenary-led forces of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) collapsed before an MPLA drive northward toward the border with Zaire (the ex-Belgian Congo). FNLA troops are reportedly taking few casualties but are instead fleeing in terror before barrages fired by Cuban soldiers from Russian T-34 tanks and rocket launchers. Almost simultaneously in eastern Angola, the South African army and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) were forced to withdraw into the central highlands.

The internationalization of the conflict is apparent in every aspect. On the

MPLA side, several thousand Cuban troops are not only spearheading attack columns but the armed forces of the Luanda-based "People's Republic" are reportedly being restructured around teams of Cuban soldiers and officers. On the opposing side, according to a dispatch of the Russian press agency Tass, the South Africans "who invaded Angola under the flag of the groups FNLA and UNITA, at the present time are in fact acting independently and control all the seized military objectives" (*Pravda*, 4 January).

Setting the stage for a Tonkin Gulf-style incident prior to the OAU summit, the Ford administration tried to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria by floating stories that Russian warships were steaming toward Angola. This supposed "flotilla" reportedly consisted of one destroyer, a landing craft and an oiler "steaming slowly" off Gabon. Further headlines were generated by the announcement that a Soviet cruiser was off Morocco, conveniently neglecting to mention that Morocco is over 5,000 miles away from Angola! Presidential press secretary Ron Nessen hypocritically wailed that this constituted "further evidence of a continuing Soviet involvement in an area where they have no legitimate interests."

While the U.S. media quickly fell into step with the government's propaganda blitz, ignored was a report in the London *Observer* of 11 January that American warships were headed for Angola. "South African and United States military involvement in the Angolan war is far greater than realized," it wrote. "A secret report prepared for a reputable international organization" said that an American naval task force led by the aircraft carrier *Independence* was dispatched "on full alert" to the Angolan coast in mid-December. The *Independence* carries 90 F-4 Phantom jets and is armed with "several hundred tons of napalm, Sidewinder missiles and anti-personnel fragmentation bombs in pods." Independent investigation by the *Observer* confirmed details of the report and contradicted the Pentagon's heated denials.

The article also said that U.S. cargo planes have assumed a direct role in the war by parachuting supplies to the South African troop columns and that U.S. spotter planes are flying missions from southern Zaire to pinpoint MPLA movements. Drawing the obvious conclusions, this liberal establishment



Sebastiao Salgado/Gamma/Liaison

Troops of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

newspaper wrote: "While the Americans have been accusing the Soviet Union of escalating the war, Washington, in fact, took the first step."

Commenting on American-manufactured rumors of an imminent pull-out of white supremacist South Africa's forces, the *Observer* noted:

"As the Organization of African Unity summit meets in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, this weekend, it is being unofficially suggested in both Lusaka and Washington that South Africa intends to withdraw its troops. A figure of 1,000 soldiers and 100 armoured vehicles has been specifically mentioned.

"But, according to the report, this would still leave them with between 3,000 and 5,000 troops and about 500 armoured vehicles inside Angola."

### The South African Connection

The cold split over Angola which deadlocked the OAU summit conference should lay to rest the bourgeois nationalist myth of a Pan-African unity transcending class and state divisions. From the opening confrontation between Samora Machel (president of Mozambique) and Leopold Senghor (president of Senegal) to the all-night session in which the conference ended, the promises of a "dynamic compro-

mise" between supporters of the MPLA and the anti-Soviet bloc proved illusory. While former guerrilla leader Machel denounced "those traitors who had opened the door to South Africa," Senghor, the theorist of "negritude," railed against MPLA backers who "think like Europeans."

By January 9, opening day of the parley, 22 of the 46 OAU members had recognized the bourgeois nationalist MPLA regime as the legitimate government of Angola, while none had recognized the rival FNLA UNITA regime. Thus, the ability of the anti-Soviet cabal to block official OAU recognition of the MPLA or even a condemnation of the South African military invasion represented a relative success for the imperialist diplomacy of the United States and South Africa.

In particular, South Africa demonstrated its ability to deflect the broad opprobrium generated by its apartheid policies and to wield its growing network of economic and political ties with black Africa as an effective voting bloc within the OAU. The *Washington Post*, strikebreaking mouthpiece for the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, noted with evident satisfac-

continued on page 9



President Kennedy with former FBI director Hoover

## Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia ... 5

## MPLA: "Nationalists of a New Type"? ... 6

# Letters

## Revolutionary Defense Policy

10 January 1976

To the Editor:

The consistency of the Spartacist League in upholding the revolutionary line in its fifteen year history as a tendency must be apparent to any student who compares the record of the SL with the unprincipled zigzags of its opportunist competitors in the left....

Recent articles concerning the question of defense of defendants in prosecutions arising from acts which, for Marxists, are themselves indefensible instances of terrorism, are somewhat confusing to me, however. First a rather comprehensive critique of petty-bourgeois and lumpen frenzy and their products was presented in *WV* Nos. 78 and 80, but concrete demands relating to those outside the left who are indicted as a result of their actual or alleged involvement in violent acts which do not represent intended blows against symbols of oppression are sparse: they must be inferred from discussions of upholding the bourgeois democratic right to a "fair trial" ("Patty" Hearst should get her legal rights....) and of the distinctions between Wendy Yoshimura's case and those of the SLA gangsters, Squeaky and Sally Moore. Then, in an article whose brevity is uncharacteristic of *WV*'s thorough standard (No. 90), there is a call for freedom for Squeaky and Sally (whose actions are again stated to be "indefensible" "from a working-class standpoint"), apparently based (1) on their mental illnesses and (2) the crimes of their target, Ford. This post-conviction demand is based on no information which was not available at the time "The Politics of Crazy" was written; indeed, both factors mentioned

above were discussed at length in the earlier article. Perhaps significantly, neither defendant was framed in any meaningful sense. (I assume the purport of "Free Squeaky," etc. was not merely to quarrel with the legal definition of mental infirmity, in addition to responding to Ford's actions.)

In two SL/SYL forums a few weeks ago, the SL's positions on the SLA and the Livernois Five case were persuasively raised in answer to the enthusiasm for petty-bourgeois and lumpen violence exhibited by the RSL. If other readers share my unclarity in regard to the articles cited above and the timing of the piece on the Livernois case, the welcome disintegration of the petty-bourgeois radical RSL could be slowed slightly by polemical exploitation of what may be incompletely integrated statements in *WV*.

The related phenomena of racist mobilization, depression and cop bonapartism create the prospect of ghetto upheavals (as well as mindless middle class violence). This entails the possibility of, for instance, isolated attacks by black youths against white bystanders in situations where there is little or no doubt that the suspects committed the acts, there is no cop dragnet and no frame-up (in the sense of violation of bourgeois rules of due process). Unless this is an inherently impossible state of affairs, it appears to be one for which no position can be inferred from the formulations developed in *WV*. Recourse to arguments based on the general illegitimacy of the capitalist legal system seems to lead to the incorrect conclusion that all prisoners (or all black prisoners) are "political prisoners," vitiating the distinction between defensible and indefensible acts, between those within and without the workers movement.

The Spartacist League and the

Partisan Defense Committee have unparalleled records of anti-sectarian defense of victimized leftists. I write in the hope that discussion of these issues will deepen appreciation of, and involvement in, the indispensable efforts in behalf of freedom for Philip Allen, the Livernois Five and other victims of capitalist injustice.

Comradely,  
L. T.

## Free Squeaky/Sally?

Editor,  
*Workers Vanguard*

I fail to see how you can assert in *WV* No. 90 with reference to Lynette Fromme and Sara Jane Moore that, "They are not, from a working-class standpoint, defensible cases," and yet in the same article demand, "Free Squeaky, Sally!" To raise this demand cannot but amount concretely to a defense of these individuals.

On what basis? In the article you take note of the undemocratic character of the 1965 law requiring penalties of abnormal severity for attacks against the president. However it is important to remember that it is not the crimes

mentioned in the statute but rather the select category of *people* it applies to which lends it its undemocratic character; the proletariat in power will be considerably less inclined to tolerate indiscriminate assault and murder than is the bourgeoisie at present. Thus, while the statute should certainly be opposed, it does not in and of itself justify in principle the demand that Moore and Fromme be released. You also mention the evident psychological instability of both defendants. Again, however, while you might call for an independently constituted panel of psychologists to determine their mental competency, their erratic behavior is hardly grounds for demanding that they be freed, i.e., put back on the street, to gun down, perhaps, somebody who once looked cross-eyed at Charles Manson.

"We have no interest," you remark, "in seeing 'Squeaky' and 'Sally' punished for their bizarre and pointless acts directed against imperialist chief Ford." Granted. But do you, as a spokesman for the interests of the proletariat, have either a class or a democratic basis for demanding their release? I don't think so. Your position on this issue, at the very least, needs to be clarified.

N. H.

*WV* replies: What was at stake in the sentencing of Lynette ("Squeaky") Fromme and Sara ("Sally") Moore was amply re-clarified by the judges who handed down terms of life imprisonment. In sentencing Moore, Judge Conti this week took the opportunity to beat the drums for capital punishment in "this permissive society" "called out to crime and violence" (*New York Times*, 16 January). In sentencing Fromme, Judge McBride made the bourgeoisie's

motivation equally explicit: "had John Kennedy... been allowed to live... rather than being assassinated, he could have accomplished more for all mankind than all the terrorists in the history of the world."

Like capitalism's judges, *WV* sees the issue of criminality in class terms. For the American bourgeoisie, dispensing imperialist "justice" over the empire, the protection of an imperial presidency is important. Kennedy's "accomplish-

# Editorial Notes

## Yes, Castro Mourned Franco

During a December 14 forum on Portugal held at the San Francisco offices of the Communist Party, a spokesman for the Spartacist League caused the sponsors considerable embarrassment by asking a series of questions they were unable to answer. "Isn't it true," she asked, "that the people who are today talking about alliance with the MFA [Portuguese Armed Forces Movement] are the same ones who were telling us about Chile's 'peaceful road to socialism'?"

But the SL supporter stopped the show completely when she asked the CP speaker, Spanish Civil War veteran Archie Brown, "Do you condone the three days of mourning declared by the Cuban government on the occasion of the death of Franco?" After a moment of stunned silence, punctuated by audible gasps of disbelief from the audience, one of the local Stalinist hacks yelled out that the charge of Cuban homage to the Spanish dictator was a lie and a slander.

The Spartacist supporter replied that we had already documented Castro's scandalous action (in our article "For a Workers Republic in Spain!" *WV*, No. 88, 5 December 1975). There we referred to the Barcelona newspaper *Vanguardia Española* (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 27 November 4 December)

which reported that, in addition to the official mourning, Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticos had sent condolences to Spain and foreign minister Raúl Roa visited the Spanish embassy in Havana, where he reportedly recognized "the political and human values of General Franco." Upholding our reputation for scrupulous honesty, the SL speaker promised further proof to back up our accusation.

Substantiation for the charge is not hard to find, since the Cuban action has acutely discomfited the French Communist Party (PCF), which for the past 40 years has had close ties to the Spanish Communist Party and many of whose older members actively aided the Republican side in the Civil War. When the government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing ordered the French tricolor to be displayed at half-mast on ministries November 23 to mark the death of Franco, the PCF countered by flying the national flag and the flag of the Spanish republic at full mast from town halls where it controls the local government. Two days later, PCF leader Georges Marchais began his speech at a Paris rally of solidarity with the Spanish people by criticizing the government's official commemoration of Franco's death. "Giscard d'Estaing is in mourning, Pinochet is in mourning," he said.

