

Young: Brzezinski's Front Man in Africa

Rhodesia White Rule Nears Bloody End

The guerrilla war against Rhodesia's white colonial rule which began in the bush more than a generation ago is now spreading waves of panic among the residents of Salisbury's posh suburbs. Outside the capital, farmers nightly huddle over their machine guns in fortified compounds knowing that it may not be long before Salisbury begins to look like Saigon in the final frantic days before the Americans pulled out. Already white settlers are abandoning their swimming pools and tennis courts, leaving the country at the rate of 1,000 per month. The sagging morale of the once-cocky colonialists was further weakened with the revelation that the chief of Rhodesian Customs Security and the Undersecretary for Defense, together with four businessmen, had been arrested for diverting millions of dollars in arms funds into Swiss bank accounts in preparation for a quick getaway.

The war is not yet over, however. On July 29 the desperate white supremacist regime launched a vicious assault on the Mozambique base areas of guerrilla leader Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Black troops commanded by white officers and backed up by jet bombers and helicopters swept over the border and destroyed what the Salisbury government called "ten terrorist bases." A school was hit in the attack and an undetermined number of men, women and children were killed. In the last such raid in November the Rhodesians claimed to have killed 1,200 people. The only difference this time is that the murderous attack was undertaken by a regime supposedly moving toward "majority rule" and with the approval of black lackeys in the Rhodesian government.

Rhodesian leader Ian Smith pronounced the raid a success and was no doubt encouraged by the fact that while the bombs were falling in Mozambique, the American House of Representatives was preparing a small bombshell of its own: a vote to lift trade sanctions against Rhodesia if the elections promised by Smith and his three black front men are held as scheduled in December. The House action was a vote of confidence in the shaky Salisbury "transitional government" produced by the March 3 "internal settlement" which brought Bishop Abel Muzorewa, tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau and ex-ZANU leader Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole onto the four-man Executive Council with Smith. But while the House was acting to prop up the colonial settlers, the Carter administration, which has written them off as a lost cause, continued its efforts to forge a compromise between Salisbury and the Soviet-armed Patriotic Front



Africa

Alliance of Mugabe's ZANU and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo.

Ian Smith and His Three Stooges

The fraudulent nature of the "internal settlement" and the hollowness of the claim that it represents a genuine sharing of power in a country where blacks outnumber whites 19 to 1 was revealed by the fact that Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau were not even *told* about the latest raid until after it had already begun! This, however, did not prevent the three black quislings from defending the invasion authored by the all-white Rhodesian War Council. Chirau, a long-time toady for Smith, simply repeated the statements of the white generals. Muzorewa, in London trying to sell the British on the "transitional government," maintained a

tactful silence. Sithole openly defended the assault, claiming that, "We have started a democratic process, but there are forces outside this country that would like to disrupt that democratic process, so that sometimes we have to do things that we don't like to do normally. As to whether such things are good or bad," he continued, "that is not the point" (*New York Times*, 3 August).

The point, as Sithole well knows, is that neither he nor the other two black leaders have any control over the all-white army officer corps or government bureaucracy anyway. The job these sellouts took when they joined the government was simply to provide a phony black cover for a regime in which the white settlers would continue to call the shots. The case of
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Bell Shields
FBI's Finks in
SWP



Showdown
Coming in
Portugal?



Dictatorship
of Party or
Proletariat?

Cops Attack West German Anti-Fascist Demonstration

Protecting a 17 June rally of West German Nazis, Frankfurt police brutally attacked leftist counter-demonstrators, injuring scores. The events marked the 25th anniversary of the 1953 uprising of the East Berlin proletariat, a date the bourgeoisie, the rightists in particular, has sought to use for its own anti-communist ends. Thus the ultra-rightist National Party (NPD), a haven for old Nazis, had called for a major national meeting, *Deutschland-treffen*, to celebrate a "Day of German Unity." This in turn sparked a wave of outrage from the Frankfurt left, which turned out in protest.

The fascist rally was originally set for Römerberg Square—once the imperial town hall of the Holy Roman Empire, now the civic center and the closest approximation to a historic focus in the artificial West German state. Above all the NPD meeting enabled the West German police to demonstrate yet again its allegiance to "law and order" and "civil liberties" for the ultraright. First, the police set up the leftist counter-demonstrators by letting them occupy the square in front of the speakers' platform. Then they gave them three minutes to disperse. Suddenly, without warning, the cops mounted an all-out onslaught, attacking the 4-5,000 demonstrators trapped inside the square with billy clubs, water cannon and chemical mace.

Our dramatic photos show the riot police with three-foot clubs wading into the mass of demonstrators, the area enveloped by blankets of tear gas and gushing streams from police fire hoses. According to eyewitness accounts the police simply attacked all who were unable to flee by the two narrow exits. Defenseless demonstrators were brutally clubbed by the cops, some after they had already been knocked to the ground. Police spokesmen boasted that they had cleared the square in only 13 minutes. Forty-nine of those cleared away had to be taken to a hospital.

The dispersed leftists then broke up into small bands which roamed through central Frankfurt fighting guerrilla street battles with the cops. Barricades were erected, cars overturned, and some shop windows broken. The street-



Anti-fascist demonstrators in Römerberg Square are attacked by cops with water cannons and clubs. Moskito

fighting gave the authorities the excuse to blame the left for the subsequent suspension of civil liberties: because of the "threat of civil disorders" the NPD meeting was moved from the Römerberg Square to a less central site. Here, under the despicable NPD banner, "25 Years of German Struggle for Freedom, 17 June 1953—17 June 1978," the Nazis duly held their march and departed from Frankfurt unscathed.

No Reliance on the Bourgeois State

The fascists breathe ever more freely in the witchhunt atmosphere that has been on the rise in West Germany for the past several years marked by the "Berufsverbot" (blacklisting of civil service jobs), the various anti-extremist laws and the banning of the Maoist KPD. But this trend sharply escalated

last fall when the kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer touched off a wave of anti-terrorist hysteria. At the same time fascist activity has been generally increasing throughout Europe and in the BRD in particular. It was the intersection of these two dangerous tendencies which encouraged the Frankfurt police's brutal June 17 attack.

In West Germany the ultrarightist activity has tended to be focused in the military, with meetings of fascist officers and a number of anti-Jewish incidents. In addition to the National Front in Britain, fascist organizations in France, Italy and Spain have also become more aggressive, calling for a meeting of the "Euro-Right" in Paris on June 27. This prompted the Pabloites of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) to join with the reformist French Communist Party (PCF) in calling on the French state to ban the meeting.

The treachery of relying on the state was graphically demonstrated when the Frankfurt police issued a leaflet (!) for 17 June warning that it intended to protect the fascists to the hilt:

"The possibilities of dissent against the decisions of the administration which are prescribed in our state of law and order were used by the NPD! The Frankfurt am Main administrative court has decided! The ban by the demonstration authority was lifted! Judicial decisions in a state of law and order must be respected by everyone!"

Moreover, the absurdity of calling on the state to ban the fascists and ultrarightist terror squads (to whom the bourgeoisie will ultimately turn as the last defenders of bourgeois order) is nowhere more obvious than in the West German state, shot through from top to bottom with former Nazi functionaries. Just recently it was revealed that the judge in a Nazi court martial who had issued a death sentence for a German sailor who had deserted in the closing days of the war is none other than the present Minister President of the state of Baden-Württemberg.

Despite the brutal dispersal of the June 17 anti-fascist counter-demonstration, the West German left

has been celebrating the events that day as a victory! Both the critical Maoist Kommunistischer Bund and the West German United Secretariat section, Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM), claimed the leftist street fighting was successful in preventing the NPD rally. Just like the pro-Peking Stalinists, the Moscow-loyal Stalinist Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) treacherously called on the state to ban the fascists although the DKP refused to participate in the counter-demonstration because the groups involved were unwilling to declare their allegiance to the *Grundgesetz*—the West German constitution under which the DKP was banned in 1965!

While the rest of the left was simultaneously calling on the state to ban the fascists and running around engaging in ineffective "guerrilla" scrambles, the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD, section of the international Spartacist tendency) alone advanced a program for combatting fascism. In a leaflet distributed at the Römerberg anti-fascist demonstration, the TLD wrote:

"Trotskyists fight for the physical destruction of the fascist bands. But a strategy of confrontation with the fascists and their police protectors by small left groups is adventurist, substitutionist politics. The failure to fight for the mobilization of the proletariat and its mass organizations has, as its opposite side, appeals to the bourgeois state and cozying up to bourgeois liberal forces.... Appeals to the bourgeois state are a call upon the bourgeoisie's instrument of domination to employ its laws and its police against the fascists. Laws against fascists (and other extremists) are... as a rule used mainly against the left.... The only class which can smash fascism is the proletariat under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard."

For Revolutionary Reunification

Tailing after the East German bureaucracy, the Moscow-loyal DKP accepts the division of Germany in the interests of "peaceful coexistence." For their part the Maoists defend the West German "fatherland" against the sup-

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Fascists of the National Party demonstrate with full protection of the police. Moskito

Remember This Model of USec Unity?

Canadian RWL: Shotgun Marriage Backfires

A year ago this month the competing Canadian organizations of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) refused to form the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The fusion took place in the atmosphere of international fence-mending between the USec's centrist majority and its reformist minority led politically by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). With appropriate bombast SWP honcho Jack Barnes hailed the Canadian fusion as "a turning point for Canada and the international."

The fusion was not simply the Canadian incarnation of the USec's drive to shelve its stalemated factional polarization and patch up the numerous public splits in its national sections. The political basis for this fusion had been laid by the dramatic rightward evolution of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) since its original left split from the League for Socialist Action (LSA) in 1973. While the LSA looked forward to numerical preponderance, the RMG was trying to escape the almost total paralysis which had beset its own organization. The fusion of the English-speaking groups was mirrored in French Canada by the amalgamation of the majorityite Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) and the minorityite Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) to form the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR).

This presumed model of international reconciliation was also supposed to signal "a move toward the creation of a revolutionary organization which is able to actually influence the course of mass struggles" in Canada (RMG/LSA joint political committee document). The fusion was touted as the route to "mass" influence as well as a pole of attraction for unaffiliated leftists and smaller "Trotskyist" organizations and as a way to outflank the sizable Maoist organizations in Quebec.

But as the RWL/LOR celebrates its first anniversary, the product of this hasty marriage of convenience is not in good shape. Far from overcoming the weaknesses of its predecessor components, the fusion seems to have compounded them. The tasks reporter to the fused group's Easter plenum stated that "within each national component we remain politically heterogeneous" and exhorted the leadership to "work out its priorities!"

Fusion or Diffusion?

The precipitous decline in the visibility of the fused organization has been

noted both within and outside the organization. In fact, the RWL does less public work than either one of its pre-fusion components. The plenum reporter noted "a substantial weakening of our propaganda capacities":

"In many branches comrades don't have the time or the consciousness to sell the paper; public meetings of the organization are few and far between... comrades don't have time to talk to contacts.... Comrades don't have time to come to the general membership meetings or the fraction discussion, don't have time to seriously think about

federation of interventions rather than a cohesive, effective unit.... This political and organizational diffusion of our forces is a major problem faced by most of the other branches as well."

The root of the "diffusion" is indeed that the organization is a "federation of interventions" rather than a united, disciplined party. Unable to resolve the conflicting opportunist appetites of its reformist and centrist components through a hasty shotgun wedding, the cynical honchos of the Canadian USec simply buried the differences under a

group, the Young Socialists (YS), which the RMG had traditionally opposed. Following the fusion, the youth leadership complained:

"The fusion compromise was not workable.... The YS comrades found themselves in a completely untenable situation. They were forced to attempt to carry out their intervention, to build their organization, in virtual isolation from the RWL.... Six months of isolation and overwhelming uncertainty are producing tremendous pressures and tension in the YS... comrades feel frustrated, isolated, abandoned, and—more and more as time goes on—demoralized.... In Vancouver... several of the leading youth comrades have recently announced that they simply can't take it any longer.

"Was this situation unavoidable? Was the fusion compromise inherently unworkable?... The problem is rooted in the RWL—in its unclarity on the youth question."

And what was the "solution"? The YS will be dissolved while the question of setting up a new youth group remains "under discussion" (*Socialist Voice*, 19 June).

Policy toward the NDP—a major factional issue in 1972-73—is another question which the fusion diplomatically avoided in the hope it would just go away. Instead, the conflict of appetites between the social-democratic LSA/LSO and the petty-bourgeois radical nationalist RMG/GMR has touched off a factional outbreak in the fused organization.

The fusing groups had reached "unity" on a simple statement in the Declaration of Principles characterizing the NDP as a "reformist, social-democratic workers party." But as the RWL Political Committee had to admit, "In the final analysis, the Declaration says very little" about whether to support the NDP ("Report on Federal Elections," December 1977).

The "leftist" RMG had never decisively broken from the LSA's record of prostration before the NDP, and the final pre-fusion RMG convention had no great difficulty in adopting the LSA's call for an NDP government. But the sticky situation was Quebec, where the old LSO mimicked the LSA position while the old GMR shied away from supporting the minuscule Canadian chauvinist Quebec NDP. As the "Federal Elections" report noted, "These different tactical [?] approaches to the

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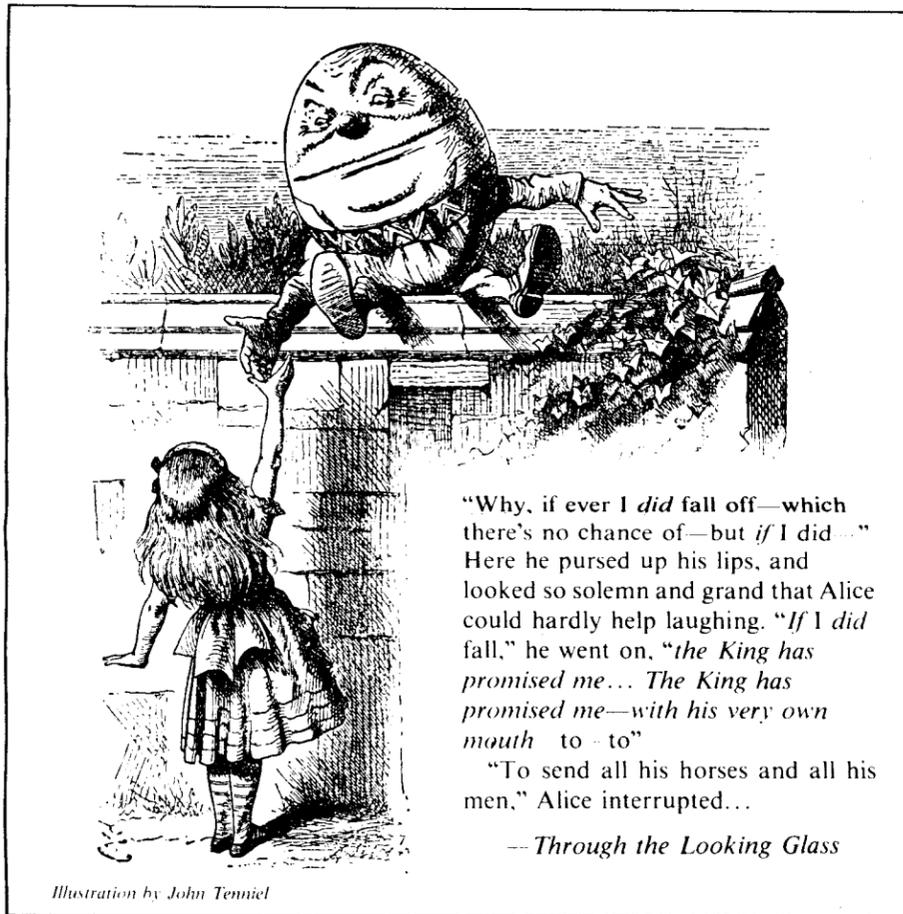


Illustration by John Tenniel

"Why, if ever I *did* fall off—which there's no chance of—but if I did..." Here he pursed up his lips, and looked so solemn and grand that Alice could hardly help laughing. "If I did fall," he went on, "the King has promised me... The King has promised me—with his very own mouth to—to"

"To send all his horses and all his men," Alice interrupted...

