

African Guerrilla Struggles at the Turning Point

Independence for Portuguese Colonies!

JUNE 2—The "new Portugal," now being avidly proclaimed in airline advertisements and speeches by generals and Communist Party leaders in Lisbon, is in trouble in Africa. As we go to press the London talks with representatives of the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) have been broken off temporarily; meanwhile, according to all accounts a generalized offensive is being waged by nationalist forces in Mozambique. In Lisbon the demand for an end to the colonial wars is being raised not only by leftist workers, but by the ranks and lower-level officers in the armed forces as well.

It was largely as a result of this internal pressure that the rapidly executed coup was carried out on April 25, toppling the 45-year-old Salazarist civilian dictatorship. The African wars, which had been gobbling up some 40 percent of the national budget, had

brought the poorest country of West Europe to the brink of economic disaster. This point was emphatically made by none other than General (now President) António de Spínola, who concluded that the "national-liberation" movements could not be beaten by military force.

His solution was to offer (under the guise of "self-determination") membership in a Lusitano-African commonwealth, similar to the post-World War II French Union, as a form of pseudo-independence. He offered himself as the De Gaulle who was to carry out this peaceful transformation. The Communist Party, which in post-WW II France ordered its partisans to turn in their arms and voted for sending French troops to Vietnam to put down Ho Chi Minh's uprising, would act as his left cover.

Important segments of Portugal's "100 families," and a good part of the

officer corps, agreed with the general. Faced with the danger of losing everything in Africa, and the certainty of going bankrupt in the process, it was decided to gamble on a dramatic turn-about, toward "controlled democracy" in metropolitan Portugal and coopting moderate nationalists in the colonies. (Former premier Caetano had turned in this direction even before the coup. He supported the Group for the Unity of Mozambique [GUM], a collection of a few hundred "moderate" African professionals and white businessmen who wish to maintain the essentials of their relationship with Portugal.)

The military "Junta of National Salvation" has repeatedly declared its determination to do just this, but the mass unrest in Lisbon and the unwillingness of the main nationalist groups to be sucked into a bogus "commonwealth" scheme has checked Spínola's

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SYGMA
End the Colonial War!
Demonstration in Lisbon.

OCI, FCR, LO Vote for Union of the Left

Mitterrand Loses in Close French Elections

The French presidential elections last month brought victory to aristocrat-financier Valéry Giscard d'Estaing by a scant 1.4 percent of the 28 million votes cast (including the undoubtedly fraudulent returns from the French "overseas territories"). Within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary politics, the elections were a standoff between rightist forces and the popular-front Union of the Left (composed of the Communists, Socialists and bourgeois Left Radicals). Most significant is the fact that neither side had anything to offer the workers.

Both groups are zealous defenders of capitalism and the bonapartist Gaullist constitution. In fact, during the second-round campaigning the main dispute was over who best represented the continuity of the late General's policies. The Communist Party shamelessly proclaimed that it shared with Gaullism a commitment to the "grandeur" of the nation (*Daily World*, 9 May). (The Russians, however, demonstrated their preferences by dispatching the Soviet ambassador to pay a courtesy call on "Finance Minister" Giscard in the middle of the campaign—an open slap in the face for the French CP, which was the biggest force behind Giscard's opponent, François Mitterrand.)

In the wake of the decisive first-round defeat of the Gaullists, led by former premier Chaban-Delmas, Giscard's campaign (which was basically fueled by anti-communism) focused on projecting a Kennedyesque image of a liberal wealthy intellectual attempting to heal rifts in the nation. The new president sought to reinforce this image by attempting to piece together a supposedly "neutral" technocratic cabinet of non-political "specialists."

The elections did not reveal any important shifts in the class voting patterns. Mitterrand gained only about 6 percent between the first and second rounds. (Of these, it is likely that about half came from those who voted for candidates of the "far left" on the first round, the other half from working-class elements who had voted for the Gaullists.) Moreover, Mitterrand's first-round totals were half a percentage point below the vote for the Union of the Left and ostensibly socialist candidates in the 1973 parliamentary elections.

In specific areas, however, there were significant variations. In traditional working-class strongholds, Mitterrand's vote did not increase in general, and in about 10 areas it decreased by over 5 percent compared to 1973. On the other hand, he made gains of over 5 percent in an equivalent number of locations traditionally dominated by the Socialist Party or the populist-oriented Gaullists (such as eastern France). Thus there was a noticeable, but hardly decisive, indication of disaffection of traditional working-class elements (especially CP supporters) and the rallying of a number of right-wing socialists and some bourgeois elements to the popular front as a means for bringing change within a liberal capitalist perspective.

Stalinists Hail "Victory"

As the bulk of the working class considered the election results a defeat, the Stalinist labor bureaucracy feared that resentment would boil over into a chaotic outburst of militancy in the wake of the announcement of the vote. The very evening of the election,

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Leaders of the French "Union of the Left" in 1973. From left: George Seguy (in turtleneck), head of CGT labor federation, George Marchais, head of CP, François Mitterrand, head of Socialists; Jean Fabre, head of the Left Radicals.



Joanne Chesimard

Black Liberation Army... 6

Letters

The 1948 Arab-Israel War

23 May 1974

To the Editor:

The article on the 1948 Arab-Israeli war in *WV* No. 45 states, "The SWP was, however, vague in its propaganda at the time, and tended to be unable to reduce its correct sentiments to a line on the war." While there was a certain vagueness on the broader questions raised by the existence of two interpenetrated peoples and the role of the demand for national self-determination under such circumstances, the SWP line on the war was clear: for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. The *Militant* editorial of 31 May 1948 comments:

"The present Jewish-Arab war, far from enhancing reactionary Zionism or imparting to it a progressive mission, exposes in glaring manner that the program of a Jewish state in Palestine and the Jewish war for this end—is reactionary and bankrupt from beginning to end.

"...Neither are the Arab rulers conducting a progressive struggle for national independence and against imperialism. They are, by their anti-Jewish war, trying to divert the struggle against imperialism, and utilizing the aspirations of the Arab masses for national freedom, to smother the social opposition to their tyrannical rule. That is why their war against the Jewish state lacks the progressive characteristics of a national war against imperialism and does not deserve the support of the class-conscious workers."

The modification of our understanding of the 1948 war brings our position into harmony with the position held both by the Palestinian Trotskyists and the SWP at the time. The importance of this should not be lost: in the course of their general abandonment of proletarian Trotskyism, both the SWP and the European majority of the "United Secretariat" have abandoned the position of the Trotskyist movement in 1948, going over to support for Arab nationalism and abandonment of the fight for permanent revolution in the Near East.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

Who Were the SLA?

6 May 1974

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

I'd like to briefly say that I believe your coverage of the SLA has been poorly informed and at times contradictory. While you are totally correct in your criticisms of the SLA's adventurist strategy, you are incorrect when you attempt to read them out of the left.

For example, in your April 26 issue you state that "virtually the entire left knows next to nothing about the origins of the SLA." Perhaps this is true of the New York left, but here in the Bay Area it is common knowledge that the SLA grew out of elements of Venceremos which were critical of the liquidation of Venceremos and decided to continue and accelerate the Venceremos line on armed struggle. The SLA must, in fact, be viewed as the logical consequence of the attempt to apply Guevarist notions to the contemporary United States. To read the SLA out of the left is to abandon the necessary polemical struggle against their line.

Similarly, in the same issue you accept the IRA and Weatherman as part of the left because they "represent a deformed expression of the aspirations of the oppressed masses." This same criteria perfectly describes the SLA, which is an amalgam of Vietnam veterans, oppressed third world people, and women. Whatever may be the level of police infiltration or sheer myopia on the part of the SLA, its members

are nonetheless committed revolutionaries engaged in a "deformed expression" of their revolutionary aspirations.

The recent interviews with Little and Remiro in the *S.F. Phoenix* shed valuable light on the origins and politics of the SLA. It would seem that your sources of information are limited to the bourgeois media.

Yours,
Matthew Rinaldi

WV replies: The Symbionese Liberation Army grew out of an intersection of elements in and around the petty-bourgeois radical milieu of the San Francisco Bay Area with convicts involved with the Black Cultural Association at Vacaville State Prison. It is true that some of the individuals who initiated the SLA were at one time or another peripherally involved with Venceremos. SLAers Harris and Remiro had been active in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Other SLAers were reportedly associated with the prison reform or gay liberation movements.

But to conclude from this that the SLA "represents the logical attempt to apply Guevarist notions to the contemporary United States" is not only an insult to Guevara, whose politics we in no way endorse, but obscures the nature of the SLA as revealed by its actions. The entire history of the SLA—its victimization of innocent people, its "hit list" of obscure individuals, its threats against the lives of the attorney Hallinan and Panther leader Newton, its "line" (a hodgepodge of megalomaniacal rhetoric, New Left verbiage and down-right mysticism) and its antics leading up to its demise at the hands of the storm-trooper Los Angeles police—indicate that this group was an irrational, unstable formation bent on personal vengeance against society. Recent revelations about the SLA members, and particularly those about DeFreeze's unsavory history only confirm our view that the SLA was "an amalgam of former black convicts and guilt-ridden white radicals, with the former predominating under the leadership of one 'Cinque'."

While the spectacular and fiery end of the SLA demonstrated a heroic commitment to their bizarre views (and reveals the bloodthirsty frenzy of the bourgeoisie), the SLA represented not a deformed expression of the aspirations of the oppressed masses, but an expression of personalist lumpen outrage and degenerated petty-bourgeois terrorism that served only to tragically waste the lives of its members.

Is Jewish Assimilation Utopian?

25 May 1974

Dear Comrades,

I am writing you to clear one minor point in your article [Birth of the Zionist State: A Marxist Analysis] Part 2/ The 1948 War (*WV*, No. 45, 24 May). In the article you state "Lenin and Trotsky resolutely opposed the bourgeois ideology of Zionism and opposed Jewish settlement in Palestine."

