

Mao's Heirs at Each Other's Throats

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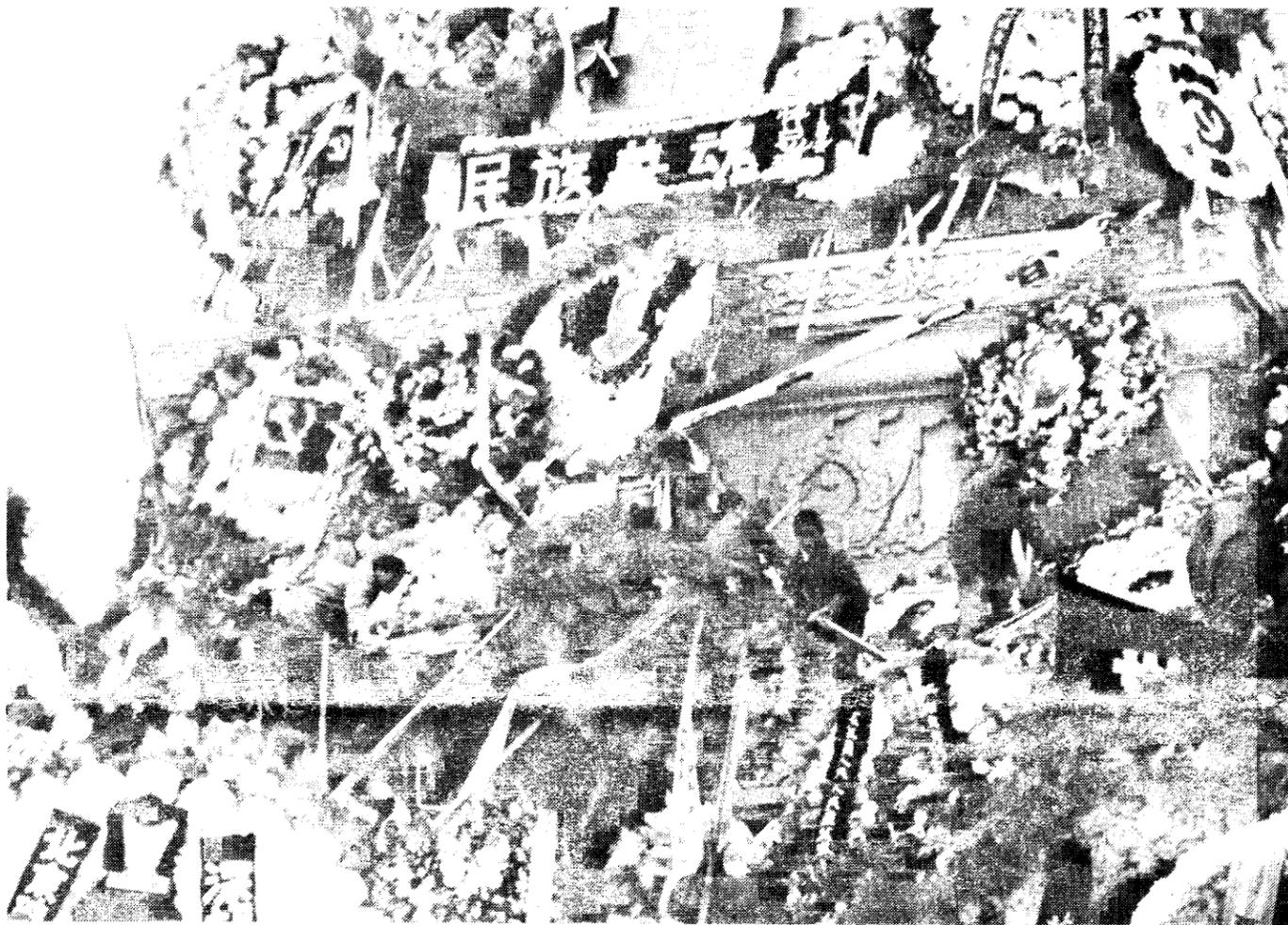
Violent Power Struggle Erupts in China

OCTOBER 19 During the mid-1960's "Cultural Revolution" in China, Chiang Ching—the former actress, wife of Mao and official arbiter of "proletarian culture" rewrote a scene from a popular opera. In her revised version, the hero assures the audience that although he is about to step into a blinding snowstorm on a bitter-cold night without a coat, he will be kept warm by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Last week the author, similarly protected, was swept up in a turbulent storm of bureaucratic struggle following Mao's death. Arrested along with Chiang Ching was virtually the entire leadership associated with the Cultural Revolution period.

The charges against Chiang Ching, appropriately presented in *dazibaos* ("big-character" wall posters), have rapidly escalated in seriousness. Initially she was accused of factionalism and inventing Mao's supposed parting quote: "Act according to the principles laid down." To this was added the somewhat comic accusation that she had hastened her great husband's death by nagging him so much. Yesterday, however, a wall poster at Peking's Tsinghua University accused her of deliberately preventing the deathly ill Mao from receiving proper medical treatment, and then opposing the decision to preserve his body in a crystal case. These are serious charges indeed given the quasi-religious veneration of "the Chairman." Her opponents have now stuck her with the label of the wicked "empress dowager."

In addition to Mao's wife, other top Communist Party leaders recently arrested are: senior deputy premier Chang Chun-chiao; Wang Hung-wen, who rose from total obscurity to become the youngest member of the political bureau during the Cultural Revolution (he is now 40); and Yao Wen-yuan, an initiator of the Cultural Revolution and until last week the regime's chief propagandist. The violence of the opposition to Chiang Ching and her associates was indicated by the terms used to denounce them in Shanghai, where Chang, Wang and Yao have been the top party officials: "Crush the heads of the four dogs" and "crush and strangle the gang of four" (*New York Times*, 16 October).

Radio broadcasts all over China are again blaring out the familiar call for "close party unity," this time around Hua Kuo-feng, who last winter was virtually unknown and now heads the



Wreaths at April memorial for Chou En-lai in Tien An Men square. Two days of rioting erupted after wreaths were taken down. Georges Grabet/Gamma-Liaison

party, government and army. Other proclamations warn against "anyone who tampers with Chairman Mao's instructions." But there is no basis for unity...and just what are the Chairman's "instructions"?

Despite Hua's unprecedented accumulation of posts, no single bureaucratic aspirant can today make an uncontested claim to correctly interpreting Mao's enigmatic quotations. There is no longer a single bonapartist figure with enough authority to balance among the cliques and power blocs while keeping a lid on the intra-bureaucratic conflict which has boiled over periodically and now threatens to erupt with unprecedented force.

The Fiction of "Radicals" vs. "Moderates"

The Western bourgeois press explains Chinese politics in terms of "radicals" (including Mao himself, Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen) versus the "moderates" (Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and now Hua Kuo-feng). However, the press cannot seem to figure out what concrete political differences separate the "radicals" from the "moderates." The *Wall Street Journal* (13 October), for instance, writes that the purge of "China's leftist leaders... may lead to closer ties with the West." In a diametrically opposed interpretation, the *London Times* (17 October) speculates: "There will probably be more Chinese rhetoric against imperialism, slightly less hostility to the Soviet Union..." The difficulty in figuring out exactly what the "radicals" and "moderates" are

fighting about arises from the fact that there are no fundamental differences.

But there is a history of conflict. To understand the purge of Chiang Ching and the "Shanghai circle," it is necessary to go back almost two decades to the "Great Leap Forward." By pushing this adventurist policy in the late 1950's, Mao brought China to the brink of starvation and an economic collapse unprecedented in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. As a result, Mao lost much of his authority within the bureaucracy and was pushed into the background by a group led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. The Liu/Teng group in turn adopted a Bukharinite economic policy making concessions to private peasant interests and expanding industry at a snail's pace.

Mao attempted to regain his authority and purge his conservative bureaucratic opponents by allying with Marshal Lin Piao's army and mobilizing students and peasant youth (the Red Guards) on the basis of egalitarian anti-bureaucratic demagoguery. This was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Had it succeeded, Mao would no doubt have launched another forced-march economic campaign similar to the Great Leap Forward.

However, the threatened officials were able to mobilize their own forces, often factory workers (as in the case of the 1966 Shanghai strikes), to counter the Red Guards. It is from this period that the general impression of an opposition between "radical" mass mobilization/mystification policies and a "moderate" modern technology/ma-

terial incentives orientation stems. While differences existed, they basically reflected different clienteles (Mao's peasant army backing, Liu's association with industry and the state bureaucracy) and were not qualitative from the point of view of proletarian class interests.

But although this struggle reflected itself in policy differences, there were no stable factional programs. Chou's "program" was to come out on the winning side in every fight, and after 1967 Mao maintained his leading role only by shamelessly maneuvering between the various power blocs. In the early 1970's most of the former "capitalist roaders" purged during the Cultural Revolution were reinstated, while Mao's prominent allies (such as Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta) were purged.

The strength of the bureaucratically conservative anti-Maoist forces can be seen in the checkered career of Teng Hsiao-ping. Purged as the "number two capitalist roader" during the Cultural Revolution, he re-emerged in 1973 as deputy premier and Chou En-lai's hand-picked successor. Purged again following Chou's death when his supporters rioted in Peking's Tien An Men Square, he was not arrested nor even expelled from the party. Now that his enemies are dead or in prison, Teng is reportedly back in Peking. No doubt we will hear more from Teng Hsiao-ping.

Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen and the other surviving leaders who came to power through the Cultural Revolution were essentially a *clique*. Their power

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WV Photo

Demonstration at Pier 27 in San Francisco against docking of South African ship.

S.F. Longshore Bureaucrats Sabotage Anti-Apartheid Protest

SAN FRANCISCO, October 16—Early this morning, the *Nebloy Kimberly*, a ship bound for Durban, Cape Town and other South African ports, arrived at Piers 27-29 here. After learning the night before of the ship's imminent arrival, the Spartacist League (SL) organized an emergency picket line in solidarity with anti-apartheid revolts in South Africa. The nearly 65 pickets who arrived at 6:30 a.m. spiritedly chanted, "Smash apartheid. Workers to power," "Black, brown, yellow, white Workers of the world unite," and "Labor boycott now."

At the pier, the SL handed out a leaflet urging "all those opposed to the almost daily massacres resulting from protests against the slave-like exploitation to which black South Africans are subject under the white supremacist apartheid system to join us in this protest." The leaflet appealed to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to respect the picket line as a means of opposing the massive slaughter in South Africa and to win the release of anti-apartheid militants.

Longshoremen arriving at the pier were sympathetic to the call for a labor boycott. At an ILWU Local 10 membership meeting of July 15, the membership had voted a resolution calling for "a boycott of all cargo, dock or ship side, bound for or from South Africa or Rhodesia." Despite this mandate from the membership, the ILWU bureaucracy has actively sabotaged all attempts at implementation of the motion. When Stan Gow, a supporter of "Longshore Militant" (a class-struggle opposition newsletter), put forward a motion in the Local 10 executive board demanding immediate implementation of the boycott, it was defeated in favor of a "membership referendum." Later the referendum was killed and the issue was sent back to the executive board for "more study."