—Through the Looking Glass

their political relationship to the organization or their financial responsibility to it...."

Why is the fused organization manifestly less capable of political work than its predecessors? The answer is unwittingly provided by the "Resolution on Tasks of the RWL/LOR." Here the leadership describes the functioning of the Toronto branch, which comprises nearly half of the organization's membership:

"The Toronto branch of the RWL currently has 16 interventional fractions and almost as many internal committees. The branch has been described as a

mountain of "unity" rhetoric. If the LSAers wanted to suck up to the bureaucrats of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) while the RMGers wanted to tail the Quebec separatists, no problem—the RWL would just do both. For every appetite, constitute an "interventional fraction." But alas for the RWL, wrangling at the base and cliquish jockeying at the top were the surrogate for the political battles over line and priorities which the leadership evaded in the interests of "unity."

On every question, from the youth organization to the NDP, counterposed perspectives have paralyzed the work of the RWL, if not liquidated it altogether. In the women's movement, for instance, an old traditional difference erupted on the question of abortion campaigns, with the ex-RMGers calling for "free abortion on demand" while the ex-LSAers stuck to their parliamentarist demand to "repeal all anti-abortion legislation." Finally, the differences were overcome through a recent decision to curtail participation in the various women's front groups and propaganda blocs the organization has spent much of the past year building.

Another traditional difference between the two wings of Canadian Pabloism, which figured in the 1972-73 factional struggles, was the question of a youth movement. The LSA maintained a policy of building a fake-mass youth



Socialist Voice

Fused RWL leaders: can they go on meeting like this?

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SWP Reformists Rely on the Judge

Bell Shields FBI Finks

"It seemed incongruous, but the tiny Socialist Workers Party had the chief law enforcement official in the United States boxed into a corner last week," the *New York Times* coyly reported on 18 June. Federal district judge Thomas A. Griesa held attorney general Griffin Bell in contempt for refusing an order to turn over to SWP attorneys the unexpurgated FBI files on 18 unidentified informers. A contempt citation would ordinarily land a person in jail directly, but neither the *Times* nor anyone else (with the possible exception of the more starry-eyed SWPers) really thought Bell would see the inside of a prison over this case.

The SWP's motions to jail Bell were quickly denied by Griesa, and on July 7 he was granted a stay of the contempt charge by the Court of Appeals, which ruled this was "an exceptional" case. And indeed it was. For the first time in U.S. history the "chief law enforcement official" in the country had been cited for contempt of court. An "unseemly confrontation between the Executive and the Judiciary," Bell called it (*New York Times*, 7 July).

The Bell contempt citation was the most dramatic event in the SWP's five-year, \$40 million civil court suit charging the government with a decades-long illegal campaign to disrupt and destroy the organization and ruin the lives and livelihoods of its members. The case has already forced the disclosure of thousands of pages—formerly "classified" secret—documenting a concerted secret police operation of illegal surveillance, burglary, slander and harassment against the SWP and other radical organizations. Obtained in the wake of Watergate, these documents along with material gathered under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act have proved embarrassing to the government. Particularly galling has been the exposure of the FBI COINTELPRO program detailing the dirty and sometimes murderous "tricks" of FBI agents in the left and black movements.

The trail of discovery has led directly to the government's network of agents, finks and provocateurs (all called "informants" in the FBI's more public discourse). The SWP claims its lawyers need access to the 18 informer files to make their legal case for damages. In his June 30 decision, Griesa said that "the evidence contained in the FBI informant files undoubtedly constitutes the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants, the instructions by the FBI to the informants, and

the FBI's evaluations of informant activity." He further "noted" that "the documents in the files indicate that the FBI may have used informants ... to remove private documents for production to the FBI, and to perform other types of activities whose legality was highly questionable."

According to Griesa the 18 disputed informer files have been selected as a "representative sample" of the "1331 [!] informants used by the FBI against the SWP and YSA during the period 1960-76." Griesa—who has had access to the secret files in Washington—further reveals that of the informants admitted by the government, fully 300 were "member informants."

But the government holds on tightly to its filthy secrets even while pretending compliance with annoyances like the Freedom of Information Act. The 65,000 documents the SWP has pried loose from the secret files constitute less than one percent of the eight million documents the government has admitted possessing on the SWP. And as Judge Griesa's remarks on the contents of the informer files indicate, this one percent is by no means the most incriminating of the material. Documents obtained under Freedom of Information have the more revealing sections blocked out; it is not at all unusual to find an entire page with only the name of the person requesting the file, all other material having been deleted. Especially the identities and activities of finks and agents provocateurs come under the heavy magic marker of the FBI censor.

So it is small wonder that Bell would risk a contempt citation to protect even a "sample" of the unexpurgated documents. As the files' "legal custodian," Bell has insisted:

"It is essential to protect the pledge of confidentiality which the FBI made to the informers. Otherwise prospective informers would be discouraged from working for the government and this could undermine both domestic law enforcement efforts and foreign intelligence work."

UPI dispatch, 30 June

Pity. Bell has enunciated the first rule of spying: secret agents must work in secret, without fear of legal reprisal. It would be a disaster for the spy agencies if their operatives began to question assignments that seemed too patently illegal, since it is precisely for the slander-mongering, the "black bag jobs," the assassinations that they are hired in the first place. Thus Justice Department lawyers have argued that disclosure of the files of the 18 informers would cause "incalculable harm to the



New York Times



Roddey Mims

Griffin Bell (above): informers trust him to keep their secret; Judge Griesa (left) trusts SWP not to tell tales out of court.

nation's ability to protect itself" (*New York Times*, 8 July).

Disclose the Files!

The government wants no more revelations, especially of the sort that implicate higher-ups in the secret police network. To stem the tide of post-Watergate exposures, the government has been working on a number of fronts, including the jailing of David Truong and Ronald Humphrey for 15 years on charges of spying for Vietnam. Thus the government has asserted its "right" to engage in "warrantless wiretaps" and by implication other well-known methods whenever they claim "national security" is at issue. In the Frank Snepp case the government is successfully establishing its "right" to block embarrassing exposure of its activities even when those activities are not "classified." It is cracking down on reporters' need to protect sources. And the Supreme Court recently handed the police another "right"—to invade newspaper offices to confiscate whatever they want. Recalling the Daniel Ellsberg exposé, which caused so much trouble during the Vietnam war, the government wants to be sure that in any future imperialist adventure, the leaky faucets of Watergate are plugged up tight.

So the political fight over the SWP case is an important one. The "socialist Watersuit" is a main event, and the "Friday night fights" imagery has not been lost on the SWP. But how did the government get "boxed into a corner"? The SWP reports thrillingly from courtside where they are battling for a reformed secret police: "There has never been a case before where the SWP and the YSA had the attorney general on the ropes" (*Militant*, 14 July).

The SWP presents its suit as the legal underdog match of the century, a sort of "Rocky" of the courtroom. In this corner we have the federal government in red, white and blue—a musclebound, dirty colossus of illegal machination with unlimited financial, legal and police resources bent on crippling and destroying its opponent by any means, mostly low blows. And in the other corner, in pink and yellow, the SWP—clean, peaceful, legal, frail, small, harassed, financially strapped and

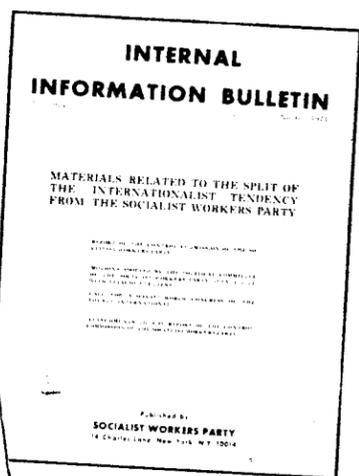
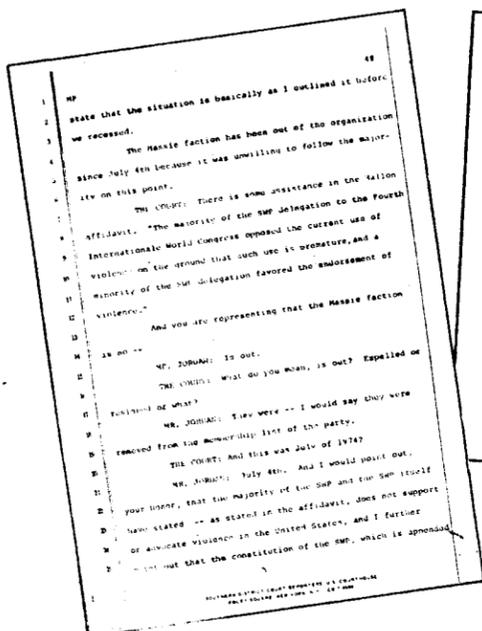
flabby. "The litigants," said George Novack in grand understatement, "were unequally matched." Nevertheless the SWP says its case is winnable.

The government has been willing to trade off, compromise or just pay off to avoid exposure of the identities and activities of its agents. In the same week in which Bell was hit with a contempt citation, he tried to politically trade off the firing of FBI New York director J. Wallace LaPrade, who headed up the FBI's search and destroy operations against the Weatherman organization. In the Weatherman criminal case, the government dropped its indictments when ordered by the court to disclose the FBI's illegal spying on the Weathermen and their families and friends. And in the attempt to avoid reopening the Rosenberg case, the government recently coughed up \$195,000 to cover the Rosenberg Committee's attorney fees.

Bell wanted to follow the same procedure in the SWP case. When presented with the disclosure order from Griesa, he complained this was never done to the government: "When the government is the defendant in a civil case it has always been able to accept sanctions as an alternative to the release of informants' identities" (*New York Times*, 7 July). In a \$40 million damage suit where the evidence against the government is already irrefutable, these "sanctions" could amount to quite a bundle.

Certainly nobody should begrudge the SWP whatever "compensation" it can wrest from the embarrassed government. But this is small change in terms of the government's crimes against the left. Whatever was done to the SWP was done to the Communist Party (CP) a thousand times worse. From the Palmer Raids, when thousands of Communist immigrants were rounded up and deported without the slightest fig leaf of "due process," through the Smith Act trials which sent CP leaders to jail for the "crime" of political affiliation, and right up to the present day, the bourgeoisie has trampled on the civil rights of the Communist Party as if it were a gang of mad bombers.

The CP was "disrupted" not merely by the dirty tricksters on the sly, but as open, official government policy. While



SWP cites documents of 1974 expulsion of left faction to prove "peaceful, legal" character in court.

the FBI plied its trade—planting finks by the thousands, visiting employers and landlords, forging, spying and conspiring—other branches of the state were keeping their end up. The courts convicted Communists of “thought crimes,” the Congress invented “Catch 22” legislation setting up loyalty oaths and prosecuting those who signed to keep their jobs, the IRS went after the CP’s money.

Where is “justice” for blacklisted trade unionists hounded out of industry? What kind of “compensation” can there be for the Communists and fellow travelers whose lives were destroyed on the basis of their associates and their libraries by the McCarthyite inquisitors? The capitalist state which now slaps the hands of the FBI for an excess of anti-SWP zeal had no such scruples about fabricating a case against the Rosenbergs to witchhunt the CP as a foreign spy agency, and did not stop short of public executions. How much will the killer capitalists pay for the lives of the Rosenbergs?

Reformists at the Bar

It is certainly principled—indeed intelligent—to use available legal means in an effort to hamper the dirty work of the FBI. This the SWP has done quite successfully. But the precondition to the SWP’s present legal successes was the systematic extirpation of every residue of revolutionary content from the politics of the once-Trotskyist SWP.

The Spartacist League could never have won such concessions from Judge Griesa. The SWP has worked for the past decade and a half to make itself the kind of party which could plausibly appeal to a branch of the government to uphold its bourgeois-democratic rights against the FBI’s illegal incursions. The SWP has single-mindedly sought since the mid-1960’s to demonstrate its “respectability” and “reliability,” its reformist prostration before the bourgeois state.

The SWP reformists have run a strictly legalist and civil-libertarian campaign differing in thrust not a whit from the ACLU, which supports the SWP’s Political Rights Defense Fund. Even their public activities around the case are tailored to buttressing the narrow legal arguments. At a July rally in NYC’s Foley Square, the SWP avoided militant slogans like “Down With the FBI/CIA” or “Unmask the FBI Agents Provocateurs” in favor of “Obey the Court or Go to Jail.”

Whereas revolutionists would use the courtroom as a platform to denounce the system of secret political police whose purpose is to intimidate and disrupt the left and labor movements, showing how this apparatus is integral to capitalist rule, the SWP implies the courts will use this case to make the spy system more “democratic.” Thus Fred Halstead, long-time SWP spokesman and its candidate for governor of

Chief Justice Burger Criminal?

Another member of the Nixon gang has been exposed: Nixon-appointed Chief Justice Warren Burger. According to James Hougan’s forthcoming book about CIA/FBI agents, *Spooks* (excerpted in the September *Playboy*), Burger—then head of the Justice Department’s Civil Division in 1954—acted as the judicial cover for an ongoing criminal conspiracy against Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis.

Onassis was targeted by the CIA/FBI when he tried to muscle in on the U.S. oil cartel’s exclusive hold on Saudi Arabian oil shipping. Along with Hjalmar Schacht, Nazi Germany’s financial evil genius, Onassis pulled off the Jidda Agreement, a secret contract with dying King Saud for ten percent of Saudi oil shipping. The CIA/FBI, acting as the direct arm of U.S. oil interests, mounted an anti-Onassis campaign of slander, harassment and legal prosecution. Agents illegally wiretapped his office, shadowed him and his top employees, used bribed journalists and leaked “disinformation” for smear attacks in the press. The far-flung plot even included having a Peruvian fighter plane bomb and strafe an Onassis whaling ship at sea.

The key operatives were CIA agents Robert Maheu and Robert Gerrity. Ex-Howard Hughes aide Maheu, one of the world’s most notorious secret agents, runs a CIA cover operation of “private cops” for hire and was the go-between in the CIA/Mafia assassination plot against Castro. Gerrity told author Hougan how he and Maheu got the assignment:

“Rose Mary Woods ushered us in and gave us the usual coffee treatment.... Nixon came in and, right off, asked us how we were going to take care of the Jidda Agreement. And we told him.... Then Nixon gave us the whole

Mission: Impossible bit. ‘I know that you’ll be careful,’ he said, ‘and that you’re very good at what you do. But you have to understand that mistakes can be made by anyone, and that, while this is a national-security matter of terrific importance, we can’t acknowledge you in any way if anything should go wrong.’”

Long before Watergate, Nixon was engaged in hiring out the CIA/FBI cops to do their dirty business for the billionaire capitalists in the name of “national interest.” Standard operating procedure. And what was Burger’s role in the plot? The future chief justice is revealed as a crucial member of the Nixon gang. He was in charge of the legal assault on Onassis, preparing indictments charging him with illegal sale of military surplus vessels. He was also the recipient of a lot of “black” (illegal) information collected by an underground network of CIA “spooks.” Gerrity said Burger told him he’d give the spies “judicial oversight” of their activities. And how much did he know about the illegal wiretaps, the CIA-bribed journalists and their planted smears, the shadowing? “Everything,” shrugged Gerrity.

The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* have picked up the Burger story, reporting that Maheu confirms the plot while a Burger spokesman denies Burger received secret information. The Watergate word is “stonewalling.”

So the Watergate reformers missed a big fish. Burger not only got away, but after demonstrating such “reliability” was appointed by his partner-in-crime Nixon to the highest court in the land. From his lofty promontory this black-robed Tartuffe has been readying the electric chair for the black and poor, spitting upon indigent women who need abortions, writing into law

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California, proclaimed over the radio: “Judge Griesa’s ruling should serve as a warning to police officials here in California, as well as nationally, that this kind of operation must come to an end.” How nice—Judge Griesa hands down a decision or two and the bourgeois state will dismantle its covert war against the left and labor movements.