Deutscher in *The Prophet Armed* (New York, 1954) does not refute your statement; however, he does have the following footnote on page 75: "In an interview with the American-Jewish *Forward* (28 January 1937) Trotsky stated that after the experience of Nazism, it was difficult to believe in the 'assimilation' of the Jews, for which he had hoped. Zionism by itself, he went on, would not solve the problem; but even under Socialism, it might be necessary for the Jews to settle on a separate territory."

You further state that "...pogroms in Poland and the Balkans during the summer of 1946 swelled the numbers in ['displaced persons'] camps to a quar-

ter million."

"In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party... campaigned to force the government to drop its racist immigration quota system... in order to permit Jews into the U.S." From a Marxist's view of international solidarity this is a proper stance; however, to expect that a quarter of a million Jews would be permitted to assimilate into the society of this country is naive. If "...the working classes of Europe, having through generations listened to the preachings of international solidarity, would... be unable or unwilling to prevent or stop the murder of six million Jewish men, women and children in Hitler's gas chambers" (Deutscher, *op. cit.*), and permitted the "...pogroms... of 1946..." how could anyone expect more of the working class of this country with its history of petty sectarianism and very limited international solidarity?

Trotsky's statement in *Forward*, which was made when the events which we are familiar with were only beginning to develop, I do not believe could be construed as "...[opposing] Jewish settlement in Palestine." He was only "...resolutely opposed [to] the bourgeois ideology of Zionism..."

Although I can not state that Trotsky was in favor of "Jewish settlement in Palestine" neither can it be stated that "...Trotsky resolutely... opposed Jewish settlement in Palestine."

In Solidarity,
Don Calvin

WV replies: Trotsky and the entire Trotskyist movement did indeed oppose Jewish immigration to Palestine. For example, in one of the last things he wrote on the subject (dated July 1940) Trotsky stated:

"The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people. Interested in winning the sympathy of the Arabs who are more numerous than the Jews, the British government has sharply altered its policy toward the Jews, and has actually renounced its promise to help them found their 'own home' in a foreign land. The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."

—quoted in *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question*

The interview to which Deutscher refers (in which Trotsky is quoted as saying that, "The dispersed Jews who would want to be reassembled in the same community will find a sufficiently extensive and rich spot under the sun") is making the point that this option does not exist under capitalism. Trotsky concludes this interview by stating:

"The Jewish question, I repeat, is indissolubly bound up with the complete emancipation of humanity. Everything else that is done in this domain can only be a palliative and often even a two-edged blade, as the example of Palestine shows."

—*ibid.*

Thus, so long as capitalism dominated the world economy Trotsky considered Palestine a "two-edged blade" and even a "death trap" for Jews. While he does not explicitly state that he opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine "within the framework of rotting capitalism and under the control of British imperialism," one would have to impute sinister motives to someone who called something a "death trap" and did not oppose jumping in.

On the SWP campaign for the U.S. to open its borders to the Jewish refugees in Europe during and after WW II you write: "to expect that a quarter of a million Jews would be permitted to assimilate into the society of this country is naive." The argu-

ment that it was "naive" to think that the U.S. could assimilate 250,000 Jews was precisely the argument used by Zionists to oppose repealing or reforming restrictive immigration laws (see David Brody's "American Jewry, Refugees and Immigration Restriction" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, June 1956).

Zionism was never popular in the U.S. until World War II. The reason for its growing popularity after World War II was the growth of anti-Semitism and fascist movements in this country, as well as sympathy for homeless European Jewry. The middle-class assimilated Jews who made up (and still make up) the bulk of the Zionist movement turned to Zionism because they feared that a massive influx of Jewish refugees into the U.S. would exacerbate anti-Semitism in the U.S. and disrupt their comfortable lives. The more oppressed, working-class Jews (e.g., NY garment workers) remained Socialists and Bundists and fought, alongside the then-Trotskyist SWP, against the restrictive immigration quotas.

Of course, if one believes that the "history of petty sectarianism and very limited international solidarity" of the U.S. working class is an unchangeable quantity, that it can never transcend its narrow, national, racial and ethnic chauvinism, then indeed it was naive to believe that this working class could be mobilized to fight against reactionary immigration restrictions, much less for socialist revolution. This is obviously a position of deep historical pessimism.

This pessimism permeates Deutscher's views on the Jewish question, as well as the rest of his political perspectives. He voted against the formation of the Fourth International at its founding conference in 1938, viewing it as a lost cause; and in his biography of Trotsky he treats the co-leader of the Russian Revolution as a tragic figure, a lone prophet crying in the wilderness.

But if one adopts such a position of revolutionary pessimism, one must accept the corollary: if the world working class cannot rise to its historic responsibilities, then the alternatives are the destruction of European Jewry, the creation of the Zionist ghetto from among its survivors, endless Arab-Jewish warfare, the destruction of the Palestinian nation. But it is not just Jews and Arabs who are affected: on a global scale the conclusion which flows from this position is nuclear annihilation. Truly the alternative before humanity is, as Trotsky wrote, that between socialism and barbarism. The Zionists choose the latter.

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French FCR Leader Resigns Over Popular Front

EDITORS' NOTE: We print below a resignation from the French Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front), the political heir to the Ligue Communiste which was dissolved by government decree in June 1973. As the documents referred to by Comrade Lesueur indicate, he has been a leading oppositionist for several years within the French organizations of the "United Secretariat." He was initiator of the "Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency for Proletarianization," whose documents were published in the SWP's *International Information Bulletin* (No. 6 in 1973), and therefore was elected to the Central Committee of the Ligue at its last regular congress (Third Congress, December 1972).

Although there were occasional oppositions within the Ligue Central Committee (Roger, Jebrag, Beauvais), Lesueur was virtually the only consistent opponent of the line of the leader-

ship. His own positions show a development from the "workerism" of the 1972 minority tendency to his more recent texts which reject the Pabloist revisionism characteristic of the USec, both of its Hansen and Mandel/Maitan/Frank wings.

The comrade refused to join the so-called "Third Tendency" of the USec which formed prior to the Tenth World Congress this February due to its pervasive political ambiguity—in particular, its abstentionism on the question of Pabloism. The Third Tendency nevertheless adopted as one of its basic documents the text which he co-authored, entitled "New Vanguard or Construction of the Revolutionary Party."

The resignation statement of Comrade Lesueur solidarizes with the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, an expelled left opposition of the USec with supporters in the U.S. and Australia. His statement points the way for serious militants in the USec, both in

France and elsewhere, to generalize their criticisms of the practice of their sections into a fundamental rejection of revisionism in favor of the revolutionary, proletarian, internationalist program of authentic Trotskyism.

After having been a member of the organizations of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International since September 1967, I am resigning due to the political line of this current. Reasons of health have led me to hasten my resignation, but my political differences did not begin yesterday. These were illustrated by the document of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency for Proletarianization.

...My political break is also illustrated by the text (signed with four comrades) entitled "New Vanguard or Construction of the Revolutionary Party," where we asserted in opposition to the "European" orientation of

the USec majority the need to return to a programmatic approach, and therefore to address the class as a whole (and not just its centrist elements) with our program, the Transitional Program. This Program was conceived as an *immediate* program for the masses—not to understand that is to deny its necessity and to revert to the division between a Minimum Program and a Maximum Program.

The break was marked by [my] support to the document on the world situation presented in the name of the international Third Tendency to the Tenth World Congress [of the United Secretariat]. This document was an alternative to the quietist positions of the LTF and to the Majority's mechanistic positions.

Finally, [my break is illustrated by] the document "Only One Solution: A Workers Government" against the
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German Spartacusbund Expels Leading Militant for Trotskyism

On May 17 the second national conference of the newly formed German Spartacusbund expelled Comrade Anton G. for political reasons: his support for the revolutionary Trotskyist positions of the Spartacist tendency. During the past seven years Comrade Anton G. has been one of the leading cadre of the young ostensibly Trotskyist movement in Germany. The comrade has been active since 1968 in several organizations claiming to represent Trotskyism: in 1968-69 in the "Initiating Committee for a Revolutionary Youth Organization" and the GIM (International Marxist Group—German section of Mandel's "United Secretariat"); in 1969-71 in KJO-Spartacus and the IKD (International Communists of Germany—a left split from the GIM). He was one of the editors of the IKD's theoretical magazine, *Die Vierte Internationale*. In 1971 he left the IKD and initiated the GPI (Proletarian Internationalism Group). He also authored a small book, *Ergebnisse und Perspektive (Results and Prospects)*, which dealt with the degeneration of the Fourth International, attacking the IKD position that the FI never existed. In 1972 and again in 1973 he was active in Spartacus/BL; he has been a member of the Spartacusbund (SB) since its formation in February 1974.

In the documents authored by Comrade Anton before his expulsion from the SB, he insisted on the need for close cooperation with the international Spartacist tendency to push forward the development of an authentic, democratic-centralist Trotskyist International. He also vigorously attacked the Menshevik organizational practices of the Spartacusbund, its economist

trade-union work, its explicit reversion to a minimum-maximum program (in the form of raising demands that supposedly are "transitional to transitional demands") and its capitulation to Arab nationalism in the Near East.

The ever more explicit Menshevism of the Spartacusbund was reflected in the reasons for the comrade's expulsion: his programmatic agreement with the Spartacist tendency—and with the decisions of Lenin's Comintern, the International Left Opposition and the Fourth International prior to its destruction by Pabloism.

Comrade Anton was widely regarded as the "left-wing conscience" of the organization. The high respect granted him was reflected in the fact that his expulsion was rammed through by the SB leaders with a vote of only 13 to 6, with 7 abstentions. The delegation from his own local voted unanimously against expulsion; another comrade made a motion for his own expulsion on the grounds that he shared the essential positions of Anton G.