Most of the longshoremen arriving at the picket line this morning voiced their support for a labor boycott. Respecting the lines, the work crew went to the local union headquarters to get instructions. However, Lawrence Tiedbot, the weekend business agent, ordered the crew to go to work and came down to the pier to insure that the membership was forced to cross the picket line. Tiedbot told the longshoremen that any refusal to work the *Nebloy* would jeopardize Pay Guarantee (PGP) payments provided under the contract.

Attempting to pacify militancy, he argued that a boycott would be ineffective until the entire International was

united on the issue, for the *Nebloy* could be re-routed to another port if Local 10 refused to work it. Finally, he offered the lame excuse that all the "big shots" who were in a position to authorize a boycott were at home (presumably without telephones) and he could not take personal responsibility for the loss of \$160,000 in PGP pay on his own.

Openly defying the Local membership's motion, Tiedbot and the ILWU bureaucracy have made clear their cavalier indifference toward the plight of the oppressed South African non-white masses. Tiedbot is no naive "nice guy" caught in the middle; he is a prominent supporter of the International Bridges regime. As he well knows, a Local 10 boycott would set a precedent and be an inspiration to the entire maritime industry, threatening to upset the bureaucrats' cozy relationship with the maritime companies.

Even Tiedbot's claim that a boycott would jeopardize PGP pay was untrue; under the contract longshoremen are not obliged to work weekends, and as the ship arrived on Saturday the employers would have no case if the boycott were properly organized. Moreover, the sudden concern by the Local 10 misleaders for the PGP fund is totally phony. Over the last year, payments have been slashed thousands of dollars below the level provided for in the contract, and ILWU officials later worked out a deal under which longshoremen were reimbursed for only 15 cents on the dollar of their stolen back pay!

By cynically playing on the membership's fears of unemployment in a period of economic decline, the bureaucrats are attempting to squelch all acts of solidarity. One of the longshoremen, as he reluctantly went to work on orders from Tiedbot, captured much of the sentiment on the pier when he asked the Spartacist League to organize a picket line at the International's offices!

It is evident that Bridges & Co. will refuse to implement the boycott, as will the Local 10 leadership. The "progressive" ILWU tops and their supporters from the reformist Communist Party (who actively supported tabling the motion for immediate implementation of the boycott back to the executive board) are every bit as dedicated to "business as usual" as are open reactionaries such as George Meany. Militants in the ILWU must fight to mobilize the membership to demand implementation. International solidarity in support of anti-apartheid rebels in South Africa has never been more urgent. ■

No More Trials—Free Her Now!

Hung Jury in Susan Saxe Trial



UPI

Susan Saxe

Keep the Courts Out of the Workers Movement!

Vargaite Instigate Prosecution of OCI Goon

The last issue of *WV* (15 October) reported on a recent incident in which a goon squad of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) physically attacked members of the French Varga group (LOR) in Paris.

This is certainly not the first time that the OCI has resorted to gangsterism to suppress the political views of opponents within the workers movement; the OCI is notorious for this Stalinist practice. The Vargaite have been a target of particularly vicious OCI goon assaults since their expulsion from the OCI and its affiliates more than two years ago.

The Varga grouping's response to this attack, however, is to invoke the violence of the capitalist state against the OCI! On October 2 a communiqué of the LOR announced its intention to institute criminal proceedings against a member of the OCI goon squad who allegedly beat a member of the LOR while two other OCI goons held him, breaking his nose and knocking out four teeth. To call on the bourgeoisie to prosecute members of working-class organizations amounts to an invitation to the state to harass and repress the workers movement as a whole.

Such Stalinist methods discredit and endanger the ostensibly Trotskyist movement! The OCI's gangsterism and its repeated unproven charges that Varga is an agent of the CIA and/or KGB are direct attacks against workers democracy. In turn, the Vargaite, by initiating the criminal prosecution of OCI members, have made themselves the allies of the capitalist state in its attempts to destroy the workers movement. These are not the methods of Trotskyists! ■

BOSTON, October 13—After a three-week trial in Suffolk Superior Court, yesterday a jury declared itself hopelessly deadlocked in the case of lesbian-feminist Susan Saxe. Saxe is charged with felony murder for her participation in a Boston bank robbery committed in September 1970 during which a policeman, Walter A. Schroeder, was killed. When the jury failed to reach a verdict after five days of deliberation, a mistrial was declared. However, Saxe remains in custody pending a decision concerning a new trial.

In a surprise move the defense called no witnesses and simply declared at the termination of the state's presentation that "we decided the government had proved our case." The prosecution had called numerous witnesses, none of whom were able to corroborate the state's charge that Saxe played a substantial role in the robbery or even positively identify her. One remembered only that one of the robbery participants had "thick lips," another that "she was a little on the hefty side." The two star witnesses for the prosecution were those who had already received reduced sentences for their cooperation with the state!

Although the state does not contend that Saxe actually shot the policeman, a Massachusetts statute decrees that all persons involved in a felony which results in a death must be charged with felony murder. William Gilday has already been convicted for the murder of Schroeder and has been serving a life sentence since 1972. Another convicted accomplice, Robert J. Valeri, turned state's evidence, naming four others as participants in the robbery, for which the state rewarded him with a reduced charge of manslaughter and a reduced sentence of 15 years with the possibility of parole. A third suspect in the murky case, Stanley Bond, was found dead in his cell at Walpole State Prison in 1972 just prior to being called on to testify. If convicted on this charge, Saxe faces a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment.

Unlike Valeri, who incriminated Saxe within 24 hours of his capture in order to save his own hide, Saxe has courageously refused to cooperate with the government, stating, "...the United States government realizes that I am not and never will be a collaborator. I have made it clear to them that if I am called as a witness in any government proceeding, I

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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: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Chris Knox, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

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. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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

Strike GM/Chrysler/Ag Imp, in U.S. and Canada!

How Woodcock Strong-Armed Ford Workers

DETROIT, October 14 When the United Auto Workers (UAW) Ford Council met a week ago at the Veterans Memorial Building to discuss the contract which had just been negotiated by the Woodcock leadership, the assembled local bureaucrats overwhelmingly approved it with only a scattering of opposition. At a press conference after the meeting Woodcock and UAW Ford Division chief Bannon confidently predicted an equally favorable response from the Ford workers themselves. But that same afternoon an incident occurred which tells far more about the real state of mind of the UAW bureaucracy than their frozen smiles for the TV cameras.

A few blocks away on West Fort avenue music students from a couple of Detroit high schools were marching to protest cutbacks in their band programs. There were about 400 of them, with trumpets and clarinets, trombones and saxophones and xylophones, tooting and blaring as they came into JFK Square. Word of this demonstration filtered back to Veterans Building, but by the time UAW officials got the story the report was of a mob of angry auto workers descending on the Ford Council. Thereupon the rattled union officials immediately called in police reinforcements to protect them from the music students!

Leonard Woodcock & Co. were more than nervous about winning membership approval for their sellout contract, and with good reason. They will remember the chaotic 1973 voting, when UAW headquarters stopped announcing unit vote totals as it became clear

that skilled workers were turning down the pact. This time nearly 100,000 of the 170,000 Ford workers refused to vote at all. Of those who did cast ballots, according to official union figures, close to 40 percent of production workers voted "no" and the skilled trades passed the contract by only 489 votes nationally.

Of contracts negotiated by major U.S. unions this year, the Ford agreement was unquestionably one of the worst. The net wage increase over three years amounted to a pitiful 9 percent (the Rubber Workers got 36 percent) while the cost-of-living escalator was unaltered. The only innovation, Woodcock's thoroughly bankrupt "reduced worktime" scheme, was hailed by UAW leaders as a "major step" toward the four-day week. While it provides a few more days off, the contract also takes away two Christmas holidays so that in the first year auto workers will actually have fewer paid holidays!

More significantly, nothing has been done about the companies' massive scheduling of required overtime. Even the weak existing restrictions ("voluntary" after 54 hours a week, provided...) were gutted as the contract allowed management to ignore them when additional production shifts are added or new car lines are introduced in a plant—i.e., about every two or three years. So much for "voluntary overtime"!

To top it off, as of today 13 UAW Ford locals still have no local agreement. Yet Solidarity House has ordered the strikers back to work in 99 other locations. Ford workers must not



UAW Local 600 (River Rouge) in Dearborn, Michigan, pushes protectionist "Buy American" campaign. Skilled tradesmen at the Rouge complex voted heavily against the sellout Ford contract.

abandon these striking locals. Everyone must stay out so long as any locals are still on strike! Further, workers at Chrysler, GM, American Motors and agricultural implements companies in both the U.S. and Canada should strike now in solidarity with Ford militants and in order to avoid being saddled with the same rotten deal (or worse)!

Where Did Those Votes Come From?

The reported razor-thin margin on the contract naturally raised the importance of disputed vote counts and the

The International's method of tabulating ballots nationally is also suspect. Three years ago the bureaucracy utilized the "unit voting" procedure, in which the majority vote in each unit commits the entire membership of that unit to a unanimous "yes" or "no" vote. Since it felt it could not simply ignore the skilled trades established right to veto the contract (as was done with explosive results in 1973), this year the Woodcock machine simply added up the totals without regard to units.

There is good reason to believe that if the old "unit voting" had been used the tradesmen would have vetoed the contract. However, to determine this it is necessary to know the number of workers in each unit. In response to a request by the reformist Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), Woodcock answered that he could "see no purpose" in releasing these figures.

An International spokesman told *WV* that sometimes the unit rule is used and sometimes not: "There's no definitive rule that mandates the unit system." He went on to say that "if we would have used the unit system, you and other people would have cried foul on that." The bureaucracy, of course, uses whichever method suits its purpose of ramming through the contract, and current protests over the voting procedure are primarily attempts to oppose the sellout contract.

Class-struggle unionists do, however, oppose the undemocratic unit rule as well as the skilled-trades veto right. The principles of industrial unionism require that all members' votes be counted as equals. Skilled tradesmen cannot successfully defend their interests without solidarity from production workers, and the veto divides skilled and unskilled. Unity can only be forged around a program representing the interests of all sections of the workforce in militant struggle against the companies.

Instead of fighting for such a strategy, ISTC leaders took their complaints to the U.S. Labor Department. Even though ISTC chairman Al Gardner admitted to *WV* that, "we're not going to beat them [Woodcock & Co.] in the courts," the ISTC continues to foster the illusion that the courts can be friends of the workers. Judicial meddling in the unions is an attack on the entire working class which must be sharply opposed. The government will use these invita-



Al Gardner

WV Photo

balloting procedure itself. Ford workers interviewed by *WV* expressed pervasive distrust of the mechanism. Master lists of local memberships were often not checked before ballots were issued. A member of Local 400 complained that "anyone could have walked in off the street and voted."