The SWP’s touching faith in the judicial reformability of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state is nowhere more clearly seen than in its relationship to Judge Griesa. The SWP was indeed lucky to get as its judge a Watergate reformer—that is, a man convinced by the Watergate affair that the FBI/CIA is running an inefficient operation. For such reformers, spying

on and burglarizing loyal American citizens are unnecessary and rather a breach of taste.

Out of the Watergate exposures there developed a consensus for streamlining the secret police, mainly through whitewashing Congressional investigations. For the liberals, the lesson was that one group in the ruling class should not treat another as though it were the class enemy. As usual, the real issue is expediency, dressed up in arguments about what is abstractly “legal.”

Tailing the Watergate reformers, the SWP took as its central task proving it was an organization worthy of the capitalists’ trust. In this case the class was admirably represented by Judge Griesa, the very model of the East Coast elite. Griesa maintains the Harvard man’s blue-nosed contempt for the Fordham graduates who inhabit the FBI. A Nixon appointee (suggested by right-winger James Buckley), he is a pinstripe-suited corporation lawyer who lives in an apartment on Manhattan’s upper east side with his grand piano and harpsichord. He reads classical Hebrew and Greek and plays tennis regularly. He may also be an honest man in his own terms. In any case, his aristocratic temperament recoiled at the government’s stream of stupid lies. To hear the SWP tell it, though, Griesa rises majestically above the class struggle in the interests of classless “democracy.”

How was this mutual admiration society established between the SWP and the judge? First of all thanks to the evident paranoia of the FBI, which for its 1960-76 operations against the SWP used more than *thirteen hundred* informants—this for an organization whose total membership probably did not exceed a thousand for the bulk of this period. Surely Judge Griesa can

agree that the SWP is less of a threat to “national security” than the FBI’s blowing huge sums of government money shadowing and persecuting the SWP. In fact, fifty years of government spying and harassment directed against the SWP and its Trotskyist predecessors led only once to a successful prosecution—the 1941 conviction and subsequent jailing of eighteen Trotskyist leaders under the Smith Act for the “crime” of revolutionary internationalism in the face of wartime patriotic frenzy.

And then the government came into the courtroom and lied through its teeth. The FBI even lied to its own attorneys, and they all lied in court. And this time they got caught.

In 1974 the FBI swore the COINTEL-PRO program “was not applicable” to the SWP. But by 1975 the SWP had pried loose the documentary proof that this claim was, in Griesa’s cautious words, “less than candid.” Then the FBI said its surveillance was merely “to alert the public to the nature and activities” of the SWP—a sort of “What’s Going On” page sponsored by the government. But as Judge Griesa summarized:

“The documents show FBI plans to place informants within the SWP and YSA.... According to the documents, the FBI interfered with travel reservations of members, took steps to cause speaker hall rentals to be cancelled, and circulated false information.... The documents show that the FBI caused local law enforcement officers to make arrests and break up functions... the FBI arranged for a raid of a SWP summer camp for alleged state law violations.... According to the documents, the FBI attempted to secure the eviction of the Philadelphia SWP office from a public building... the FBI sent fraudulent letters... to induce these [school administrators] to discharge SWP or YSA members from teaching positions....”

The whole mess really blew wide open when one FBI informer file was uncovered. Timothy Redfern was arrested by the Denver police and it was revealed he had been involved in some of the more than 90 documented FBI burglaries of SWP offices. Said Griesa: “It was apparent that the FBI had full knowledge of these burglaries. Finally, it was clear that the FBI had intentionally falsified the answers to interrogatories to conceal the fact of the burglaries.”

These “unfortunate instances” of “misrepresentation by the FBI,” argued Griesa, “... furnish some plausibility for plaintiff’s assertion... that they need at least a representative sample of actual, complete files, and that they should not be relegated to summary information or expurgated documents prepared for them by the Government.”

But it was not simply that the government victimized the SWP and then lied about it. Consider the Hampton family’s case brought against the government for money damages resulting from the FBI’s setting up the murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. That case was thrown out of court, no doubt because the Panthers were considered a “dangerous,” “revolutionary” organization. But it’s pretty hard to pretend the SWP is either dangerous or revolutionary.

Tell it to the Judge

So the SWP is doing what comes naturally to reformists: trying to win the confidence of the judge. In the early days of the “socialist Watersuit,” the SWP falsified the revolutionary traditions of Marxism, redefining them as the pacifist, electoralist policies practiced by aspiring social democrats (see “SWP Renounces Revolution in Court,” *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975).

The SWP did more than swear to engage in “no violence.” When right-wing columnists mounted a witchhunt scare against the SWP’s presumed international cothinkers of the European United Secretariat (Usec) as a “terrorist wing of the Fourth International,” the SWP waved its opposition to the Usec vicarious guerrilla enthu-

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Roddey E. Mims

FBI agents rallied in support of indicted former director Grey in April.

Showdown Coming in Portugal?

RIGHTISTS TOPPLE SOARES GOVERNMENT

For Revolutionary Mobilizations to Defend the Agrarian Reforms and Nationalizations!

LISBON, 3 August—Eight months ago when his Socialist government fell on a parliamentary vote of confidence Portuguese prime minister Mário Soares asserted that this was a sign of stability. After all, this was “the first normal governmental crisis” since the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship on 25 April 1974. In January a coalition was formed with the conservative Center Democrats (CDS) which was supposed to last until the next parliamentary elections in 1980. Now that government has fallen as well, but this time the jolly prime minister is hardly crowing about stability.

The December ministerial “crisis” was partly a maneuver by Soares to force the CDS and the Communist Party (PCP) to support the minority Socialist (PS) cabinet or take the consequences. However, this time around it comes in the context of a generalized rightist offensive following a CDS ultimatum and the summary dismissal of the prime minister by General Ramalho Eanes, the Portuguese president. At present the outcome is quite uncertain, and the sequence of escalating events could turn into a major test of strength between left-wing and openly counterrevolutionary forces. At stake are

some of the main achievements of the “revolution of the carnations” which was abruptly turned around in the fall of 1975: the widespread nationalizations in industry and finance and the land reform.

Throughout the spring rightist provocations have been mounting, beginning with an April 25 speech by the president which was widely interpreted as a vote of no confidence in Soares. Taking their cue from the “professional soldier” who organized the 25 November 1975 coup that sealed the fate of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the Center Democrats threatened to resign. Although wheedled into continuing the coalition, they soon presented condition: return of all seized agricultural estates that had not been formally expropriated by September, and immediate payment of compensation to the former owners. A month later the three CDS ministers turned in their portfolios and on July 24 Eanes cashiered the PS prime minister.

The Socialists responded with an angry communiqué accusing the CDS of aiding the extreme right-wing forces in “destabilizing democratic institutions...the first step and necessary condition for renewed anti-democratic outbursts and coups” (*Tempo*, 29 July). Eanes attempted to put the onus for the crisis on the PS. In a televised address August 1 he gave Soares four days to come up with a new coalition or else face a prime minister selected by the president to head a “caretaker government” until early elections could be held. However, the Socialists refused to accept the ultimatum, accusing the president of seeking to concentrate excessive powers in his hands. (Eanes is also armed forces chief of staff and chairman of the Revolutionary Council.) Instead, Soares demanded he should either name a prime minister who would have the president's support or else call for an all-party government, which would also include the PCP and the rightist Social Democrats (PSD—a bourgeois party heavily supported by small landowners).

Counterrevolution On the Rise

The rightist escalation is by no means limited to governmental intrigue. Last fall saw the emergence of a fascist movement into the light of day in the form of the MIRN (Independent Movement of National Reconstruction), led by former General Kaúlaza de Arriaga. This hardline Salazarist was the bloody butcher of Mozambique in the colonial war which sapped the Portuguese army and brought on the 1974 “captains revolt.” At the same time PSD leader Sá Carneiro, *o Chefe* (translated: Der Führer), as he is called by his movement, mounted a maneuver to oust moderate leaders of his party and then force Soares out of office through a campaign of destabilization.

While Eanes had played a largely passive role in the December-January ministerial crisis, by the spring the “moderate” president was aggressively



Fascist rally in Portugal last year.

Lavelberg/Gamma-Liaison

leading up the rightist charge. In early April he removed Vasco Lorrrenço, the last of the MFA center leaders to hold an operational command, as head of the Lisbon military region. In early May Eanes dropped a bombshell by announcing that he was permitting former Salazarist President Américo Tomaz to return from Brazilian exile.

International reaction has not been inactive. Earlier, in mid and late 1975, the U.S. and West Germany were funneling millions of dollars a month to the Socialist Party, which was then spearheading a rightist mobilization in the name of “democracy.” (When this extended to burning down PCP offices in the conservative north, Soares defended this, calling it a “popular revolt” against Stalinist dictatorship.) Now that the PS was leading the government, however, the western imperialist powers began turning the screws by demanding that the government tighten the belts of Portugal's workers, still the lowest paid in western Europe. The carrot in this blackmail was a \$750 million loan; the stick was a threat to shut off all credit if Soares did not implement a rigid austerity plan prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Already the Portuguese masses had been hard hit by successive devaluation cutback “packages” imposed by Soares, contributing to galloping inflation which has lowered real wages to 1973 (i.e., pre-April 25) levels. Complaining about the staggering trade deficits run up by the PS government (largely political in origin, as the Socialist leaders hoped to avoid draconian measures—which could have provoked a militant working-class outburst by living off credit), the IMF called for raising taxes, reducing the government budget deficit, a 20 percent maximum wage increase (in the face of 37 percent

inflation in the last twelve months) and liberalizing restrictions on imports. After a show of resistance, Soares “gave in” and signed on the dotted line May 4.

While taking meat and milk out of the mouths of Portuguese workers, the state has also been cracking the left over the head in stepped-up repression. In the early morning hours of June 20, a vast police operation (involving the judicial police, the republican national guard, the public security police and even the air force) swooped down on the offices of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP). Among the 18 arrested were PRP leaders Isabel Do Carmo and Carlos Antunes. And only a week and a half earlier a young Maoist was killed by cops protecting a rightist demonstration celebrating a Salazarist holiday.

Yet at the same time that repression against the left is escalating, the fascists and ultra-rightist killers are going free. The agents of the hated secret police (PIDE), arrested after April 25, are now virtually all at liberty. And in early July, eleven members of a reactionary terrorist conspiracy, responsible for 62 different bomb attacks (out of a total of 572 between May 1975 and September 1977), were released from custody. Among them was the head of the murderous gang, Motas Freitas, who was police chief in the city of Porto at the time of his arrest.

Threat to Agrarian Reform and Nationalization

While the left wing of the MFA was wiped out by Eanes' November 25 power grab and the MFA “center” has since been removed from operational military command, the Portuguese workers have managed to preserve



General Eanes

positions of strength which the big monopolies find intolerable. The agrarian reform gives the PCP effective control of a key region on the doorstep of the capital (a strategic reserve behind the industrial red belt south of Lisbon), while the state has taken over 60 percent of industry and 90 percent of banking. Knowing that they cannot recover these losses without a fight, the right-wing ultra-reactionaries have been itching for a showdown while Soares seeks social peace through piecemeal dismantling of the nationalizations and collective farms. For his part Alvaro Cunhal's PCP places its faith in the "revolutionary constitution" (the same constitution which permits Eanes to oust the government at his pleasure!)

The Communist Party speaks of these measures as "the conquests of April 25." However, although the radicalized captains did overthrow the Caetano regime, every one of the now threatened conquests was the result of revolutionary action by the working masses. The hated PIDE was abolished when thousands of workers surrounded the secret police headquarters, hunting down the torturers in the street. The key nationalizations of the powerful banks (through which a handful of families controlled the bulk of the economy) came when Lisbon workers mobilized against an attempted right-wing putsch by Spínolaist officers on 11 March 1975, and the agrarian reform was carried out not by waiting for decrees by the center/right-dominated Constituent Assembly but through land invasions—despite the best efforts by the PCP to hold back its ranks. These conquests of the workers will not be defended by empty appeals to the faded "spirit of April 25" but only in the same way they were won—by mobilizing the masses to defeat the reactionaries by eliminating their base of support. This in turn requires not merely "defense of democracy" but breaking from the reformist temporizing of the treacherous PCP and PS and a revolutionary struggle for power.

Before the land reform Portugal's agrarian structure was the most oligarchic in Europe. In the north peasants with tiny plots (usually less than one hectare in size) were dominated by local *caciques* (rural "bosses") and the church. In the south huge estates extended over virtually all cultivatable land. Three thousand latifundia (averaging 500 hectares in size) held between them three quarters of the land (Alvaro Cunhal, *Contribuição para o estudo da questão agrária* [1958]). Unlike Latin America, however, these mammoth estates were worked not by sharecroppers but by a sizable agricultural proletariat, and among these rural workers the PCP held absolute hegemony.

In the summer and autumn of 1974 the agricultural workers of the Alente-

jo region (beyond the Tejo river from Lisbon), organized in their union, demanded a minimum wage from the owners and above all a guaranteed number of jobs around the year. Previously there would be enforced idleness for months during the winter for whole towns of laborers as the type of cultivation—frequently olives and cork trees—required little labor except at harvest time. The rest of the year was starvation time for the workers, who seldom ate meat more than three times a week. The *patrões* (bosses) responded to these demands by refusing to plant wheat for the next harvest.

Following the abortive Spínolaist putsch of 11 March 1975, the agricultural workers of the Alentejo gave their answer to this "lockout" by seizing more than a million hectares, including almost all of the large estates. Their planting and harvest saved Portugal from having a first-rate food crisis that year due to the landowners' sabotage. Subsequently most of this land was formally expropriated by the PCP-dominated Fifth Provisional Government of General Vasco Gonçalves, which fell in September 1975 as a result of the Socialist-rightist offensive.

The bourgeois reactionaries naturally wanted to halt the land reform altogether and return the seized land to the previous owners. To gain political support they whipped up the landholding peasantry in the north against a mythical PCP threat to seize their minuscule plots. (The Portuguese farmers confederation [CAP], which was formed after the first Communist Party office was burned in the town of Rio Maior in July 1975, is dominated by the PSD and even more right-wing elements; at first posing as the voice of the small peasant, it is now openly dominated by the large landowners and *caciques*.) The Socialists also wanted to undo the land reform, at least in part, because they saw the existence of a large PCP-led agricultural proletariat within striking distance of the capital as a direct political threat.

The Communist workers on the collectivized estates have not divided them up into tiny plots, but instead set up some 450 "collective production units" (UCPs). The UCP members worked for a wage based on the sales of their collective farms and decided policy at mass meetings. The policy of the first Socialist agricultural minister, António Lopes Cardoso, was to continue the expropriations, legalizing the land seizures, but to encourage (with government credits) those who wanted to leave the UCPs, divide up the land and set up cooperatives.

Rightists Make Stand Over Land Reform

This was not enough for the reactionaries, who labeled Lopes Cardoso



Farm workers march in support of agrarian reform.

Portugal Information



May Day, 1978

Avantel

a "Communist stooge." So last year Soares installed a second PS agricultural minister, António Barreto, who had a plan for a full-scale assault on the UCPs. By restoring a "reserve" to the former owners, the "Barreto law" (passed a year ago) would remove 350,000 hectares from the collective farms in many (if not most) cases, making the latter unviable as production units. Meanwhile, under a complicated point system the landowners could receive from 500-5,000 hectares, depending on the land use.

In order to justify this agrarian counter-reform the right cited last year's poor harvest as proof. However, the 1975 harvest under the collective system was a near record, and the UCPs have had tremendous success in increasing jobs: total employment in the agrarian reform zone is up from 21,700 before the expropriations to 64,200 in 1976-77. The real reason for the economic difficulties of the UCPs is political: the Soares government cut off the vital bank credits for more than 100 of the collective farms. Barreto himself has made clear what are the actual motivations behind the return of the land:

"The Socialists cannot feed this terrain to the Communists. We cannot permit a sort of PCP fiefdom in a strategic region."