Those leftward-leaning comrades of the Spartacusbund who desire to take up the struggle for Trotskyism and who reject the orientation of the right wing toward fusing with ("entering") the German USec group, will have to come to the harsh realization that only through a relentless struggle against the political liquidationism of the SB leadership can the necessary political clarification be won and the organizational consequences be drawn. The comrades would do well to reflect on Comrade Anton's documents, which will be published shortly in Germany by *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*. ■

OPEN LETTER OF THE AUSTRIAN BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS (ÖBL):

Austrian USec Attacks Trotskyists at May Day Demonstration

On May Day four demonstrations took place in Vienna: those of the SPÖ (Austrian Socialist Party); KPÖ (Communist Party); KBW/VRA(ML) (Communist League of Vienna/Union of Revolutionary Workers [ML]); and the united action initiated by the GRM (Revolutionary Marxist Group—the "Austrian section of the Fourth International" [United Secretariat]). Our organization decided to participate in those demonstrations where we were able to carry out the principles of a proletarian united front and where the relationship of forces permitted it (i.e., the CP demonstration and the united-action demonstration). The CP wished to have its demonstration understood as one "for united action," and it upheld this policy. We were able to form our contingent at the assembly point and to participate in the demonstration with our leaflets, literature, banners and chants without any hindrance. Our banners read: "For the Victory of the Proletarian Revolution—Bolshevik-Leninists (Trotskyists)"; "Immediate General Wage Negotiations—For a Sliding Scale of Wages"; "Fight for the Proletarian United Front" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International." We consider the Fourth International to have been destroyed both organizationally and in its programmatic continuity by Pabloist revisionism.

The GRM, which we consider Pabloist, felt compelled to disregard the most basic principles of workers democracy, the united front and Trotskyism because of our propaganda, and used its syndicalist friends to carry out its dirty work. The "Open Letter of the GRM for a Militant May Day," dated March 31, which was accepted as the basis of the united action, contains the following: "Also, freedom of criticism is not brought into question through the organizing of a common demonstration. Slogans can be carried which go beyond the minimal platform and don't contradict the character of the demonstration." In spite of this, the formation of our contingent in the demonstration was obstructed by a gangster-like attack.

Just as we had formed our contingent, Herrmann Dworzak, editor of the GRM's central organ, along with Herbert Brunner, a well-known leader of the FÖJ-BfS (Free Austrian Youth-Movement for Socialism), approached the comrades holding our banner "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International" and categorically demanded its immediate removal since it was "unpolitical," called for "smashing the GRM" (Dworczak) and because we "held too high an opinion of ourselves anyway" (Brunner). When we refused, Mr. Brunner ripped the banner. A policeman who had been watching from behind our contingent stepped into the scuffle; after we convinced him that there were no reasons for the police to take any measures, a member of the GRM fawned up to him and tried to convince him that the police should forbid the carrying of our banner! (In the meantime it had been stapled together.) His reasons were that the Fourth International already existed and consequently that it was impermissible not to recognize the International as such—apparently it has been registered as a trade-mark!

At the beginning of the demonstration, the GRM felt obliged to drown out our chants with its loudspeakers. During the course of the entire demonstration, another method was regularly used to sabotage our chants. Lacking political slogans, the friend of the police let his megaphone whistle at its loudest with the feedback effect.

The facts speak for themselves. An organization which employs such methods is a cancer on the working-class movement which must be *politically* destroyed. However, even such an organization, as a part of the working-class movement (although harmful), has the right to express its opinions freely. We support this right even for such an organization, since its politics demonstrate ever clearer with each passing day that it holds no perspectives for revolutionary forces.

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RSL on British Miners' Strike

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), a recent left split from the International Socialists, has set itself the impossible task of trying to maintain that it is Trotskyist while at the same time claiming that the Soviet Union, China and the other deformed workers states are in fact "state-capitalist." This "third-camp" position, which was sharply condemned by Trotsky in the 1939-40 faction fight against Shachtman, is basically a capitulation to the anti-communism of petty-bourgeois public opinion. Unable to make a fundamental break with its Shachtmanite origins (see "A Look at the RSL's Family Tree," *WV* No. 37, 1 February 1974), the RSL exhibits this same adaptationism toward the illusions of the workers in the current crop of reformist aspiring labor bureaucrats.

When substantial layers of the working class or petty bourgeoisie harbor illusions in this or that militant-talking huckster, these centrists invariably find some convenient excuse to fall in step behind the left faker, giving him "critical" support. Thus the leaders of the RSL rushed forward to embrace the campaign of Arnold Miller for president of the United Mine Workers. They spread the illusion that Miller, who was actually the candidate of the U.S. Department of Labor, stood for "union democracy" and was a real alternative to the corrupt Tony Boyle regime. (Now that Miller is busy crushing wildcat strikes in the coal fields the RSL has found it convenient to adopt a different line.)

Conversely, when the events are sufficiently far removed from its immediate milieu (and appetites) the RSL will adopt a very "left" face—which is no less indicative of its political bankruptcy. A good example of this is its latest polemic against the Spartacist League's position on the British miners' strike and general elections earlier this year. According to Bruce Landau, editor of *Torch*: "The main pillars of the Spartacist approach in Britain were...opposition to soviets, brittle separation of defensive from offensive strategies, fetishization of trade unions, opportunist conception of party-building, pacifism" (*Torch*, 16-29 May).

And what are the proofs for these fantastical charges? Defensive/offensive: "Today we are talking about defense. We will talk about offense some other time...." Pacifism: "Today the situation is not yet formally pre-revolutionary.... Why, then, should we raise an urgent call for workers' defense guards?" Trade-union fetishism: "Anyway, so long as we are in this purely and simply defensive stage the trade-union shop stewards' committees will do." The quotes sound damaging enough. But there is only one prob-

lem: *they were never uttered by the Spartacist League and do not represent SL positions!* In the tradition of Wohlforthian political banditry which the RSL is avidly aping, they have invented their "proof."

The confrontation between Tory Prime Minister Heath and the mine workers clearly posed the necessity for a general strike to bring down the Tory government and to smash the capitalist offensive against the workers' living standards. To this end the SL raised the call for the leadership of the British labor movement, the Trades Union Congress, to launch a general strike organized through the shop stewards committees.

To Landau and Co. this is an expression of "Menshevik formalism" and "opposition to soviets." What do the "critical" supporters of Arnold Miller offer the British workers instead? "...revolutionary forces in Britain must call for Councils of Action to organize a general strike" (*Torch*, March 1974). Further, "for the RSL, Councils of Action are meant to serve as vehicles for mobilizing the broadest layers of the class, ultimately developing into soviets and the basis of the workers' state itself" (*Torch*, 16-29 May).

The Spartacist League, you see, was concerned only with the mundane task of raising a program for victory to the workers in this sharp class battle at a time when there is no pre-revolutionary situation in Britain, no mass revolutionary party nor any effective opposition to the treacherous TUC misleaders who would surely seek to sabotage a general strike. Did the SL separate defensive from offensive? Not at all: "Should such a strike be victorious...it would shatter the stability of bourgeois rule in Britain and open up a pre-revolutionary situation" (*WV* No. 38, 15 February). Was the SL line pacifist? No: "To call on the police...to defend picket lines can only...divert attention from the crucial task of urging the working class to organize armed defense of the picket lines" (*WV* No. 39, 1 March). And what about the famous (but non-existent) councils of action: "Should a general strike actually occur, the organization and authority of councils of action would certainly be posed.... Such councils will not arise out of thin air at the call of revolutionaries.... In their initiation a key role will be played by elements of the traditional leadership, such as the shop stewards councils" (*ibid.*).

On all counts the RSL critique is false and, moreover, dishonest. Nevertheless, these dilettantes have a panacea which solves all the problems posed by a general strike in the absence of a

recognized revolutionary leadership: soviets. But if it was criminal for the SL to call for a general strike in Britain launched by the TUC and organized through the shop stewards councils (instead of calling for councils of action/soviets), then how much more criminal was it for the SL to initiate militant demonstrations to support the British miners' strike in Boston, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toronto, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles! Clearly, according to the RSL's viewpoint, the correct policy was to call for...soviets.

On paper the RSL's position amounts to formalistic soviet fetishism; in practice it is nothing more than meaningless "left" verbiage bearing no semblance to a serious policy for victory in the strike. Trotsky had some choice words for this kind of "revolutionary" posturing: "I am a Marxist, not a Bakuninist. I stand on the ground of the reality of bourgeois society, in order to find in it the forces and the levers with which to overthrow it. As against the factory councils, the trade unions, parliament, you counterpose—the soviet system. In this connection the Germans have a very excellent verse: 'Schön ist ein Zylinderhut, wenn man ihn besitzen tut.' (Indeed a silk hat is very fine, provided only it is mine.) You have not only no soviets, you have not even a bridge to them, not even a road to the bridge, nor a footpath to the road. *Die Aktion* has transformed the soviets into a fetish, into a super-social specter, into a religious myth. ... There you have the entire policy of the German ultra-lefts" ("Workers Control of Production," August 1931).

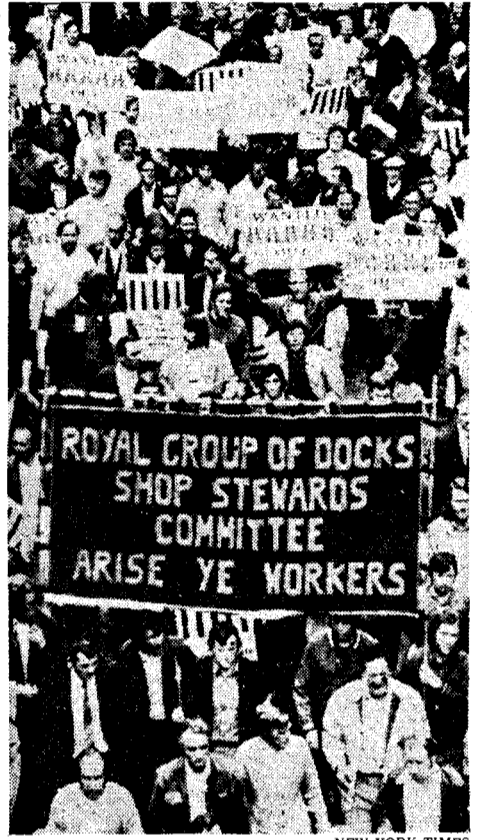
Militants of the RSL who wish to play a role in leading a proletarian revolution—in fact, not in fantasy—would do well to study some history. The creation of councils of action was indeed posed by the 1926 British general strike—but it was the TUC leadership which organized them. On the other hand, shop stewards' bodies have, because of their close ties to the union rank and file in the factories, played a key role in the formation of soviet-like bodies in the countries of West Europe. To take but two examples: The workers councils in Berlin which arose in the course of the 1918 revolution were in large part the result of the action of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards; and in 1919 the Glasgow shop stewards formed a Clyde Workers' Committee which led a local general strike of considerable magnitude.