A *WV* reporter was at the Local 600 (River Rouge) hall in Dearborn as the results from the skilled trades vote there were announced. Official challengers (poll watchers) stated that the Tool and Dies unit had rejected the national agreement by 839 to 316. However, two days later Solidarity House published figures claiming that 377 had voted to accept. Similarly, an additional 35 "yes" votes mysteriously appeared in the maintenance and construction units.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of Publication: *Workers Vanguard*
- Date of Filing: 18 October 1976.
- Frequency of Issue: Weekly (except bi-weekly in August and December).
- No. of Issues Published Annually: 48
- Annual Subscription Price: \$5.00
- Location of known office of publication: 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013
- Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013
- Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 W. Broadway, NY, NY 10013; Editor: Jan Norden, 260 W. Broadway, NY, NY 10013; Managing Editor: None.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) unincorporated association: Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 W. Broadway, NY, NY 10013.
- Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.): None.
- For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.
- Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 7,000; B. Paid Circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter

sales: 3,450; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,660; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 5,110; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 50; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 5,160; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1,840; (2) Returns from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2) should equal net press run shown in A): 7,000.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 9,000; B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 5,805; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,460; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 7,265; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 50; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 7,315; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1,685; (2) Returns from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2) should equal net press run shown in A): 9,000.

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
editor

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W. Berlin Teachers Union Expelled for Defying Anti-Red Ban

Reflecting a general rightward shift in the country, the recent hotly contested West German elections were fought out in an orgy of nationalist rhetoric and charges of being "soft on Communism." While the ruling Social Democrats praised the "German model," Christian Democratic challengers offered "a Chancellor for Germany" and both parties competed to see who could sing "Deutschland über Alles" the loudest at campaign rallies. In the midst of this reactionary bickering, the West Berlin teachers union has become a particular target of the witchhunters.

Their weapon is a new constitution of the West German labor federation (the DGB) which includes a so-called "incompatibility clause," declaring membership in an "anti-Constitutional" group grounds for expulsion from the unions. This is the Social Democratic DGB leadership's equivalent of the government *Berufsverbot* forbidding "radicals" to hold civil service jobs. While the federation and the national teachers union (GEW) have already adopted the new constitution, it failed to receive the requisite majority in the West Berlin teachers local because of the McCarthyite provision.

The national GEW, headed by Erich Frister, threatened mass expulsion of teachers opposing the anti-"red" clause and obtained a two-thirds majority for the constitution in Berlin earlier in the summer. However, some dissidents in the local (which includes many former New Left students who became teachers upon graduation) responded by dragging the GEW into the courts. Their suit—based on objections to another provision of the new constitution restricting local autonomy—asked the judges to rule that a three-fourths majority would be required to modify the old local structure. Surprisingly the court upheld their challenge.

Smarting from this check, the GEW national leadership threatened the local with expulsion from the union and a special office was set up at DGB headquarters in Bonn as a rallying point for establishing a new, "loyal" West Berlin local. However, despite heavy bureaucratic intimidation, the second ratification meeting (on August 25) failed, though just barely, to muster a three-quarters majority for the constitution. Of the 417 delegates present, 301 were in favor and 109 opposed. The union leaders responded with a motion



Bonn demonstration denouncing government laws banning radicals from civil service jobs.

asserting that a minority was preventing the local from remaining in the national GEW and DGB. It accused "trouble-makers" of "splitting this organization."

While threatening to expel the entire local by October 1, Frister proceeded to set up a competing Berlin "GEW in the DGB" which teachers are being encouraged to join. The DGB bureaucracy joined in the witchhunting clamor with an article in the paper of the powerful metal workers union blasting the "chaotic" August 25 meeting:

"The result was a confusing number of amendments and never-ending debates on points of order. This confusion certainly furthered the strategy of the opponents of the new constitution. They talked inanely of democracy and the rank and file, of solidarity and class struggle, while really meaning the destruction of unity with the DGB."
—*Metall* No. 18/1976

While the bourgeois *Spandauer Volkszeitung* was asking how long "friends of extremists" would be allowed to instruct the children of good German citizens, the metal union bureaucrats egged on the purge spirit with a display of naked anti-communism:

"It is frightening to think that the 27.8 percent of nay-voters could represent an equally large proportion of the teachers in the Berlin schools. What is being unleashed on our children and youth there must lead us to fear for our democracy."

The Berlin GEW paper contributed its "democratic" cover for the barrage by terming the dissident teachers "left Nazis."

Once again, Frister's attempt to set up a "loyal" Berlin organization (which so far has attracted only about 1,500 members from the 13,000-strong old local) hit a snag when a second court suit by the dissidents resulted in a temporary restraining order enjoining the national GEW from proclaiming the Berlin local no longer part of the union or from soliciting members of the local to join the GEW rump section. The old Berlin local, for now, retains the right to collect dues and admit new members, but the national DGB/GEW leadership is appealing the decision.

The battle in the Berlin teachers union could become a focus of resistance to the West German bourgeoisie's many-pronged campaign of repressive legislation. However, the petty-bourgeois radicals' use of the bourgeois courts against the teachers union bureaucracy is a suicidal strategy flatly counterposed to the need for a broad campaign of labor solidarity against the DGB/GEW tops' splitting maneuver.

The struggle against the anti-communist constitution cannot be advanced by calling on the class enemy to intervene into the workers movement.

The dissidents' appeal to the bosses' courts has predictably been exploited by the left-Social Democratic Berlin GEW leadership under Kujawa. An official circular of 12 September laments that "internal trade-union disputes are going to be dragged through all levels of the courts," and Kujawa's position paper for a September 29 delegates meeting labeled opposition to Frister's *Diktat* "the first decisive step towards weakening the union's fighting strength.... We will not attempt to decide whether this accords with the ambitions of many judges."

The Berlin local leadership—which was elected a year and a half ago on a program of opposing the anti-"extremist" constitution!—recommended that as many members as possible join the rump "GEW in the DGB." However, this open capitulation was rejected by the delegates on September 29 and the situation is currently stalemated. While the local is now seeking negotiations with Frister, it is angling for a deal to accept the constitution in exchange for vague promises of more democratic statutes. Meanwhile, yet another court suit has been threatened.

The disorientation of the several ostensibly communist organizations in the battle over the West Berlin teachers union illuminates the lack of revolutionary working-class leadership which has led to the present impasse. The pro-Moscow Stalinists of the SEW (local counterpart to the West German DKP) actually dissolved their caucus in the GEW and cooperated with the Social Democrats in backing the anti-"radical" clause. While they hoped to thereby get rid of left opponents and ingratiate themselves with the bureaucrats, Frister & Co. are returning the favor by preparing to apply the statutes against DKP/SEW supporters as well.

The several Maoist groups naturally have nothing against taking the union to court, and the most "critical" of them, the KB, only demurred that entrusting the legal suit to the two-faced Kujawa local leadership was "not a good idea" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 4 October). In keeping with its virulently pro-NATO, anti-Soviet line, the Peking-loyal KPD's main complaint is that the delegates' resolutions failed to include a condemnation of the oppression of teachers in

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On the 20th Anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Workers' Revolt:

The First Workers Political Revolution Against Stalinism



Budapest, 23 October 1956: The working masses rise up to topple the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Speaker: CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor of *Young Spartacus*

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, October 23 at 7:30 p.m.
Lehman Auditorium, Altschul Hall
Barnard College

For more information call: 925-2426

Vicious Attack on SL/ANZ, SWP in Australia

Protest Healyite Thuggery!

SYDNEY, October 18—A rampage of thuggery by the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) here yesterday left supporters of the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) seriously injured. Under direct supervision of SLL national secretary Jim Mulgrew, the Healyite goons launched two brutal premeditated assaults outside a "public" SLL forum at the Sydney Trades Hall. The Spartacist supporters were selling literature and protesting the Healyites' exclusionist practices, while SWPers were distributing a statement in reply to the Healyites' slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novack. Several SL and SWP members were bruised and bloodied, and one SWPer required hospital treatment after numerous punches and kicks to the head and body.

Healyite gangsterism is no news to the workers movement. But yesterday's attacks indicated a deliberate attempt to maim members—and in particular leading members—of opponent tendencies.

No sooner had the Spartacists approached the Trades Hall than SLL honcho Mulgrew began threatening an *Australasian Spartacist* photographer. The reason for Mulgrew's concern with photographs became clear an instant later as, with SWPers looking on, he directed several of his thugs to jump SL national chairman Bill Logan, shrieking "get Logan, get Logan!" SLers who sprang to their comrade's defense were slugged and pummeled, one receiving a bloody nose.

Unable to dislodge the SLers without exposing the seamy side of Healyism before untutored SLL ranks and others

coming into the hall, Mulgrew pulled his hoodlums back, restricting them to personal and sexist insults, threats, physical harassments and provocations against the SLers and SWPers who were still arriving.

But when the bulk of their youth had been shepherded inside, the Healyite goons shoved and jostled a SWP supporter handing out material to people going in. Mulgrew and his hooligans then surrounded a leading SWPer, John Percy, who was attempting to photograph the incident. After smacking him on the face, they proceeded to indiscriminately assault SL and SWP supporters coming to his defense. As Mulgrew retreated to safety, the goons launched a barrage of kicking and punching in the middle of the street. One SLer received a severe blow to the head and SWP youth leader David Deutchmann, who had vigorously protested the earlier assault on the SL, was singled out by the enraged Healyites who punched him to the ground and continued to stomp and kick him as he lay.

Healyite gangsterism against the Trotskyist criticism of the SL has a long history. SL/ANZ supporters were subjected to a similar, though less brutal, attack at the same site a year ago when Healy himself came to Sydney on a speaking tour. But with the initiation of their international slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novack—which has driven the Healyites further into self-imposed disrepute and paranoid insularity—their thuggery has become more frequent. At a May Day march in Sydney this year the Healyites not only kept Spartacist literature a "safe" distance from their closely guarded contingent (going so far as to call on the cops to

prevent an SL supporter from distributing leaflets), but they even accosted a salesman of the *Socialist*, paper of the ossified, ultra-reformist pro-Moscow Stalinists. This was followed by a series of incidents with salesmen of other left papers.

In July a gang of Healyites disrupted a forum in Sydney by American SWP vice-presidential hopeful Willie Mae Reid. The SLLers, shouting and waving their "indictments" of Hansen and Novack during the discussion period, prevented Reid from speaking. The reformist SWP used the incident to ban the SLL from attending all SWP public forums. The SWP has had a long-standing ban against allowing Spartacist supporters at forums as well, thus displaying that its main concern is the suppression of left criticism of its rotten politics.

The Spartacist tendency has from the start taken an active principled stand in combatting the Healyite slander campaign against Hansen and Novack and in defending the SWP against SLL disruptions and physical attacks. This is more than can be said for the SWP's Australian partner in the "United" Secretariat (Usec), the crumbling Mandeliste Communist League (CL). While Bill Logan on behalf of the SL/ANZ signed the American SWP-initiated statement against the slanders, the CL was conspicuously absent from the list of Australian signatories. In fact it has bolstered the Healyite campaign by supporting their demand for an "inquiry" into the bizarre charges—an act not entirely unconnected with a certain parallelism between the SLL's slogans and appetites toward militant Labourism and those of the CL.

The Healyites' paranoid concern with police infiltration in the workers

movement—the ostensible justification for the frenzied campaign to slander Hansen and Novack as "accomplices" in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky—is exposed as hollow by their own practice. Their willful provocation of thug violence opens up the workers movement to repression by the cops at any time. The short step between this Stalinist gangsterism and calling upon the cops to suppress leftist opponents is one which the Healyite political bandits made a decade ago. From the beating of Usec supporter Ernest Tate in 1966, and the subsequent appeal to the bourgeoisie's courts against Tate, to the present day the Healyites have repeatedly invoked the capitalist cops and courts against left-wing opponents. Yesterday Mulgrew boasted, "If the police come, we'll get them to arrest you all."