—*Expresso*, 24 September 1977

As could be expected, the agricultural workers have been unwilling to give up their land without a fight. In May 1977 laborers near the town of Mora lay down in front of tractors dragging plows to mark new boundaries, and last August more than 70 people were injured when workers protesting a land seizure clashed with government troops in and around Evora. Hardly a week went by without a battle as mounted police and tanks of the republican national guard sent in to protect the returning landowners brutally repressed the UCP members.

However, these repeated confrontations led to increasing PCP hostility toward the Socialist government. In addition to the coalition with the CDS,

Soares sought an inner-party agreement with the Communists during the December-January ministerial crisis. Although opposition within the PCP prevented an agreement to support a PS-CDS cabinet, it is widely assumed that there was a tacit agreement by Soares not to pursue the agrarian counter-reform in such a provocative manner. The press began speaking of a five-year period before all the "reserves" were handed over to the landowners, and a new agricultural minister, Luis Saias, replaced the hated Barreto.

The Center Democrats, however, soon found themselves under pressure from the right. While Sá Carneiro's PSD was doing its best to bring down the coalition government, the CAP farmers threatened to blockade the main north-south highway at Rio Maior. A repeat of an action they took on the eve of the November 25 rightist coup, this was a clear call for army intervention. So throughout May and June the CDS leadership called first for a stepped-up pace of return of seized farmland, then for Saias' resignation; finally the CDS spokesman in the agricultural ministry resigned in late June, followed by the three CDS ministers.

The Portuguese right is clearly looking to bury the remaining conquests of the 1974 mass upheaval through an attack on the nationalizations and the agrarian reform. The future of Portugal, whether as another Chile or through the rekindling of the revolutionary fires, may well be decided over these conquests. For mass mobilizations to extend the agrarian reform and nationalizations!

PS-PCP Maneuvers

In the face of the provocative rightist threats and maneuvers the Socialists have sought to pressure Eanes into a firm declaration of support for Soares as prime minister. The Communist Party, in turn, has

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Editor's Note: In the context of an effort by U.S. imperialism to revive the Cold War atmosphere after the Vietnam debacle, there is now a wide ideological offensive against Leninism in the name of "democracy" and even "socialist democracy." Both right-wing and liberal Soviet dissidents solemnly declare that Lenin's rule was the original source of the crimes of Stalin and his successors. And these pronouncements are well publicized in the bourgeois press. Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo renounces "Leninism" in favor of "pluralist democracy." And this too is hailed by imperialist spokesmen.

In response to this growing anti-Leninist chorus, we recently published a two-part article on the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny, traditionally a battle cry for both anarchist and social-democratic opponents of Bolshevik rule ("Kronstadt and Counterrevolution," WV Nos. 195 and 203, 3 March and 28 April). The Kronstadt mutineers' main slogan was "All power to the soviets but not the parties," a characteristically "leftist" attack on the government of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. As further contributions we are here reprinting an article by Max Shachtman originally published in the July 1934 New International, followed by a letter criticizing the WV article on Kronstadt and our reply.

Shachtman's article, "Dictatorship of Party or Proletariat?" treats the relationship between the Bolshevik government and proletarian class rule in a more general, theoretical way. It is a polemic against those social democrats, centrists and anarcho-syndicalists who sought to exploit the growing moral revulsion against Stalin's bureaucratic terror (including the persecution of the Trotskyist Left Opposition) for anti-Leninist purposes.

In 1940 Max Shachtman broke with Trotskyism over the central question of defense of the USSR, despite its Stalinist bureaucratization, against imperialism. By the end of his life he had degenerated into a right-wing social democrat who supported Kennedy's abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. However in 1934 Shachtman was one of the most talented and effective propagandists in the Trotskyist movement. In



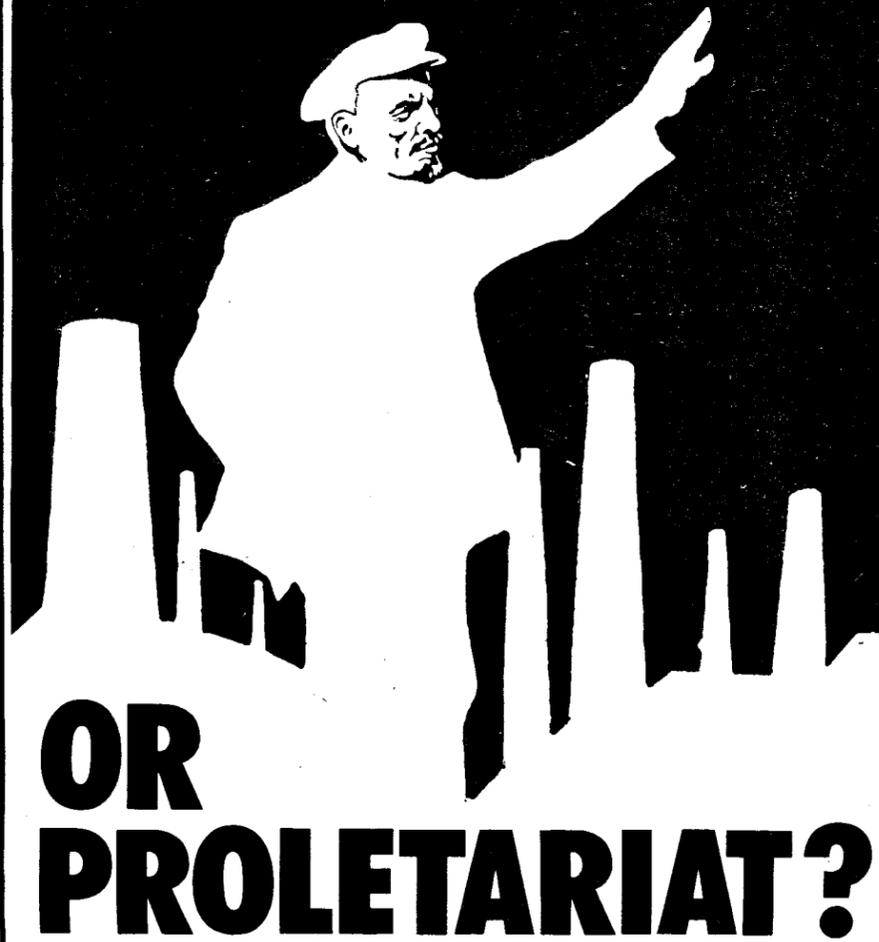
Max Shachtman in 1933.

Penguin

this period of increasing liberal and social-democratic anti-Sovietism internationally, his defense of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary dictatorship is an excellent answer to those "socialists" who support Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Only by supporting the measures necessary to defend the conquests of the October Revolution, particularly during the Bolsheviks' greatest isolation, can Marxists call for the necessary proletarian revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish the soviet democracy of Lenin and Trotsky.

From the Archives of the Revolution

DICTATORSHIP OF PARTY



OR PROLETARIAT?

Illustration by Soviet artist Bedni, 1928

BY MAX SHACHTMAN
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JULY 1934

Ever since the Russian revolution restored the idea of proletarian dictatorship to its rightful place in living Marxian doctrine, the social reformists of all varieties have condemned it as obsolete or rejected it with a contemptuous reference to its possible or exclusive applicability to Uzbecks, Bashkirs and other Asiatic Bolsheviks. In the last year, however, the titanic shock of the Austrian cataclysm has blown breaches through the democratic dogmas of official socialism and everywhere in its ranks new voices are being heard.

"The establishment of the proletarian dictatorship," declares the latest program of the American Socialist Party's "Militants Group," "is again being proclaimed by one party after another as the first step on the road to socialism." Otto Bauer has somewhat belatedly reminded himself that the "revolutionary dictatorship of the working class" ought to be established when next the opportunity is afforded in Austria. The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party voted for the idea, after which a corps of National Executive Committee lawyers, apparently oblivious of the fact that the United States Supreme Court would willingly and freely do the job for them, was sent scurrying through law libraries to find out if the dictatorship of the proletariat is constitutional. Even Mr. Norman Thomas is in the mode and dallies distantly with one of the less impolite pseudonyms for the dictatorship, workers' democracy.

If the late Elbert H. Gary could say,

"We are all socialists now"—it can be said today, "We are all for the dictatorship of the proletariat now." And exactly in the same spirit. For, are we not to be permitted a meek skepticism about the sudden conversion to proletarian dictatorship on the part of many who up to yesterday were justly considered congenial Right wingers? Alas, the skepticism is more than warranted the minute one looks a line further than the formula itself in the various new documents that multiply like rabbits.

The resolution of the "Left" wing minority at the Paris conference of the Second International last August declares itself, for example, for the "dictatorship of the revolutionary party." The Militants Group, which supported this resolution, has tardily discovered that this is a bad translation (*cf.*, their program, p. 15). It should read "the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes." Which classes? The proletariat and what other? To muddle up what is already obscure, we are told further that proletarian democracy "is the only guarantee for the development of the dictatorship by the revolutionary classes into a dictatorship of workers and peasants." Assuming for the moment that by the time this article appears it will not have been discovered that another bad translation has been made, it is not improper to ask just what is to be the content of the dictatorship by the revolutionary classes which, with the aid of one thing or another, is to develop into what is apparently something else, a dictatorship of workers and peasants.

We are further confounded by the proposal (p. 16) that the "phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' may not be advisable to express the ideas for which it stands...it is desirable to designate it by some other term, such as 'workers' democracy.'" The American

Workers Party thus gains an adherent, for it advances essentially the same idea in its program and discussions. But the Militants Group is not the only one. Norman Thomas (*New Leader*, May 12, 1934) shows just what can be done with this "pseudonym" for the dictatorship of the proletariat, by saying "that even in a transitional period the ideal to hold up and to work for is workers' democracy rather than a dictatorship of the proletariat, which means a dictatorship of one party."* The Militants Group program (p. 14) which is for the proletarian dictatorship (but not for the "Russian way") is, however, opposed to the "one party dictatorship for which Stalinism stands." (We shall see presently who stands for that.) One of the latter-day Militants who wisely hopped on its handwagon at the last moment as the most effective way of saving reformism and who instantly became a prominent luminary—Haim Kantorovitch—rounds out the conception: "What we have in Russia at present is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship over the proletariat." (*Towards Socialist Reorientation*, p. 19. Italics by H.K.)**

So they are all for one kind of dictatorship of the proletariat or another, just as even Morris Hillquit was in 1921 when he cleverly adjusted himself to the spirit of the day in order to save the spirit of yesterday. But they all recoil like one man from the Medusa: "Dictatorship of the party," or "dictatorship of one party." (The Militants Group proposes the re-legalization of the Mensheviks in Russia!) To some, that is pure Bolshevism. Others, who wrap themselves in a few shreds of Bolshevism against the winds of Left wing criticism, shrewdly make the idea seem odious by calling it Stalinism.

* * * *

The hostility to a dictatorship of the party is shared by the American Workers Party. In its open letter to the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party it assails the Stalinists for their "revisionist identification of workers' democracy with party dictatorship." In the discussion session between its sub-committee and the Communist League of America's (June 6, 1934), a warm polemic developed because of our refusal to accept their standpoint on this question. Now, the dictatorship in all its aspects and implications remains the fundamental question of the program. The conception of comrades Budenz, Burnham and Hook was not only that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the party are not identical (which they are not, to be sure), but that they exclude each other, the latter producing the degeneration of the former; that there is an *immanent contradiction and conflict* between the two. Our own standpoint was not only gratuitously compared with Stalin's, but we were confidently challenged to present and defend it.

It is not in the spirit of accepting a challenge that we intend to do precisely that, but more out of consideration for the obviously urgent need of establishing clarity in this highly important question, mindful not only of the A.W.P. position but also of the position of those thinking socialists who no longer shy away from either the phrase or the idea of the proletarian dictatorship (even in America).

Is the dictatorship of the proletariat identical with the dictatorship of the party? Obviously not. That would be as absurd as to ask if the proletariat itself is identical with its party. Did any representative Bolshevik ever entertain such an idea, before or after Lenin's death? Never, to our knowledge. In 1922, the eleventh congress of the Russian Communist Party "especially underscored" the resolution of the eighth congress, in 1919, on the mutual relations between party and Soviet organs: "The functions

of the party collective must in no case be confounded with the powers of the state organs, such as are the Soviets. Such a confusion would yield disastrous results, particularly in the military field. The party endeavors to direct the activity of the Soviets, but not to replace them." (*Russische Korrespondenz*, April-May 1922, p. 283.)

Then it is not a dictatorship of the party, said the Bolsheviks!

Not so fast! It is a dictatorship of the proletariat. So the Bolsheviks said, and so indeed it was. But never did they put the question: dictatorship of the proletariat or dictatorship of the party, dictatorship of the proletariat versus dictatorship of the party. They left that kind of metaphysic to two classes of opponents: the reformists, led by Kautsky, and the ultra-Leftist, semi-anarchist or semi-syndicalist groups, led by the German Communist Labor Party. The reason why they never counterposed the two will be seen from the writings of Lenin and other authoritative spokesmen. *Magister dixit*—that does not prove the validity of one side of the argument or the other. Not necessarily or at all times. But this time what is involved is precisely what these authentic teachers did say on the question. Consequently we permit ourselves to confine the dispute essentially to quotations from Lenin, Trotsky and others so as to establish whether the dictatorship of the party is Leninist or "revisionist," i.e., a Stalinist innovation.

"The question arises," asked one group of German ultra-Leftists in its pamphlet of 1920, "Who should be the wielder of this dictatorship; the Communist Party or the proletarian class...? On principle, should we strive towards the dictatorship of the Communist Party or the dictatorship of the proletarian class?"

To which Lenin, who advised western revolutionists to praise the Bolsheviks less and learn from their experiences more, retorted: "The very posing of the question: 'Dictatorship of the party or dictatorship of the class?—Dictatorship (party) of the leaders or dictatorship (party) of the mass?' is proof of a quite incredible and hopeless mental confusion. People wear themselves out in order to concoct something extraordinary, and in their intellectual zeal make themselves ridiculous." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 225 [German edition].)

At the end of the same year, in a speech to the party fraction in the eighth all-Russian Soviet congress, Lenin dealt with exactly the same question from a somewhat different angle: "The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be realized by means of an unbroken organization, for not only with us, in one of the most backward capitalist countries, but in all the other capitalist countries as well, the proletariat still remains so split up, so bowed down, here and there so corrupted (particularly by imperialism in the separate countries), that an all-embracing organization of the proletariat cannot directly realize its dictatorship. The dictatorship can be realized only by that vanguard which has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class. In this manner there arises to a certain extent a system of cogwheels. That is what the mechanism of the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat looks like, the essence of the transition from capitalism to Communism." (*Selected Works, The Struggle for the Social Revolution*, p. 590 [German edition].)

Again, in his speech to the educational congress held shortly after the revolution, Lenin declared: "When we are reproached for establishing the dictatorship of a single party and the single socialist front is proposed to us, we reply: 'Yes, dictatorship of a single party and on that score we shall not yield, for it is this party which, in the

course of many years, has won its place as vanguard of the whole industrial proletariat.'" (G. Zinoviev, *Le Léninisme*, p. 303.)

In this spirit, the twelfth congress of the Russian Communists adopted a resolution stating: "The dictatorship of the working class can be secured in no other way than through the form of the dictatorship of its advanced vanguard, that is, the Communist party."

In far greater detail, we have the view of Trotsky, written down in a work which enjoyed the official approval of the Russian Communists and the Communist International as well as a wide distribution in several languages.