At the November 26 session of the National Assembly, Communist Party deputy François Billoux arose to ask, "Isn't it indicative of government policies that the armed forces minister

"Cuban flags were lowered to half mast."

—Le Monde,  
28 November 1975



was designated to render homage to the traitorous general who, with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, assassinated the Spanish Republic?" Giscard's foreign minister, Jean Sauvagnargues, answered that it was just a question of "international rules of courtesy." But he threw in a blockbuster that silenced the PCF legislators: "Fidel Castro had Cuban flags lowered to half-mast for three days following the death of General Franco" (*Le Monde*, 28 November).

We wholeheartedly agree with Billoux that the official mourning for Franco is indicative of the anti-working-class policies of the French government. But Castro's lowering of Cuban flags (and Mao's dispatch of a funeral wreath to the Spanish embassy in Peking) are even more indicative of the profound cynicism of Stalinist bureaucracies, for whom Franco's cold-blooded murder of hundreds of thousands of proletarian fighters during and after the Spanish

Civil War means nothing. It is indicative of the policies of Stalin himself, who strangled the Spanish republic by blocking revolutionary struggle and even refusing to deliver adequate guns and ammunition lest this should upset the "democratic" imperialists.

Despite his feeble protest against official mourning for Franco, Billoux knows these treacherous policies well. In fact, the "Communist" parliamentarian's main claim to fame was another empty gesture almost 30 years ago. As the National Assembly rose to salute the French expeditionary corps then being sent to Indochina to suppress an independence struggle led by Ho Chi Minh, PCF deputies remained in their seats. But the chair Billoux was sitting in was that of *defense minister* of the government which sent the troops to Vietnam! While avidly pursuing narrow national interests, the Stalinists are united in their common opposition to proletarian internationalism. ■



Lynette Fromme

UPI



Sara Jane Moore

San Francisco Examiner

ments for all mankind" included, for instance, the Phoenix program of torture and assassination which—according to CIA director William Colby, then head of the program in Vietnam—killed 20,500 people. This secret project was initiated by an imperial presidency, accountable to nobody.

The Bay of Pigs and the attempted assassination of Fidel Castro utilizing the services of *mafiosi*, provide only a whiff of the charnel house that Kennedy "accomplished." Such international license to kill requires special legal sanctification. The punitive sentences dealt out to Fromme and Moore have as their central purpose to buttress the inviolability of the presidency. The law providing barbarously long imprisonment for attempted presidential assassinations is part of the fierce requisites of an imperialism which needs a presidential officé free from even the tokens of public restraint.

In this sense the bourgeoisie also has its slogan: "Jail Squeaky, Sally—Free Gerald Ford!"...i.e., free the ruling class' chief executive to continue covert aid and training for a bloody imperialist power play in Angola, to "destabilize" Portugal in the manner of Chile, to assassinate abroad and at home. *WV* wants, not simply to undercut, but to attack at its core the structural bonapartism exemplified in a law which imprisons for life any who attempt to threaten the imperial office.

Both letter writers are troubled by the fact that *WV* recognizes that neither Fromme and Moore nor their actions are defensible from a working-class standpoint, yet calls for their release. We call for their release *on these charges* which are inseparable from the issue of imperialism's blank check for its number one enforcer. From the point of view of those who endured the secret terror bombing of Southeast Asia, it is simply not a crime to point a pistol at the world's chief terror bomber.

This does not mean that Moore and Fromme can be considered as primarily

politically motivated in their ineffectual acts against Ford. Still less does it make them part of the left. Nor does it imply that they are not dangerous to the workers movement. But we must insist that Sara Moore was not charged with being an FBI informer; neither was Lynette Fromme charged with administering the murderous work of a gang of indiscriminate butchers or aiding fascists in prison. The disposition of *these* charges against the "weird sisters" awaits the justice of a workers' tribunal. But in the present case Fromme and Moore are the victims of legal bonapartism; they should be released.

N. H. writes that we might call for an "independently constituted panel of psychologists" rather than demand the release of "Squeaky" and "Sally." But it is one thing to recognize that the two defendants are "mental cases" and quite another to call on the bourgeois state to take them out of their chains and put them in straitjackets. Bourgeois society creates "crazies," but the bourgeois state does not protect society from the "crazies" it has created. Humane treatment for the mentally disturbed will be a responsibility of the proletarian state which will arise from the shattering of capitalism. The "politics of crazy" which define the actions of Fromme and Moore are in no way defensible. We are for freeing them in this case, not because of their politics of crazy but despite them.

L. T.'s letter brings up "isolated attacks by black youth against white bystanders" in the context of ghetto upheavals and asks what our policy would be "where there is...no doubt that the suspects committed the acts." He also questions our call for release of the Livernois Five in Detroit. But we would not have called for their release if "there was no doubt" that they were guilty of the act they are accused of: the brutal murder of an innocent white worker. Instead, we would simply call for them to get their full democratic rights. From the perspective of the working class, there was a criminal act committed in Detroit when a passing white motorist was murdered.

But assaults on the imperialist executive are not in the same category. The president of the United States is in no sense an innocent bystander! Even though they were not fundamentally politically motivated, the acts with which Fromme and Moore were charged were not criminal. "Free Squeaky, Sally—Jail Gerald Ford!" ■

# Doctors Strike in Southern California

LOS ANGELES, January 16—Responding to a staggering increase in malpractice insurance rates, southern California doctors embarked on a slowdown strike January 1. While emergency service is still being provided, bolstered by county facilities and public hospitals which carry their own insurance, the strike has resulted in a sharp reduction of medical services. Almost no elective non-emergency surgery is being performed, while emergency rooms at the UCLA Medical Center and Santa Monica Hospital report three- and four-hour waiting lines. Already spreading outward from Los Angeles County and San Fernando Valley, the strike could spill into northern California when Travelers Insurance, the state's largest malpractice carrier, increases premiums there February 1.

The strike was precipitated by Travelers, which covers 9,500 of the area's 12,000 doctors, with its December announcement of a whopping 486 percent rate increase. This would have pushed premiums up to an average of \$12,000, with specialists in high-risk fields (orthopedists, neurosurgeons, anesthesiologists) paying as much as \$36,000 a year! A howl of doctor protest began. On December 17 the state insurance commissioner stepped in, reducing the maximum hike to a "mere" 327 percent, a decision Travelers is appealing in the courts. Understandably unimpressed, the doctors escalated their protests from December's sporadic slowdowns into the January strike.

Exorbitant malpractice insurance rates are a reflection of the sharp upturn in the number of claims being pressed (more than 20,000 a year) and the increasing number of these claims being won. This, in turn, is the result of a horrifying amount of surgical butchery, neglect and simply quackery that goes on in U.S. hospitals—and increased awareness on the part of patients that they do not have to meekly submit to medical malfeasance. But the drying up of a large volume of lawyer revenues with the introduction of "no fault" auto insurance laws in several states and stock market losses taken by various insurance companies have also fed the malpractice fire.

The working class has at least a defensive interest in supporting the doctors' fight against the rapacious insurance companies. The skyrocketing malpractice insurance bill—which leaped from \$61 million in 1960 to an estimated \$1 billion nationally in 1975 (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 January)—is passed on to working people in the form of higher physicians' and hospital fees, in turn reflected in increased medical insurance rates. The insurance magnates, bemoaning a claimed \$400 million loss in the last 15 years have jacked up their rates so high already that they now reportedly take in \$4 for every \$1 paid out in claims (*New York Times*, 16 January).

Labor has no interest in lining these corporate coffers. It should back the doctors against the insurance monopolies, as L.A. hospital workers SEIU Local 339 has done despite the fact that almost a fifth of its membership has been hit by resulting layoffs, and thousands more are being put on short workweeks. At the same time working

people are, with good reason, hardly inclined to give credence to the doctors' pious claims of acting in the "public interests." Physicians are one of the better-heeled sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and are certainly far more interested in their own bulging wallets than in the high cost of healing.

The doctors' proclaimed concern for the general welfare was rendered hollow by their response to a tentative legislative solution proposed by California governor Brown and his deputy secretary of health and welfare, Robert Gnaizda. In exchange for establishing a state-run insurance pool which would cost doctors an average of \$4,000 annually (a third more than last year but far less than Travelers' new rates), the Brown-Gnaizda proposal would not permit doctors to decline MediCal (welfare) patients, would require 20 days' free service annually from all doctors with less than 10 percent MediCal patients and would require a physician-financed "medical peace corps" for under-served areas. (There are about ten times as many doctors per capita in Beverly Hills as in Watts.)

The doctors' yelp at the insurance companies' gouging was immediately rivalled by their denunciation of Brown's plan. California Medical Association president Carl Goetsch decried this "very heavy-handed intrusion" into the "private practice of medicine" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 December 1975). Reminiscent of the American Medical Association's long battle against Medicare, national health insurance and the desperately necessary expansion of medical schools, mercenary warnings against "involuntary servitude" and "steps toward socialized medicine" became the hue and cry of the United Physicians of California, which has been critical of the AMA in the past and has largely led the current strike.

Brown's plan was also opposed by the California Trial Lawyers Association, which has its own vested interest in the lucrative malpractice trade, and stands little chance of passing the lawyer-dominated Senate and Assembly judiciary committees. The doctors meanwhile are backing a bill that would establish an insurance pool without any service requirements, and are simultaneously launching an elaborate public relations campaign to spruce up their self-serving image.

There can be no legislative resolution of the malpractice wrangle between doctors, lawyers and the insurance companies that will benefit the working masses who suffer most from escalating costs of health care. Under a system of medicine for profit, the interests of all three litigants are in bilking the patients. The California legislature, like all capitalist governing institutions, is committed to defending this "free enterprise" system rather than providing necessary and adequate health services. When northern California doctors began a smaller-scale strike last spring over the same issue, the legislature was convened in emergency session and produced a "compromise" bill at the expense of the medical consumer—by reducing the malpractice statute of limitations. At present the southern California doctors' strike is directed against the insurance leeches,

(continued on page 11)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

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

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

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

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

### The Fight to Implement Busing

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

Price: 75¢

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

# 150,000 Madrid Workers Strike

## Stalinists Try to Pressure Juan Carlos

JANUARY 20 During the last two weeks the Spanish working class has erupted in the biggest strike wave in 36 years of Francoist rule. Landing a sharp blow against the regime's plans for a "controlled transition" following the death of the bloody dictator, more than 200,000 were on strike at one point with the capital nearly paralyzed. The government barely managed to pull off a tightrope balancing act through selective arrests of strike leaders, drafting strikers, using troops to run vital services and encouraging "negotiations" of wage demands—but the back-to-work movement at the end of last week was only partial. As we go to press, the main bastion of labor militancy in the Madrid area—metal workers of the large factories in the industrial suburbs—is still out.

The strikes were the workers' militant answer to the declaration of a wage freeze in the government's economic program presented to the Cortes (the corporatist "parliament") in early Janu-

ary. While the new king Juan Carlos was trying his best to look like a constitutional monarch and the minister of the interior was hinting at "self-liberalization" of the regime, finance minister Villar Mir sounded more like Marie Antoinette. Not surprisingly, given the current social turmoil in Spain, Villar Mir's declaration of a wage freeze had roughly the same effect as the French queen's haughty suggestion that the starving Parisian masses "eat cake."