Far from being some kind of trade-union fetishism the SL agitation for a general strike launched by the TUC and organized through the shop stewards councils was a call not for capitulation to the present misleaders of labor, but rather for battle against the reformists on the concrete terrain of the class struggle. In the summer of 1972 Britain was on the verge of a general strike over the jailing of dockers' union leaders; not just the TUC tops but also the Communist Party-led shop stewards committees were responsible for sabotaging the movement (see "Docks Crisis Provokes Near General Strike in Britain," *WV* No. 12, October 1972).

Every article and demonstration by the SL during the recent British miners' strike was infused with a spirit of unflagging struggle against these fake lefts. However, the group in Britain which raised a program similar to the RSL's—calling for a general strike launched by non-existent councils of action—was the International Marxist Group, which had this to say about the CP mine workers' leaders: "In many ways today's NUM left...are not like the 'limp lefts' of yesterday or today. ... The NUM lefts have, and will, lead

real, hard-fought struggles" (*Red Weekly*, 8 February). In theory the IMG, like the RSL, claims to be Trotskyist; in practice it acts as a left apologist for the reformists, just as the RSL gives a left cover to Miller.

In fact the RSL had no perspective of agitating for a general strike in Britain. The key to its position was the statement that, "Whether the proposed campaign succeeds or not, the campaign itself will open up the great-



Demonstration during 1973 dock strike.

est possibilities for today's small revolutionary forces to expand in size and influence" (*Torch*, February 1974). You see, by parading around with the most "left"-sounding position, even though it is meaningless as an actual policy to carry the struggle forward, "small revolutionary forces" can build up their militant image among petty-bourgeois radicals who have no direct concern for the outcome of the strike.

As for the elections, the utterance between the Trotskyist policies of the Spartacist League and the tailist opportunism of the RSL can be seen simply by comparing the two slogans. The SL called for a "Labour Party/TUC Government Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Capitalist Class" and for a continuation of the struggle for a general strike during the election period (*WV* No. 38). The RSL, however, proclaimed stridently: "...revolutionaries will put forward their own interpretation to the slogans Down With the Tories! Labour to Power! They will urge the workers movement to demand an end to the Industrial Relations Act, designed to crush the powerful British shop stewards movement. They will demand an end to wage controls, to 'austerity programs,' to the entire apparatus of Tory repression" (*Torch*, February 1974).

Here is the reality of the RSL position: while calling for non-existent councils of action, to be organized by unnamed "small revolutionary forces," to organize a general strike which will lead to soviets and a workers state, in the next breath it lets the Labour parliamentarians off the hook with a few cheap reforms! The RSL imagines that it can simply bypass the historic leadership of the British proletariat and that soviets will arise as easily as mushrooms crop up after a warm summer rain. By failing to expose the reformist treachery of Wilson and Co., the RSL only exposes its own utter lack of revolutionary perspective. ■

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Indira Gandhi's A-Bomb Test

India's May 18 underground explosion of a nuclear device will accelerate the development and spread of atomic weapons and thus considerably heighten the strong possibility that such weapons will be used in national wars by smaller nations. Previously the exclusive "nuclear club" was restricted to the United States, USSR, China, France and Great Britain, the only nations to have heretofore exploded nuclear devices. The Gandhi bomb serves to escalate already existing antagonisms and mounting national tensions caused by the necessity for capitalist property relations to transcend narrow national boundaries, leading to imperialist expansion and wars and to national hostilities among the backward countries as well.

India's pious protestations that its nuclear device will be used only for peaceful purposes have rightly been universally disregarded. France in the 1950's made the same protestations about its own nuclear research, only a few years before it got its first bombs. And the tremendous excitement and pride of the Indian bourgeoisie can hardly be justified by new advances in "canal excavation" or India's enhanced ability to "understand rock dynamics."

The immediate implications of India's nuclear weapons capacity will be an acceleration by Pakistan of its own plutonium-producing efforts. (Pakistan already has natural-uranium reactors

—the more complex and expensive process of producing plutonium is necessary to create a nuclear weapon.) China, too, is another obvious target for Indian bombs.

However, the broader global implications are even more ominous. When nuclear weapons were first produced in the 1940's there was considerable belief that such weapons were "too horrible" ever to be used and would therefore be a certain deterrent to future



Indira Gandhi

PICTORIAL PARADE

wars. George Orwell predicted in 1945 that:

"The atomic bomb may complete the process of robbing the exploited classes and peoples of all power to revolt, and at the same time putting the possessors of the bomb on a basis of military equality. Unable to conquer one another, they are likely to continue ruling the world between them...."

—"In Front of Your Nose," 1945

The "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty" of 1968, pushed mainly by the USSR and the United States, seemed to bear out this prognosis. In reality, the world economic and military hegemony

of the U.S. following World War II did result in an uneasy stalemate, however, given the U.S.' loss of hegemony and the resurgence of inter-imperialist rivalries in recent years, the accelerating development and spread of nuclear weaponry are inevitable.

Japan and West Germany have had the technological capacity to develop nuclear weapons for years, but have been overshadowed by the U.S.' dominance. In the future this will not be so. Other nations with both the technological capacity and appetite for developing nuclear weapons, besides Pakistan, include Israel, Egypt, South Africa/Rhodesia and Brazil.

This proliferation of nuclear weapons in a world wracked by the contradictions of decaying imperialism brings us one long step closer to Trotsky's prediction that "without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind" ("The Transitional Program"). The threat of nuclear war has become not some final apocalyptic vision, but very much an immediate possibility, as shown by India's example.

We reassert the basic Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers states. We defend the acquisition of nuclear weapons by these states and demand that the "nuclear umbrella" be extended to cover North Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack. But the short-sighted parasitic bureaucracies which rule in Moscow, Peking, etc. seek instead to line up with one or another band of imperialists in order to gain "allies" for their internecine bureaucratic feuding.

The danger for the world working class of nuclear proliferation in the hands of increasingly desperate national bourgeoisies is obvious. Only world proletarian revolution (including political revolution to overthrow the bureaucratic misleaders of the deformed workers states) can halt this escalating spiral of militarism and potential nuclear holocaust. ■

others, was forgotten—the same "mistakes" were committed in the bank strike [in the spring of 1974], for example.

Action Program

Rouge's action program contains all the transitional demands... except the most important one: for the workers government. That means that the action program could be anything, except a transitional program. This demand points to the necessity of centralizing the struggle of the masses to overthrow the bourgeois state. A smattering of transitional demands, plus the refusal to characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front, will culminate in the demand for a Class-Collaborationist-Reformist-Mass-Dynamic-Front-of-the-Left (or one of struggle, or armed, with a *Mirista* flavor). Taking up the slogan "el pueblo armado jamás será vencido" ["the people armed will never be defeated,"] is already a good indication of this tendency.

... The elections of May 1974 are (provisionally) the last stage of adaptation to the popular front, as much by the FCR as by LO or the OCI. These three organizations have a good start on the road to being tomorrow's French POUM or MIR.

USec World Congress

The Tenth World Congress was the latest farce. This "Fourth International" no longer exists. Neither of the two factions is fighting for the Transitional Program, for the construction of a Trotskyist International.

... On this point I coincide totally with the "Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency" of the SWP:

"Both tendencies within the world movement offer us two forms of the same substance: political liquidationism. In the case of the SWP, liquidation into petty-bourgeois milieus and the subordination of the vanguard role of the revolutionary party to the reformist leaderships of the petty-bourgeois movements, and in the labor movement its support to government-tied reformers—like the UMW's Miller and the NMU's Morrissey. In the case of the IMT, liquidation into guerrillaism and the 'new mass vanguard' of Europe, which also represents a subordination of the role of the vanguard party. Therefore, both tendencies are unsupportable."

—[SWP] Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 22, July 1973

... I now believe that to be consistent the end of the text "New Vanguards or Construction of the Revolutionary Party" has to be modified. The time has passed to rectify this "International"; it must be reborn in opposition to all the epigones, be they of the USec Majority or Minority, or of the Organizing Committee [the OCRFI, sponsored by the French OCI]. Today in France the forces exist to do this....

For a Trotskyist Organization in France!

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Lesueur

Continued from page 3 FCR Leader Resigns

abdication to the 1974 version of the French Popular Front.

[The USec] current was born officially in 1953 as the liquidator of the accumulated experience of revolutionary Marxism and of Trotsky's organization.

"It is important to note that the crux of the rottenness and unprincipled nature of Pabloism did not lie in its desire to do entry work *per se*. There is nothing in principle wrong with that. Its unprincipled character lay in the following: Pabloism apologized for and objectively served as a left cover for the C.P.s and some Social-Democratic tendencies. In particular it miseducated the working class as to the nature of Stalinism and the C.P.s, holding forth the line that C.P.s would make and lead revolutions the world over."

—Al Greengold, "A Spectre is Haunting the International," [SWP] Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 30, July 1973

Throughout its existence, the stamp of [the USec] current has been its tailing after all the new vanguards... that it discovered itself!

*From 1953 to 1968

—the new Stalinist or social-democratic vanguard,

*From 1968 to 1972

—the new student vanguard,
—the new guerrilla vanguard in Latin America,
—the new Stalinist vanguard in Indochina,
—the new DPFLP and PFLP vanguard in the Near East.

It suffices to examine the last two years to easily persuade oneself that this current will never build the Bolshevik party that the class needs.

March 1973 Elections

The March 1973 elections were sup-

posed to show something. In order to further the "objective" of class struggle, the Ligue refused to characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front and called for a vote for the Union of the Left. Later, a self-criticism explained that we shouldn't have voted for the Radical-Socialists... because that wasn't educational for the vanguard! Oh, how difficult education is!