"The exceptional rôle of the Communist party in the victorious proletarian revolution is quite comprehensible. The question is of the dictatorship of the class. Into the composition of the class there enter various strata, heterogeneous moods, different levels of development. The dictatorship, however, presupposes unity of will, direction, action,

with the compromisers decked in red. The coalition soon broke up. The Communist party paid heavily for the revolutionary incompetence and political treachery of its companions. It is quite obvious that for the Hungarian Communists it would have been more advantageous to have come to power later, after having afforded the Left compromisers the possibility of compromising themselves once and for all. How far this was possible, is another question. In any case, the coalition with the compromisers only temporarily hid the relative weakness of the Hungarian Communists, at the same time prevented them from growing stronger at the expense of the compromisers, and brought them to disaster. "The same idea is sufficiently illustrated by the example of the Russian revolution. The coalition of the Bolsheviks with the Left Social Revolutionists, which lasted for several months, ended with a bloody conflict. True, the reckoning for the coalition had to be paid, not so much by us Communists as by our perfidious companions. It is obvious that such a coalition, in which we were the stronger side, and therefore

the possibility of becoming transformed from amorphous parliaments of labor into the apparatus of the domination of labor. In this 'substitution' of the power of the party for the power of the working class there is nothing accidental, and in reality there is absolutely no substitution at all. The Communists express the fundamental interests of the working class. It is quite natural that, in the period in which history places these interests on the order of the day in all their magnitude, the Communists should become the recognized representatives of the working class as a whole.... The Kautskyans accuse the Soviet power of being the dictatorship of a 'section' of the working class. 'If only,' they say, 'the dictatorship was carried out by the whole class!' It is not easy to understand what they actually have in mind by this. The dictatorship of the proletariat, by its innermost essence, signifies the direct domination of the revolutionary vanguard, which rests upon the heavy masses, and where necessary, obliges the backward rear to conform with the head."

—*Terrorismus und Kommunismus*, p. 90ff

By this time a fairly accurate idea should exist as to where the "revision" is located, or rather where it is *not* located. Now let us inquire into where a revision, without quotation marks, actually did occur. The results will not prove uninteresting, and to some—surprising.

In 1924, a brochure called *The Results of the Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party* commented on the phrase "dictatorship of the party" as follows: "I remember that in one of the resolutions of our congress, it even appears, in the resolution of the twelfth congress, such an expression was permitted, naturally as an oversight [...]. Then Lenin is wrong in speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat and not of the dictatorship of the party," concludes the author with that irony peculiarly his own.

The author is no other than the same Stalin to whom Kantorovitch and others, with such cruel injustice, attribute the introduction into Soviet life of the idea of party dictatorship as against the dictatorship of the proletariat! Had they said black is white they could not be further from the truth.

Immediately after the appearance of the brochure, Zinoviev penned a stiff reply in which the Lenin position was reproduced and which, with the approbation of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, appeared in *Pravda* (No. 190). By 1926, however, not only had Zinoviev joined with Trotsky in the famous Opposition Bloc but Stalin had gained sufficient control of the party apparatus to attack more impudently and with greater impunity every fundamental idea for which Lenin and the party ever stood. Stalin now took the offensive on the question and raked Zinoviev fore and aft for his views on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party, especially as expressed in his book *Leninism*, compiled from lectures delivered in 1924 which were, in their time, anonymously directed at Stalin. The polemic can be found, among other places, in the speeches delivered by the two opponents at the November-December 1926 plenary session of the executive committee of the Communist International (seventh plenum).

The theoretical import of the dispute is far from trifling, but the practical results of Stalin's position are of even greater concern. Stalin's standpoint did not mean, as might be superficially indicated, that he stood for the rule of million-headed masses instead of its "undemocratic usurpation" by a comparatively tiny party. Just the opposite tendency should be discerned. After mechanically counterposing the one to the other, Stalin has strangled Soviet democracy by strangling party democracy. The Soviets themselves have been hollowed out into shells because the Stalinist apparatus has systematically

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Petrograd Soviet, 1917.



"We have more than once been accused of having substituted for the dictatorship of the Soviets the dictatorship of our party. Yet it can be said with complete justice that the dictatorship of the Soviets became possible only by means of the dictatorship of the party. It is thanks to the clarity of its theoretical vision and its firm revolutionary organization that the party assured the Soviets the possibility of becoming transformed from amorphous parliaments of labor into the apparatus of the domination of labor." —Leon Trotsky

Along what other road then can it be attained? The revolutionary supremacy of the proletariat presupposes within the proletariat itself the political supremacy of a party, with a clear program of action and an inviolable internal discipline.

"The policy of coalitions contradicts internally the régime of the revolutionary dictatorship. We have in view, not coalitions with bourgeois parties, of which of course there can be no talk, but a coalition of Communists with other 'Socialist' organizations, representing different stages of backwardness and prejudice of the laboring masses.

"The revolution swiftly undermines all that is unstable, wears out all that is artificial; the contradictions glossed over in a coalition are swiftly revealed under the pressure of revolutionary events. We have had an example of this in Hungary, where the dictatorship of the proletariat assumed the political form of a coalition of the Communists

were not taking too many risks in the attempt to make use of the extreme Left wing of petty bourgeois democracy for the duration of an historical stretch of the road, tactically must be completely justified. But nonetheless, the Left S.R. episode quite clearly shows that the régime of compromises, agreements, mutual concessions—for that is what a coalition régime is—cannot last long in an epoch in which situations change with extreme rapidity, and in which supreme unity in point of view is necessary in order to render possible unity of action.

"We have more than once been accused of having substituted for the dictatorship of the Soviets the dictatorship of our party. Yet it can be said with complete justice that the dictatorship of the Soviets became possible only by means of the dictatorship of the party. It is thanks to the clarity of its theoretical vision and its firm revolutionary organization that the party assured the Soviets

Shachtman...

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clubbed the party into an amorphous, impotent pulp. (The reformist elucubrations about Stalin's "dictatorship of the party" are positively ludicrous, even in the sense in which it is used; it is precisely the party that Stalin has crushed!) The indispensable prerequisite for the reestablishment and the widest extension of Soviet democracy, for the reconsolidation of the proletarian dictatorship which Stalinism has undermined, is nothing short of the rebuilding and restoration to its former supremacy of the revolutionary Communist party in the U.S.S.R.!

To probable critics:

Shouldn't the real (!) power lie with the Soviets, after all? Yes, but not *against* the revolutionary party (see, Germany and Austria in 1918, Kronstadt, Miliukov's slogan: "Soviets without Communists"). The Soviet system is the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is firmly realizable only through its vanguard, the party.

Isn't a Soviet-party conflict theoretically possible, and in that case who would submit to whom? All sorts of things are theoretically possible; consequently, "theoretically" the party would submit and seek to convince the Soviets.

Aren't you presupposing an ideal, incorruptible revolutionary party, which you really cannot guarantee? We guarantee nothing in the class struggle. If the party degenerates, fight inside for its regeneration; if that becomes hopeless, fight to build a new one. Without it—no dictatorship of the party, nor of the proletariat; no Soviet democracy—only the triumph of reaction.

How can you one-party-dictatorship people win the socialists when you tell them that after the revolution their party will be suppressed? (The Stalinists often ask us how we can propose a united front with the party that betrayed the workers!) We do not, however, tell the socialists anything of the kind. The revolutionary dictatorship will suppress only those who take up arms against it—the Bolsheviks never did more than that in Russia (see, Trotsky's article in 1932 on Socialist and Communist relations in the struggle to seize power in Germany, *The Militant*, No. 168.)

How can you be so sure that events, let us say, in the United States will follow the Russian pattern in such details? 1. It is not the "Russian" pattern; 2. The Hungarian revolution broke its neck on this "detail"; 3. History is not for professors, but something to learn from, and truth being always concrete, the lessons to be drawn from the history of the last seventeen years, at least, of revolutionary struggle lead to certain inescapable conclusions. We leave it to Kantorovitch to mumble (at this late date!) about the "possibility" of following several "non-Russian" roads to power. We follow Lenin.

Max SHACHTMAN

*Unless otherwise indicated, all italics are my own. M.S.

**Kantorovitch's Militants demand the defense of the Soviet Union, where a dictatorship *over* the proletariat prevails. Why? What class is dictating over the proletariat? What system of property relations does this class represent and defend, well or ill? In any other country where there exists a dictatorship *over* the proletariat (Italy, Germany, France, United States) we regard it as simple social patriotism to "defend the fatherland." Loose and ambiguous language does not always mean a loose mind; sometimes it means an extremely "astute" one.

London, U.K.

17 May 1978

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

In the 3 March and 28 April issues of your paper you published an extended discussion of Paul Avrich's book on the Kronstadt rising. In suggesting that revolutionaries read this book your paper has done an inestimable good.

But those who read that book will find that your "review" of it shows that it is not only the critics of Lenin and Trotsky who can be accused of "incapacity to interpret the facts before their eyes" (3 March, p. 6). Both the Petrograd strikers and the rebellious sailors are grossly distorted in your description. You claim, quoting Trotsky, that the Petrograd workers were hostile to the

anti-semitism among the sailors, the connections of some of the Kronstadt leaders with rightist emigrés after their flight, etc., is certainly the most substantial Trotskyist work to date on the topic. But not only do you not understand Avrich's book, neither do you understand the thrust of critical views on the Bolsheviks in 1921. As you may say the working class was decimated in the Civil War, the Leninists were suspended above the peasantry. But that is not to say that the oppressed class took and held power. On the contrary, destroyed by massacre and privation, let down by the Western working class, the class that took power did not hold it. To say that there was no alternative programme to the Bolsheviks (save defeat) is to say that there was no programme for democratic



Heroic Red Army men advance over ice to Kronstadt.



Workers on breadline in early 1920's. Kronstadt revolt got no support from beleaguered urban masses who suffered most from peasant resistance to Bolshevik rule.

Kronstadt rising (3 March, p. 11). Any reader would have to wait till the second part, eight weeks later, to find out that there was massive unrest in Petrograd which partly triggered off the sailors and which was suppressed by the Bolsheviks. This urban turmoil you coyly claim was ended by a combination of propaganda, military strength and concessions (28 April, p. 4). A reader of Avrich will find that you omit to mention such activities as the stopping of rations and mass arrests!

Most importantly you are strikingly selective in your account of the White plot that Avrich has demonstrated. What you don't note is his conclusion that there is no known link between National Center plans for a coup and the actual rising itself. Most significantly, unmentioned by you, the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee published a brilliant article warning the population of attempts to use the defeat of the Bolsheviks to restore reaction.

There are several other examples of failing to mention Avrich's views or qualifications which affect your own versions of his book. Your articles, bringing to Marxists' and anarchists' attention the involvement of Whites, the

socialism that was viable for the Russia of 1921.

Yours,
S. Max

WV replies: S. Max raises two specific criticisms of our article "Kronstadt and Counterrevolution" (*WV* Nos. 195 and 203) and briefly presents a general political attack on Leninism. He claims that we distort the relation of the striking Petrograd workers to the Kronstadt mutineers and that we draw an illegitimate conclusion from the evidence Avrich presents about the relation of the counterrevolutionary National Center to the mutiny. He also implies that the Kronstadt mutiny was a legitimate struggle for "democratic socialism," and that we are fatally pessimistic about proletarian democracy in Russia after 1921.

We have never denied or tried to hide the fact that the Bolsheviks used state repression against the Petrograd strikers in February 1921, as well as making concessions to them. In fact, in a polemic against the social-democratic Socialist Labor Party in the very issue preceding Part 1 of "Kronstadt and

Counterrevolution," we stated:

"In February 1921 a strike wave broke out in Petrograd. The Soviet government quelled this through a combination of concessions... and repression (arresting Menshevik agitators)."

—"The SLP and the Russian Question," *WV* No. 194, 24 February 1978

Yet in the late 1930's Trotsky maintained that the Kronstadt mutiny "repelled" the Petrograd workers. Avrich confirms this from the side of the Kronstadters:

"Refugees in Finland later complained that they had thought the Petrograd workers 'meant business' and that the strikes would develop into a full-fledged revolution. Similarly, captured sailors whom [the Menshevik leader] Dan encountered in prison accused the workers of selling out to the government 'for a pound of meat'."

—Kronstadt 1921

Why were the Petrograd workers, many of whom had just struck against the Bolshevik government, unsympathetic, if not outright hostile, to the mutinous sailors? Most anarcho-libertarian defenders of Kronstadt (though not Avrich) deny any class conflict between workers and peasants, amalgamating them into the "people" or "toilers" (Max uses the phrase "the oppressed class") versus state authoritarianism. But in any backward workers state there is a short-term conflict of interest between the proletariat and small agricultural proprietors. The former want food at the cheapest price; the latter want the maximum income for their produce. In the economically ruined Russia of 1921, this class conflict was aggravated to the *n*th degree.

The objective impact of the Kronstadt program would have meant even greater starvation for the urban workers. The Kronstadt sailors (largely peasants in uniform) called for an end to grain requisitioning, which would have led to a drastic reduction in the food supply to the cities. Significantly in this respect, the semi-syndicalist Workers Opposition in the Bolshevik Party (also often hailed along with the Kronstadters by anti-Leninist leftists) stood for *continuing* the state requisitioning of grain. The Petrograd workers, whatever their discontents with the Bolshevik regime, instinctively recognized the anti-proletarian nature of the Kronstadt mutiny.

S. Max makes much of the fact that "there is no known link between National Center plans for a coup and the actual rising itself." It is true that there is no *direct*, irrefutable proof that any of the leaders of the Kronstadt mutiny were National Center agents. However, the circumstantial evidence linking the Kronstadt mutiny to White Guard plotting was substantial from the outset, and Avrich's researches have unearthed new material, all of which leads unmistakably to the conclusion that there was a connection.

By way of comparison, there is, for example, no direct evidence that Hitler ordered or even knew about the mass execution of the Jews. Himmler claimed that the official order for "The Final Solution" was for deportation of the Jews, not their mass murder. And in his biography, *Hitler* (1974), the German historian Joachim C. Fest states:

"For in the table talk, the speeches, the documents or the recollections of participants for all these years, not a single concrete reference of his [Hitler's] to the practice of annihilation has come to us."

Would S. Max care to make the legalistic argument that there is no known link between Hitler and the actual mass execution of the Jews?

The evidence, much of it new, which Avrich presents about the link between the National Center and the Kronstadt mutiny is conclusive for anyone not

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RWL...

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Quebec NDP were never resolved." And a compromise line of supporting the NDP in English Canada but not in Quebec and avoiding raising the slogan of an NDP government did not succeed in keeping the peace as the prospect of another federal election looms. A grouping centered in the LOR's Montreal branch (where it reportedly comprises the majority) has come out against support to NDP candidates in Quebec or English Canada:

"We want to put into question our traditional policy of support for the social-democracy in view of the key role of the national question involving Quebec and the central axis which must consequently structure our tactical orientation: the struggle for the right to self-determination."

Aside from its elevation of the Quebec national question to the sole criterion for support (of course, not "critical support") to NDP candidates, this grouping ("Tendency A") has little new to offer. Its major organizational proposal, the development of "an extremely serious security policy" (sloganeered as "we are outlaws on parole"), bears the stamp of the USec majority's former vicarious guerrillaism, now dumped in favor of the popular-frontist turn which restored a measure of unity to the USec internationally.

The documents of this grouping are, however, illustrative of the demoralization rampant in the RWL/LOR as the promised mass influence failed to materialize for the fused organization:

"Since September a large number of comrades have thought about quitting the organization. That has to end.... What we want to do is create a framework for democratically debating, and as much as possible, resolving the political and organizational questions which are the source of tension. We are forming a tendency, secondly, because we are afraid that the debate will be swept under the carpet.... "Let us be clear: if the majority of the organization believed that in the beginning it was necessary to avoid premature polarizations, that time is passed...."

Though politically amateurish in the extreme, Tendency A speaks for a broad section of the RWL ranks in its disgust at the fusion "discussion" process and its distrust of the RWL leadership.

Tendency A also evinces hostility toward the leadership's failing scheme for fusion with the Quebec Lambertiste organization (GSTQ), part of the SWP's game plan for drawing the Lambert current into the USec. Here the difference is evidently a matter of geography. The Montreal-centered oppositionists contemplate the degeneration of their already tension-ridden branch into an outright zoo, but the Toronto-based RWL leadership remains blithe in the face of what it admits are "substantial differences remain[ing] on a series of fundamental questions." Indeed, the RWL leadership did not shrink from explicit anti-internationalism in motivating its desire for a rapprochement with the GSTQ:

"For our part, we don't believe that such differences, as important as they are, justify the existence of two separate organizations.... The building of national revolutionary parties and the evolution of the different national components of international organizations are relatively autonomous. If a real convergence exists on the national level, international differences should not serve as a brake to discussion and common actions.... and we don't make a precondition of agreement on all the international questions for building a common organization."