"Cop"-baiting slander and gangster violence are deliberately employed by the Healy tendency as obstacles to debate and political clarification within the workers movement. Open political debate would expose, for example, the SLL's adaptation to the protectionist hysteria sweeping the Australian shipbuilding industry, threatened by overseas competition (the SLL has failed to criticize the chauvinist character of Australian shipyard workers' occupation of Japanese ships, even though an SLL supporter is shop steward in one of the yards most active in the occupations). It would expose the SLL's consistent catering to social-democratic illusions through its campaign to "Force the Liberals to Resign."

We can assure Mulgrew, Healy and their gang of one thing: their gangster tactics will not prevent their exposure in the course of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

SYL Protests Imperialist Award to Junta Braintruster Friedman

CHICAGO—On Thursday, October 14, Milton Friedman, notorious reactionary economist and adviser to the Chilean junta, was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. Friedman, who retires this year from the University of Chicago (UC), will receive \$150,000 and a medal from the Academy. But from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which for the past 12 months has been mercifully exposing and protesting Friedman's support to bloodthirsty rightist dictatorships, he got another picket line.

A previously scheduled talk by Friedman on "Capitalism and Jews" the next day at UC became a *de facto* celebration of his "triumph." While the student newspaper, *The Maroon*, brayed "A Nobel well deserved," the SYL, youth section of the Spartacist League, organized on short notice a demonstration against Friedman and his newly acquired imperialist Nobel laurels.

About 15 SYL supporters and independents, together with two members of the New World Resource Center (a

"Third World"-oriented New Left group), picketed Friedman's talk. The SYL carried placards reading: "Friedman's 'Achievement': Starvation in Chile!," "Imperialist Award = International Bourgeois Support for Junta," "Smash the Junta Through Workers Revolution," and, on the subject of Friedman's talk, "Capitalism Breeds Anti-Semitism." SYLers and independents also carried slogans against white supremacy in South Africa and Rhodesia (Friedman used his *Newsweek* column to voice praise for the Vorster and Smith governments after an April visit to Africa).

"One of the 'achievements' listed by the Nobel committee when they gave Friedman the prize," said an SYL speaker at the demonstration, "was 'his demonstration of the complexity of stabilization policy.' While Friedman enjoys his fancy lunch, Nobel medal and \$150,000, hundreds of thousands of Chilean workers and their children are feeling the effects of Friedman's 'shock treatment,' which was supposedly designed to 'stabilize the Chilean economy.' This imperialist prize to Friedman



WV Photo
Protest rally at University of Chicago, in October 1975, against the collaboration of Friedman and Harberger with the bloody Chilean junta.

is an insult and a provocation to the international working class! Today in Chile thousands of working-class children are suffering brain damage because, to quote the *New York Times* [20 September 1975], Friedman's shock treatment has produced a situation in which 'Malnutrition Is the Rule in Santiago Shantytowns.' Friedman himself disingenuously disclaims responsibility for the junta's economic policies, saying he was in Chile only a few days, but the junta, which has always bragged about the fact that its economic strategy was worked out by Friedman's students, the so-called Chicago boys, not surprisingly expressed its profound satisfaction at the

award.

An Associated Press dispatch from Stockholm (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 October) reports that Friedman's award "was met by angry protests from Swedish leftists who accused Friedman of 'assisting the Chilean junta by drawing the lines of its economic policy.'" Even some of the economists on the selection board reportedly objected to the award, as have Nobel laureates George Wald, Salvatore Luria and Linus Pauling. The SYL's year-old campaign exposing and denouncing Friedman's Pinochet connection has contributed greatly to the present international notoriety of Friedman's crimes in Chile. ■

Why Orlando Letelier Was Murdered

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile

I

On 21 September 1976 Orlando Letelier was assassinated. The Chilean Socialist Party (PS) leader was killed by the explosion of a bomb which had been placed by criminal hands in his automobile, parked by chance on a Washington, D.C., street near the Chilean embassy.

It is not necessary to dig very deeply to identify the authors of this heinous murder—there is no doubt that they are the agents of the notorious DINA, Pinochet's secret police. It is equally obvious that the DINA could not act openly in the very heart of the imperial capital without the close collaboration of the CIA. Moreover, there were already serious indications of such collaboration in the unofficial August 1975 visit to Washington by Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (head of the DINA). The White House has refused to authorize a Congressional investigation into this visit.

If it is indeed well-known who directed the murderer's hand, we must look for the motives behind the executioner's murderous decision. Letelier's assassination cannot be separated from the death of Carlos Prats—the general who refused to back the coup of 11 September 1973—nor from the attack



Orlando Letelier

perpetrated against Bernardo Leighton, a leader of the Christian Democratic Party.

To understand the motives which inspired this cowardly assault it is necessary to point out certain aspects of Letelier's political career. He was a member of the Socialist Party, and following Allende's assumption of the presidency Letelier was named ambassador to the United States, in 1973 becoming minister of foreign relations. Inside the PS he belonged to the circle of colleagues of the "compañero presidente," as well as being a personal friend of his. After Pinochet's coup d'état he was imprisoned, and later went into exile in the U.S. Finally, as a result of his stay in the U.S., he had important ties with prominent individuals in U.S. politics.

Given his prestige, his past and his political positions, Letelier represented a key figure in a possible bloc between the popular front in exile (UP—Popular Unity) together with the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and the Christian Democracy, aimed at replacing the military junta.

II

Before the coup d'état of 11 September 1973 the OTR (Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria) had

already characterized the UP government as a popular front, that is, a front of class collaboration between workers parties—the Communist Party (PC) and the PS—and the parties of the bourgeoisie—Radical Party (PR), Social Democratic Party (PSD), Independent Political Alliance (API)—with the MIR as its left appendage. The international Spartacist tendency also wrote:

"Allende's UP government is the product of an electoral coalition of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Radical Party (Chile's classic party of the liberal bourgeoisie) and several minor petty-bourgeois parties (the MAPU, the API, the PSD). It is a classical popular front that is, a coalition of workers' parties and 'progressive' bourgeois parties."
WT No. 14, December 1972

It was precisely this policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie which led to the hideous massacre of the working class that took place with the military coup and the bloody repression which followed. The fundamental objective of the Pinochet government was not to simply overthrow Allende but rather to destroy the workers movement, both trade unions and parties.

Today the military junta has practically fulfilled its objective—the proletariat has been defeated, decimated, imprisoned; the workers parties have virtually disappeared, their leaders arrested, murdered or deported; signs of trade-union activity are minimal and sporadic; and even the Christian Democracy, a fervent supporter of the coup, has been gravely threatened. Nevertheless, the Pinochet regime remains shaky, without a solid base of social support.

Faced with this panorama, those responsible for the defeat have reorganized the popular front in exile—what Trotsky, the commander of the Red Army, termed "the worst of all popular fronts"—the so-called "anti-fascist front" of the UP plus the MIR, which, worse yet, struggles dauntlessly to include the Christian Democrats in its ranks. About this the UP states:

"The popular and democratic alliance which is needed today is much broader politically, socially and ideologically than the Popular Unity... In this new patriotic, revolutionary and libertarian enterprise, there is an active role for the Christian masses alongside the other people's organizations. They have a place in the present and future struggle to overturn the junta and establish a new society."
—from the "Berlin Agreement,"
27 July 1975

And the MIR adds: "...the motion of the democratic petty bourgeoisie away from Freism [Eduardo Frei was the Christian Democratic president of Chile during 1964-70] and its evolution toward more consistent anti-dictatorial positions open a wide field for its rapprochement with the left and the revolutionaries" (from *El Rebelde en la clandestinidad*, July 1976).

The appetites of the bureaucratic leaderships of the PC, PS, MIR and MAPU for a broader popular front appear to be neither greatly exaggerated nor utopian if we observe what Frei himself affirms: "Nor do we believe that the democratic reconstruction of Chile will be the task of one party because we clearly understand—and have already stated—that this requires the widest consensus of Chileans, which goes much further than a political conglomerate" (from E. Frei, *Esta es mi respuesta*, December 1975).

We must state clearly that there are sections of the Chilean bourgeoisie and even of Yankee imperialism which would like to alter the disastrous

economic policies of the junta and replace its hideous external image. But one must also note that Chile is not isolated, and that in neighboring Argentina in particular, the policy of promoting a bourgeois "alternative" to military rule—which permitted Perón's return to power—resulted in calamity.

III

The UP and the MIR, as well as the Christian Democrats, agree on the necessity of replacing the junta with a government representing "the majority." Within this perspective and the

his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face."
—"The Only Road," 14 September 1932

Pinochet could say to the Chilean bourgeoisie: "You imbeciles couldn't halt the advance of the workers movement, and now you're trying to oppose me. If I have to, I'll strike back at you (Sr. Frei and the church) to defend your own interests."

We revolutionary Marxists, Chilean Trotskyists, energetically condemn the savage murder of Orlando Letelier, member of a workers party, but we must



Washington Post

Letelier's car after bomb exploded near Chilean embassy, September 21.

development of a possible rapprochement, Letelier played an important role. This was the principal reason that he was savagely assassinated. This deed once more traces in blood and fire the bonapartist character of Pinochet's government. In a reference to bonapartism, Trotsky wrote:

"Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That is precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, rubs

also make it clear that Letelier's road is not ours. Our road—the path of Luis Emilio Recabarren [founder of the Chilean Communist Party]—is the only one which the proletariat and impoverished masses of Chile and Latin America can follow to socialism, to the seizure of power by the proletariat led by its vanguard party.

Today in Chile that party does not exist, and its absence reflects the historic crisis of revolutionary proletarian leadership. Such a party must be irreconcilably opposed to every sort of bourgeois dictatorship, from the classic bourgeois government of Frei through Allende's popular front to the bonapartist dictatorship of Pinochet, and every other form of capitalist alternative.

Our policy is: no confidence in the bourgeoisie, no subordination of the interests of the working class to its class enemy! In defense of the historic interests of the proletariat we will not hesitate to give military support to a bourgeois government threatened by a rightist coup which seeks to annihilate the workers organizations.

The way to defend the exploited and oppressed is to mobilize the working class for revolutionary struggle against not only the junta but capitalism itself. In this struggle the tactic of the united front enables us to strike a common blow against the enemy as well as helping to divide the worker ranks of the reformist parties from their bureaucratic misleaders. If workers who are members of the PC, PS or even of the Christian Democrats show their willingness to join in defending the factories and the conquests of proletarian struggle, we will tell them: "Fight by our side and you will see that only a revolutionary workers party can break the chains of exploitation and death which bind those enslaved by capital."

Down with the Junta's Bloody Repression! For the Construction of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party! Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile
6 October 1976

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Free Kani and Ntshona!

Anti-Apartheid Black Actors Jailed on Bantustan

"I must tell you, friend... when a car passes or the wind blows up the dust, Ciskeian independence makes you cough. I'm telling you, friend... put a man in a pondok and call that independence? My good friend, let me tell you... Ciskeian independence is shit!"