Not only shouldn't we have voted for a bourgeois party because that wasn't educational, but *we shouldn't have voted for the workers parties involved in a popular front either!* The position held by the Ligue, the OCI and LO, of not voting for the Radical-Socialists, could not be expressed in a presidential election because on the second round the only candidate is the candidate of the popular front. The vote for Mitterrand is the verification of the opportunism of the March 1973 slogans.

In this type of election, the function of the popular front leads to stressing the working-class element of the front, without changing the nature [of the popular front]. If Fabre [leader of the Left Radicals] had represented the Union of the Left instead of Mitterrand, our opportunists would probably have abstained or have explained that the elections were "a trap for suckers." In that case, LO, OCI or FCR might wind up calling for a working-class candidate of the popular front!

As for the education of the class in relation to the popular front, it would (as it was now) have been passed over in silence.

The arguments made against the popular-front characterization are illuminating:

- *fascism is not a threat,
- *the Radical-Socialists represent only themselves,
- *the Gaullist constitution is not that of the Third Republic,
- *the social situation is different.

What then is one to say about the nine tenths of the countries of the world in which the social, legal, political situation has never been and will never be that of the France of 1936? That popular fronts are impossible there?! We have to add that now there is something else different from 1936: then there was a Trotskyist policy, today there is critical support to the popular front.

Here is what Trotsky wrote to the Dutch group of the Fourth International in July 1936:

"The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The Left Centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to practice their little business in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—Writings, 1935-36

Lip Strike

The Lip strike was also supposed to show something. *Rouge's* whole line was to pump for the action committee, whose presence prevented the workers from taking the strike in hand, and the election of a strike committee. The other side of *Rouge's* policies was to "forget" to put forth slogans capable of mobilizing the class in support for Lip and against the government.

"Thus on the whole we were out of step, for one thing because of our own weaknesses on using transitional slogans, for another (and especially) because of *tailending* the Lip workers, which was a corollary of the tailism which we already discussed concerning the negotiations.... We should have put forth [the general strike] propagandistically, not by asking our comrades in the unions to stop work locally, but to put the unions' leaderships 'up against the wall'...."

But this self-criticism, like all the

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Postscript on Revolutionary Black Nationalism

Cops Sentence Black Liberation Army to Death

The current court trials of alleged members of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) represent a postscript to that period in American history, roughly 1967-71, when radical politics was dominated by so-called revolutionary black nationalism. Faced with the non-existence of a black nation in the U.S., and the consequent impossibility of a real nationalist perspective for the doubly oppressed racial/ethnic minorities, the right wing of the nationalists (typified by Huey Newton, Imamu Baraka and Ken Cockrel) has retreated into social workerism and Democratic Party politics. The guerrillaist "left" wing (Cleaver, George Jackson) has largely disappeared.

The combination of brutal racial oppression and a sizeable urban lumpen population guarantees that the black ghettos will again spawn groups dedicated to violent confrontations with the police. However, effective repression has, for now, thoroughly routed the Maoist-Castroist guerrillaists of the Cleaver/Jackson stamp. The remnants of the BLA are the only active surviving representatives of this current, and at this point their struggle is limited largely to staying alive.

Between the BLA's aim of urban guerrilla war based on the black lumpens and genuine Leninism, centering on working-class revolution, there exists an enormous gulf. Nevertheless, the murderous police/FBI campaign against the BLA is a direct threat to the labor movement and is part and parcel of the daily terrorization of the black masses. The workers movement must defend the surviving members of the BLA against the government's vicious frame-up conspiracy.

NYPD Launches Nationwide Conspiracy

Following a series of killings and woundings of New York cops in 1971-72, the NYC Police Department launched a national campaign to wipe out the Black Liberation Army. Defying orders by the Lindsay administration not to publicize a black terrorist conspiracy, the police hierarchy used its considerable power to picture the BLA as a nationwide conspiracy of fanatical cop-killers.

Robert Daley, then the NYPD Deputy Commissioner of Public Relations, retired from the force to better publicize the "BLA threat" in a book entitled *Target Blue*. His hatred of the BLA affecting his sense of public relations (evidently believing no one would defend the "extremist" wing of the Panthers accused of cop-killing), Daley openly stated what black militants already knew—if the juries let the accused BLAers off, the police would murder them:

"Seedman [NYPD Chief of Detectives] talked about vicious criminals such as these beating the law over legal technicalities and he foresaw the day when the cops would take matters into their own hands. If they cornered men like Herman Bell or Andrew Jackson and were really convinced the guys would get off in court, they would go in there guns blazing." [emphasis in original]

Since the cops were determined to murder the BLAers regardless of "law and order," they could hardly be expected to respect legal niceties even in dealing with those non-BLAers involved. The police and FBI systematically harassed the relatives of suspected BLAers. Andrew Jackson's sister was visited by the NYPD every week for three years.

Concerning the BLA itself, the

nationwide police manhunt has been totally successful. An NYPD "intelligence report" last year referred to "25 to 30 hard-core members" of the BLA. With the gunning down of Twymon Meyers by police and FBI agents last November a total of seven of the alleged BLAers had been killed by the authorities and another 18 "suspects" were in jail facing numerous charges. Police Commissioner Cawley boasted that "just about all the principals in the Black Liberation Army are either dead or in custody" (*New York Times*, 16 November 1973).

The actual legal cases against the BLA are so shaky that in two of the major ones, that against Joanne Chesimard and Fred Hilton for bank robbery and against Henry Brown for murdering a cop, the defendants were found not guilty by juries that couldn't possibly be sympathetic to self-avowed black revolutionaries. The only conviction so far is of Clark Squire for killing a state trooper in a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike May 1973 (he received a life sentence—plus 24-30 years, the judge's means of assuring he cannot be paroled until 1996). Given the fate of other BLA suspects who had been cornered by the cops, it is hardly surprising that Squire and his companions opened fire when stopped. Chesimard, allegedly the leader of the BLA, was acquitted because the prosecution's case was patently fraudulent: the two "eye-witnesses" were bank-robbery convicts who could not describe what Chesimard was wearing and claimed to have met her one day and collaborated in robbing a bank the next! In the Brown trial the witnesses

ment, which only had to be given correct military leadership.

In reality, the ghetto anti-police riots were spontaneous explosions of violent protest, lacking conscious revolutionary purpose. The ghetto outbursts marked the end of a period of mass reformist struggle rather than raising that struggle to a new, higher level (they never took place in the same city twice). Despite considerable radicalization the ghetto masses never broke politically from liberal reformism. Most of those who hurled Molotov cocktails at police cars in Watts, New-

ful and somewhat contemptuous of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals who made up the civil rights and cultural nationalist organizations.

The Panthers' right turn in 1968 drew in large numbers of students and experienced radical activists who knew how to work the liberal fund-raising circuit and maneuver factionally in the "white left." These new recruits formed the basis of the Oakland apparatus led by David Hilliard until Newton got out of prison in 1970.

Many of the original lumpen members were dead, in prison or under-



Joanne Chesimard

NEW YORK POST



Henry Brown

AP

ark and Detroit would have voted for Humphrey in 1968 or McGovern in 1972. Most of them probably did vote for black liberal Democrats Bradley, Gibson and Young. While sympathetic toward and even admiring radicals like the Panthers, the black masses remained cynical and loyal to the Democratic Party as the only conceivable lesser evil.

The ghetto masses did not rally to the cause of urban guerrilla war because they knew they could not win. The isolated ghetto riot, no matter how well-organized or militantly led, could not defeat the armed forces of the capitalist state. Against this bitter truth the Panthers banged their heads until their organization was shattered.

Newton Wing Returns to "Pork-Chop" Reformism

By 1968 most of the Panther leadership were either dead or in jail on capital charges. The military defeat of the Panthers was so overwhelming that all tendencies within the party recognized the need to adopt new policies. The most immediate and visible change was a broad right turn aimed at increasing the Panthers' respectability in the black community (e.g., the free breakfast program which first led to the Panthers' cooperation with the churches), raising defense money from the liberal establishment and mobilizing the left and radical student movement (for example, the ill-fated Peace and Freedom Party and still-born "United Front Against Fascism").

The top leadership of the Panthers had developed out of a circle of students grouped around the Afro-American Association at Oakland's Merritt Community College. But from early on they were able to attract a membership of street-wise youth who had been in and out of prison, recruited primarily on their willingness to shoot it out with the cops. The Panthers in this period tended to romanticize those members who came from lumpen backgrounds and were distrust-

ground. They didn't like the right turn and were a source of internal friction, resulting in numerous expulsions. However, those fighting to maintain the "lumpen-militarist" orientation lacked leadership and were waiting for Newton to be released, believing he would soon straighten out the party.

In fact, when Newton got out of prison he deepened the right turn. He used a realistic argument to justify shelving the concept of military struggle. He asserted that without mass support, which the Panthers did not have, neither open nor underground revolutionary violence could be successful. Thus Newton treated the "party-as-military-vanguard" as the pre-World War I Social Democrats treated the maximum program—something to be attained in the distant future.

Cleaver and the Lumpen-Militarists

The long-smoldering internal frictions blew up when Eldridge Cleaver, in exile in Algeria, chose to become the spokesman for the lumpen-militarist opposition. No less than Newton, Cleaver admitted that open confrontation with the police was a bankrupt strategy. He, therefore, advocated a dual-party structure with an underground guerrilla force. This idea was developed even before the open split:

"I feel that we have now reached the point where we have to develop the other aspect of a classic structure of a revolutionary movement; that is, the distinction between a political arm and a military arm that is necessary in order to develop people's war..."