RWL Information Bulletin,
Volume 1, No. 1, January 1978

Night of the Long Knives?

The RWL has apparently fused the LSA's reformist politics with the chronic New Leftist/Menshevik organizational incompetence of the RMG. At the Easter plenum it was admitted that despite promises of reinforcement of smaller branches through the fusion, the

S.F. Longshore Votes, "No"

Herman Puts Over Job-Slashing Contract in ILWU

Union president Jimmy Herman has managed to sell his rotten contract to West Coast dock workers organized in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The pact was approved by a vote of 5,495 to 2,474.

Herman's settlement, which will accelerate the massive erosion of jobs on the waterfront, contains no cost-of-living protection and increases the number of "steady men," thereby further weakening the union hiring hall. This settlement was far less popular than the 69 percent in favor would seem to indicate. On July 23, when Herman tried to sell his deal to almost 1,000 longshoremen in San Francisco, he was almost booed off the platform; the same thing had occurred only a few days earlier in Los Angeles.

In San Francisco, where unemployment on the waterfront is highest and the new contract will double the number of steady men, the ranks voted the contract down 847 to 763. This was the first time in over 20 years that the port of San Francisco, the historic center of the union, has voted down on the first

round a contract pushed by the International.

The key issue in the struggle over the ILWU contract was the question of a strike. Fake militant local officials in San Francisco, Los Angeles/Long Beach and Seattle, who were "against" the contract, were just as adamant as Herman himself in opposing a strike. But their line that gains could be made without a strike cut little ice with longshoremen. In 1975 longshoremen twice voted down their contract and sent it back for renegotiation. No strike was called; the longshoremen got nothing. This year a significant section of the employers threatened a lockout in the event of a "no" vote. Saddled with a defeatist and cowardly leadership that preached that a strike would be a disaster, two thirds of the longshoremen voted "yes."

Only the "Longshore Militant" group in Local 10 (San Francisco) posed a real alternative to Herman's sellout. Local executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor issued a leaflet July 20 entitled "Stand Up and Fight! Vote No! Organize for an Immediate

Strike!" The "Longshore Militant" put the issue pointblank: "There is only one way to win what we need: an effective coastwide strike!" and demanded the recall of the treacherous Coast Caucus and the election of strike committees in every port to prepare for a militant strike.

In the end the longshoremen voted to accept a contract they didn't want because they had no confidence that Herman, his flunkies or his timid bureaucratic "opponents" could win anything better. Seeing little chance that those misleaders who warned so strenuously against a strike would lead a serious one, the ranks resigned themselves to a rotten settlement.

Herman's contract will prove just as disastrous as the ones negotiated by Harry Bridges before him. For longshoremen there is only one road forward: the struggle to build a new combative leadership based on the class-struggle principles of the "Longshore Militant," which, unlike the gutless Herman and his errand boys in the Communist Party, openly and honestly prepares longshoremen for a real and necessary fight against the bosses. ■

lack of "a clear set of priorities or political focus meant that the leadership was unable to develop and lead a planned transfers program." The pervasive dilettantism evidently extends to the leadership: "[We must] politically motivate transfers and find the cadre as well as being prepared to be part of the process itself[!]. ...[or] we risk losing not only branches but valuable cadre as a result of demoralization and exhaustion." "It has been virtually impossible to find comrades to act as full-time organizers for the Montreal branch leadership."

The RWL has already suffered a number of resignations of long-time cadres. Another morbid indication, fraught with sinister implications for the presently honeymooning USec bloc, is an apparent purge of long-time SWP loyalists in Canada. In June the two editors of the RWL/LOR press (John Riddell, an LSA leader for nearly two decades, and Colleen Levis of the former LSO) were suddenly ousted and replaced by former RMG/GMR leaders. And the two pre-eminent members of the old LSA Political Committee, Riddell and former right-hand man Dick Fiddler, were dumped from the payroll, ostensible victims of the shrinkage of the RWL's dues base.

We do not envy their replacements the task of holding up Humpty Dumpty. ■

FBI Finks...

(continued from page 5)

siasts like a white flag, framing up and expelling more than 100 pro-USec members of the SWP on 4 July 1974. Of course, the internal bulletins of that expulsion soon turned up in court as evidence of the SWP's good faith in opposing "violence." Griesa was reassured. The SWP was not a revolutionary party at all, but a legalist, electoralist outfit:

"There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States.... In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

In the latest round of infighting over

the informer files, the legal arguments hinge on the reliability of the SWP and its lawyers in keeping the government's secrets. Griesa argues that to allow the SWP lawyers access to the files is not the same thing as exposing government agents:

"The court wishes to state that, in the five years of experience with plaintiff's attorneys in this case, these attorneys have demonstrated beyond any question their total reliability. They have proved that, while they may strongly object to certain directions of the Court, they will obey these directions to the letter, including orders of confidentiality."

In pursuit of "victory" in the courts, the SWP implicitly accepts the arguments of the FBI and its protectors about the spy agency's "right" to "confidentiality." The SWP's main demand is that its attorneys—whose commitment to "professional ethics" presumably transcends any political sympathies Judge Griesa might find suspect—be granted privileged access to the 18 informant files, in exchange for safeguarding the information against scrutiny by the public. By allowing its attorneys to be legally barred from conveying this "privileged" information on the FBI even to the SWP itself, the SWP places its own lawyers in the peculiar position of covering up the government's continuing war on the left or facing charges of contempt of court.

The "non-member informants" and the agents who have already left the SWP may well be plying their despicable trade in other left-wing and labor organizations—spying, slandering, skulking about under the cover of anonymity, getting people fired, evicted from their homes, arrested. Will the SWP jeopardize its court victory to "leak" this information to the victims of FBI crimes? Revolutionists might, if necessary, agree under protest to a judge's instructions, but keeping the FBI's dirty secrets vitiates a central purpose of such a suit against the government.

For revolutionists, challenging the spy agency's "right" to bar disclosure of its crimes would be a major focus of any "Watersuit"—even on the simplest bourgeois-democratic grounds. In fact, by the mid-1600's, English bourgeois reformers had succeeded in challenging

the "star chamber," where people were indicted and slandered without the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers. Shouldn't socialists demand the same rights as "ordinary" people are supposed to have? The entire workers movement must demand that *all* the FBI informant files be made public now!

Down with the FBI/CIA!

Revolutionists would take full advantage of the post-Watergate climate, exploiting differences within the bourgeois camp over how best to organize the secret police, using all legal means at our disposal. But unlike the SWP, revolutionists would not sow illusions about the liberal reformers (and in Griesa's case, the not-so-liberal reformers) of the spy system. Nor would we present the courts as a way of ending it. The repressive apparatus of the capitalist state will exist until the class-conscious proletariat, embarking on the conquest of state power, dismantles the FBI/CIA, opens all the files and brings the architects and executives of their murderous "tricks" to justice.

An aggressive class policy of public exposure of the FBI, exposing also the class basis of the courts, can bring closer that day. But such a policy is not in the nature of the reformist beast. Rather, the SWP scenario for its legal battle recalls the movie "Z" in which one honest judge brings down an entire corrupt government. The SWP has its honest judge and looks forward to a happy ending: a more "democratic" police, a more law-abiding attorney-general, ultimately a reformed government.

But life is not a movie and the SWP will not get its reformed government. In fact, the way things are going these days in the high court, the outcome of its "socialist Watersuit" is not a foregone conclusion. Foes of the FBI should certainly enjoy these efforts to give the FBI a tiny taste of the harassment which it has visited on the radical movement with impunity, but with no confidence that such legalistic campaigns will assist the working people in grasping the nature of the class enemy's state and organizing to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

U.S. Postal...

(continued from page 16)

cratic and Republican politician and should underscore the necessity for the unions to form their own political party. But the postal union tops—who have not lifted a finger to defend the victimized strikers, much less call a strike—share with their counterparts in the rest of the trade-union bureaucracies a cringing subservience to the capitalist politicians.

After three months of secret bargaining, they capitulated to the government's intransigence and handed the ranks a contract with wage increases so small they will not even keep up with inflation. The contract contains nothing to halt the automation/attrition drive projected to slash 125,000 jobs over the next five years (on top of the nearly 100,000 lost over the last two contract periods). Urging ratification in mail balloting currently underway in the two largest postal unions, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), the national officers are handicapped by their complete collapse of authority in the eyes of the membership. Delegates to the NALC convention, held the first week of August in Chicago, repeatedly booed president Joe Vacca and overwhelmingly voted to recommend rejection of the contract. APWU chief Emmett Andrews is likely to get a similar reception at his union's convention, convening August 14 in Denver.

Well aware of the anger and dissatisfaction of the ranks, local postal union leaders all over the country have deserted their national officials and are urging a "no" vote on the contract. But just as eager as their superiors to avoid a confrontation with the federal government, almost all the local leaders are calling for renegotiations rather than a strike. The folly of the renegotiation dodge has already been made clear by Postmaster General William Bolger, who has rejected rehashing the contract. On July 29, he replied with a flat "no" to the desperate plea of APWU president Andrews to front load some of the miserly wage increase to head off a mushrooming rank-and-file revolt against the contract. Bolger said if the proposed contract is rejected, legally mandated fact-finding and compulsory arbitration procedures will commence.

The postal workers have never won anything from the largesse of "neutral" arbitrators or from appealing to the compassion of the capitalist politicians in Washington. They were among the lowest-paid unionized workers in the U.S. and without even collective bargaining rights until their now-famous strike exploded in 1970. In the face of 220,000 striking postmen, all the court injunctions, deployed troops and gnashing of politicians' teeth proved impotent. The postal workers right to strike will be won the picket line. And a solid national strike is the only way they can break through the restraints of government-imposed arbitrators, who will at best offer the postmen only a slightly "sweetened" version of what they already have.

Postal workers must demand the immediate convening of local mass meetings to both take strike votes and elect strike committees. They must not rely on mail balloting, which atomizes the membership and is easily manipulated by the bureaucrats counting the votes. Delegates to the APWU convention should reject the contract and compulsory arbitration and, as the largest of the postal unions, vote to lead the 570,000 postal workers out on strike. Shut down the Post Office!

Biller/Sombrotto: Betrayal and Slander

That the postal workers are not on strike already is largely the responsibility

of Moe Biller and Vince Sombrotto, the leaders of the 23,000-strong Metro APWU and Branch 36 Letter Carriers in New York. It was the New York unions which led the 1970 strike, making national reputations for Biller and Sombrotto, and it was to these two men that hundreds of thousands of postal workers looked for militant leadership this year.

But while Biller and Sombrotto were anxious to tap the massive discontent of the postal workers in order to expand their influence, they had no appetite for a clash with Jimmy Carter. They pushed the call for renegotiations loudest precisely to divert their restless ranks from the strike at the BMC just across

strike vote, leaving the BMC strikers to be beaten into the ground.

Biller was not content, however, to just let the courts and postal authorities work over the strikers. He also wanted to eliminate any challenge to his gutless betrayal. So while he was publicly calling for amnesty for the fired workers, the two-faced hack was viciously assailing them within the union. In an "Open Letter to Bulk Workers," Biller blamed the strike on a "few adventurers." One fired BMC steward told *WV* that at a July 31 meeting of the Metro stewards, Biller launched a one-hour tirade against the BMC strike leaders as "FBI agents," "labor spies" who were "working with management" and

reject Biller's contemptible backstabbing and demand that all those fired be rehired and that the union provide money and lawyers for the necessary defense of those victimized, which the union leaders have so far refused to do.

While the postal workers who have been fired and face prosecution must pursue all necessary legal remedies, their fight is integrally bound up with the contract fight and will be ultimately won on the picket lines, not in the courtroom. A national strike would turn the court orders and firing slips into mere scraps of paper and give the postal workers the power they need to fight off the government's job-stealing, wage-cutting offensive.

It is in pursuing the fight for a national strike that the Maoist-Stalinist groups are most disoriented and divided. While supporters of the RCP on the West Coast are still calling for a national strike, the "Good Contract Committee" at the Jersey City BMC, which is endorsed by the RWH, has been downplaying a national strike call. Committee leaders Kenny Leiner and Dave Cline told a *WV* reporter that they supported the law suit filed by the head of the Pittsburgh APWU chapter—and predictably thrown out of federal court on August 2—to hold up the ratification vote on procedural grounds, a move that was also backed by RCP supporters on the West Coast. The Committee also states that it is considering taking legal action against the APWU for failing to provide adequate representation.

These are petty and desperate measures, which furthermore can only backfire on the postal workers. Inviting the bosses' courts, which have been in the forefront of the government offensive against the postal workers, to determine when and how a ratification vote should be conducted or what constitutes fair representations is like asking hungry wolves to supervise the hen house. Postal workers must keep the government arbitrators' and courts' hands off their unions.

Though the class collaboration of the postal union bureaucracies with the hardlining Carter administration has so far kept the lid on, a walkout by a major, big-city postal local could well blow the situation wide open. Postal workers must demand city-wide strike-vote meetings—and joint meetings of the different unions to coordinate their actions and pave the way for their long overdue merger—in order to stop the mails from coast to coast. And the entire labor movement must stand ready to back the postal workers with solidarity strikes if Carter calls out the troops. Finally, the lesson of Carter's and the Democratic Party's attacks on the coal miners, the postal workers and all trade unionists, the poor and unemployed, must be brought home: No more support to the strikebreaking, budget-slashing capitalist parties! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■



San Francisco Chronicle

Strike pickets at the Bulk Mail Center in Richmond, California.

the river in New Jersey.

Sombrotto carefully stationed himself behind Biller, swearing up and down that he would follow whatever action the Metro APWU took, knowing full well that Biller intended no action at all. Opening a heavy propaganda barrage against NALC president Vacca, Sombrotto had himself nominated for president at the convention (voting will be by mail ballot), while his aides passed out copies of the latest Branch 36 newspaper, featuring no less than nine pictures of the not-immodest Sombrotto, a lot of militant rhetoric, but no strike call.

Biller was under more direct pressure, since the New Jersey BMC strikers were members of his own local and had begun picketing the large Manhattan main post office in order to spread the strike. Biller is a crafty tactician and he began a series of wily and not unsuccessful maneuvers to simultaneously appear militant, discredit the strikers and head off a national walkout.

When the Postal Service fired nearly a hundred strikers on July 24, Biller dramatically announced a strike vote for the next week and vowed to "immediately" initiate a strike should the vote pass, which everyone knew it would. All that week, Biller hurled strike threats and made the national news every day, portrayed as a fire-breathing militant.

It was, however, all an elaborate sham. Biller knew that the courts, which had already handed down restraining orders against the BMC strikers, would similarly intervene to enjoin a threatened Metro strike, particularly if he provoked the judges with enough strike rhetoric. Sure enough, on Friday, July 28, federal judge Frederick Lacey enjoined the Metro APWU from either striking or even taking a strike vote, which Biller had carefully delayed for a week in order to give the wheels of justice time to turn. After all the talk about defying federal law, the president and the courts, Biller immediately pledged obedience and called off the

"agents provocateurs." These despicable slanders are aimed at driving a wedge between disgruntled postal workers and Biller's leftist critics in the union, who have played a prominent role in both the Jersey and Bay Area strikes. Among the strike leaders were supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), its recent split-off the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH) and smaller grouplets of Stalinists, social democrats and centrists.

The Maoist-Stalinist groups have a history of combining their reformist programs with frequently adventurist tactics, trying to "jam the unions" with ill-advised wildcats. But in the context of a tentative contract held in disdain by tens if not hundreds of thousands of postal workers and with the history of the well-remembered 1970 strike, which began as a "wildcat" by the New York unions, Biller's cop-baiting and charges of adventurism are nothing but cowardly lies. Biller is vilifying those who have done nothing more than he did in 1970, with the only difference being that he got away with it. Postal workers must

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Portugal...