The labor militancy was touched off by a Madrid subway workers' strike which began January 5. Fearing a "brutal reaction" from the illegal workers commissions, the government retreated from its initial threat of drafting transit workers and instead, for the first time in 58 years the system has been operating, sent in military specialists to run the trains. With buses unable to handle the overflow, the capital was crippled for almost 40 hours until the subway company's offer of free rides lured back passengers.

In late December the Spanish government had tacitly permitted several medium-sized demonstrations in favor of amnesty for political prisoners and autonomy for the Basque region. When the subway workers first walked off the job and gathered in a Madrid church, the police again did nothing. But faced with massive transportation tie-ups and widespread sympathy for the strikers' main demands (a 20 percent wage increase and a 40-hour week), the regime dropped its liberalizing posture and brutally drove the workers and their families from one church after another. An example of the popularity of the strike was the official announcement by the army ministry that the army was not taking a position on the labor conflict and soldiers were running the trains only because the government had ordered them to (*Le Monde*, 11-12 January).

The subway strike provoked solidarity demonstrations by the combative metal workers. While police reportedly broke up several smaller demonstrations in the industrial belt on January 6, some 3,000 workers from Standard Eléctrica (themselves on strike since mid-December) penetrated to the center of the city before being dispersed. In the days that followed, strike action spread through the industrial suburbs of Villaverde and Getafe, while major struck plants followed government recommendations to respond with a



Strike by subway workers in early January caused massive congestion in downtown Madrid.



Riot police charging rally of striking bank workers in downtown Madrid.

lockout. Intended to prevent workers from occupying the factories, in the context of multiple strikes in the same area this move had the effect of swelling the ranks of the demonstrators.

The reformist Spanish Communist Party (PCE) has been deliberately trying to avoid a frontal showdown with the shaky post-Franco government, obviously fearing that full-scale mobilization of the working class could easily escape its control. Seeking to dissipate protests in staggered local one-day actions ("*jornadas de lucha*"), the PCE even sabotaged its own general strike call in mid-December!

January 12 had been scheduled as one more ritual "day of struggle" in Madrid, but by that time more than 30,000 workers were already on strike in the capital region. This gave the "*jornada*" a particularly charged atmosphere. Beginning with the bombing of a commuter train track in the morning, by the evening over 100,000 were out. Among the strikers were bank workers and several thousand telephone workers. Although the PCE attempted to restrict demands to the single issue of wage increases, militant workers from the giant Chrysler works in Villaverde had already been demonstrating in downtown Madrid demanding, "Liberty! Down with wage controls! Amnesty for political prisoners!" (*New York Times*, 11 January). To these demands was added the insistent call for free trade-unions. This sentiment among Madrid workers was so strong that even the ultra-rightist Falange newspaper *Arriba* (12 January) was forced to call for democratization of the vertical *sindicatos* (syndicates), which are headed by Falangists, to "trim the anti-social claws of capitalism."

Frightened by this show of force by illegal leftist labor organizations and the lack of any resistance from the corporatist syndicates, the government escalated its repression. The next day when almost 100,000 postal workers throughout Spain went on strike they were almost immediately drafted into the army. This meant that those refusing to work would be subject to six-year jail sentences and strikers could face summary court martials on "mutiny" charges bringing life imprisonment. The mailmen were forced to return to work wearing yellow tags bearing the letter "M" (mobilized). When 70,000 railway workers joined the strike wave on January 19, they too were instantly called up.

While the postal and railway strikes

had a national scope, the center of current labor militancy has been the 25,000 Chrysler workers and the 12,000 employees of Standard Eléctrica (an ITT subsidiary) in the Madrid industrial belt. Although the PCE-dominated workers commission at Chrysler's Villaverde plant had tried to defuse strike sentiment during the December *jornada*, the workers seized the plants anyway and had to be cleared out by machine gun-toting police. Since the lock-out they have repeatedly confronted cops near the plant in the city center.

Foreign press observers have confirmed that the current labor upsurge, while in many cases initiated by the Stalinists, is no longer under tight PCE control. The *New York Times* (19 January) reported: "Extreme left-wing groups rivaling the Communists have come into prominence, notably in the Madrid subway strike last week, and have seen their influence spread." In addition, particularly in the drawn-out Chrysler and Standard Eléctrica strikes, the largely self-appointed workers commissions have been superseded by elected strike committees. This important step was followed by the announcement of the formation of an assembly of representatives of Madrid strike committees, several of whose leaders were promptly arrested.

The workers commissions, which first appeared in 1962 and have since spread throughout the industrial areas of Spain, were formed in opposition to the official vertical "unions." The workers commissions have functioned as *de facto* illegal trade unions, and in some areas (notably Barcelona) have actually forced management to deal directly with them rather than through the state CNS, which includes supervisors, management and state officials in addition to the workers. But because of the strength of the PCE in the workers commissions they have often held back workers' struggles.

The formation of democratically elected strike committees is a major step forward in breaking the Stalinists' stranglehold on Spanish labor. In addition to generalizing and coordinating (to the extent possible under clandestine conditions) the elected strike committees, another important target of the workers' struggles must be destroying the corporatist CNS. The Stalinists actually have the opposite policy, seeking to channel the current strikes into the CNS.

The reason for this is that the PCE

*continued on page 10*

## Charges Dropped Against Robert F. Williams

JANUARY 18—Kidnapping charges against veteran black militant Robert F. Williams were dropped on January 16. District Attorney Carroll Lowder of Union County, North Carolina, said that the state's sole witness, Mrs. Bruce Stegall, was "physically unable to testify in court and further there is no promise that her condition will improve." The dropping of charges is a victory for Williams in his 14-year-long struggle (including eight years in exile) against attempts by racist authorities in North Carolina, aided by the FBI, to frame him because of his advocacy of civil rights and black self-defense in Monroe, N.C.

The state's star witness, Mrs. Stegall, the alleged kidnap victim, will not testify. Although they were known racists, on the night of 27 August 1961 Mrs. Stegall and her late husband were actually protected by Williams from angry blacks preparing to defend their community from a frenzied white mob and in no mood to tolerate the obvious provocation of the Stegalls cruising through the area.

Four other civil rights activists were convicted on the same phony charges in the mid-1960's, but had the convictions overturned on appeal on the basis that blacks had been barred from the grand jury which indicted them. The four, Harold Reap, John Lowry, Mae Mallory and Richard Crowder, have not been brought to trial, and the charges against them should be dropped immediately!

This victory for Robert Williams is also a victory for all those who have fought against the racist repression of the bourgeois state.



Frank Sinatra



Judith Campbell Exner



Chicago mobster Sam Giancana



Former CIA director Allen Dulles

# Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia

It is becoming difficult these days to distinguish the gossip from the news. Sometimes, as with the tsarina and Rasputin, one becomes the other. The front pages of major newspapers display headlines like: "Mafia Moll Mixed Up With JFK" and "Kennedy and Sinatra—No Split." But the giddy titillation of a prurient press cannot cover the discomfort of the bourgeoisie over one of its most necessary institutions—the CIA.

In an enigmatic passage of its official report last November, the Senate

purposes other than selling her memoirs. The former playgirl was particularly anxious to get across the message that she knew nothing of "bizarre assassination conspiracies" involving her notorious friends. She had good reason for concern. Last summer *mafioso* Giancana—who held the CIA contract to kill Cuban premier Fidel Castro—was himself "hit" shortly before he was to testify before the Senate investigating committee. Rumor had it that the mobster was getting ready to talk.

the assassination of "Kennedy himself, in retaliation or self-protection." The idea that Kennedy might have been on the receiving end of a murder plot can no longer be dismissed with the facility it was a decade ago, when conspiracy theories seemed the special preserve of "assassination buffs" and monomaniacal Louisiana DA's. In the past, a broad layer of the American public greeted the Warren Commission Report with the same justified but unfocused distrust it felt toward the government which was propagandizing the Vietnam war with

idea in a private chat with Tad Szulc, then of the *New York Times*. . . . Lyndon Johnson told his former aide Leo Janos, as recounted in a July 1973 *Atlantic* article, "We had been operating a damned Murder, Inc. in the Caribbean." Janos elaborated, "A year or so before Kennedy's death a CIA-backed assassination team had been picked up in Havana. Johnson speculated that Dallas had been a retaliation for this thwarted attempt, although he couldn't prove it."

The CIA and the counterrevolutionary Cuban "freedom fighters" who attacked the Bay of Pigs in 1960 had more than sufficient cause for annoyance with Kennedy. It was Kennedy who—when the press began to break through the CIA's cover story of the first bomb strike—became queasy, canceling the second air strike intended to knock out the tiny Cuban air force on the ground. The CIA appealed personally but unsuccessfully to Kennedy for the second bombing mission.



Paris Match

**Kennedy assassination has been target of renewed speculation in light of recent disclosures of CIA/Mafia links in assassination attempts.**

committee investigating CIA assassination plots mentioned a "close friend of President Kennedy" who was "also a close friend of John Rosselli and Sam Giancana and saw them often during the same period." On December 17, Judith Campbell Exner, now 41 and married, faced reporters at a San Diego press conference to confirm that she was that friend and that she had indeed seen the two mobsters during the period she was seeing Kennedy. Her relationships, she said, were strictly "of a personal nature"; she denied being a "go-between for the Mafia."

Not merely the sex-and-scandal sheets, but the entire bourgeois press picked up on the theme of "another woman" at the White House. *Time* magazine dug up the memoirs of an aging and gossipy White House caretaker, replayed old stories about a Marilyn Monroe-JFK relationship and hinted at liaisons with two young presidential staffers "code-named 'Fiddle' and 'Faddle' by the Secret Service." The nerve center of the most powerful imperialist state in history—where decisions were routinely made to rain millions of tons of bombs on Asian peasants or to challenge Russia to a nuclear duel over Cuba—was presented as a veritable bordello.

## Sensationalism and Murder

Judith Campbell Exner's press conference fit right into this pattern of sensationalism. But perhaps she had

The Kennedy-Mafia-CIA connection has been seized upon by William Safire, a former Nixon man who is now a columnist for the *New York Times*. Safire has a special axe to grind. He wants to debunk the myth of the Kennedy White House—that liberal Camelot of the "New Frontier"—by revealing it as just as filled with "dirty tricks" as the Nixon regime of which he was a part.

Safire puts aside examination of "the logistics of White House sex." His article (*New York Times*, 22 December) interests itself in Exner not as "another woman" but as a "White House-Mafia liaison." Safire excoriates the Church committee for failing to investigate the Giancana killing and for its reluctance to call Frank Sinatra to testify. It was the mob-associated singer who introduced Exner to both Kennedy and Giancana. Kennedy was supposed to have ended his friendship with Sinatra for "the good of the office," but it has recently been reported that the association persisted. Safire wants to pressure the Church committee to bring in "Old Blue Eyes" to "sing."

## The Kennedy Assassination

Safire goes after Kennedy, Sinatra and the whole official and unofficial rat pack with charges of "not hanky-panky, not graft, not abuse of civil liberty—but murder and attempted murder at the highest level that spans fifteen years."

Safire includes among the murders

endless barrages of lies. Today, they know as fact some of what only a few years ago were secrets to all but the "intelligence community" and its close associates.