—quoted in Lee Lockwood, *Conversation With Eldridge Cleaver*, 1970

And again like Newton, Cleaver realized that the failure of the black masses to rally to the cause of "people's war" was rooted in the Panthers' hostile isolation from the rest of American society. To overcome this Cleaver projected a multi-vanguard, "Third-Worldist" military alliance:

"This is what I'll be working on henceforth: to establish the North American

continued on page 11

Purge Attempt in L.A. AFSCME

LOS ANGELES, 1 June—For the second time in six months an attack is under way against the basic democratic rights of the Militant Caucus of Local 2070 (UCLA) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. A raging controversy over an incident at a recent stewards class boiled to the surface in the Local meeting today. The Local leadership argued for a motion to censure the Militant Caucus for a simple statement of its view of the incident, which had been printed in the Caucus paper, *Workers Solidarity*.

The stewards training class late in April had been open to all union members, according to members of Local 2070 interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* after today's meeting. A somewhat inebriated former vice president of the small AFSCME unit had tried to enter the class, but was stopped at the door by one of his opponents in the present leadership who claimed that the member was going to "disrupt" the meeting. A fight ensued as the official tried to prevent the member from attending; however, the International Representative, who was at the meeting, reportedly urged that the member be allowed to come in.

Subsequently, he did come in and sat in the back, not disrupting anything. At that point the official, who had absented himself, returned with an L.A. city police officer. The official pointed out the member to the police officer, who then took him away.

Hearing about this incident later, members of the Militant Caucus strongly disapproved of the deliberate, despicable act of the Local officer in fingering a union member to the armed thugs of the bosses. The Caucus, however, limited itself to a simple statement of political opposition to such acts in its paper, for the purpose of calling the attention of the membership to the basic class principle which had been violated. The statement did not mention

any names, to avoid handing "evidence" to either side which might be used in any legal actions between union members.

So shaky and defensive is the Local leadership that it could not tolerate even this simple statement of opinion. A motion of censure of the Caucus for printing "damaging and untrue information," and going to the intolerable extent of demanding that the Caucus apologize and print a retraction of its true statement, was introduced at the May meeting and again today. Each time it was tabled to the next meeting, pending completion of a report by a special union committee set up to investigate the incident.

So far, the committee has been unable to complete its report. Both the Caucus and Local officials had collected depositions from the union members who were present to ascertain the facts. The union exec board issued an official warning to the Caucus that it was bypassing official union channels by collecting its own depositions on the facts. But the union official who fingered the member to the police is himself *withholding the officially-collected depositions* from the official committee, reportedly in the interests of pursuing legal action against the member!

The membership is increasingly fed up with this unprincipled behavior on the part of its elected leadership. A Militant Caucus petition defending union democracy and the right of opposition groups to express their views has already been signed by 82 members—more than voted for the present leadership in the last election! (The Local has only about 300 members, having not fully organized the campus workers.)

At today's meeting, a motion by the Caucus to table the censure motion indefinitely failed by only one vote,

but another Caucus motion urging early completion of the committee's report passed. This annoyed the leadership, which is stalling, since it knows that the depositions will verify the few simple facts mentioned by the Caucus in its paper, and thus expose the censure motion for what it is: a blatant attempt to beat a militant and vocal opposition into silence. This attempted railroading has reportedly included behind-the-scenes threats of a Stalin-style purge; however, in view of the obvious membership opposition, these two-bit schemers have (not surprisingly) lacked the courage to come out in the open with their real motives.

Although its early leaders are no longer working at UCLA, having gone on to organize elsewhere, the Militant Caucus has a proud history, virtually as long as the Local itself, as some of the best early builders of the union. The present members have continued that tradition. In addition to gathering signatures on their petition, Caucus members have in recent weeks signed up many new union members on the largely unorganized campus. The leadership's campaign against the Caucus is an inexcusable attack on the democratic rights of any and every union opposition group and union member to defend their opinions and programs. It is the responsibility of every loyal union member to denounce the censure motion and the motives behind it, and furthermore to reject all use of the cops and courts to settle disputes which should be internal to the labor movement. It is the use of these anti-labor outside agencies, not the expression of opinion by the members, which is subverting the proper functioning of the union. Only recognition of the class-struggle principles espoused by the Militant Caucus can provide the basis for building and strengthening the unions in their struggle against the employers, their class and their government. ■

the low-paid dangerous work in its mines. Taken all together, these factors make South African intervention to preserve white rule in southern Mozambique a distinct possibility.

Rival Nationalists in Angola

Angola is by far the richest of the colonies. While all the colonies together provided Portugal with a \$40 million net trade surplus in 1963, the royalty payments by Gulf Oil alone on its production in Cabinda (a small enclave to the north of Angola) totaled \$61 million in 1972 (Africa Research Group, *Race to Power: The Struggle for Southern Africa*). High quality iron ore, diamonds and coffee are also lucrative and growing industries. Yet it is in Angola that the nationalist guerrillas' struggle has been least successful.

The largest group in Angola is the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was formed in 1956 by Agostinho Neto, along with Cabral of the PAIGC and several others. Armed struggle was initiated in 1961, but from the beginning the struggle in Angola has been characterized by internecine rivalry between the nationalists. A Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto has had a base of support among the Bakongo tribe of the northern provinces and received support from the rightist President Mobutu of neighboring Zaïre (former Belgian Congo). Several times during the 13 years of bitter rivalry members of one group who fell into the hands of the other were executed. Despite a reported agreement between the two organizations in December 1973, some 40 MPLA militants arrested by Mobutu were reported still in jail as of last November (*Southern Africa*, February 1974). A third group, the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a 1966 split-off from the FNLA, is also sporadically active.

The problems of the Angolan nationalists are compounded by the fact that much heavier investment of foreign capital and a higher percentage of Portuguese settlers (500,000 out of a total population of 6 million) mean a more determined resistance to independence under black rule. This and the weakness of the MPLA/FNLA militarily (areas actually under their control do not appear to be extensive) reinforce the possibility of a continuation of some form of dependent relationship with Portugal (perhaps disguised by local elections of governor or similar measures).

Turn From the Workers to the Peasants

The history and political perspectives of the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO are all similar. All three began by organizing intellectuals and workers in the urban centers, later turning to the peasants after bloody defeats at the hands of the Portuguese authorities. Cabral's PAIGC started by recruiting dock and transport workers and claims to have led a number of strikes in 1958, culminating in the dockers' strike in Bissau (the capital) in August of the following year. The strike was crushed by the Portuguese army which opened fire on the workers, killing 50.

Mondlane, head of FRELIMO from its founding in 1962 until his assassination in 1969, describes a similar process in Mozambique:

"...the radical discontent of the labor force combined with political agitation, produced in 1947 a series of strikes in the docks of Lourenço Marques and in neighboring plantations, which culminated in the abortive uprising of 1948. ... In 1956, again at Lourenço Marques, there was a dock strike which ended in the death of 49 participants. Then in 1962-63 the Frelimo underground... helped plan the series of dock strikes which broke out in 1963... This last effort also ended only in the death and arrest of many participants."

—*The Struggle for Mozambique*

Similarly, the MPLA's early efforts to build an urban-based movement were discouraged by systematic persecution of radicals by the PIDE (Salazar's savage political police) and the army.

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Portuguese Colonies

plans. Already, while the provisional government officially speaks only of negotiations, its colonial minister has declared that a referendum on independence will be held permitting illiterates (the vast majority of the African populations) to vote on an equal basis (*New York Times*, 22 May).

Guinea-Bissau in Rebel Hands

The position of the Portuguese army in Africa has been deteriorating for years. By 1967 the PAIGC claimed control of half of Guinea-Bissau, a small enclave on the west coast of Africa. The governor at the time (the infamous, Nazi-trained Schultz) recommended abandoning the colony to the rebels. He was replaced and more troops were sent in.

In 1973 the nationalists, now claiming to control three fourths of the area outside of the cities and most of the population, declared the independence of Guinea. (The influence of the PAIGC in Cape Verde is minimal, despite the fact that many of its leaders originate there, and it is not likely that any negotiations will free the islands—an important refueling point for military planes flying to South Africa—from Portuguese rule.) The declaration came little more than six months after the assassination of Amílcar Cabral, leader and founder of the PAIGC. ("Democratic" General Spínola was governor of Guinea-Bissau at the time.)

Independence for Guinea-Bissau is probably inevitable by this point and, while it would represent something of a humiliation to the Portuguese army, the latter has little in the way of heroic exploits to boast of anyway (other than massacres of hundreds, perhaps thousands of villagers, massive defoliation,

systematic torture—in short, the full panoply of U.S. Vietnam-vintage "counterinsurgency" techniques). Economically, the region is insignificant, producing mainly peanuts and being run as a fief of the CUF trust; it only has 2,500 Portuguese settlers.

FRELIMO Advances in Mozambique

Of much greater importance is Mozambique, located on the southeast coast of Africa. The Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has made dramatic military gains during the last 18 months. Previously confined to a narrow area in the northern provinces, it has extended its activity south to the key port and railhead city of Beira and the roads leading west to Rhodesia. The threat to white-dominated Rhodesia's main outlet to the sea has prompted the covert intervention of Rhodesian mercenary army units against FRELIMO in the Tete province.

FRELIMO is clearly the only viable African political force in Mozambique at this point; a rally by the "moderate" GUM in the capital city of Lourenço Marques was reportedly dominated by a handful of FRELIMO hecklers. But the nationalists are far from having hegemony. When the Portuguese colonial minister tried to stave off demands by striking dock workers in Lourenço Marques for a \$12 daily wage (they now receive \$2.60) with the offer of a \$1.20 raise and the promise that "your brothers are coming to govern you" pandemonium broke out; the 3,000 strikers refused to return to work, obviously unconvinced that promises of a black government would solve their problems (*New York Times*, 23 May).

The 200,000 Portuguese settlers in Mozambique are an obstacle to any settlement which promises independence to the black majority (8 million). Already various groups of rightist settlers have been formed similar to the Algerian *pieds noirs'* OAS. No doubt



Portuguese soldiers display trophy.

they could count on the sympathy of some officers for a breakaway white-dominated regime. But the key to the situation in Mozambique is South Africa; without its military support a settler regime would soon fall.