—"Sizwe Bansi Is Dead," devised by Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona

John Kani and Winston Ntshona, the two internationally celebrated black South African actors/writers, were jailed in the Bantustan of Transkei after a performance of their play, *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead*, on October 7. Chief Kaiser Mantanzima, who will be prime minister when the Transkei "independence" fraud is officialized October 26, made it abundantly clear why the two were arrested, saying: "it is highly irresponsible for any person to come and tell the people of the Transkei that independence will bring bloodshed in its wake" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 14 October).

His brother, Transkei justice minister George Mantanzima, is holding the two until they "satisfactorily answer questions" about their performance, which the minister found "vulgar, abusive and highly inflammatory." But Kani and Ntshona have not given the tribal chiefs the words they want, choosing jail rather than giving their approval to a cruel scheme to further emiserate and enslave the black population of South Africa.

The play, which is performed as "workshop theater," leaves plenty of room for the actors to improvise on the



New York Times

John Kani, left, and Winston Ntshona

theme of Transkei "independence," which the performers condemn from the stage. *Sizwe* makes a powerful statement against the entire apartheid system. Written by South African white playwright Athol Fugard, it throws a brilliant spotlight on the degrading, racist pass system, focusing on a black man who must adopt the persona of the dead Sizwe Bansi in order to get the pass necessary to work (see excerpt printed on this page).

South African officials have condemned the sharply anti-apartheid plays of Fugard, Kani and Ntshona, and since the outbreak of anti-apartheid revolts four months ago have banned their performance in black townships.

Kani and Ntshona have also, unfortunately, been the targets of criticism by the African National Congress (ANC) for their stand against the ANC call for "a complete, total economic, athletic, and cultural boycott of South Africa" (*Daily World*, 16 October). The reactionary-utopian content of the "complete, total" boycott becomes immediately clear in this case. It is in fact *urgent* that plays attacking the Bantustan hoax be performed in the Bantustans themselves, as *Sizwe* was to packed crowds in the Transkei capital of Umtata.

It is not only a good thing that anti-apartheid plays be performed on Broadway, where *Sizwe* (along with another of their plays, *The Island*) won "Tony" awards last year. They must also be performed before the victims of apartheid who are systematically deprived of cultural (or any other) means of expressing outrage at their condition. For their

continued on page 10

Sizwe Bansi is Dead

by Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona

(AN EXCERPT)

Buntu. Let me see your book? Shit! You know what this is? [*The stamp.*]

Man. I can't read.

Buntu. Listen ... [*reads.*] 'You are required to report to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, King William's Town, within three days of the above-mentioned date for the...' You should have been home yesterday!... 'for the purpose of repatriation to home district.' Influx Control. You're in trouble, Sizwe.

Man. I don't want to leave Port Elizabeth.

Buntu. Maybe. But if that book says go, you go.

Man. Can't I maybe burn this book and get a new one?

Buntu. Burn that book? Stop kidding yourself, Sizwe! Anyway suppose you do. You must immediately go apply for a new one. Right? And until that new one comes, be careful the police don't stop you and ask for your book. Into the Courtroom, brother. Charge: Failing to produce Reference Book on Demand. Five rand or five days. Finally the new book comes. Down to the Labour Bureau for a stamp ... it's got to be endorsed with permission to be in this area. White man at the Labour Bureau takes the book, looks at it—doesn't look at you!—goes to the big machine and feeds in your number ... card jumps out, he reads: 'Sizwe Bansi. Endorsed to King William's Town...' Takes your book, fetches that same stamp, and in it goes again. So you burn that book, or throw it away, and get another one. Same thing happens. 'Sizwe Bansi. Endorsed to King William's Town...' Stamp goes in the third time.... But this time it's also into a van and off to the Native Commissioner's Office; card around your neck with your number on it; escort on both sides and back to King William's Town. They make you pay for the train fare too!

Man. I think I will try to look for some jobs in the garden....

Buntu. ...Do you know any white man who's prepared to give you a job?

Man. No. I don't know any white man.

Buntu. Pity. We might have been able to work something then. You talk to the white man, you see, and ask him to write a letter saying he's got a job for you. You take that letter from the white man and go back to King William's Town, where you show it to the Native Commissioner there. The Native Commissioner in King William's Town reads that letter from the white man in Port Elizabeth who is ready to give you the job. He then writes a letter back to the Native Commissioner in Port Elizabeth. So you come back here with the two letters. Then the Native Commissioner in Port Elizabeth reads the letter from the Native Commissioner in King William's Town together with the first letter from the white man who is prepared to give you a job, and he says when he reads the letters: Ah yes, this man Sizwe Bansi can get a job. So the Native Commissioner in Port Elizabeth then writes a letter which you take with the letters from the Native Commissioner in King William's Town and the white man in Port Elizabeth, to the Senior Officer at the Labour Bureau, who reads all the letters. Then he will put the right stamp in your book and give you another letter from himself which together with the letters from the white man and the two Native Affairs Commissioners, you take to the Administration Office here in New Brighton and make an application for Residence Permit, so that you don't fall victim of raids again. Simple.

Man. Maybe I can start a little business selling potatoes and....

W. Berlin...

(continued from page 4)

"social-imperialist" East Germany!

Unlike its fraternal organization in the U.S. (the SWP), which has no compunctions about suing the unions in the capitalist courts, the ostensibly Trotskyist GIM (German section of the "United" Secretariat) claims to oppose legal action against the GEW. However, as the KB gleefully points out, the GIM grants that a suit would be "discussable" if Frister actually expels the Berlin teachers local and seizes its treasury. And the Spartacusbund, which likewise formally opposes the court suit, makes a mockery of trade-union rights by demanding that GEW meetings be "open to the public" so that they can be stacked by non-union members. Only the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (ILD German section of the international Spartacist tendency) consistently opposes bringing the bourgeois state into the internal affairs of the labor movement while vigorously opposing anti-communism in the unions.

While defeatist sentiments must be fought, there is also a real danger of

isolated adventurist tactical moves, and particularly proposals to forget about the GEW/DGB and "go it alone." The Maoist KPD, which has managed to get a good number of its supporters sacked from the labor movement by stupidly counterposing its "Red Trade-Union Oppositions" (RGO's) to the DGB unions, is already looking in this direction. The disastrous consequences of such a policy can be seen by looking back to the Stalinized KPD's policy in the early 1930's of turning its RGO's into isolated "red unions": as a result the mass unions were left entirely in the hands of the Social Democrats.

With the majority of the Berlin teachers resisting Frister's threats to liquidate their local, the situation of the local is far from hopeless. The ranks must be mobilized to wage a broad campaign throughout the national GEW and DGB against the bureaucratic purge, the anti-"red" constitution and the government *Berufsverbot*. Under a resolute class-struggle leadership, such a campaign could turn the West Berlin GEW into a spearhead of working-class resistance to the Social Democratic traitors' reactionary campaign to intimidate and discipline the labor movement on behalf of the bourgeoisie. ■

PDC TELEGRAM

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South Africa Embassy

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Washington, D.C. 20008

Actors/writers John Kani and Winston Ntshona were detained for their criticism of Transkei "independence." This very arrest dramatically exposes the cruel hoax of this "independence," since South Africa's police-state measures against opponents of apartheid continue to be applied.

But the obvious truth about the brutal reality of retribalization cannot be gagged in the jails of South Africa. The responsibility for this outrage lies with the racist regime of Vorster and his quisling tribal chieftains in the Transkei, in their attempt to silence the growing outcry against the apartheid system and its miserable Bantustans.

Free Kani and Ntshona! Free the thousands of imprisoned fighters against apartheid repression!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

No to Transkei "Independence"— For Workers Revolution in South Africa! Down with Vorster's Bantustans!

On October 26, South Africa's white supremacist rulers will confer "independence" on the Transkei Bantustan, creating a puppet state based on a non-existent nation. The total bankruptcy of the apartheid system which spawned the Bantustans was exposed this week when South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster hailed the coming of "absolute independence" of the Transkei and then assured his interviewer that white South African rulers would never cede power to the black majority (*New York Times*, 19 October).

A coterie of quisling chiefs headed by Kaiser Matanzima will oversee a depleted rural economy which imports 80 percent of its food and whose only significant export is black labor; direct a civil service dominated at the top by white South Africans; administer a budget of which 70 percent is allocated directly by Pretoria; and command a minuscule army, whose major function is to provide the ceremonial backdrop

them into aliens in "white South Africa." The architects of apartheid, thus, simultaneously create their show-piece of "separate development" and legally codify the ruling Nationalist Party's claims that blacks are merely "temporary sojourners" (despite their essential economic role) in white areas.

With consummate hypocrisy, the butchers of Soweto now present themselves as the liberators of the "Xhosa nation." South African prime minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster proclaims that Transkeian "independence" signifies his government's recognition of "the claims of various Black peoples to the territorial areas chosen by themselves as their own where they could establish their own nationhood according to their own cultures and standards" (*Africa*, October 1976).

Such claptrap is belied by the fact that these "homelands" exist primarily as reservoirs of cheap black labor. They were not carved out by national independence struggles of the Xhosas, Tswanas, Zulus, etc. Rather they are the product of the economic needs and racist ideology of the apartheid system. The tribal and language groups on which "separate development" is ostensibly based are not nations or even nationalities; they are to a large degree vestiges of the past as an increasingly united non-white South African proletariat is forged in the mammoth, jumbled urban labor compounds of the mining and industrial areas.

It is above all in a vain attempt to prevent this 5-million strong proletariat from becoming conscious of its identity and historic class interests that Vorster and his predecessors have carried out a deliberate policy of *retribalization*. Although the apartheid regime is doing its best to use Transkei "independence" to advertise the supposedly humanitarian aims of its Bantustan policy, the bankruptcy of the whole enterprise is sealed by the powerful urban black and "coloured" (mulatto) rebellions, uniting workers and youth of all tribes and oppressed ethnic groups, which have swept South Africa since mid-June.

Glorified Concentration Camps

In the first place, the so-called "homelands" are nothing but hellholes of concentrated poverty. Overpopulation of depleted farm land, lack of agricultural capital and industry and primitive forms of cultivation ensure that these "tribal homelands" (a mere 13 percent of total South African territory) could never sustain the entire African population. And in fact the actual population of the Transkei and other Bantustans consists overwhelmingly of women, children and old people. The majority of adult males are absent on months-long labor contracts, toiling in white-owned factories, mines and farms.

The bulk of the Bantustan population scratch out a wretched existence on the land or live on meager government rations in the "resettlement locations." Last year, only 47,500 Africans were working for wages in the Transkei, roughly half of them on the public payroll. Indeed, the rapid expansion of petty officialdom to provide patronage jobs for Matanzima's supporters is the major concrete accomplishment of more than a decade of "separate development."

While 257,000 blacks from the Trans-



Bantustan hut

Southern Africa

kei worked as migrant laborers in the white areas, the impoverished multitudes on the Bantustans were increased by the continued forcible removal of "non-productive" blacks from the white areas and resettlement in their so-called "tribal homelands." Cosmas Desmond has estimated that half a million Xhosas had been "repatriated" to the Transkei (*The Discarded People*, 1971).