It is now common knowledge that the CIA repeatedly hatched plots to assassinate Castro using *mafiosos*, who either botched the job or were foiled and picked up in Havana. *Gusanos* and CIA operatives playing for big stakes felt betrayed at the Bay of Pigs. And while the attorney general was running a vicious vendetta against Teamster union chief Jimmy Hoffa for his ties to organized crime, the president was sleeping with a prominent *mafioso's* girlfriend—and perhaps courier—thereby opening himself up to blackmail. It is likely that J. Edgar Hoover's March 1962 luncheon with Kennedy had this "problem" as its topic, and one of the last entries under "Judith Campbell" in the White House telephone log came a few hours after that meeting.

Was there a CIA-Mafia tie-in with the Kennedy assassination? Former CIA agent Victor Marchetti's book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, includes in a footnote (to a passage deleted by CIA-requested court censorship) the following observations:

"Assassination of Castro seemed to have been a recurrent idea in the CIA during these years. [Watergate conspirator] E. Howard Hunt claims to have recommended it before the Bay of Pigs, only to be turned down. In November of 1961, President Kennedy mentioned the

## Liberal Moralism and the Cult of Secrecy

After enduring a year of investigations and exposures, the friends of the CIA have taken the offensive. *TV Guide*—"America's Best Selling Magazine"—editorialized: "A hundred KGB agents working overtime for the Kremlin could hardly have undermined the CIA as effectively as Senator Church's committee did. It was a shocking and immeasurably harmful blow to our national security." *TV Guide* took out a full-page advertisement in the 20 January *New York Times* for this editorial and to reprint former CIA director John McCone's defense, "Why We Need the CIA." McCone is nothing if not blunt. If he is to wield the dagger of anti-communism effectively then, in his words, "society must accept the cloak."

Present CIA director Colby this week complained that intelligence operations were being "hamstrung" by the ongoing revelations. To be sure, the covert aid and murderous training of mercenaries for Angola goes on; the attempt to create another Chile in Portugal continues; anti-communist politicians in Italy are still funded; and who knows what "dirty tricks" on the home front are being concocted in Langley, Virginia.

But Colby's wounded fawn act is only part act. The CIA has indeed been impeded by investigations and particularly by muckraking press exposures. The injury is not, however, the ridiculous claim that the disclosure in a newspaper of Richard Welch as Athens station chief led to his death. The wound is more dangerous to this sinister creature of imperialism: the erosion of

*continued on page 11*

# Angolan Leftists Jailed by Their Strikebreaking "Comrades"

## MPLA: "Nationalists of a New Type"?

The war in Angola which has dominated the headlines for several months has caused turmoil in the ostensible socialist movement internationally, with most groups hitching their carts to one or another of the contending petty-bourgeois nationalist movements: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Moscow-line Stalinists have naturally lined up behind the Soviet-backed MPLA. Consequently, in a simple knee-jerk reaction, Peking-loyal Maoists sided with the rabidly anti-communist FNLA and neo-colonialist UNITA. In the name of fighting "Soviet social-imperialism" these shameless bootlickers place themselves in the camp of U.S. imperialism, South African apartheid and their Angolan toadies!

This was too much for many self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninists," so a number of groups to the left of the pro-Russian Communist parties climbed aboard the MPLA bandwagon. These include a number of "critical Maoist" tendencies, among them Lotta Continua in Italy, the União Democrática Popular in Portugal, the Kommunistischer Bund (Nord) in West Germany and the *Guardian* in the U.S.

While Stalinists of different stripes are singing the praises of their preferred Angolan nationalists, the Spartacist tendency has called since early November for *military* support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition. In the earlier three-cornered power struggle, we gave no backing to any of the nationalist movements, and have always refused to give *political* support to these forces which hope to construct a capitalist Angola. All of them, we have warned, will ruthlessly oppose or attempt to subordinate every manifestation of independent working-class struggle.

### Mandelites Tail "Revolutionary" Nationalists

In contrast to Trotskyist insistence on the necessity of proletarian independence, the centrist majority of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has tailed

after the MPLA in a fashion not much different from the "critical Maoists." With an occasional ritual reference to the desirability of an "independent and socialist Angola," the USec's real policy is "All Power to the MPLA!"

Naturally the Stalinists have no trouble selling this line, since an MPLA-ruled Angola would simply represent the "democratic" (capitalist) stage of their "two-stage revolution" schema. But to call for "all power to the MPLA" and still give lip service to the theory of permanent revolution which holds that only the dictatorship of the *proletariat*, supported by the peasantry, can break the imperialist stranglehold over the colonial countries—requires a fundamental mystification of the nature of the People's Movement. More than simply peddling stories about "people's clinics" and agricultural co-ops, the fake-Trotskyist USec must claim that somehow the MPLA challenges capitalism.

With all the enthusiasm of Bukharin's accolades for the Chinese Kuomintang in the 1920's, the Mandelites claim that "the dynamic set in motion by the specific features of Portuguese colonialism and by years of struggle have incontestably separated this revolutionary nationalism [of the MPLA] from the swamp of rightism and reformism" (*Inprecor*, 20 June 1974). Just as the arch-revisionist Michel Pablo explained how the "objective processes" would overcome the "limitations" of the Algerian FLN, here again it is the automatic "dynamic" which solves everything.

Of course, the USec has a difficulty with this fairy tale, since MPLA leader Agostinho Neto has made quite clear where he stands: "[I] am not a communist, I am not a socialist, I am first of all a patriot," he says (*New York Times*, 21 April 1975). No problem. This is explained away by references to "insufficiencies" and "ambiguous positions" deriving from the "heterogeneity, political weakness and bureaucratic deviations" in the "sometimes inadequate leadership of the MPLA." The USec sees the "radicalised elements of the urban proletariat" in the "rank and file committees of the MPLA and in U.N.T.A. [the MPLA-led union]." It is this "vanguard" which it sees as "the



Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA.

J. P. Laffont/Sygn

spearhead of the entire revolutionary process today..." (*Africa in Struggle*, October 1975).

It is undoubtedly true that vital elements for the construction of a Trotskyist party could be won from among intellectuals and plebeian elements in the MPLA. But this requires a sharp struggle to break them from the petty-bourgeois nationalist People's Movement, which represents class forces hostile to the proletariat. Instead, in an article which rails at "those who believe that for revolutionary Marxists to support the MPLA is heresy," the USec asserts that "the political recomposition will take place *within* the MPLA toward the regroupment of an anti-capitalist tendency" (*Inprecor*, 20 November 1975 [our emphasis]).

### Collusion with the Colonial Army

Why all these apologetics for the MPLA? Is the People's Movement perhaps a "revolutionary" nationalist formation of a "new" type, as the USec majority claims? A look at the history of the last eighteen months will dispel this myth. We can begin with the question of national independence itself. The MPLA rightly excoriates UNITA for its despicable attempts to collaborate with the Portuguese army in schemes for "gradual" decolonization and in attacks on the MPLA. *But when it got a chance, the MPLA did exactly the same!*

Far from "relative intransigence on the question of independence" which the USec ascribes to the MPLA, in the year after the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) overthrew the Caetano dictatorship in Lisbon, the MPLA was foremost in trying to curry favor with the suddenly "revolutionary" officers of the demoralized colonial army. While the first chief of the MFA, General António de Spínola, attempted to include the colonies in a Portugal-dominated "Lusitanian commonwealth" and obtained agreement from the "pro-Western" FNLA and UNITA in the August 1974 Sal Agreement—once "eventual" independence was agreed to, the MPLA was more than willing to collaborate with the "democratic" army.

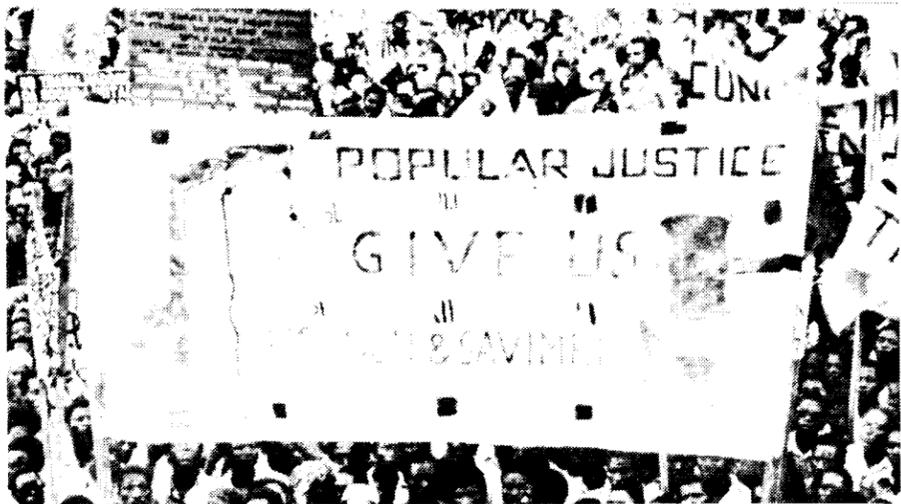
It did so particularly during the tenure of Portuguese high commissioner Admiral António Rosa Coutinho,

between September 1974 and January 1975, and asserted that it was the "only movement that will support and loyally cooperate with the progressive Portuguese forces" (March 1975 MPLA statement quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 21 July 1975). That the demagogic MFA leaders were unable to work out a neo-colonial deal with the MPLA, similar to the Evian Accords whereby the FLN guaranteed French interests in "revolutionary" Algeria, was due not to Neto's "intransigence" but to the internal strains and shifting balance of power in the Lisbon government.

Chief among the reasons for the MPLA's attempted honeymoon with the Armed Forces Movement was its own military weakness. At the time of the April 1974 coup in Portugal, the Popular Movement was militarily battered and disorganized. This has been more or less admitted by MPLA military commander (now defense minister of the "People's Republic of Angola") Iko Carreira, who stated: "We were in a situation of inferiority compared to the potential which the FNLA had at that time..." (*Revolução*, 7 November 1975).

The military weakness of the MPLA was accentuated by acute internal factionalism, with two main groups challenging the Neto leadership. The "Active Revolt" group led by Rev. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade and his brother Mario (leader of the Angolan Communist Party in the 1950's and former head of the MPLA) accused Neto of "presidentialism," "tribalism" and "regionalism," and rejected any dealings with the FNLA. An "Eastern Revolt" group was the personalist organization of guerrilla leader Daniel Chipenda, who simultaneously opposed a ceasefire with Portugal and favored unity with the FNLA. Chipenda's position was not motivated by greater firmness against the colonial power, but by the belief that a ceasefire would tend to legitimize the established leaderships and thereby curb his own ambitions.

The MPLA's factional strife reached a climax at its August 1974 congress in Zambia where the Neto faction walked out and Chipenda was elected president. Only under pressure from several African heads of state did the MPLA patch itself back together in mid-



Demonstration by MPLA-led "people's commissions" on the arrival of an OAU delegation in Luanda.

September, restoring Neto to the top post and making Chipenda and Pintó de Andrade vice presidents. But the truce did not last, and Chipenda left the People's Movement soon afterwards.

At this point, wracked by internal fights and militarily vulnerable, the MPLA might simply have fallen apart had it not been for the intervention of the Portuguese army. Admiral Coutinho reportedly said at a news conference that he recognized only the Neto leadership as representing the MPLA. Neto thereupon appealed to the colonial authorities for military support, and when Chipenda tried to take the important eastern rail junction of Luso in January he was stopped by MPLA and Portuguese troops. Chipenda subsequently threw in with the FNLA, becoming its deputy secretary-general and taking with him 2,000 guerrillas.