South Africa already has 2,000 troops in Mozambique (mainly around the Cabora Bassa dam which is being constructed with South African capital) and has, since 1965, been part of a secret common defense agreement with Portugal and Rhodesia to protect southern Africa "against nationalist and communist subversion" (Eduardo Mondlane, *Struggle for Mozambique*). According to an article in the 10 May *New York Post*, NATO officials confirmed that a plan has been developed "to go to the aid of our potential allies in southern Africa if the need should arise," under the guise of protecting the sea lanes. South Africa also has an interest in continuing the flow of contract laborers (100,000 to 150,000 annually, mostly from Mozambique) for

Portuguese Colonies

In February 1961 several hundred militants attacked a police station and prison to free MPLA members held there, in the process reportedly killing seven Portuguese police. The plan failed and the following days saw a full-scale massacre of blacks in the capital (Luanda) leaving hundreds of dead at the hands of cops and vigilantes. These experiences led to a common decision to retreat to the countryside and organize the peasantry, with varying degrees of success.

Under the influence of Maoist/Castroist myths, many radicals in the West believe that the more leftward-leaning African nationalist movements are building a movement for socialist revolution based on the peasantry. Aside from the fact that FRELIMO and the MPLA do not even claim to be socialist (the PAIGC does), nothing could be further from the truth. Cabral, who despite his nationalist/reformist politics also had a good deal of honesty, openly admitted that "the peasantry is not a revolutionary force." It is culturally backward, steeped in tribalism and its aspirations are those of petty-bourgeois small commodity producers everywhere: to own their own property and be rid of outside control (e.g., the Portuguese army...or a proletarian state).

The peasantry, particularly one ground down by the harsh conditions of Portuguese rule, can be mobilized for a revolutionary struggle against the colonial power; but this alliance can set the stage for a further advance to socialism only if it is led by the working class and achieves the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working classes of Mozambique and Angola are perhaps not large (5 to 10 percent of the economically active population), but they already have a considerable history of militant struggle, recently reconfirmed in the strike wave in Lourenço Marques. The proletariat in Russia in 1917 was only about 8 percent of the population and suffered similar brutalization at the hands of the tsar.

The retreat to the peasantry has also had an effect on the politics of the "national liberation movements," namely leading to the contention that "all social strata" will carry out the revolution (Cabral) or that there will be "an identification of everyone" (Marcelino Dos Santos, vice-chairman of FRELIMO)—in other words, class antagonisms will not exist.

The Sorry History of "African Socialism"

Africa has already had a considerable experience with such political ideologies which deny the existence of class antagonisms, in the form of the theory of "African socialism" popularized by such figures as Senghor

(Senegal), Touré (Guinea), Nkrumah (Ghana) and Nyerere (Tanzania). "African socialism" essentially maintained that "the African social system is communistic" and does not display "antagonisms of class against class" (Kwame Nkrumah, "The Old and the New: Law in Africa," 1962).

The most common use of this "theory" was, naturally, in the realm of the relations between the newly independent bourgeois nationalist governments and labor. Nyerere's book, *Ujamaa—The Basis for African Socialism*, warns trade-union leaders to seek no more than their "fair share," implying, like Fanon, that workers are privileged compared to the starving peasantry. In 1964 Nyerere put teeth in this warning by dissolving the Tanganyikan Federation of Labour.

Sékou Touré, once regarded by *U.S. News and World Report* as a second Castro and Russian agent, declared in the early 1960's: "Communism is not the African way. The class struggle here is something impossible because there are no classes, but only social strata. The fundamental basis of our society is the family established in conformity with the village community" (quoted in B. Ameillon, *La Guinée, bilan d'une indépendance*). When Guinean teachers struck in November 1961 for higher salaries Touré arrested the union leadership and sentenced them to 10 years in prison as part of an alleged Franco-Soviet plot.

Perhaps the verbally most radical of all the African left-nationalists in the 1960's, and the one best known in the U.S., was Nkrumah of Ghana. But, despite his socialist pretensions Nkrumah moved in 1958 to take control of the unions by his Convention People's Party through passing an Industrial Relations Act which empowered the government to dissolve any union, freeze union funds and ban strikes.

When transport workers (particularly the railwaymen) struck in September 1961 against a government-imposed 5 percent compulsory savings deduction from wages, Nkrumah's minister of transport Edusei ordered the workers to return to their jobs and lectured them on austerity. This same Edusei later achieved notoriety as the importer of the first solid gold bed in Ghana. He once remarked: "Socialism doesn't mean that if you've made a lot of money you can't keep it" (quoted in Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, *Ghana: End of an Illusion*). After Nkrumah had forced the exhausted workers to abandon the strike the government launched a massive mop-up campaign, firing local union leaders and railway workers.

Touré, Nkrumah and Nyerere were more radical (verbally) than the leaders of the MPLA, PAIGC or FRELIMO today. Eduardo Mondlane (FRELIMO) was admittedly not a socialist. Of his successors Marchal is rumored to be pro-Chinese, Marcelino Dos Santos to be pro-Russian. But if their language occasionally sounds like the Stalinists' "two-stage" theory of revolution, speaking of an initial stage of "national

democratic" or "new democratic" revolution, it is a two-stage theory without the second stage. The most FRELIMO and MPLA have asserted in the field of social policy is a vague commitment to end exploitation of man by man. According to Dos Santos, FRELIMO "is a front because it groups together all the social groups or social classes with the one aim of eliminating the [foreign] oppressor" (*South African Communist*, 4th Quarter 1973).

National Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution

While the "African socialists" deny the existence of classes in Africa, the Stalinists call for a unity of all classes against imperialism. In practice there is little difference. In Portugal the Stalinist line is expressed by servilely participating in the junta's puppet "provisional government" as a left cover to Spínola, campaigning against strikes and dropping the demand for immediate independence for the colonies. In Africa the same policies are expressed by political support to various left nationalists (and some not so left) under the guise of a "non-capitalist road of development" à la Nkrumah's Ghana.

Revolutionaries must place no faith in the reformist social-democratic and Stalinist (including Maoist and Castroist) theories of two-stage revolution. Once in power the petty-bourgeois nationalists of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC will behave no differently than their predecessors and mentors in Conakry, Lusaka and Dar es-Salaam. They will not hesitate to smash the

unions, jail Marxist revolutionaries and fatten their purses with the spoils of the bureaucracy. Only through a relentless fight to create Trotskyist parties committed to the proletarian program of permanent revolution can this be reversed. Africa is not exempt from the laws of Marxism-Leninism and the class struggle.

There is no "non-capitalist road to development" other than proletarian revolution! The Stalinists and remnants of the New Left have bamboozled many radicals into believing that the main enemy in Africa is "neo-colonialism" and that states such as Algeria, Guinea or Tanzania have somehow managed to escape the imperialist net. Far from it.

There is no qualitative difference between these states and those ruled by more rightist regimes such as Zaïre or the Ivory Coast. One indication of this is the ease with which the leftist regimes can be overthrown as in Ghana and Mali, or their policies reversed as in post-Nasser Egypt.

It is true that the native bourgeoisie is weak in many black African countries. But it definitely exists, if only on the fringes of the state bureaucracy, and is constantly growing. Moreover, it is wrong to see these weak, often totally artificial states in isolation from the capitalist world as a whole. Through the officer corps and top bureaucrats, the native bourgeoisie and the tremendous power of the imperialist corporations and governments, effective control of even the most radical nationalist African states remains in the hands of the capitalist class. There can be no talk of



Amílcar Cabral addressing PAIGC troops.

D.R.



ACTUALITY



GAMMA



FRELIMO leaders Eduardo Mondlane (left), and Samora Machel in 1968.



ADN-ZB



SECHABA

Top: FLNA head Holden Roberto (left), PAIGC leader Aristides Pereira. Bottom: FRELIMO's Marcelino Dos Santos (left), MPLA chief Agostinho Neto.

socialist revolution until the bourgeoisie is destroyed as a class and the ties to imperialism broken.

A victorious proletarian revolution, especially in backward regions such as Portuguese African colonies, must spread internationally or else degenerate and perish. Above all it is necessary to join the struggle in the economically backward countries with the class struggle in the advanced imperialist centers. Never have the Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean nationalists made any attempt to fuse their struggles with those of underground socialist oppositionists in Portugal itself. Yet today key decisions about the future of the Portuguese African territories are being made in Lisbon under the direct impact of mass demonstrations.

The economic backwardness of the African colonies has a tremendous impact on the revolutionary struggle there: 95-99 percent illiteracy, an overwhelmingly peasant population, semi-feudal conditions in some regions. So, too, does the heritage of Portuguese colonialism: the struggle for national independence, the absence of any labor and socialist organizations, the 700,000 Portuguese settlers.

But, as Trotsky declared in his theory of permanent revolution, in the backward countries it is only the proletariat supported by the peasantry that can solve the tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution. Together with the working class of metropolitan Portugal and the several hundred thousand black industrial, transport and mining workers in neighboring South Africa, Rhodesia, Zaïre and Zambia, proletarian-led revolutions in Mozambique and Angola could overthrow the tottering colonial power and sweep before them the apartheid, settler, "neo-colonial" and nationalist regimes of southern Africa.

In Portugal a pre-revolutionary situation requires that the democratic demands of immediate elections for a constituent assembly and independence for the colonies must be combined with proletarian demands growing out of the workers immediate struggles and leading to the urgent immediate task at hand: organizing the socialist revolution. Expropriation of industry under workers control; organizing workers militias; forming soldiers and sailors committees in the armed forces; forming a central council of democratically elected strike and factory committees, the seeds of future soviets and the base for a workers government which would destroy the bourgeois state—these are the tasks of the hour in Portugal. But above all, both in Lisbon and the colonies, the key is the struggle to build Trotskyist parties as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

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Beirne Maneuvers to Prevent Telephone Strikes

a seven-month strike of New York telephone workers in 1971-72....

"Today's agreement between the communications workers and the Bell System is the latest in recent efforts by labor and management in major industry to find ways to reach collective bargaining agreements without strikes or lockouts."