This year the Institute of Race Relations estimated that over the past two decades a total of 6 million Africans, a third of the entire black population, have been thrown out of their homes and resettled by the government (*New York Times*, 16 September). Desmond described the living hell that awaits them:

"Occasional reports reach the outside world of the desperate economic plight in the Transkei: queues of unemployed outside the labour bureaux; half the maize crop failed in 1969 and 1970; 20 per cent of the cattle died from drought in 1969; 40,000 infants died of malnutrition in 1967; an epidemic of tuberculosis affecting a fifth of the population in 1968...."

Yet this backwater of human misery and squalor is Pretoria's "showcase." Millions of dollars are spent annually in a slick international public relations attempt to foist off Bantustan "independence" as evidence that winds of change are sweeping South Africa.

As the second largest Bantustan and the only one with a contiguous territory and significant coastline, the Transkei has certain relative advantages. Consequently, the Nationalists have developed its puppet political institutions at a more rapid pace and with greater fan-

fare than in the other "homelands." The Xhosa Development Corporation and Border Industries Program are touted around the world even though they have developed no more than 8,000 manufacturing jobs for the Transkei in the past decade.

A History of Oppression

The development of the Bantustans out of what were originally called "native reserves" (established by the political representatives of the "liberal" English-speaking bourgeoisie) has been inextricably linked with the subjugation of the Africans. The last war against the Xhosa was fought in 1879 after which the Transkei (area beyond the Kei River) was annexed by the British administration of the Cape Province. The British colonial authorities and, after 1910, successive governments of the Union of South Africa viewed the tribal leaders as potential foci of resistance and for decades sought to undermine their power through direct magisterial rule over the conquered African peoples.

But the 1948 election victory of the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party radically altered the forms of white supremacist rule. By then the tribal chiefs were hardly a threat. Moreover, the Nationalists were committed to fostering apartheid (literally "apartness") in every sphere of South African society and to ideologically justifying racist rule by demonstrating that the "Bantu nations" were backward and unassimilable. Toward that end, the new government began a policy of propping up the authority of chiefs in the "tribal homelands" while attempting to reverse the urbanization and detribalization of African workers.

Against a rising tide of African nationalism demanding majority rule in South Africa, the Nationalists proclaimed a highly circumscribed "self-government" based on tribal chieftainship in the reserves. The chiefs were put on government salary. Their traditional control over the distribution of communal land and cattle was reinforced. "Bantu education" concretized the policy of fostering tribal divisions by replacing the predominantly English-speaking mission schools with "mother tongue instruction" in government schools. At the same time, the last vestige of black political rights—the



Kaiser Matanzima

Sechaba

for the conferring of "independence." Even the Gestapo-like South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) will continue to operate in the Transkei, under nominal control of the new government.

This bogus state is the culmination of the "separate development of tribal homelands" policy with which the Nationalist Party rulers attempt to legitimize white supremacy, the super-exploitation and political disfranchisement of South Africa's black majority. Not only the 1.3 million Xhosa-speaking inhabitants of the Transkei will become citizens of this phony state on October 26. Pretoria also designates another 1.5 million blacks who permanently live and work outside the Bantustan as Transkeian Xhosas and with a single stroke of the pen will turn

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"Third World" Cheerleaders Hold "Che" Memorial

NEW YORK, October 9—A memorial meeting tonight in honor of "Che" Guevara on the ninth anniversary of his vicious assassination by CIA and Bolivian *gorila* butchers drew together the mainstream "Third World" left and their U.S. cheerleaders. Although billed as a spectacular multi-media event—with six speakers, two guitarists, one film and an intermission—many in the audience of 400 drifted away as the orators droned on in empty praise of El Comandante.

The only remotely political speech

was that of Irwin Silber, long-time "independent" Stalinoid radical and editor of the *Guardian*. In the course of a homage to Che resembling a funeral oration, Silber managed to subtly knife his erstwhile Maoist allies (if Che were alive today he would have been fighting for the MPLA in Angola) and to lambaste the "modern opportunist" Communist Party for its policies of a "peaceful road to socialism." Ironically, directly behind Silber was a huge poster of Salvador Allende, whose ill-fated Popular Unity coalition was the very

embodiment of the "peaceful road" strategy.

The meeting reflected the political shift of the *Guardian* over the last year. Whereas 12 months ago Silber could have been addressing one of the perennial Maoist town meetings for a "Marxist-Leninist" party, his radical/liberal readership could no longer stomach the Washington/Peking axis when it joined with white supremacist South Africa during the proxy war over Angola. Yet, although Silber has now taken to "comradely" dissent from China's open

alliance with U.S. imperialism, it simply means that today he remains silent about Havana's political support to anti-working-class military juntas in Panama and Peru, not to mention Castro's suppression of communist oppositionists in Cuba itself.

Since there was no provision for discussion by the audience, the only challenge to all forms of Stalinism—whether Brezhnevite, Maoist or Castroist/Guevarist—at the meeting was a Spartacist League leaflet printed below.

"Che" Guevara's Legacy

Guerrillaism: The Politics of Petty-Bourgeois Despair

The career of Ernesto "Che" Guevara displayed profound contradictions. A personally heroic fighter against reactionary *gorila* (militarist) dictatorships, he also propounded the anti-Marxist theory that a few brave individuals taking up guns against imperialism would be sufficient to spark revolution. The *foco* (guerrilla band) could topple the precarious oligarchic regimes, he believed, catapulting the guerrillas to the seat of state power, "just like in Cuba."

Militant fighters against imperialism will not forget Guevara's valor, but the first duty of a Marxist vanguard is to warn that Che's theory of guerrillaism was a program for defeat, born of petty-bourgeois despair. It led not only to his own tragic assassination at the hands of Bolivian colonels and their CIA advisers, but to the disorientation of a generation of brave fighters against social injustice who followed his mistaken path.

Fidel Castro and Che Guevara began as left nationalists who succeeded in overthrowing the rotten-ripe Batista regime and, faced with the hostility of U.S. imperialism, were forced to establish a deformed workers state with themselves at the head of a Stalinist ruling bureaucracy. For a time they criticized the timidity of the pro-Moscow Communist parties and their bogus "peaceful road." It was this that attracted militant youth to Castroism/Guevarism.

There are some disillusioned ex-Guevarists who see a right turn in Castro's recent foreign policies: his support for the virulently anti-working-class "revolutionary" junta in Peru; his support for the Peronist regime which gave rise to the infamous AAA anti-communist death squads; and his backing for the tin-pot dictator Torrijos who jails students fighting to defend the workers' living standards. But in reality, Castroism/Guevarism never went beyond a Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution, which is and always has been the justification for support to "left"-talking populist demagogues—from Che's decoration of the latifundista Goulart in Brazil (1962) to Castro's accolades for General Torrijos in Panama today.

Even the most left-wing Castroite/Guevarist groups, such as the Chilean MIR and Argentine PRT/ERP, have proven themselves unable to provide revolutionary leadership to the working masses. The MIR gave critical support to the class-collaborationist UP coalition in Chile, which lulled workers' vigilance with praise for "constitutional" officers, and the ERP vainly sought a truce with Perón while the latter's gunmen cut down left-wing youth.

While in no way relinquishing our Marxist opposition to guerrillaism, we recognize that among the ranks of the Guevarists are many sincere fighters from whom may be drawn future leaders of proletarian revolution in Latin America. That is why the Spartacist tendency took the lead in launching an international campaign on behalf of MIR leaders Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero while Stalinist-led Chile committees and USLA focused on more "respectable" prisoners of the Chilean junta.

Recently, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) mobilized a successful international defense campaign for Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz, eventually obtaining safe conduct for the persecuted trade unionists from Argentina to Europe. Following this blow against the rightist repression of

the Pinochet and Videla juntas, we continue to fight for the freedom of Henrique, Garrido, Asmay, Crus, Flores and Tapia—Chilean militants and compañeros of Muñoz who are still trapped in Argentina.

But in addition to championing anti-sectarian class-struggle defense, the Spartacist League warns of the dangers of guerrillaism, which the sponsors of tonight's meeting support. Unlike the reformist Communist Party, we do not criticize guerrillaism because it stands in the way of alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie; unlike the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party we do not oppose guerrilla war because it will offend liberal pacifists and scare off Democratic Congressmen from its "single-issue" mini-popular fronts.

No, Marxists opposed guerrillaism precisely because it is a petty-bourgeois strategy, based on the peasantry or militant youth—and *not on mobilizing the working class*, which *alone* can smash all the capitalists, "progressive" and otherwise—and because it has squandered the lives of hundreds of militants seeking the road of revolution. Those who wish to understand the Trotskyist position on guerrilla warfare should read the Declaration of Fraternal Relations of the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile, which is being sold here tonight.

Now there are many, some of whom are speaking here, who believe in the best Stalinist tradition that raising political questions and differences in the context of defense efforts is "divisive." A glaring example: at the recent demonstration protesting Letelier's assassination, all banners and signs were forbidden by the Communist Party-led Chile Democrático (except, of course, their own); NICH stood by as the SL was excluded for the "crime" of raising slogans like "Avenge Orlando Letelier."

MASA, in turn, routinely excludes the SL from its demos for carrying banners critical of Peronism, Stalinism, and guerrillaism. And this, even after Isabel Perón handed over the reins of government to the generals so they could more efficiently escalate repression against the workers; after the Argentine Communist Party openly hailed the junta; and after the guerrillaist PRT/ERP greeted the military takeover, bragging with mock bravado, after Videla, us! The *Guardian*, of course, has always tacitly supported Stalinist exclusion of Trotskyists.

As Leninists we know that in the final analysis there is only one sure defense against reactionary terror: seizure of state power by workers soviets, led by a revolutionary party. That is why defense of left-wing militants must proceed hand-in-hand with a political rearming of the working class. It is for this reason that slogans such as "Build Trotskyist Parties in Chile and Argentina" and "Reforge the Fourth International" are not at all superfluous, but are at the very core of the tasks facing proletarian revolutionists.

The lessons of popular-front treachery in Chile, of collaboration with bourgeois populism in Argentina, of the utter failure of Guevarist guerrillaism in Bolivia and elsewhere must be burned into the consciousness of the working class. The Stalinists' bureaucratic exclusionism is aimed at preventing this, to cover their own criminal responsibility through suppressing proletarian democracy. Without the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard the working masses in Latin America will once again fall prey to the bloody hand of reaction.

election of three whites to "represent" Cape Africans in Parliament—was taken away. Pass laws and other forms of influx controls were also tightened.

In 1959 the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill was introduced. It incorporated prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd's concept of consolidating the nearly 200 scattered reserves into a handful (eventually ten) of "tribal homelands," later known as Bantustans.

Heightened regimentation of the African population was met by growing resistance throughout the country. The urban-based African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) launched mass campaigns against the pass laws (culminating in the March 1960 Sharpeville massacre) while peasants in the reserves began to resist the new Bantu Authorities, sometimes killing quisling chiefs or their flunkies.

The new tribal authorities succeeded even in enraging many backward peasants whom Pretoria had expected to support the chiefs. The Transkei Assembly headed by Kaiser Mantanzima since 1963 is armed with all the draconian powers of its white overlords. Indeed since the Pondos' uprising in 1960, the Transkei has been in an official state of emergency, and Mantanzima's henchmen have collaborated with the South African armed forces to smash all opposition to the "separate development" fraud.