### Agreement to Neo-Colonialism

Echoed by its USec camp followers, the MPLA today self-righteously denounces the FNLA and UNITA as always having been puppets of imperialism. Yet in Mombassa, Kenya, in early January 1975 the three groups produced a joint "declaration of principles" to "build a just and democratic society." This was perfectly consistent with Neto's continual denials of Western press accounts labelling the MPLA

interests. Point 54 of the accords states, "The FNLA, UNITA and MPLA undertake to respect the property and legitimate interests of Portuguese domiciled in Angola." The next point aims at keeping the "independent" state in Lisbon's economic orbit, registering agreement to "establish between Angola and Portugal lasting ties of cooperation in all fields." Even after the Alvor accords were scrapped, the MPLA continued to soothe imperialist interests. Lopo do Nascimento, now premier of the Luanda-based "People's Republic," said in September that the MPLA would not go "too fast" and that "there is now no reason for the existing companies to get alarmed"; in his independence address Neto stated that "foreign investment will be welcomed from all abiding by Angolan laws" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

The People's Movement's will to strike a bargain with imperialism has been evident in its dealings with the international oil trusts. Petroleum output from Gulf Oil's wells in the Cabinda enclave north of the Zaïre (formerly Congo) River has been more than 150,000 barrels a day, with the company grossing over \$1 billion annually on the operation. Gulf officials have reported no complaints whatever with the MPLA, which has controlled Cabinda essentially without challenge for the last year and a half. In September

Neto, Alves & Co., the USec sums up the People's Movement: "Nevertheless, its desire to put 'an end to exploitation of man by man' and to establish a 'democratic and popular regime' had a very precise class content in the urban centers: *an end to capitalist exploitation, and the power of workers and poor peasants*" (*Africa in Struggle*, October 1975).

The fake Trotskyists of the United Secretariat are trying to portray the MPLA as some kind of a trade union whose humbling and perhaps even misguided leadership tends to hold back the workers' struggles. This is false to the core. Behind the MPLA's collaboration with the Portuguese army, its signing of the neo-colonialist Alvor accords and its wholehearted cooperation with Gulf Oil stand the appetites of a petty bourgeoisie aspiring to transform itself into a bourgeoisie by making a deal with imperialism. The MPLA's proclamations that the class struggle does not exist in Angola are more than verbiage; the MPLA and its army intend to smash the workers' struggles wherever they break out.

The "precise class content" of the MPLA's occasional demagogic talk of "end[ing] exploitation of man by man" was graphically illustrated by its suppression of workers' strikes. Following the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974 and again as the

leader said, "to accelerate independence" (*Africa*, March 1975).

The position of all three nationalist movements toward the strikes has always been identical: to suppress them, including with the use of military force. In December 1974-January 1975 the port of Lobito was at a virtual standstill as the dockers demanded wage increases of up to 300 percent. *Africa* (February 1975) quotes one nationalist leader as saying about this walkout: "We were finding ourselves during December in the invidious position of restraining the workers to moderate their demands in the interests of Angola. But the question the workers asked was 'Whose Angola?'" The strike was reportedly ended after a personal appeal by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

One of the very first acts of the four-party transitional government which took office at the beginning of February was to appeal to the workers and unions to suspend the strikes. This was followed up at the end of the month by a decree (the *lei de mobilização*) permitting the coalition government to mobilize strikers into the army and thus place them under military discipline. However, even this did not stop the working-class agitation.

"A large demonstration against the *lei de mobilização* was held by the Popular Neighbourhood Commissions, an MPLA-influenced movement, on April 9, though Lopo do Nascimento publicly defended the law as in the interests of the Angolan people. Though the dockworkers were placed under military control in accordance with the law shortly after its enactment, they are again threatening to return on strike." *Africa*, July 1975

The Luanda longshoremen carried out this threat and walked off the job again on May 28, protesting that dockers with less seniority should get equal pay raises to the 15-30 percent increases granted a few days earlier to high seniority workers. The MPLA-led longshoremen's union SINTAPA duly denounced the strike as a wildcat and called for the government to take "adequate measures" to restore law and order.

### "Normalizing" the "People's Committees"

If the "Marxist" MPLA resorted to strikebreaking and militarization of labor under the colonial army, then it should surprise no one that the MPLA of "people's power" should attempt to suppress the neighborhood "people's committees" led by its own militants.

These committees first arose in 1974 in the *muçêques* (African slum districts which encircled the European districts of Luanda) essentially as self-defense groups in response to widespread marauding by racist colonialists that left hundreds dead. Their leaders were reportedly lower-level MPLA cadre, along with some Maoist militants who had returned from Lisbon.

There were numerous indications of tensions between the people's committees and the MPLA. The March 8 demonstration against the MPLA-backed mobilization was one example. Later in the month, the neighborhood committees clashed with FNLA troops in the capital, whom they accused of arrogantly parading around like an

*continued on page 10*



Augusta Conchiglia

MPLA supporters demonstrate in the streets of Luanda.

"Marxist," and with the MPLA program which doesn't go beyond a call for the "installation of a republican and democratic regime."

The Mombassa declaration paved the way for the nationalists to sign the Alvor accords with the Lisbon government a few days later. This agreement established a four-part coalition regime in Angola with a new Portuguese high commissioner (Coutinho, considered too pro-MPLA, was dumped in favor of brigadier general Silva Cardoso) to "arbitrate" any differences and be in charge of "defense" and "security." Under this classical neo-colonial arrangement, the transitional government's armed forces were to consist of 24,000 Portuguese troops and 8,000 from each nationalist group. Independence was set for November 11, with an election limited to the three groups to be held in October. The MFA, figuring it could strongly influence the vote, insisted on keeping troops in Angola until well after the elections. The MPLA went along.

The MPLA also agreed to explicit protection of colonial settler property

the American monopoly paid royalties of \$116 million into a blocked account in the Bank of Angola which was taken over by the MPLA when independence was declared on November 11. (This sum exceeds the total estimated Soviet aid to the People's Movement during 1975 and is more than twice the admitted U.S. aid to FNLA UNITA.) Only State Department pressure stopped Gulf from handing over another \$125 million to the MPLA by early January.

### Strikebreaking of an Old Type

Last year MPLA leader Nito Alves "publicly affirmed that it is an error to say that there is a class struggle in Angola that pits the bourgeoisie against the proletariat" (*Jornal Novo*, 2 September). No doubt it is this kind of statement that the USec majority is referring to when it asserts that "the highly combative workers[are] attempting to wage an anti-capitalist struggle under the sometimes inadequate leadership of the MPLA." After shrugging off the "frontist and gradualist illusions" of

"transitional government" was being installed and independence seemed to be approaching, Angolan workers launched major strike waves in the hope of obtaining some improvements in their own lot. The strikes focused on the key dock facilities. In the spring of 1975 it was estimated that "in the ports of Luanda, Lobito and Moçamêdes... about 60 ships [were] waiting to be handled; the stevedores have been striking for better wages or, as one labor

Former publication of United Secretariat supporters in Luanda.



# Capitol Packaging Strike Sold Out

CHICAGO, January Worn down by the company's vicious strikebreaking tactics and betrayed by their local and national union leadership, workers at the Capitol Packaging plant in nearby Melrose Park voted January 11 to return to work. This ended a bitter 23-week strike during which the union Local's vice president was run down and killed by a truck breaking through the picket lines.

By a 68-28 vote the strikers, members of Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), reluctantly accepted the company's offer of a 22.5 cent an hour across-the-board pay increase in each of two years, three months' retroactive increase for the period they worked without a contract, earned vacation pay for 60 laid-off workers and an "annual bonus" (to be retracted next year!) of eight hours pay.

Except for the piddling 2.5 cents an hour added on to the insulting "bonus," this offer was essentially unchanged from the pittance offered by the company in the first place. Particularly galling to the strikers was the company's



Rally at Chicago civic center January 10 in support of the Capitol Packaging strike.

refusal to meet what had become the pivotal and hardest-fought demand, a full six-months retroactive pay increase. Union members now face new reprisals, as the company has announced its intention to lay off the entire second shift for at least a month.

The OCAW International bears foremost responsibility for this defeat. Its sole aid to the strikers consisted of providing a measly \$25 a week in strike benefits. It failed to implement in any way its call for a consumer boycott against products of the parent Alberto-Culver (A-C) Corporation. Even after the Local officer was killed on the picket line, the International stood by and allowed Capitol Packaging to continue operations. It neither called on the Chicago labor movement to mobilize to smash the anti-picketing court injunctions nor demanded that transport workers refuse to handle A-C products.

Rose Kirk, chief steward at the Capitol plant, told *Workers Vanguard* that both the company and the OCAW International had stepped up pressure to end the strike. In the last week management threatened immediate termination of all workers who refused to return to work, while OCAW threatened to cut off its meager strike benefits. Faced with choosing between continuing a losing strike abandoned by the International or accepting the company's rotten offer, many of the most active strikers simply boycotted the ratification meeting, Kirk said.

In an interview with *WV*, Kirk, who unlike the local union leadership refused to endorse the sellout, said that she had begun the strike with considerable confidence in the OCAW International. However, it soon became evident to her that the Grosperon regime was unwilling to provide any real support to the strikers. Kirk also criticized the trade-union bureaucracy's stifling of militants. Referring to the bureaucratically



Rose Kirk, chief steward at Capitol Packaging, speaking at rally.

run Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Kirk said:

"Addie Wyatt said it's a good movement, but it isn't. It doesn't do anything. Do you know what's the matter with CLUW? They're afraid of people with different ideas getting in there. It's dying."

At a large support rally held in downtown Chicago the day before the ratification vote, Spartacist League spokesman Len Meyers contrasted the courage of the strikers to the do-nothing passivity of the International. Meyers pointed out that workers disillusioned with the labor bureaucrats could only go forward if they based their opposition on a genuine class-struggle program. He concluded his speech to vigorous applause from strike militants when he asserted: "If they [the International] had the foresight to be real labor leaders, instead of giving working people the 'choice' between racist Republicans and millionaire Democrats they would use the power of the unions to build a workers party," which would fight for a workers government. ■

# Pittsburgh Teachers...

(continued from page 12)

picketing at all 104 schools received an enthusiastic response. Fewer than 10 percent of the city's teachers reported for work January 5, and later in the day 3,000 strikers rallied to support continuing the strike. Faced with the rebelliousness of the teachers the BPE scurried back to Ziegler who obligingly held the PFT in contempt of court and indicated that fines would be imposed beginning January 12 if the strike continued. Ziegler also attacked Fondy for "anarchy and sedition" and lectured the strikers on their civic responsibilities: teachers, he said, "do not have the same right to strike as the steelworker does" (*Pittsburgh Press*, 9 January).

The city education board, in collusion with the courts, has made it clear that it is not interested in bargaining with the teachers. While hypocritically denouncing the teachers for "disrupting" the educational process, several school board members have absented themselves from the city for long periods of time. Among them is BPE chairman Rev. LeRoy Patrick, who left in the midst of the strike to visit Israel! In another attempt to circumvent collective bargaining, this week Ziegler set up a special "fact-finding" panel of "private citizens" to hear both sides and to recommend a solution. This panel includes Richard Gualtieri, business agent of Boilermakers Local No. 154, who must be harshly condemned for abetting the court's strikebreaking efforts.

While PFT head Fondy has opposed any abridgement of the union's bargaining rights, he has also indicated his willingness to compromise the union's demands. "We're not going to get everything we want," Fondy told strikers at the January 13 rally, but he didn't tell them what part of their demands he considered expendable.



Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers pickets.

Fondy has, in fact, accepted a compromise wage settlement proposed by the Allegheny County Labor Council, the local AFL-CIO body, which amounts to a 45 percent cut in the original demand.

Fondy has also frequently alluded to the fact that the Board would save enough in unpaid wages from a two-month strike to finance the teachers' pay demands for this year. A bill now being introduced in the state legislature would repeal a law requiring a school year of 180 days as a minimum basis to receive state education subsidies. While the sponsors say their aim is to maintain needed subsidy payments in the face of the strike, this bill sure to be utilized by cost-cutting local school boards would undermine the already low standards of public education and would be used to deprive students and teachers in Pittsburgh of the opportunity to make up education and pay lost during the strike. Such a deal would wipe out almost the entire wage increase the union is asking for this year, and must be opposed.

Fondy's pledge that no individual will have to pay fines has been backed up by Albert Shanker, national president of the American Federation of Teachers

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 995-9645  
c/o SYL, Box 592  
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOUSTON  
Box 26474  
Houston, TX 77207

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

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

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

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

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

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

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306  
Box 25, Station A  
Vancouver, B.C.

# WORKERS VANGUARD

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

includes SPARTACIST

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

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

(AFT). For either the AFT or Pittsburgh teachers to pay *any* fines on individuals or on the union would be a capitulation. The injunction must be lifted and all fines and criminal actions against strike leaders abrogated! While the Pittsburgh teachers have received support from the local AFI-CIO council, Shanker and even George Meany, "messages of solidarity" and financial assistance are not enough. The entire Pittsburgh labor movement must be mobilized for a general strike to smash court and BPE strikebreaking.

An important component in maintaining the support of the city's working people is the PFT's willingness to oppose increases in class sizes and cutbacks in educational programs. Many of these programs are particularly beneficial to Pittsburgh's black community, which makes up 45 percent of the public school student population. In the past, however, the PFT leadership has failed to vigorously oppose white-segregationist moves for "neighborhood schools" by counterposing an effective program of busing and school integration.

Moreover, one of the demands of the PFT is for greater disciplinary powers for teachers, including leaving corporal punishment as an option. While there is a need for racially-integrated groups of teachers and students to maintain order, the PFT's demands - coupled with its refusal to demand removal of the hired "security aides" who patrol the schools - can only increase the repressive atmosphere in the schools and exacerbate racial tensions.

Although it correctly cites the importance of taking a strong stand for desegregation, the 13 January *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party (CP), calls on striking teachers to demonstrate solidarity with the "community" by participating in voluntary "alternative schools." Such gimmicks as "alternative schools" only reinforce the argument of the BPE that the strike hurts the public. The reformist CP ignores the real solution: "inconvenience to the public" could be quickly ended were the Pittsburgh labor movement to demonstrate its determination to defend the teachers through militant strike action.

Both the CP and trade-union bureaucrats like Fondy try to solve the problem of education within the framework of capitalism. Public schools in Pittsburgh are financed by a tax that falls most heavily on working people. Fondy favors increasing this regressive tax to provide more money! The CP, on the other hand, calls for shifting the tax burden onto the shoulders of the corporations. In practice this reformist panacea means launching campaigns for tax reform in Congress and state legislatures. The lack of money for education and other social services, however, is a direct result of the current capitalist economic crisis. Not through pressuring the Democrats and Republicans, but only by mobilizing organized labor and forming a workers party to shatter the capitalist system can any significant redistribution of wealth be brought about. ■

#### TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUM

**Drive U.S., South African Imperialists Out of Angola!  
Military Victory to the MPLA!  
For a Trotskyist Vanguard Party in Angola!  
For a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa!**

Speaker: JOHN MASTERS  
Central Committee Member,  
Trotskyist League

Debates Rooms  
Hart House  
University of Toronto  
Saturday, January 31,  
at 8 p.m.

Donation \$1  
For further information call 366-4107

**TORONTO**



NYT Pictures/Ingeborg Lippman

American rocket launcher being demonstrated by UNITA leader.

## Angola...

(continued from page 1)

tion the effects of Pretoria's recent efforts at "détente" with black Africa: "The moderates decided to admit openly that they regard South Africa as less an enemy than Cuba and the Soviet Union. 'After all, it is part of Africa,' remarked one African diplomat" (*Washington Post*, 15 January).

The ability of South Africa to buy votes in the OAU is a telling indictment of the chimera of Pan-African unity based on racial solidarity and phony "African socialism." From Pretoria's tiny economic satellites of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, to the glorified "Bantustan" labor reserve Malawi, to the weak bourgeois nationalist regimes of Zaïre and Zambia, South African premier Baithazar Vorster is attempting to use penny-ante bribery to put together a sub-continental "co-prosperity sphere" dominated by Johannesburg capital. Even the fake-"Marxist" regime in Mozambique, while it backs the MPLA, has not stopped supplying contract mine labor to South Africa, a colonial practice established by the Portuguese which subjects the miners to the most barbarous superexploitation.

Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda has been the main broker for Pretoria's attempted "détente" with black Africa and has hailed Vorster as the "voice of reason for which Africa and the world had waited." Zambia—whose copper mines are worked in collaboration with American, Rhodesian and South African capital—backed Senegal's resolution at the OAU calling for a ceasefire, government of "national unity" and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola. Such an apparent gesture of unity and conciliation is, in fact, a demand that the MPLA give up its battlefield victories at the conference table.

At the OAU summit, Kaunda bemoaned the potential loss of the "lives of millions of innocent Angolans," but in fact this fake "anti-imperialist" would happily countenance the slaughter of the MPLA's plebeian supporters in Luanda in order to secure access to the Benguela railroad, the Atlantic Ocean outlet for Zambian copper. While Kaunda praised the Chinese line of opposition to "intervention by super-powers," like the Maoist running dogs his position means concrete support to an imperialist victory in Angola.

#### OAU: Neo-Colonialist Den of Thieves

Since its founding in 1963, the OAU has preserved "African unity" by defending the artificial political boundaries created by the imperialist division of the continent and maintaining diplomatic silence while member nations ruthlessly suppress political, racial and tribal minorities. As Azinna Nwafor

wrote of the OAU in his introduction to George Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, its charter did no more than "retrospectively ratify the Treaty of Berlin of 1885 by which the continent was shared out between thirteen European countries without anyone consulting African opinion."

In the name of "national unity," the OAU apologized for Nigeria's genocidal slaughter of Ibo tribesmen in secessionist Biafra in 1967. The Organization of African "Unity" likewise backs the Ethiopian generals in their dirty war against Eritrean secessionist guerrillas. It did not blink an eye at the mass expulsion of Asians from East African countries or the massacre of tens of thousands of Hutu tribesmen in Burundi in 1972-73.

In Field Marshal Idi Amin, the capricious and megalomaniacal president of Uganda, the OAU has a chairman who personifies the despotic military rule that is the legacy of European colonialism. After ordering the brutal expulsion of 50,000 Asians and the assassination of thousands of his political and tribal opponents, Amin received aid from the Soviet Union and Libya. In recent months Uganda has followed the pattern of Egypt's abrupt break with the USSR and, behind official neutrality, has tilted toward support to the imperialist-led coalition in Angola. With this sordid history, Amin is hailed by the conservative black nationalist Congress of Racial Equality as "a true Pan-Africanist" and "one of Africa's most vocal and progressive leaders" (*CORE Magazine*, Summer 1975). CORE, in turn, is now organizing black U.S. veterans to fight as mercenaries with the South African-backed UNITA in Angola.

The first post-independence leaders of sub-Saharan Africa (Senghor, Touré, Nkrumah, Nyerere) propounded theories of "African socialism" which denied the need for class struggle because of the supposedly harmonious nature of village society. Actually representing the ideology of a weak petty bourgeoisie striving to become a ruling class through laying hold of the

colonial state apparatus, "African socialism" served as a mask to hide the most virulent tribalism, nepotism and naked repression of the working class. When a handful of military officers effortlessly toppled the corrupt Nkrumah regime in Ghana in 1966 without provoking the least popular resistance, it had a powerful effect in debunking these "theories" and turning many young African militants toward an examination of Marxism.

Pan-Africanism was a corollary of "classless" African socialism. The dream of a United States of Africa was already badly tarnished by the appearance of 47 separate states, most of them now ruled by former sergeants of the colonial armies, and the failure of every effort at federation. Now, at its first real test, the Organization of African Unity has split down the middle and by its inaction actually served the interests of U.S. imperialism and its white supremacist South African junior partner.

The success of U.S. and South African diplomacy has, with a little help from Chairman Mao, removed for the first time the OAU's ostensible single point of political unity. At the same time, the internationalization of the Angolan conflict has polarized the organization between those states most dependent on the U.S. and South Africa and others, like oil-rich Nigeria and Libya, which can maintain a verbally militant opposition to the Portuguese *colon* and South African forces in Angola. Even the pro-MPLA group is no bloc of "progressive" regimes. Left-talking nationalists like Samora Machel are allied with rightist officers in Ghana, Sudan's anti-Communist butcher Nimeiry and the military regime in Somalia whose Soviet aid has not prevented the imprisonment of several thousand leftists.

In the proxy war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Marxists must give military support to the Russian, Cuban and MPLA troops. But the liberation of sub-Saharan Africa does not depend on the foreign policy of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which seeks only the creation of friendly *bourgeois* regimes like that in Somalia. The Soviet Union has repeatedly indicated its willingness to accept a "transitional government with the participation of representatives of various movements." With the eclipse of the FNLA and recent conciliating gestures by UNITA, the possibility of an MPLA-UNITA coalition is not ruled out. But none of the contending factions in Angola, singly or in combination, can address the fundamental problems of poverty and social inequality. Only the emergence of Trotskyist workers parties particularly in South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent—and the profound social transformation of African society by the revolutionary victory of the proletariat supported by the poor peasant masses can wrench Africa from the grip of imperialism and resolve the multiplicity of tribal and ethnic rivalries which continually erupt into genocidal conflicts. ■



South African troops "training near the Angolan border."

Photo Trends

# MPLA...

(continued from page 7)

occupying army, while the MPLA was still trying to maintain the coalition government. After repeated ceasefires and truces, in June the MPLA (under Portuguese pressure) signed the Nakuru accords which called for disarming the people's committees. But before this could be accomplished, full-scale civil war broke out in Luanda and the FNLA was driven out of the capital, with the people's committees playing a role in the fighting.

Portuguese high commissioner Lopes Cardoso, in reviewing the last months of colonial rule, attributed tensions between UNITA and the MPLA to a "far left" in the MPLA armed forces, the unions and the people's committees. He added: "the MPLA found it necessary to create people's power and to maneuver with the trade unions when the FNLA was in Luanda in force... then it lost control of them. It began to tail after them" (*A Luta*, 26 December). Later, he said, the MPLA tried to impose its authority. In addition, the 23 October *Le Monde* reported that the people's committees had been dissolved and reorganized under "politically con-

scious elements." All other armed groups were declared illegal.