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called for a "left government" constituted by a PS-PCP coalition (*O Diário*, 31 July). The same demand was raised in a joint communiqué by the Liga Comunista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (LCI/PRT), sympathizing sections of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (*Diário de Notícias*, 31 July).

What would a Socialist-Communist government mean in the present conditions in Portugal? Mário Soares has repeatedly rejected the demand as provoking a deep left-right split in the country and possible open civil war. In the face of the present rightist offensive, such a scenario is not at all impossible. The election of the Spanish Popular Front government in 1936 and of the Chilean Unidad Popular in 1970 certainly led to a right-wing counterrevolutionary mobilization. But would a PS-PCP government mobilize the working class to win the inevitable showdown with the counterrevolutionary forces?

If the centrist revisionists of the LCI/PRT feel the need for an "orthodox" precedent for their demand they might point to the revolutionary crisis in France in 1934 when Trotsky called for Communist-Socialist-CGT (trade union federation) government. However, the present situation in Portugal, where the social democrats have been the dominant governing party for almost three years, is entirely different. In 1934 when Trotsky raised his demand it was in the context of joint Communist-Socialist-CGT demonstrations in the streets against fascist provocations. Demonstrations were not enough, he wrote, it was necessary to take this united force and organize the government based on their strength, which alone could smash the fascist menace once and for all.

In Portugal, Mário Soares, far from mobilizing the masses to defend the agrarian reform and nationalizations, has been steadily chipping away at these conquests in carrying out his program of capitalist economic "recuperation." In this the PS was continuing the policies which placed it at the head of anti-communist mobilizations of July-November 1975, and has continued to enjoy the support of the leading imperialist powers. Although the PCP has historically called for "defense of the conquest of April 25," it has repeatedly stressed its support for Eanes and refused to mobilize the working masses against the rightist attacks.

Should the present ministerial crisis escalate into a general confrontation between the workers movement and the rightist assault on the "Socialist constitution," for example, it is not impossible that the Socialist and Communist leaders could be forced to break from Eanes and call their ranks into the streets. In this case the slogan of a PCP-PS-Intersindical government could be placed on the order of the day. But such developments have not taken place, and at present a Soares-Cunhal government would continue the treacherous policies which have placed the Portuguese working masses in such a threatened position today.

The large-scale land reform and extensive nationalizations of 1975 were not part of the program of the MFA nor the result of actions by the demagogic "leftists" of the bourgeois officer corps. They did not result from a deliberate policy of the PCP or from its ministerial maneuvering. They were the product of militant action by the Portuguese working masses seeking to defend themselves against the threat of counterrevolution. They can only be preserved in the same manner—not by static defense or parliamentary horse trading, but by a revolutionary mobilization to expropriate the capitalist class as a whole. The essential condition for success is the construction of a strong, genuinely Trotskyist party as a section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

Hands Off Spanish PORE!

As Spanish cops machine-gun demonstrators and fascist thugs assault the offices of socialist organizations in the Basque region, the courts have joined in victimizing left-wing opponents of the Adolfo Suárez/Juan Carlos "reformed Francoist" regime. In May Miguel Salas, editor of the newspaper *La Aurora*, was dragged before a military tribunal and charged with having "insulted the military." The accusation is based upon an article printed last December by the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España (PORE - Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain) which criticized the Spanish Communist Party's call for military participation in the government.

The PORE has been the victim of systematic persecution by Franco's heirs because of its refusal to recognize either the "legitimacy" of the monarchy or the "integrity" of the Spanish state. Not only was the PORE singled out by the government for rejection of its request to be legalized (as are virtually all other political parties in Spain), but its militants have been hauled into court on the slightest pretext and charged with little more than their party affiliation. Last January, for example, a PORE-associated corporal at the El Paní air base was arrested along with several PORE members and accused of stealing arms in a clear frame-up (see "Free Santiago Alegria! Drop the Ban on the PORE!" *WV* No. 192, 10 February).

Now Salas has been hauled before the same military authorities on the basis of an article in a legal newspaper. If

convicted, he could be imprisoned for several years. Earlier this year a Barcelona acting troupe, "Els Joglars," were similarly charged with "insulting the military" and four of its members were sentenced to two years in prison apiece. The threat to the democratic rights of all opponents of the monarchy is clear, and according to *La Aurora* both the Spanish Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Catalonia have protested this attack on the PORE.

The international Spartacist tendency protests this latest victimization of the PORE and demands that all charges be dropped and that the ban on the PORE be lifted. Organizations such as the pseudo-Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria which refuse to take up the defense of the PORE must be condemned for their criminal sectarianism. Their despicable silence undermines the ability of the workers movement to defend all victims of rightist repression.

Once again, however, the PORE's defense is undermined by its own reckless posturing, a characteristic of the entire international tendency led by the highly dubious Michel Varga, to which the PORE belongs. In this case the Spanish Vargaite has taken to announcing a campaign to "prepare the violence of the masses against the state." A banner headline in *La Aurora* (19 May) bombastically announces that "the Fourth Congress of the PORE Declares War of the Masses Against the Bourgeois State." In its report on this

same Congress, the American Vargaite publication *Truth* (9 June) cites as the basis for this campaign that "there is not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of the youth in Spain and all of Europe supported the kidnapping of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades in Italy!"

This sort of bombast by the tiny Vargaite sect is virtually an invitation to increased police/military attacks. Such irresponsible antics are as good as conscious provocation when faced with a government looking for a pretext for an all-out attack on the PORE under the guise of "fighting terrorism." But the PORE's latest ominous turn was not accepted without resistance, it seems, for a member of the editorial board writes in the 9 June issue of *La Aurora* in opposition to the championing of the "radicalism" of the Red Brigades and the Basque nationalist ETA.

Despite the bizarre qualities which mark the entire Vargaite "international" and increasingly dominate the activities of the PORE, these militants must be defended from bourgeois state repression. For all the talk of the "Spanish democracy" of Suárez/Juan Carlos, the slightest presumed "insult" to the military can still result in summary court martial. The PORE must be defended as part of the working-class defense of all anti-Francoist organizations and militants!

Drop the charges against Miguel Salas! Drop the ban on the PORE! ■

Kronstadt...

(continued from page 10)

blinded by partisanship. We will recapitulate:

1) A few months before the outbreak, its principal leader, Stepan Petrichenko, attempted to join the Whites but was supposedly turned down.

2) A few weeks before the revolt a White agent stationed near the base sent his headquarters a detailed report on the military and political situation inside the fortress, with the information that the Whites had recruited a group of sailors on the inside who were preparing to take an active part in the forthcoming uprising there.

3) Petrichenko played an important role in turning a mass protest meeting into a decisive break with the Soviet government.

4) The mutineers accepted food and medical supplies from the Russian Red Cross, a known front for the National Center with an office in Finland that was in contact with the Kronstadt rebels throughout the mutiny.

5) Immediately after its suppression, leaders of the revolt who had escaped to Finland entered into an open alliance with the National Center and the White general Wrangel.

But, says S. Max, didn't the Kronstadters put out propaganda warning against any attempt by White Guardists to exploit the uprising? Of course, they did. No one denies that the mass of the peasant-derived sailors were against the restoration of the old order, of the return of the landlords. As Lenin said at the time: "They don't want the White Guards, and they don't want our power either" (quoted in Avrich).

Even if all the Kronstadt propaganda had been written by White agents (and, of course, it was not), they would still have had to denounce capitalist restoration. That leaders of the Kronstadt mutiny were capable of just such duplicity was demonstrated immediately after its suppression. When Petrichenko & Co. entered into an alliance with the White Guards, they agreed to retain the slogan, "All power to the soviets, but not the parties," for its popular appeal.

But secretly they determined to set up a "temporary military dictatorship" if they won.

However, whether Petrichenko actually was a White agent is, in a sense, beside the point. Even if the mass of Kronstadt sailors had been politically conscious enough to turn their guns on the White forces sent to "aid" them (and this is questionable), they simply would have been pushed aside. Regardless of the subjective attitudes of the sailors, the success of their mutiny could only have served the cause of capitalist counterrevolution.

Even if we leave aside the issue of White Guardist intervention, the dynamic of the Kronstadt mutiny would have led to capitalist restoration. The Kronstadters' program had nothing to do with socialism, democratic or otherwise. Avrich rightly characterizes it as anarcho-populism. The Kronstadters opposed state farms in favor of private peasant proprietorship; they opposed centralized economic planning in favor of workers self-management. This economic regime necessarily implied the free exchange of commodities between independent producers. Such a reactionary utopian system would have rapidly generated a new capitalist class from among the most successful peasants, artisans and enterprises.

Given the catastrophic economic conditions of 1921, no program could have restored proletarian democracy as it existed in 1917-18. In 1921 the Bolsheviks temporarily suspended soviet democracy to preserve proletarian state power. Lenin and Trotsky fully intended to restore soviet democracy when objective conditions allowed. In late 1922 Lenin took the first step toward that restoration in opposing the bureaucratization of the Bolshevik

party. Trotsky continued that struggle. Whether and how the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution could have succeeded is beyond the scope of this reply. A correct policy in the Communist International (e.g., in the German crisis of 1923) would have been a decisive factor. But of the Kronstadt mutiny, one thing is certain: had it succeeded, it would have gravely threatened the greatest victory ever for the socialist cause—the Russian Revolution.

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Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

Byron Hove stands as an example of what happens when Smith's waterboys step out of line. Hove, the black Minister of Justice and a close associate of Muzorewa, was fired on April 28 for criticizing racial discrimination in the police and judiciary. Muzorewa, who as an Executive Council member supposedly had a veto over the decision, was not even consulted. But after blustering for three weeks and threatening to resign, the bishop found that he had no alternative but to accept Hove's dismissal. To resign would have left him out in the cold without the backing of the guerrillas or the government.

Rhodesia on the Ropes

The white settlers brought the three black puppets into the government as a desperate attempt to forestall the construction of a black-ruled Zimbabwe over the dead body of colonialist Rhodesia. But the attempt is not working. Muzorewa, Chirau and Sithole, despite the latter's claim to the allegiance of substantial numbers of ZANU guerrillas, have failed to attract Patriotic Front fighters to respect a "cease-fire" or join the government side in a war which has greatly intensified since the March 3 settlement. Emmissaries sent by Muzorewa and Sithole to contact the guerrillas have been killed by them instead.

Rhodesian forces have been unable to contain the growth of the guerrilla insurgency, and government casualties have increased to a rate three times higher than the 1977 levels. Landmines and ambushes have made rural roads and even major highways unsafe for travel by whites, and the government's loss of control over substantial areas of the country has compelled some white farmers to make their own deals with the guerrillas, turning a blind eye to their activities in exchange for immunity from harassment and attack.

White Rhodesia is visibly shrinking and, unlike South Africa where the population is 20 percent white with roots that go back centuries, the settlers are simply too few to make an effective last stand. Two thirds of the whites hold British or South African passports and thus have one foot out of the country already.

Unable to suppress the guerrillas militarily or to entice Nkomo to throw his weight behind the "internal settlement" (despite the recent legalization of ZAPU inside Rhodesia), the Smith regime now clings to its final hope—the sympathy of British Tories and U.S. right-wingers for "plucky little Rhodesia." Attempting to curry favor with these forces the government has sent Sithole and Muzorewa on propaganda tours of the U.S. and Britain and churned out endless atrocity stories about the guerrillas. These tales make good racist copy for the tabloid press but sophisticated Western leaders have been giving them an increasingly skeptical hearing. Andy Young, for example, in his notorious "thousands of U.S. political prisoners"



Black faces for white rule: Smith signs March agreement with Bishop Muzorewa (left), Chief Jeremiah Chirau and Rev. Sithole.

interview charged the Smith regime with blaming the guerrillas for its own massacres.

While the just hatred of the black masses for the bloody-handed white colonialists leads naturally to attacks on the missionaries who accompany the imperialists to Africa, there is evidence that Rhodesian claims of guerrilla massacres of missionaries and black villagers are indeed cover stories for the atrocities of the regime's black troops. Sister Janice McLaughlin, a Maryknoll nun expelled from Rhodesia by the Smith government, pointed out in the August issue of *Seven Days* the inconsistency in the government's charge that Catholic and evangelical missionaries suffering government repression for aiding the guerrillas are the victims of massacres by those same guerrillas. McLaughlin reported that pro-government clergy in the Dutch Reformed Church are apparently immune from attack. She quoted the remarks of a French mercenary who exposed the Smith government's game when he stated in an interview with a Paris weekly that, "I have been told that in some operations there were Selous Scouts [a secret counter-insurgency unit] who disguised themselves as Mozambican soldiers or guerrillas to attack the villagers and travelers or kill missionaries."

Young: Front Man for Cold War in Africa

The House vote to lift trade sanctions if elections are held gave a boost to Rhodesian morale but it contradicted a Senate bill passed the previous week calling for an end to sanctions only if the elected government committed itself to negotiations with the guerrillas. The vote also ran counter to the Carter administration's efforts to bring the guerrillas into the Rhodesian government.

The differences between neanderthals like representative Richard Ichord of Missouri, who led the fight for the House amendment, and the administration reflect the difference between the American Gothic of the far right and the more sophisticated anti-Soviet policies of the Carter-Young-Brzezinski team. The Reaganites have used Andrew Young's notorious mouthings to bolster their domestic campaigns with charges that Carter is "soft on communism." In

reality, however, Young is simply playing "soft cop" to Brzezinski's hard-line anti-Sovietism. Given the intense anti-Americanism in the colonial world, it is very useful for American imperialism to have a black foreign policy spokesman who is advertised as a friend of the "Third World." As Carter put it: "The fact of the matter is that Andy Young has been and is very valuable to our country. He has opened up new areas of communications among the nations of Africa in particular" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 30 July 1978).

Brzezinski and Carter who actually design the cold and hot war strategies of U.S. imperialism cannot afford a commitment to the lost cause of white Rhodesia, and they recognize that Nkomo, far from being a "communist," is the only chance for a stable pro-Western Zimbabwe. What Carter and Brzezinski fear above all is that it is now too late for a negotiated solution and that Smith's unwillingness to concede more than a token role to the nationalists will push Nkomo toward further dependence on Soviet arms and perhaps even lead to the intervention of Cuban troops in the final offensive against Salisbury. For the Cubans to participate in the war against one of the last bastions of white supremacist rule in Africa would be disastrous for American imperialism's anti-Soviet interests. It would enormously increase Soviet influence throughout black Africa. A no less important worry for the U.S. ruling class is the fear that most American blacks would solidarize with the Cuban army against Ian Smith.

The administration's concern with the House vote is therefore that it will prolong the Rhodesians' resistance to a U.S.-brokered deal with the guerrillas and that the guerrilla leaders will themselves interpret it as a pro-Smith tilt in Washington.

Military Victory to ZANU/ZAPU!

The white settler regime in Rhodesia is a barbaric anachronism. Although detached from Britain by the 1965 "Unilateral Declaration of Independence," Rhodesia remains a relic of the British colonial empire. The "majority rule" advocated by Smith and endorsed by his black front men is a colonialist hoax in which the white population (four percent and shrinking fast) would hold effective veto power over the parliament by their control, directly or by nomination, over 28 of 100 seats. Moreover the army and the police force—the real basis of state power—as well as the upper ranks of the civil service would continue to be dominated by whites for an indefinite period. Revolutionary Marxists reject any political accommodation with the white supremacist butchers in Salisbury and desire a quick military victory for the forces of the Patriotic Front. No Negotiations! Military Victory to ZANU and ZAPU!

Trotskyists have no illusions about the "socialist" and "Marxist" pretensions of the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders. When these fakers are in power they will be unable to blame the white colonialists for the exploitation of the black masses. Joshua Nkomo is a notoriously opportunist politician. In the early 1960's he pledged his loyalty to

the British Crown and supported the 1961 Rhodesian constitution, which was more white supremacist than Smith's "internal settlement." Today Nkomo jet-sets around the world courtesy of "Tiny" Rowland, the Rhodesian founder of Lonrho, Africa's largest multinational firm.