The Opposition

The political divisions among the Transkei authorities began in the mid-1950s when Mantanzima, a district chief of Tembuland, was elevated to equal status with the Paramount Chief,

Sabata Dalindyabo. Following passage of the Transkei Constitution Act in 1963, elections were held to fill 45 seats in the newly formed Legislative Assembly (another 64 seats belonged *ex officio* to the chiefs). According to Govan Mbeki, ANC leader and author of *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt*, Sabata stood for "multi-racialism in the Transkei after independence; a bicameral system of government, with an elected lower house and an upper house of Chiefs;... and the development of industries in the Transkei with the participation of White capital."

Mantanzima, on the other hand, hailed Verwoerd as "a friend of the African people," and railed against liberals and communists. Against the tepid liberalism of his opponents, he put forward a program for expanded black control of the Transkei: "continuation

of Chiefs in the legislature; no multi-racialism anywhere; no White capital for industrial development; an all-Black civil service; a Black battalion under the control of the Republic's defense force...."

Although Sabata's supporters won a majority of elected seats, they were a minority among the chiefs and Mantanzima was appointed chief minister. Shortly thereafter, the opposition chiefs joined to form the Democratic Party. Wielding dictatorial powers against his opponents, Chief Minister Mantanzima has prevented this timid parliamentary opposition (operating inside a puppet parliament) from ever becoming a significant force. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party (whose decimated forces recently split) has ties to other traditionalist, Bantustan-based critics

continued on page 10

Black Actors...

(continued from page 7)

courageous choice to perform their work under the trying and dangerous conditions imposed by the vicious Vorster regime. Kani and Ntshona deserve the applause, not the criticism, of foes of apartheid.

A demonstration numbering several hundred participants was organized by Kani and Ntshona's colleagues in the theater industry in front of the South African consulate in New York on October 14. Other protests have been held in London and Paris, and a defense committee for the two actors is being organized here. Actors Equity has sent telegrams protesting the arrests, and the Professional Employees Division of the AFL-CIO passed a resolution demanding their immediate release. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent telegrams to the South African embassy in Washington and the South African Mission to the UN, and encourages readers of *WV* to do likewise. Free Kani and Ntshona! Free all the imprisoned victims of apartheid repression! ■

Woodcock...

(continued from page 3)

tions as precedents to overturn contracts and crush militant oppositionists.

From Ballot-Stuffing to Goon Attacks

There have been several incidents around the Ford strike which make clear that the bureaucracy does not limit itself to juggling votes in the effort to impose its pro-company policies. One case in point concerns the workers at the Rouge power house and oxygen plant, who had been kept on the job during most of the strike. The fact that these and hundreds of other "essential work-

ers" were pouring through the leaky picket lines was a source of anger to union militants and weakened the strike. On October 10, the power house and oxygen plant workers walked out when they discovered that once again they would receive no incentive bonus (unlike other Ford workers involved in steel production).

Workers from this unit told *WV* that they had petitioned Local 600 leaders to allow them to join the picket lines, but their requests were ignored. Local officials including president Mike Rinaldi stated that the bargainers would seek no additional benefits for the unit, nor would there be any union protection against threatened company firings. Two days after the national settlement was ratified the workers bitterly returned to the power house and oxygen plant having won nothing.

Meanwhile, there have been company victimizations at the Dearborn Stamping Plant in the Rouge complex. Five members of the Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF) at the stamping plant were suspended today for alleged participation in an in-plant demonstration on the night the strike began. But instead of mobilizing to defend these victims of a management attack, Rinaldi proposed that a campaign be launched against "reds." He is calling for the formation of a 250-man "flying squad" (i.e., a bureaucratic goon squad) to insure that no "outsiders" distribute literature on union property.

Earlier, at a heated meeting held October 10 at Dodge Truck Local 140, president Nat Gooden clashed with supporters of a resolution that would have put the local on record against the Ford agreement. When the session was adjourned, the bureaucracy's goons surrounded and viciously attacked AWUF members. Reportedly one militant was knocked to the floor and another struck with a chain; two people were sent to the hospital for x-rays. The next day, two other Local 140 members were arrested at the plant when they tried to inform fellow workers of the attack.

The reformist AWUF program is nothing but a slightly more militant version of Woodcock's bargaining "demands." Moreover, its uncritical supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, themselves have a despicable record of attacks and threats against militants from other working-class tendencies. (After RCP attacks at the Fremont, California, GM plant, UAW Local 1364 passed a motion forbidding union members to interfere with sales of labor-socialist groups.) Nevertheless all union militants must defend the AWUF victims of company, cop and UAW thug attacks.

The pro-capitalist Woodcock regime in the UAW knows that it is sitting atop an increasingly restive union membership which could easily explode. However, neither the union-suing ISTC nor the mindless, programless "militancy" of AWUF can replace the gang at Solidarity House with a class-struggle leadership. ■

Vorster's Bantustans...

(continued from page 9)

of apartheid, notably Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of Kwazulu. Hence, it was courted by the ANC/Stalinist forces eager to cement an opportunist political bloc of all sectors opposed, on whatever basis, to the regime and policies of the Nationalist Party.

The liberation of the oppressed non-white masses of South Africa will not be achieved through the sham of Bantustan independence. Nor will it be accomplished under a Stalinist/nationalist leadership which attempts to construct a "national liberation front" politically tailored to attract the Bantustan parliamentary opposition forces, anti-apartheid petty-bourgeois elements in the urban black townships and white, "coloured" and Indian liberals. Lacking

channels for legal opposition and with their leading cadres in exile or prison, the ANC and CP hope to regain their niche as critical supporters of the white opposition bourgeois parties by first ensconcing themselves in unprincipled alliances with self-serving black petty-bourgeois elements.

An alliance between black nationalist petty bourgeoisie in the townships and the anti-apartheid chiefs is already in the making, based on common support to the call by the white bourgeois Progressive Reform Party (PRP) for a national convention of all ethnic groups to draw up a constitution for a multi-racial government. A spectrum of political differences exists between the "one man-one vote" position of the ANC/Stalinist bloc and the PRP's proposed ethnic-geographical federation with a qualified franchise. Yet despite these political differences, there is agreement on the key proposition that the immediate task is to remove the Nationalists from power and replace them with a less blatantly racist bourgeois regime.

The white opposition bourgeois parties increasingly fear that Afrikaner intransigence is paving the way to a racial holocaust and economic collapse. The plebeian revolts that repeatedly convulsed urban black townships in recent months are the clearest manifestation of the profound crisis of the apartheid system. Despite two decades of massive removals of "non-productive" Africans to the Bantustans, the Nationalist Party has manifestly failed in its attempts to reduce the entire black workforce to "temporary sojourners" in the white areas. In fact, as a result of the post-war burgeoning of the manufacturing sector, the urban African population has expanded three-fold to 5.4 million in the past thirty years. If the blacks living in white rural areas and working as migrants are taken into account, it is clear that only a minority of the African population actually lives in their so-called "tribal homelands."

In pushing ahead with Transkeian "independence," Vorster is attempting to salvage some remnant of the "separate development" scheme, hoping to buy off some section of the black population while providing another legal buttress to tighter regimentation of the African workers. But each turn of the screw—increased scrutiny of passes, new repressive laws, loss of even formal South African citizenship—only adds to the boiling rage of the proletarians.

Liberation of the millions of impoverished peasants in the Bantustans requires that the 5-million-strong black proletariat assert its role as leader of the oppressed and undertake a determined struggle against all the forces of reaction, not only the Nationalist Party race-haters but also the "enlightened" English-speaking capitalists and the tribal leaders. This requires the forging of a Trotskyist leadership of the proletariat to link the anti-apartheid democratic demands of the masses with the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government! ■

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NEW YORK

WORKERS VANGUARD

Saxe...

(continued from page 2)

will refuse to testify...." In exchange for pleading guilty to the theft of classified government documents from the Newburyport Arsenal and to a Philadelphia bank robbery (for which she received a two-year sentence and a ten-year sentence to run concurrently), it was agreed that she would not be ordered to disclose information about the "underground" movement from 1969 to the present.

Saxe also made it clear that she would not testify against Katherine Power, another alleged accomplice in the Boston robbery, who is still at large. Her declaration was all the more valiant in the face of the statement made by another feminist under similar circumstances—Jane Alpert. Alpert turned state's evidence against the Weather Underground and other supporters of the so-called "male left" in return for a lighter sentence.

The state's search for Saxe over a period of four and a half years was used as an excuse for the surveillance, infiltration and harassment of a number of feminist organizations. Because she had claimed that she intended "to fight as a lesbian, a feminist, an Amazon," many gay groups were also witchhunted by the government. And it is because she has refused to inform on associates that she is still being persecuted by the authorities.

Susan Saxe deserves the support of all labor militants and socialists for her bold resistance to the naked tyranny of the bourgeois state. The continued trials thrown against her are simply victimization for her courageous stand. We demand: NO MORE TRIALS! FREE SUSAN SAXE NOW! ■

After KKK Terror Attack

Leftists Jailed in Houston

The aftermath of last month's vicious attack on the Prairie Fire Bookstore in Houston by the KKK-front "Veterans for Victory Over Communism" (see *WV* No. 128, 8 October), who boasted they had "come for a shoot-out," once again exposes the treacherous collaboration between the capitalist state (in this instance, the local police) and these fascist scum. In a television interview, one of the thugs spoke of the thanks he had received from cops for helping to detain those inside the store after the shooting. And Thomas West, an attacker who was shot after heaving a huge rock through the storefront window, stated from his hospital bed: "Our only mistake was that we should have slaughtered everybody."

That these vermin, armed with shotguns, can freely assault leftist bookstores and get off scot free while seven of those inside the bookstore were hauled before a grand jury is a perfect example of the phony "even handedness" of bourgeois "law and order." Already one of those subpoenaed, Omar Godinez, has been jailed for contempt for refusing to testify. Moreover, last week another one of those present at the bookstore, October League (OL) supporter Walter Birdwell, was charged with "assault with intent to commit murder." West, however, merely had his wrists slapped with the charge of "malicious mischief"! If in fact, there were any justice in the system, West and his terrorist cronies would all be behind bars.

This investigation has been turned into a witchhunt against the OL. The entire left must unite to protest this blatant example of bourgeois "justice," where the victims of the crime are then victimized by the courts and cops. Stop the witchhunt! Free Birdwell and Godinez!

China...

(continued from page 1)

rested on their personal loyalty to Mao and not on any distinctive program. The cliquish nature of the "radicals" versus "moderates" conflict is revealed in Teng's insulting nickname for Wang Hung-wen: he called Wang "the helicopter," meaning the latter had scaled the heights of power easily through Mao's favoritism, without demonstrating personal leadership capacity. However, with Mao gone, the Chiang clique was greatly weakened; its main potential source of strength was the army, which has apparently decided to go with Hua instead.

If the "radicals" are essentially the Chiang Ching clique, then the "moderates" are no definable group at all. The term "moderate" is used in the bourgeois press as a catch-all category for anyone who is not a "radical." Always included among the "moderates" are Chou En-lai, who supported Mao in the Cultural Revolution, and Teng Hsiaping, who was a major victim of it. Hua is now labelled a "moderate" although he first came onto the central committee as a loyal Mao supporter at the height of the Cultural Revolution, and was reportedly nominated as acting premier (to replace Teng) by none other than Chiang Ching herself. Now, even though the Chiang Ching clique has been done away with, all the significant political conflicts which have beset Chinese Stalinism for three decades will re-emerge within the "moderate" post-Mao regime.