## From Liquidation to Political Suicide

While refusing to support any of the petty-bourgeois nationalist formations during the three-way power struggle of early and mid-1975 pointing out that there was no qualitative distinction between them the Spartacist tendency noted that unlike the FNLA and UNITA, "the MPLA draws its present support from the masses of urban dispossessed, semi-proletarians and working-class elements" and thus an FNLA UNITA victory would mean "decimating, demoralizing and dispersing the plebeian mass which can form the basis for a future independent movement of the working people." Therefore, "while never ceasing to attack politically the treacherous MPLA leadership" we recognized that communists in Angola would have to be prepared to engage in episodic "military blocs, with the MPLA forces to defend the proletariat and poor." But we added:

"We recognize, however, that should communists in the course of this struggle begin to rally around their program and leadership MPLA supporters or especially to split a section of the MPLA ranks away from their

bourgeois leaders, then the MPLA would turn on and savagely attack not only the communists but also its own ranks."

*Young Spartacus* No. 35, September 1975

The United Secretariat majority saw only one side of the story: it was blind to the brutal repression which the MPLA would direct at any socialist tendency which threatened to polarize its base on class lines. In polemicizing against the pro-FNLA "neutrality" of the reformist American Socialist Workers Party, leader of the USec minority, the Mandelites' "Africa expert" C. Gabriel writes that the "class-struggle tendency...in the ranks of the MPLA...knows that if the FNLA reenters Luanda it will be the first target of what Holden [Roberto] called the 'cleanup of Communists'." That is why, says Gabriel, "the question of support for the MPLA is decisive for the further growth of the vanguard" (*Intercontinental Press*, 8 December 1975).

This "class-struggle tendency" actually consisted of supporters of the USec in Angola. The 24 April 1975 *Inprecor* glowingly announced that "a small revolutionary Marxist nucleus has been founded in Luanda around the journal *Revolução Socialista*." It was evidently quite careful to make clear that it was not a rival to the MPLA: "No, it is not yet another party cropping up! It is only a journal, one that owes its allegiance to the workers and is for the workers." Although an editorial in the September 1974 *Revolução Socialista* does call for a "revolutionary party," it purposefully avoids the crucial question of whether this will involve a split from the MPLA or can be done by and through the nationalist organization. Such shilly-shallying only reinforces illusions spread by the MPLA, which has periodically called for a "vanguard party" since at least 1968!

The USec journal *Africa in Struggle* (October 1975) reports of its supporters in Angola that "against the ambiguous response of the MPLA" they are propagandizing for self-defense, supporting workers strikes, denouncing the imperialist grip on the economy and calling for socialist revolution. But if the response of the MPLA was ever ambiguous toward the "Trotskyists" of *Revolução Socialista*, it did not remain so for long. In the same way that the MPLA attacked striking dock workers, in the same way that it tried to disarm and disorganize the people's committees, it turned on leftist militants within its own ranks.

At the time of the reported dissolution and reorganization of the people's committees in late October, some 20 leftist militants (apparently mostly Maoists) were arrested. The 2 January *Rouge* (newspaper of the LCR, French section of the USec) reports that in Luanda the "Amilcar Cabral Committees" (CAC), linked to the Portuguese Maoist UDP, had played a leading role in organizing neighborhood committees and self-defense groups, and had put a great deal of pressure on the MPLA. Now with the deepening of the war, the radio broadcast speeches against the "partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin." MPLA leader Nito Alves said that after the FNLA and UNITA the next target should be the "leftists," and the newspaper *Poder Popular* ("People's Power") was banned. *Rouge*

for at least several years, then we must attempt to do so. While the PCE has managed to give the current strikes in Madrid some protective coloration by working through the CNS, this will soon prove to be a powerful lever in the hands of the Francoist regime, which will use its control of the apparatus to regiment the workers.

While the Stalinists talk of using "all forms of struggle" to justify their participation in the "vertical" syndicates, their real purpose is to ensure a means for bureaucratic control should the relatively unstructured workers commissions escape from their control. The same pattern emerged in Portugal after the fall of the Salazar Caetano dictatorship in 1974. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) had established its influence in the lower levels of the "national syndicate" apparatus, and soon after the April 25 coup it engineered a purge of the Salazarist elements and seized control of the now "democratic" unions. These were joined together in the Intersindical federation.

This bureaucratic apparatus carrying over from the Salazar Caetano regime made it possible for the PCP to stab the May-June 1974 strike wave in the back, using the Intersindical to recruit strike-breakers and thugs to smash the important postal workers strike in June 1974. The present dramatic lack of labor unity in Portugal, with many plants having two competing unions—the PCP-dominated ex-corporatist Intersindical unions and the "far left"-influenced workers commissions—is the result of the failure to destroy the Salazarist vertical "unions," and a major roadblock to proletarian revolution.

This common response to the question of corporatist syndicates demonstrates the fundamental identity of the "soft" Spanish and the "hard" Portuguese Stalinists. Both in their programs of class-collaborationist alliances tying the workers to a section of the bourgeoisie (whether it is the "enlightened" capitalists or the "patriotic" officers) and in their labor policies aimed at enforcing bureaucratic control of the ranks, the goal of both these reformist parties is to suppress proletarian revolution. Only the formation of Trotskyist parties in Spain and Portugal, capable of intersecting the mass struggles of the Iberian workers and providing a program of transitional demands, can defeat the present Stalinist misleaders and open the road to workers rule. ■

indicates that "the CAC were broken" and implies that the *Revolução Socialista* supporters were also eliminated. The arrested militants were deported to Portugal in November.

Commenting on these arrests, the 20 November *Red Weekly* (newspaper of the IMG, British section of the USec) states: "This move clearly attests to the rightward swing for the petty-bourgeois Neto current." But Marxists did not need to wait for these arrests or a repeat of the 1927 Shanghai massacre by Neto Angola's aspiring Chiang Kai-shek to determine the class character or anticipate the behavior of the MPLA. The press of the Spartacist tendency has repeatedly warned that Neto & Co. would do exactly what they have now done.

This is not a new problem. Already during the 1920's Leon Trotsky, in recognizing that the Chinese Communists should seek to win the best militants away from the nationalist Kuomintang, pointed to the crucial condition for a successful struggle, "the principal instrument of proletarian policy: an independent proletarian party which fights under its own banner and never permits its policy and organization to be dissolved in the policy and organization of other classes" ("The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin," May 1927).

In the service of its capitulationist policy of tailing after non-revolutionary, anti-proletarian forces the revisionist United Secretariat must ignore and falsify this crucial lesson. From Pablo's "entrism *sui generis*" into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties in the 1950's, to the Pabloist USec's enthusiasm for the Algerian FLN and Castro in the 1960's, to its political support for the Angolan MPLA today, the policy is the same as Stalin's capitulation to Chiang in the 1920's. And as happened in Shanghai in April 1927, political liquidation led to physical liquidation of the cadres. Pablo gave enthusiastic political support to Mao while Mao was locking up the Chinese Trotskyists; the USec gave support to Castro while Castro jailed Cuban Trotskyists. And now, despite the USec's unambiguous *political support* for the Angolan MPLA, Neto returns the favor... by arresting the leftists and expelling them from the country!

Learn the lessons of history! ■

## 150,000 Madrid Workers Strike

(continued from page 4)

actually controls lower levels of the CNS structure in certain areas. When the Franco regime permitted a certain democratization of the syndicate elections last May-June, the Communist Party was able to get its supporters elected. In the key Barcelona SEAT auto plant, for instance, more than 80 percent of the votes went to the Stalinist-backed "alliance of worker unity and democracy" slate.

Marxists do not refuse on principle to work in fascist "unions" if this is the only way to reach the workers and provide leadership to their struggles. But if there is a real possibility of enforcing a total boycott and destroying these structures of state control, as has existed in Spain

### SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

#### BAY AREA

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

1634 Telegraph (3rd floor)  
(near 17th street)  
Oakland, California  
Phone 835-1535

#### CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.  
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark  
Second floor  
Chicago, Illinois  
Phone 427-0003

#### NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.  
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway  
Room 522  
New York, New York  
Phone 925-5665

### SPARTACIST Canada

Subscription: \$2/year  
(11 issues)

Make payable/mail to:  
Spartacist Canada Publishing  
Association  
Box 6867, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

## YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current issue includes:

- For Military Victory to MPLA Against Imperialist-Led Forces!
- NYC Bosses' Verdict: Exclude 1000's of Minority Youth from CUNY
- Iranian Students Balk at Mao-Shah Detente
- Renegade Hayden Fronts for Militarism, Racial Oppression
- SYL Debates YSA on Labor/Black Defense—Revolutionary Trotskyism vs. Reformism
- For Workers Revolution in Portugal!

## SUBSCRIBE NOW! \$2/11 issues

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ 93

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

# Kennedy...

(continued from page 5)

secrecy itself.

Like one of those science fiction monsters which emerge from a slimy black lagoon to rampage in the dead of night, the CIA cannot bear even the first few rays of daylight. Secrecy is not a commodity the CIA can do without.

New-found annoyances appear everywhere. Yesterday's liberal college professor-informant could be fairly certain of doing little clandestine favors for the CIA without soiling his tweedy image. No longer. Foreign governments which supply the CIA with information are now a bit worried about the association. Agents in the field are unsure what will be "leaked."

There can be no CIA without "special operations," and the entire bourgeoisie knows it. Not the Pike committee nor the Church committee nor any "responsible" journalist has suggested that U.S. imperialism should relinquish its covert military arm. The fight is over how soon to clamp the lid on revelations about the CIA: McCone and Colby, Ford and Kissinger say now, yesterday; the liberals say not quite yet.

Cold-war liberals viewed the CIA as an enlightened alternative to the conservative isolationism of Robert Taft and the crude anti-communism of Joe McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover. Today, the dispute over the CIA stems in large part from different strategies for U.S. imperialism. Some liberal ideologues argue that the fight to nail down the "third world" isn't worth the effort; they would prefer instead to concentrate on the Near East and Europe. Perhaps the most "radical" proposal emanates from an interesting article ("The CIA from Beginning to End") by Gary Wills in the 22 January *New York Review of Books*. Wills wants to "abolish" the CIA—and move the same functions into the State Department!

## Legacy of Colonialism

The cult of secrecy and lack of "parliamentary control" is inherent in the CIA's purpose as an instrument of U.S. imperialism. Wills' article points out that the CIA was created out of the Office of Strategic Services and tutored

by British intelligence (MI-6) which had developed the "cult of secrecy" to a fine art.

Governing the colonies was often a messy business. Given the barbarity of the acts to be performed for British imperialism in the colonies and the upper-crust social status of the perpetrators, secrecy was an iron necessity. The imperialist operatives—organized as an elite corps bound by the "old school tie"—slaughtered the "wogs" and "fuzzy-wuzzies," all in the name of a



Fidel Castro

Black Star

"civilizing mission" and without losing their status as gentlemen.

When the U.S. inherited the role of chief imperialist policeman at the end of World War II, the CIA learned the style of domestic aristocrat and foreign killer from the British. Charged with safeguarding U.S. capitalism's global profits, the executive had to be free to act without the restraints of domestic civil custom. Wills is dead wrong in envisioning the possibility of a new, more humane imperialism. The requirements of imperialism in the period of its decay are certainly no less savage than those of 19th century colonialism.

The CIA was developed as the secret agency of an executive with ever more free-wheeling power to conduct secret wars. The construction of a political infrastructure loyal to the president alone was the basis for a tendency for structural bonapartism. Hence the desire for a sacred aura around the

office of the presidency, and the recoil from the Kennedy-CIA-Mafia connection.