Robert Mugabe of ZANU is a practicing Catholic whose "Marxist" rhetoric is the standard cover for bourgeois nationalism in backward countries. His long-standing split with Nkomo's ZAPU is based not on programmatic differences but on personal rivalry and, above all, tribal enmity. While ZAPU is based among the minority Ndebele tribe, ZANU draws its support from among the Shona-speaking majority. Even now there are widespread reports that Nkomo's men are clashing with the ZANU guerrillas as the latter extend their base into Ndebeleland. The defeat of the Smith government would undoubtedly be followed by the kind of intra-nationalist and tribalist blood-letting common throughout black Africa. The end result would be the victory, as in Angola and Mozambique, of a bonapartist despot like Agostinho Neto or Samora Machel.

What was true at the time of the "internal settlement" stands as a powerfully prophetic warning today on the eve of a guerrilla victory:

"Confining the struggle within the narrow framework of bourgeois nationalism will also mean the continued subjugation of the black masses to poverty and wage slavery. On the morrow of victory, the Nkomos and Mugabes—aspiring exploiters one and all—will prove as implacable class enemies of the African workers and peasants as the white settlers. Only through the establishment of a Zimbabwe workers and peasants government in the framework of a socialist federation of southern Africa, will industry and agriculture be put in the service of the oppressed. This requires the construction of a Trotskyist party and concrete links with the massive and combative black proletariat of South Africa."

—"Imperialist 'Majority Rule' Hoax in Rhodesia," *WV*, No. 195 (3 March 1978)

W. Germany...

(continued from page 2)

posed threat of the East German "social imperialists." Thus, both brands of Stalinism hand the issue of German unity on a platter to the ultraright. Indeed, the Trotskyists are the only true defenders of the 1953 uprising of the East Berlin proletarian masses, which was not a fascist counterrevolution as both the East German bureaucracy and the West German right would like to claim. In commemoration of the 17 June 1953 events the TLD, alone among the West German left, called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany. As its leaflet proclaimed:

"June 17 belongs to the German working class, not the bourgeois re-

vanchists and fascist bands! On 17 June, 1953 the East German proletariat, including the workforce of literally all major plants, followed the call of the striking East Berlin construction workers. The East German workers attempted to overthrow the bureaucratic-Stalinist state leadership and fight for their own power in a general strike which ranks among the most powerful ever launched in the history of the workers movement."

Pointing out the counterrevolutionary role of the West German Social Democrats in thwarting the insurgent East Berlin workers' call for the general strike throughout Germany, the TLD leaflet concludes:

"What was lacking in East and West Germany was a revolutionary party to lead the struggle for proletarian political revolution against the East German and Soviet bureaucracy and for social revolution in the West."

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Toronto...

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letter carriers. No attempt was made to mobilize the entire membership behind the strike until a local meeting was convened *four days after* the drivers had walked out and the letter carriers were locked out.

At this meeting McGarry cynically counseled LCUC members to go back to work and conserve their energy for "future battles" — this from the man who put off calling a national strike and directed union members to work without a contract. The Local 1 executive board put forward a strike motion to back the suspended LCUC members but refused to call for *no discipline* against any LCUC member, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the union's work action in front of the membership.

It was left to the best rank-and-file militants and stewards to try to rally the membership behind the union. Ten LCUC stewards co-signed a leaflet distributed at the LCUC meeting entitled "Strike to Defend the Union." The leaflet stated:

"Management is not only attacking the drivers it is attacking *all* LCUC members. If management can get away with disciplining — and possibly firing — drivers' representatives carrying out official union policy — they will do it next time to the letter carriers. They will make a shambles out of our union. "We must stand solid — an injury to one is an injury to all. We must all go out together, and stay out until all the safety grievances are resolved, and until management agrees that *no* LCUC members will be disciplined!"

But in the absence of a systematic mobilization of the membership behind this strike, a ballot vote taken after the local meeting went 536 to 391 against the executive's strike motion with the bulk of the opposition coming from the letter carriers. Twenty-four hours later the drivers returned to work under management's terms, with the threat of reprisals hanging over their heads.

LCUC Targeted

Once the battle lines had been drawn, the refusal of the bulk of the LCUC members to vote for the strike was a blow against the entire union. But the ultimate responsibility for the defeat lies with the trade-union tops. Neither the national bureaucracy nor the Local 1 leaders have made any effort to mobilize the LCUC ranks to fight around the pay cuts and job-slashing that confront *all* postal workers. Particularly among the letter carriers, who are more conservative precisely because they have thus far avoided the brunt of the government's attack, the bureaucrats have perpetuated the illusion that even their present conditions and wages can be preserved without a militant fight.

With the expiration of its contract on June 30 the LCUC, especially its militant Toronto local, was targeted by management. Prime Minister Trudeau, like his senior imperialist partner in the White House, wants to make an "example" of the postal workers. In exchange for all the LCUC tops' "moderation," the government offered a 2 percent raise, reduced cost-of-living adjustment, speed-up and job loss. In Vancouver, the post office leaked a report proposing a 27 percent reduction in letter carrier jobs. Rather than make these fighting issues for all postal workers, McGarry has extended the contract, hoping to beg a few more crumbs from the government.

"Crown Corporation Will Deliver"

Just after Toronto postal workers had pulled down their picket lines, Trudeau returned from his Morocco vacation to "pay his respects" to the Canadian head of state, the queen, at the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. But before proceeding to greet the monarch, Trudeau demanded prime time on the state-owned TV network to make a speech which took even most of his

cabinet by surprise. Obviously, the fervor of Proposition 13 was sweeping Ottawa as Trudeau promised to cut government expenditures by \$2 billion and to shrink the government workforce.

But his ire was focused especially on the postal workers. Declaring he was "fed up" with the continual "disruptions" of mail service, Trudeau promised to turn the post office into a "Crown Corporation." Except for the feudal terminology, such corporations are similar to the TVA or the present-day structure of the U.S. Post Office; i.e., a government institution run according to self-supporting and profit criteria. The reorganization of the U.S. Post Office has resulted in the slashing of 100,000 jobs in less than a decade!

Trudeau's speech, especially his proposal to turn the post office into a Crown Corporation, was praised by Canadian business and the bourgeois press. Ironically, this proposal was also hailed as a "victory" by the sometime radical-talking president of CUPW, Parrot. For years LCUC and CUPW bureaucrats have been begging the government to turn the post office into a Crown Corporation in order to bring postal workers under the Canada Labor Code instead of the Public Service Staff Relations Act. But the exchange of one piece of anti-labor legislation for another is no victory for postal workers. For example, the recent Toronto walkout would have been illegal under *both*!

Parrot, in particular, has staked his career on the campaign for a "Crown Corporation" and had his national office put out buttons with the slogan "A Crown Corporation Will Deliver." And given Trudeau's speech, you can bet it will — and Parrot and especially his membership will not appreciate being on the receiving end.

For a Nationwide Postal Strike

In his national television address Trudeau confirmed the determination of his government to impose wage controls on public service workers as part of its latest scheme to revive the sagging Canadian economy. The greater trade-union consciousness and militancy of the postal unions coupled with their ability to shut down Canada's mail service system through a nationwide postal strike makes them the biggest threat among government employees to Trudeau's attempts to impose his latest spate of anti-labor laws. The government already has Bill C-45 banning postal strikes during federal elections on the books and is moving to build up its arsenal of anti-labor legislation.

The government's hardlining on the contract, its anti-union legislation directed at public employees and Trudeau's ominous "reorganization" of the post office must be a clear warning to postal workers. The burning need now is for an immediate, nationwide counter-offensive. Otherwise there will be only more Torontos, more victimizations of union militants and the systematic demoralization and exhaustion of the most combative elements of the union.

At the July 20 Toronto Local 1 meeting, Bob McBurney, a shop steward and recent delegate to the LCUC national convention and a co-signer of the statement issued at the July 26 mass meeting, distributed a leaflet "which counterposed a fighting strategy to the gutless class collaboration of the Parrots and McGarrys, who have chained postal workers to the job without a contract. The leaflet stated:

"A joint strike is urgently needed to defeat the government offensive. Local 1 has led the way in joint action with the CUPW in the past year and must vigorously pursue a joint conference to elect joint strike and negotiating committees, open to the membership, to conduct a joint strike and win a joint contract, laying the basis for a badly needed merger of the CUPW, LCUC, and GLT."

Postal strikes, like all government workers strikes, are battles against a capitalist employer who literally makes

Haitians March in NYC, Miami

No Deportations to "Baby Doc's" Terror Island!



WV Photo

Demonstration in New York City on August 3.

"Deportation means death for Haitian refugees!" This was the slogan taken up by nearly 100 Haitian immigrants and their supporters demonstrating August 3 at the Haitian and Bahamian consulates and U.S. passport office in New York. The demonstrators were protesting the stepped-up campaign of harassment and deportation directed at "illegal" Haitian immigrants in the U.S. and the Bahamas and demanding asylum for Haitians fleeing the brutal Duvalier dictatorship. In Miami some of the estimated 15,000 Haitians in southern Florida staged a candlelight march and vigil that same night.

Organized by the Ad Hoc Committee Against Mistreatment of Haitian Refugees, the New York protest publicized the plight of the tens of thousands of Haitians who have fled to the Bahamas and the U.S. to escape the starvation and political repression under Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier's regime. A mock coffin carried by the protesters symbolized the fate of hundreds of refugees who have drowned while attempting the perilous ocean crossing from Haiti in over-

crowded and unseaworthy boats.

The New York and Miami demonstrations were directed at the recent crackdown on Haitian "illegals" by the U.S. and Bahamian governments. In early June the Bahamian Minister of Labour and Home Affairs, Darrell Rolle, announced a "sustained round-up and repatriation of all illegal immigrants" (*Nassau Tribune*, 3 June 1978). Hundreds of Haitians were jailed, their homes were ransacked and Haitian women were raped. Hundreds more, joining the flood of Haitian refugees to Florida, took to leaky boats.

In sharp contrast to the red carpet treatment given anti-communist Cubans and South Vietnamese, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service greeted the Haitian refugees by beefing up its forces in Florida and moving to speed up deportation proceedings!

The labor movement must not allow the U.S. government to sentence Haitian refugees to death by deporting them to Duvalier's torture chambers! No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-born Workers!

his own laws, appoints his own judges and commands his own armed strike-breakers. Such strikes directly pose the need for the working class as a whole to have its own government. But such a government will never be won by the right-wing, strikebreaking, English chauvinist social democrats of the New Democratic Party or by cowardly business unionists like McGarry and Parrot. The fight within the unions to replace the McGarrys and Parrots by a class-struggle leadership, linked to the struggle to win the workers from the reformist NDP (and in Quebec, from the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois) to a real workers party, is the only means to forging the historic militancy of Canadian labor into an instrument for proletarian power. ■

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Burger...

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the demands of the racist mobs screaming in the streets. How excruciating for the ruling class to have this pompous crook as the central symbol of its law. So why not impeach him?

As communists, we are not too surprised. Such practices are an organic part of the daily workings of the capitalist state. Of course the secret police apparatus is at the service of the top corporations to wage the little wars of intrigue against foreign competitors just as the capitalist military wages the big wars of imperialist rivalry. As over Watergate, our fight with Burger is not limited to his dirty tricks against competing sections of the bourgeoisie, but centers on his daily work as the chief hatchetman of bourgeois reaction. While we would look with favor on an impeachment of the chief justice, our struggle is against the criminally unjust class system he so hypocritically represents. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Firings, Arrests in Government Attack

Defy the Injunctions! For a Nationwide Postal Strike!

With a heavy-handed display of police power, the Carter administration crushed the post office walkouts which erupted July 21 in reaction to the rotten contract agreement announced by postal union leaders and the U.S. Postal Service. By preventing the walkouts from spreading into a major postal strike, the government has won round one of the postal contract fight. But the disgust for the tentative agreement that is widespread among postal workers could still provoke a national strike and a showdown with the strikebreaking U.S. government.

The walkouts which hit the strategic Bulk Mail Centers (BMCs) in Jersey City and Richmond, California, with shorter job actions in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Kearny, New Jersey and Los Angeles, were slapped almost immediately with court injunctions upholding the federal law banning government employee strikes and ordering an end to picketing or any other "concerted refusal" to work. Nearly 200 workers were fired as postal inspectors, cops and federal marshals made midnight raids on workers' homes to serve summonses and firing notices, took hundreds of pictures and miles of videotape for later use in court and shoved pickets off access roads lead-

ing to the huge processing centers.

In Richmond, 22 workers—virtually the entire strike leadership—were hauled into court, scheduled for contempt hearings later in August and warned of "heavy time" should they reappear on the picket lines. In Jersey City, 67 workers were on the judge's hit list if they refused to cease picketing, and two strike leaders will be tried for contempt of court later. As we go to press, there are still picket lines up in Richmond, but they are manned only by strike supporters, not postal employees, and over 90 percent of the workers are back on the job. Workers report that the inside of the BMCs are like armed camps, crawling with supervisors and postal inspectors fearful of renewed walkouts. At the Richmond facility, postal authorities were suspending workers for even wearing buttons calling for a better contract or defending the walkout until they were restrained by an ACLU class action suit.

Carter is playing hard ball with the postal unions, eager to toughen up his anti-inflation program of clamping down on wages. His vicious strikebreaking, backed up by the threat to call out troops should a national postal strike develop, is supported by every Demo-

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New York postal workers picket the main post office July 19.

WV Photo

Stop Reprisals Against LCUC

Militant Drivers Spark Toronto Postal Shutdown

TORONTO, 3 August—Stabbed in the back by their national union leadership, Toronto postal drivers of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 returned to work today with the threat of management reprisals hanging over their heads. The drivers hit the bricks on July 26 over the suspension of the LCUC members who refused to drive unsafe trucks or work under hazardous conditions at postal garages.

The Local 1 walkout took place with both major Canadian postal unions, LCUC and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), working without a contract. CUPW, representing clerks and mail sorters and led by a left-talking demagogue, Jean Claude Parrot, has worked 15 months without a contract. The LCUC, headed by Robert McGarry, has now been two months without a contract. Both Parrot and McGarry have repudiated the militant traditions of the postal workers, who

built their unions with a nationwide mass walkout in 1965.

In the absence of a nationwide mobilization of postal workers, the more militant and combative sections of the workforce have been forced to go it alone in isolated local strikes and wildcats. In the past several months in almost every major Canadian city there have been postal worker walkouts, in most instances by CUPW members and LCUC drivers. The government has tried to exploit craft differences not only between the unions, but within the LCUC between the drivers and the less militant letter carriers, seeking to quash these rebellions by victimizing strike leaders. Literally scores of shop stewards and local union officials have been fired or suspended as the government has systematically attempted to demoralize the unions as contract negotiations drag on.

In Toronto management provoked a

strike over unsafe working conditions for drivers, an issue which the letter carriers did not immediately see as their own. For months the union had unsuccessfully gone through the grievance procedure in an attempt to get management to repair unsafe mail courier vans. Finally, the union authorized drivers to refuse the unsafe work. On July 26, drivers who did were suspended and by the end of the day, with union sanction, all the drivers had walked off the job.

For six days the strikers held firm. Drivers and militant letter carriers manned the picket lines around the clock. For the first time in ten years CUPW and General Labour and Trades (GLT) mechanics' union leaders called on their members to respect the LCUC lines. What should be a gut reaction by every trade unionist, respect for picket lines, was re-established, mainly through the solidarity of the drivers with earlier CUPW and GLT strikes.

The LCUC was thus in a good position to back the postal bosses down and deal a blow to the government's "divide and conquer" schemes. But thanks above all to the treachery of the LCUC bureaucracy, the solidarity of CUPW and the postal mechanics was not matched within the ranks of the Toronto union. But national LCUC president Robert McGarry refused to sanction the drivers' walkout, issuing a public statement to the Toronto press asserting that the safety defects "weren't as big as they (the local) thought" (Toronto Globe & Mail, July 29) and refused to take a position on the disciplines.

The Local 1 executive board authorized the walkout only when confronted with a virtual revolt from the militant drivers and then conducted it in a narrow and bureaucratic fashion which served to further polarize drivers and

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