For Workers Political Revolution in China!

Hua, Chiang Ching and all bureaucratic contenders for power in China will, of course, claim to represent the living continuity of Maoism. (That is one reason why the question of who will edit—i.e., censor—Mao's post-1949 writings is of considerable political

importance.) Insofar as Maoism represents Stalinism (bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property forms) adapted to Chinese nationalism, such claims are legitimate. In this sense, Mao's heirs are unlike their Russian Stalinist precursors who *falsely* claimed to be continuing Lenin's work.

The continuity of Mao's fundamental policies can be seen in the fact that every major Chinese political figure has fulsomely supported the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. The *New York Times* (13 October) understands this when in an editorial it obliquely urges the Chinese bureaucracy to unite with the Pentagon against the "Russian menace":

"...China's friends abroad can only hope that the power struggle now well under way will not produce major weaknesses that Moscow can exploit for its own purposes."

What is needed in the face of the present violent power struggle in Peking is a program that can unite the working masses against all sections of the bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state, a program centered on proletarian rule through soviet democracy and an internationalist extension of the revolution. A key element in such a communist program is the defense of both China and the Soviet Union against the imperialist powers. As we wrote last summer:

"Thus the stage is set for tremendous turmoil in China following the death of the Chairman (if not before). In this convulsion the workers must not simply act as cat's paws for one or another bureaucratic faction or clique. Their mission is to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who stand in the way of working-class political power, the democratic rule of soviets. It is with the aim of leading this anti-bureaucratic political revolution that a Chinese Trotskyist party must be built."

—*WV* No. 120, 30 July

The Dismal Future of U.S. Maoism

The purge of Chiang Ching and the "Shanghai radicals" must be quite a shock for Maoist groups like the

October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), who have already had to stomach Peking's open alliance with U.S. imperialism and white-supremacist South Africa. Things may be particularly sticky for the OL, whose leader Mike Klonsky committed the blunder of sending a message of "Eternal Glory to Comrade Mao Tse-tung" that ended by expressing "our sympathy to Comrade Chiang Ching." As Lovestone could inform Brother Klonsky, it doesn't pay to back a loser in Stalinist politics.

But the Klonsky clan's slip was understandable. The growth of Maoism in the West was closely associated with support for the Cultural Revolution. The New Leftists-turned-Maoists saw in the Red Guards a movement akin to themselves, fighting an entrenched, technocratic bureaucracy in the name of the people and self-reliance. For the New Left, China represented another chance for "socialism in one country" to work. In contrast to Brezhnev's Russia, Mao's China appeared egalitarian and anti-bureaucratic.

The jailing of the Chinese leaders who came to power through the Cultural Revolution should cause at least some Maoists to reflect on what brought them to Maoism in the first place. Within the conceptual framework of Stalinism, Maoists can respond to the succession crisis in Peking in two ways, each leading to a dead-end. One response is to consider the purging of Chiang Ching and the "Shanghai circle" as a counter-revolution against Maoism, and therefore China as no longer socialist. Such a response would lead to a position similar to Milt Rosen's Progressive Labor Party, and like PL such a formation would soon become an eclectic, nationally limited Stalinoid sect with little power of attraction.

For those Maoists who accept the charges against the Chiang Ching clique and hail Hua as the Chairman's rightful heir, the future is equally bleak. Mao's crown lies unsteadily on Hua's head. The source of Hua's present strength was his very insignificance before and during the Cultural Revolution—he didn't make bitter, powerfully placed enemies. But all the factors which have convulsed the Chinese bureaucracy for two decades—great power aspirations in the face of extreme material backwardness, the demands of the workers and peasants will now act with full force on Hua's unauthoritative regime.

The purge of the Chiang Ching clique is not the consolidation of a new stable regime but the beginning of a time of troubles for the Chinese bureaucracy. The Peking-loyal followers of Hua Kuo-feng today will be hailing another leader tomorrow. And only cynical, worthless bootlickers will proclaim time after time that yesterday's "great revolutionary leaders" are today's "capitalist roaders." ■



Wide World



Globe and Mail (Toronto)

Clockwise from top left: Teng Hsiaping, Chiang Ching, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Hung-wen.



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WORKERS VANGUARD

One-Day Walkout Against Wage Controls in Canada

TORONTO, October 17—More than a million workers walked off the job across Canada last Thursday in the largest political strike in North American history. The forest industry in British Columbia ground to a halt, mining stopped in many single-industry towns across northern Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, and not a single car rolled off the assembly lines in Canadian auto plants as trade unionists participated in the one-day general strike called to protest the Trudeau government's program of wage controls.

Joe Morris, president of the 2.2 million-member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), which called the "day of protest," termed the strike an "inspiring victory" for the labor movement in its struggle against the government's attack. However, even within the limits (imposed by the reformist union bureaucracy) of a token work stoppage/protest, the size and impact of the strike were much less than they should have been.

Thousands of CLC members remained on the job, under orders from national and or local union leaders. Thousands more broke ranks to scab on the strike, many of whom might instead have supported the protest if it had been more solidly organized and given a sharp political focus. Thus most railway workers, teachers and government employees stayed on the job, while steelworkers and postal workers went to work in many cities despite professed support for the strike from their national union leaderships.

While the day of protest was an important, if partial, demonstration of the potential power of the Canadian working class, it did little more than inconvenience the capitalists for a single day, and the wage control program remains intact.

Particularly criminal was the union bureaucracy's failure to mobilize the ranks for the local demonstrations held in nearly 100 cities from Victoria, British Columbia, to St. John's, Newfoundland. Although 200,000 workers stayed off the job in Toronto, only 8,000 showed up at the main protest rally at Queen's Park. Only 2,000 of a projected 10,000 rallied on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, while 2,000 and 6,000 respectively marched in the auto and steel centers of Windsor and Hamilton, where local bureaucrats had likewise predicted crowds five times their actual size.

Even the largest of the local rallies in Montreal and Vancouver drew substantially fewer demonstrators than expected. In all, only about 150,000 of the million-plus strikers participated in the organized protest actions—a poor turnout directly attributable to sabotage by the union bureaucrats. For example, United Auto Workers Canadian director Kenneth McDermott told auto workers the night before the protest that he wasn't "so interested in demonstrations," and that they should "go home and drink beer and watch television if

you want" (*Toronto Star*, 16 October).

The Liberal government's wage control program was introduced on 14 October 1975 in order to deal with the effects of the international capitalist economic crisis on Canada by forcing down the real wages of the working class. The three-year program limits maximum wage increases to 8 percent in the first year and 6 and 4 percent in subsequent years, well below the real rate of inflation. Already hundreds of negotiated wage gains have been rolled back by the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB), while prices and corporate profits continue to rise unchecked.

The trade-union movement responded to the government's attacks with piecemeal protests against the controls. But due to bureaucratic misleadership by the CLC hierarchy—the strategy was to attempt to pressure Trudeau into making the controls program more "equitable"—a whole series of isolated strikes (most importantly by postal workers, paper workers and Quebec government employees) went down to defeat. Compelled to put up a show of militancy by growing rank-and-file discontent, the CLC leadership finally called for a mass demonstration in Ottawa last March, which was followed by another in Toronto in April. Although poorly organized, the demonstrations each drew upwards of 20,000 militant unionists.

By the time of the CLC's national convention last May, Morris & Co. were facing great pressure to call a nationwide general strike as the only way to defeat the controls. The bureaucrats responded by temporizing on the general strike call, announcing that it would come "if and when necessary," and explicitly tying it to a class-collaborationist programmatic document entitled "Labour's Manifesto for Canada." The Manifesto, which was adopted by a two-to-one vote at the convention (including the support of the Stalinist Communist Party), openly projected tying the unions to the bourgeois state through tripartite government-business-labor boards to achieve what the document calls "social corporatism."

After a series of meetings with Trudeau and the federal cabinet over the spring and summer months—during which time local strikes against the controls continued unabated—the CLC tops were compelled to exercise their mandate and called the walkout on the first anniversary of the introduction of controls. The action was to last only a token 24 hours, and even the term "general strike" was avoided, as October 14 became a mere "day of protest."

Although this was the first nationwide general strike in North American history, such actions as the day of protest are by no means uncommon in certain European countries (notably France and Italy), where the bureaucracy often uses one-day work stoppages to allow a combative rank and file to blow off steam in a relatively harmless



Trotskyist League of Canada contingent in last week's "Day of Protest" march in Toronto.

fashion. Now that the day-long protest is over, Morris and his fellow bureaucrats are prepared to resume their sellout closed-door negotiations with the Trudeau government over labor representation on government boards.

But despite all its bureaucratically induced shortcomings, the October 14 strike demonstrated the real possibility for the Canadian labor movement to defeat wage controls through a militant general strike which would stay out until the government is compelled to remove them. Several strong union towns across the country were completely shut down by the strike. In Sept-Îles, Quebec, about 17,000 workers reportedly stayed off the job—virtually every worker in town—and even non-unionized shops were forced to close for the day. Roving groups of picketers successfully cut off bus service in Vancouver, and no daily newspapers appeared in the West Coast metropolis.

The capitalist class must be backed off from its wage-slashing by a general strike which would shut down major industry, not just for a day but until the controls program is defeated. To combat inflation and unemployment there must be a struggle for full cost-of-living allowance and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (a sliding scale of wages and hours). This is the kind of militant class-struggle action which should be labor's response to Trudeau's wage controls—not the token protests and class collaborationism of the CLC bureaucrats. But this requires a class-struggle leadership that can prepare the working class for the political battle of taking on the bourgeois state.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) supported the one-day general strike only in order to channel the struggles of the working class back into the safe confines of parliamentary cretinism. Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis addressed what was billed as the centerpiece rally of the entire day of protest outside Queen's Park in Toronto, with the message that

labor must "move from protest to politics." Lewis called for a return to "the route through the ballot box," and pontificated that "if you want to change objectionable politics, then you have to change the government."

The real answer to capitalist attacks does lie in "changing the government"—but not the parliamentary small change of switching from direct big-business rule through the Liberal Party to slightly more prettified capitalist rule through the NDP. There must be a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party which fights to smash the bourgeois state and replace it with an authentic workers government. Only this government can really eliminate the ravages of inflation and unemployment, by expropriating the capitalists and establishing a rationally planned socialist economy.

A general strike by its very nature poses the necessity of an independent political mobilization of the working people around their class interests. However, so long as it is saddled with a pro-capitalist, reformist leadership, the working class cannot emerge victorious in a head-on attempt to overthrow the bosses' state. Consequently, the aims of a general strike call in Canada today must be necessarily limited and defensive. Militants must raise the demand for a CLC-initiated congress of the entire labor movement to launch a full general strike to smash the wage controls.

Unlike the bureaucratically controlled October 14 action, a powerful and effective general strike must be controlled by the rank and file through elected national and regional strike committees, in order to ensure that the struggle is not stopped short. Thus the fight for such a general strike goes hand-in-hand with the struggle to oust the Morris and McDermotts and replace them with a class-struggle leadership which can truly show the way forward for the Canadian working class. ■