Of course, Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia are not after all such strange bedfellows. In the film "Godfather II," a Mafia family goes to Havana shortly before the Cuban revolution to survey its vast holdings in gambling, prostitution, drugs and murder. The most farsighted are disturbed by the atmosphere of revolutionary ferment—with good reason, as it turns out. Their gambling



Marzani & Munsell

A CIA B-26 bomber shot down during Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. State Department claimed that Cuban air force pilots had rebelled. Kennedy called off second air strike after CIA cover story was blown.

houses and brothels, their pimps and pushers were closed down just as surely as the sugar industry was expropriated. The film captures the community of interest between the Mafia and U.S. imperialism.

Sam Giancana does not own an old school tie, but he does have a considerable stake in capitalism; and as the revelations of Kennedy-Mafia-CIA links underscore, the "imperial presidency" has its uses for the Sam Giancanas. It is a small irony of history—which obeys the higher laws of the class struggle—that while the Kennedy administration was beating the drums for its much-publicized "war on crime," the CIA and Mafia were trying to assassinate Castro on orders from the president. Contrary to the pious indignation of the liberals, it is not the White House which is besmirched by the Mafia tie-in. Compared to the massive official Murder, Inc. of the CIA, the Mafia hit-

men are small-time criminals.

## Cover-Up Continues

A few worms have crawled out of the gigantic can and can be seen in all their slimy detail. The bourgeois press is uncomfortable with what has been uncovered. They have not written the details of Kennedy's role in ordering the Phoenix project, which tortured and killed tens of thousands of Vietnamese villagers. Instead they have written the details of Kennedy's love life. Faced with the sacred office of the presidency

grown inescapably into the office of mass murder, the liberal press takes refuge behind sex scandals. *Newsweek* magazine is not atypical when, after noting "the tale" of murder in the Kennedy administration, it tells "a sordid tale—that a president of the U.S. had for two years shared a girlfriend with two reputed princelings of syndicated crime."

Since the CIA investigations began, *WV* has insisted that their primary function is to sanitize what has already been exposed, provide the legislative occasion for streamlining the spy agency, and cover up the rest. The CIA is not an organization that can be reformed into civility by this or that Senate committee. U.S. imperialism demands secrecy and a license for murder for its covert military political instrument. Only the victorious proletarian revolution which destroys imperialism can abolish the CIA. ■

# ILWU...

(continued from page 12)

(which was eventually rammed through after three membership votes).

In the recent election, Brown based most of his unpopular campaign on defending this weak-kneed capitulation and attacking the class-struggle program of Gow and Keylor. At the January 15 meeting the "leftist" Brown even managed to come out temporarily to the right of the pro-Bridges officials!

These fakery felt the pressure building up for action against the employers and decided to conciliate the membership's discontent. Bridges supporter Mosley introduced a substitute for the strike motions already on the floor, proposing that the Local strike within a week if the PMA did not respond "adequately." As if this deliberate vagueness wasn't enough to ensure that no serious action would be taken, Mosley insisted in his speech that support from other ports "would not be necessary"! Temporarily seizing the initiative by calling for a strike, the Bridges forces managed to pass Mosley's motion and defeat a proposal by Gow and Keylor for an elected strike committee.

The Bridges forces are simply putting on a facade of militancy while carefully limiting their proposals to avoid a real class battle. Most likely Bridges & Co. will try to come back with a compromise settlement to refurbish their image while

avoiding a strike, which could easily get out of control of the bureaucracy. However, it is not beyond Bridges to allow Local 10 to walk out alone and then isolate it, in an attempt to permanently wreck a maverick local.

Militants must make use of the strike vote to mobilize Coast-wide resistance to PMA, while avoiding traps and pitfalls laid by the Bridges regime. As in the contract dispute last August, class-struggle militants in the Local are for a strike in which the membership can effectively implement a militant policy and undercut the treachery of Bridges. A strategy to win real gains must include striking for the demand of a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, extending the strike to include the entire West Coast, and electing strike committees in each port to provide an avenue for rank-and-file control.

Seething unrest among the ranks was also reflected in the two-to-one membership vote to reject the January 10 election returns, on the grounds that oppositionists like Wing were excluded from the ballot for political reasons and the balloting committee was appointed instead of elected. This was essentially a healthy and supportable rejection of Bridges' undemocratic election procedures. As an unfortunate by-product, however, the challenge puts into limbo the membership vote which repudiated Larry Wing's rigged trial. The motion also failed to set the time for new elections, despite a motion from the last executive board meeting to hold the

elections January 31.

Significantly, the Local meeting voted to immediately register all remaining "B-men" into A status. This was a direct slap at Bridges, whose rotten 1975 contract allows B-men to be moved up only through attrition! However, such votes have been passed before, only to be sabotaged by the International in collusion with the PMA.

The way forward for longshoremen is clear: For a Coast-wide strike of the ILWU to achieve a sliding scale of hours and wages, full union rights for all members, and the defeat of all cutbacks! No faith in the Bridges machine for an elected strike committee, not another 1971 betrayal! ■

# Doctors Strike...

(continued from page 3)

and supportable as such. But it could quickly be turned into an attack on the general population by demanding limitations on liability for medical malpractice damages. The doctors' long-range goal is to reform tort law so as to abolish attorney contingency fees, eliminate all "pain and suffering" claims and generally restrict the standards for malpractice suits. The main effect of this will be to sharply limit the right of aggrieved patients to sue for blatant negligence.

There is a growing layer of younger,

more radical-minded doctors truly concerned with the social aspects of their profession. But for most physicians, the Hippocratic oath is a vow of hypocrisy incidental to the pursuit of personal wealth. For them, malpractice insurance is an encumbering financial drain. For insurance companies and vulturous lawyers, malpractice claims are but a field of contention for splitting the riches extorted directly or indirectly from the workers and the poor.

For the working class, however, no "reform" of the malpractice system can be satisfactory. Regardless of whether the doctors succeed in their pressure tactics to hold down increases in malpractice rates or not, it is clear that the cost of health care will continue to soar to the benefit of physicians, insurance companies, pharmaceutical houses and medical supply companies. Meanwhile, the "public" hospitals will continue to provide abysmal service to the working class and poor, while the vast majority of medical workers are paid starvation wages and subjected to insane overwork in overcrowded, under-equipped and rapidly deteriorating facilities.

Only the expropriation (without compensation) of the giant insurance companies and health-related industries, and the complete socialization of medicine can open the road to adequate health care. These tasks will be accomplished not by doctors, lawyers, corporate stockholders or legislators, but by victorious workers revolution. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## ILWU Local 10 Invalidates Election

# For A West Coast Longshore Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, January 18—San Francisco Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has voted overwhelmingly to strike within one week if the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) goes through with its latest attack on jobs and the pay guarantee. This vote at least temporarily reverses the recent series of demoralizing defeats suffered by longshoremen at the hands of the PMA and the sellout Bridges leadership of the ILWU. However, pro-Bridges forces in the Local, forced into this action in order to contain the growing anger of the ranks, are already preparing to sabotage its implementation.

The discontent was quite clear at the January 15 membership meeting, which was attended by about 1,200, more than

twice normal attendance for a regular meeting. Recently announced changes in the rules to qualify for Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) payments (requiring a minimum of 200 hours per quarter actually worked instead of merely being available for work) will make collection of the supposedly "guaranteed" pay significantly more difficult for perhaps as much as a quarter of the membership. The changes have already been openly endorsed by Bridges. Members also directed their anger at the Local 10 leadership over the January 10 elections, held in defiance of an executive board decision, in which opponents of the regime such as ex-President Larry Wing were bureaucratically kept off the ballot.

According to several members interviewed by *WT* later, calls for action

from the floor dominated the meeting and forced Bridges' supporters onto the defensive. One motion demanded rejection of the latest PGP qualification changes. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, Local 10 executive board members who publish *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle oppositional paper in the Local, proposed as an amendment a modified version of a motion passed by the board last October. This motion had called for a strike against PMA cutbacks, for the full PGP and for a "sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members." To avoid isolation, the Local was to have called on other ports "to join us in solidarity." Active collusion by the Bridges bureaucracy and the shipping companies prevented implementation of this motion

and has allowed the PMA to cut two job boards, reduce another by 250 men and slash the PGP by as much as 40 percent over the last six months, thus setting up the membership for new attacks.

Another amendment was then made by Archie Brown, chief spokesman for Communist Party views in the Local, which amounted to a postponement of the whole matter to a special membership meeting in two weeks! Brown's proposal was merely a continuation of his position on the contract last August, when he was against striking because of the danger of sabotage by the Bridges regime. Rather than serving to help change that regime, his defeatist position reflected Brown's capitulation to Bridges' rotten contract proposal

*continued on page 11*

## Cops Seize Union Office

# Militant Pittsburgh Teachers' Strike Defies Court Injunction

PITTSBURGH, January 14—The 45-day walkout by 4,500 teachers, para-professionals and technical-clerical workers here remains 90 percent effective despite the strikebreaking efforts of the Board of Public Education (BPE), an injunction against the strike and court-imposed fines on the teachers' union and on each individual striker. During a mass rally yesterday, Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers (PFT) president Albert Fondy pledged that no striker would pay a fine. The fines \$25,000 plus \$10,000 a day on the PFT and \$100 a day on each of the striking teachers were imposed by Common Pleas Court judge Donald Ziegler after the union defied the judge's January 3 injunction that attempted to force the teachers back to work without a contract and to prohibit picketing.

At the rally more than 2,000 strikers packed the Islam Grotto on Pittsburgh's north side to hear Fondy's report on the state of negotiations. (The meeting was not held at the PFT hall because Judge Ziegler had threatened to seize the union headquarters if the fines were not paid. A day later sheriff's deputies padlocked the building, and the PFT is now negotiating to prevent the property from being auctioned off!) Fondy's assertions that "the courts aren't going to end this strike" were well received by the enthusiastic audience, who chanted "no contract, no work" and defiantly

jeered whenever Ziegler's name was mentioned.

The 1972 contract provided for wage increases of only 3 percent a year, which have been more than eaten away by inflation. The PFT initially asked for wage increases for teachers and other professionals of \$1,300 to \$3,500 this year and additional raises from \$1,400 to \$2,500 by 1 September 1977, in a two-year contract. The union also demanded an immediate 15 percent wage increase for the miserably paid para-professionals (teachers' aides) and clerical workers, whose pay averages only \$5,000 a year! The last offer by the BPE for teachers was \$1,200 over two years, including a \$700 increase that all teachers who are below top scale (almost two thirds) are entitled to anyway.

The Board proposes to finance any wage increase by cutting back personnel and educational programs. It demanded an increase in class size of at least six students and refused to even discuss the union demand that unemployment coverage be extended to all PFT members. The BPE also wants to sharply reduce the special reading and counseling programs, which are particularly important in working-class and ghetto schools.

Following more than three weeks of fruitless bargaining the Board went to court. On December 23 Judge Ziegler



Rally of 3,000 striking Pittsburgh teachers on January 13.

WV Photo

ordered marathon 14-hour daily negotiating sessions, promising that the schools would reopen as scheduled on January 5 following Christmas vacation. However, when it became clear that no settlement would be reached, Ziegler issued an injunction against the strike, arguing that it constituted a "clear and present danger or threat to the health, safety or welfare of the

public." The judge acted on the basis of the 1970 Pennsylvania Public Employees Relations Act (Act 195) which recognizes the right of public employees to strike, *except* if they endanger public "health, safety or welfare."

The striking teachers were not intimidated. Fondy's defiance of the court ruling and his call for mass

*continued on page 8*