Opposition to Beirne Sellouts Mounts

Beirne's national bargaining scheme will be an issue at the national convention beginning in late June, since many locals correctly see it as a thinly-disguised attempt to destroy their democratic rights. Local 9415 of Oakland, California, passed a motion at its April meeting condemning Beirne's agreement as "a direct attack against the rights of all CWA members." The motion, put forward by the Militant Action Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group, characterized the scheme as "an attempt to take the issue of bargaining completely out of the hands of the membership and to squash any militancy." A special letter to the local from Beirne and a new effort on the part of local officials afraid of getting in Beirne's path before the convention led to this motion's being rescinded at the next Local meeting, but it nevertheless expressed the concern of many members, which will no doubt make itself felt at the convention.

Militants must not be misguided into counterposing simple militancy or local separatism to Beirne's fake "national bargaining." One good reason why not was given at a January meeting of the large Local 1101, New York Telephone, a key center of rank-and-file militancy during the 1971-72 strike. Local President Dempsey backed Beirne's plan despite its undemocratic character and Dempsey's own "militant" rhetoric during the last Local election campaign, in 1972.

The two major opposition groups in the Local, the United Action Caucus and supporters of the paper *Final Warning*, concentrated on pushing a joint resolution for a Local rank-and-file contract committee instead of offering a comprehensive program for a democratically arrived-at national contract which would answer telephone workers' needs. Given Dempsey's ca-

pitulation to Beirne's plan to rob the Local of its power to reject the national terms, proposals for a rank-and-file Local committee were correctly seen by many of the workers present as meaningless.

The Inevitable Betrayal of Dempsey

Despite the fact that United Action is supported by the left social-democratic International Socialists



Militant Action Caucus supporters protest Meany/Beirne's AIFLD. This CIA-backed and corporation-financed outfit organizes scab unions in Latin America. Currently it is setting up pro-junta "unions" in Chile.

while *Final Warning* usually reflects Maoist views, the coming together of these two groups around a common reform program was natural. Both groups emphasize rank-and-file shop-floor militancy in place of the conscious, long-term political struggle necessary to defeat and remove the pro-company union bureaucracy. Without this, no amount of militancy will suffice, as the 1971-72 strike should have proved, even to the social-democratic IS and Maoist groups like the Revolutionary Union.

The failure of these two groups to effectively oppose Dempsey's capitulation to Beirne was also natural, since both of them capitulated to Dempsey in the last election! Both gave him critical support on the grounds that he was a militant trade unionist who had not (yet) sold out, unlike his two opponents. They were probably not fooled by him themselves, but they consciously created illusions that he represented "a chance for us to build a strong local" (*Final Warning*, November 1972). Now the "militant" Dempsey, having confused and misled the ranks, has become Beirne's chief defender in one of the most important and militant CWA locals. Once again it should be clear that simple trade-union militancy *must* betray. With systematic and wide-ranging reforms impossible in the epoch of decaying capitalism, only a revolutionary leadership can provide an alternative to the shameless sellouts of Beirne & Co. and the demagogic fake militancy of liberal bureaucrats like Dempsey.

A genuine national contract, including a uniform national wage scale and other provisions, would be an important gain for telephone workers and labor generally, since it would help equalize wages and conditions of all workers throughout the country. The Teamsters' uniform national wage scale, which was initiated in the late 1930's under the leadership of Trotskyists in the Upper Midwest, was accomplished by sharp class struggle. The drawback of Beirne's plan is not its national character, but its undemocratic substance: instead of instituting real national con-

ditions, it simply makes it impossible to vote down a "pattern" sellout.

To Beirne's bureaucratic proposal, militants must counterpose demands for a genuine elected bargaining committee; a uniform national wage scale; and adequate time for democratic discussion and voting in the locals before the old contract expires and/or before a return to work. The slogan "no contract, no work" must be reinstated and made real. Local agreements (settling grievances, etc.) must be linked to the national agreement to bring maximum pressure on local companies and avoid the dumping of vital issues into the hands of isolated local bargainers. No one should go back to work after a strike until the national contract is approved by majority vote and all local disputes are settled.

Beyond these obvious demands it is necessary to build a nationwide class-struggle opposition caucus not only against the present sellout CWA tops, but with a program which would outline the tasks ahead and expose the impotent and treacherous reformism of would-be bureaucrats of the Dempsey stripe who are lurking in the wings to take over from the more conservative Beirne regime should the latter be unable to keep the lid on any longer. ■

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Class-Struggle Opposition in Oakland CWA Local

of which are leaders of "Patria y Libertad," a Chilean fascist organization. MAC demands the immediate severing of all ties with this reactionary, CIA-backed organization.

During her campaign, Burnham pointed out that Beirne's support to AIFLD and other schemes of Jay Lovestone's AFL-CIO International Department is simply a reflection of the same class collaborationism which led to the "national bargaining" scheme: Beirne and his cronies are committed to defend capitalism, whatever the inevitable conflicts this position produces with the real interests of the workers.

During her campaign, MAC's candidate for delegate debated three other candidates, most of whom had little or nothing to say in counterposition to MAC's program. One of them was Manja Argue, whose views often reflect those of the reformist International Socialists. (For instance, she is for militant defense of the UFW—but within the confines of Chavez' pacifist, defeatist policy and without any criticism of the latter.) Argue had more to say than others, but when pressed as to her differences with the MAC program, she said she had none. She objected instead that MAC supposedly refused to get involved in day-to-day problems and work of the union. At that point a MAC shop steward who was in the audience got up and exposed Argue's phony objection. She added that Argue's presence on the Local legislative committee without waging a constant fight for a break with all capitalist politicians was lending a left cover to the rabid supporters of the Democratic Party who ran the committee.

Burnham received 103 votes, or 15 percent of the total vote, for her class-struggle program and MAC received support from many union members who hadn't previously supported the Caucus. (The top vote-getter got 233, and the other winner for the two open posts got 192, out of 673 votes cast. Argue got 28.) Thus while the vote was not enough to elect Burnham to the convention, the campaign introduced the Caucus to new members of the union and made a strong impact in the Local. MAC represents the only kind of opposition capable of accomplishing the replacement of Beirne's reactionary bureaucracy, by creating an alternative leadership based on a full class-struggle program. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

BAY AREA

Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701 (415) 653-4668

BOSTON

Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 282-0866

BUFFALO

Box 412, Station C, Buffalo, NY 14209 (716) 837-1854

CHICAGO

Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 728-2151

CLEVELAND

Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101 (216) 651-9147

DETROIT

Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232 (313) 921-4626

LOS ANGELES

Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90038 (213) 485-1838

NEW ORLEANS

Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151 (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK

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

SAN DIEGO

P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92011

TORONTO

(Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency)
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

...French Elections

George Marchais, head of the French Communist Party, felt compelled to issue a call for law and order:

"I say to my Communist friends and others: we must greet this evening's results in serenity and tranquility. There must not be any tempestuous demonstrations on either side. I am sure that work will begin tomorrow in the factories with some bitterness; but the workers should leave their bitterness aside because it was a success nevertheless, because the future is with us."

—quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 22 May

(In the Stalinist tradition the CP has in the last year been very busy making "serenity-and-tranquility" speeches, having ordered Chilean workers to give back occupied factories to their "rightful owners" last July, and now ordering Lisbon workers to abandon their strikes!)

The labor bureaucracy's fears are well-founded. For, if the working class in France today feels neither the popular enthusiasm of 1936 nor the fervor of 1968, a slow process of radicalization continues nonetheless. In recent months strike struggles have spread to banks and small industries while, for the first time in two years, workers in heavy industry (Thomson CSF, among others) and other important sectors of the economy such as construction (St. Nazaire) are taking up the fight.

With inflation rising to a rate of perhaps 20 percent this year as well as no evident lessening of the combativity of French workers and widespread discontent over what the bulk of the class considers a defeat in the elections, the possibility of a sudden crystallization of the class struggle is ever-present. In such a charged situation the urgent task of revolutionists is to offer a clear alternative to the bankrupt popular-front politics of class collaboration being preached by the Stalinists and social democrats.

Betrays of the Ostensible Trotskyists

But none of the groups in France which claim to represent Trotskyism has been presenting such a program to the working class. We have already analyzed the craven capitulation of the OCI, which called for votes to the candidate of the popular front on both rounds (see *WV* No. 43, 26 April). Not only did the OCI capitulate to the illusions of the working class, but it even boasts of the fact. Pierre Lambert, head of the OCI, justified the vote for Mitterrand by proclaiming (in an election rally at the Mutualité):

"This class, with all its illusions, with all its weaknesses, its lack of culture, is the historical class, the one that will make the proletarian revolution.... And this is our class, and we don't judge it. We are not going to judge it. It is what it is."

Lambert went on to suggest that it would have been correct to vote for Allende in Chile in 1971, even with the knowledge that Allende would lead to Pinochet!

On the basis of the earliest election statements of the various candidates and organizations, the Spartacist League/US called for critical electoral support to the candidacy of Arlette Laguiller, put forward by the Lutte Ouvrière group, and no support to the candidate of the newly formed Front Communiste Révolutionnaire, Alain Krivine. At the time the newspaper of the FCR, *Rouge*, was pushing for Charles Piaget, a Catholic trade-union leader who led and then sold out the Lip strike, to run as "sole candidate" of the "revolutionary left."

As the campaigns of LO and the FCR developed, however, it became clear that there was no qualitative difference between them and that, if anything, Krivine's campaign was nominally to the left of that of LO. While

verbally warning against placing confidence in Mitterrand, both campaigns amounted to a form of critical support to the Union of the Left, and neither denounced it as a popular front whose purpose is to tie the workers to the bourgeoisie.

In the first-round balloting Laguiller received almost 600,000 votes to Krivine's 93,000. The votes for both Laguiller and Krivine were of a mixed nature, representing opposition to or fear of the popular front, suspicion of Mitterrand and opposition to reformism. However, despite the fact that

it proclaimed, because (1) she was a woman, (2) she was a woman worker and (3) she was part of the "extreme left." And who is that?

"Well, revolutionaries are simply people who are for progress. But for social progress, that is, progress which improves the living conditions of the whole of the population and, in the first place, of the workers."

—*Lutte Ouvrière*, 23 April

Furthermore, on her last television appearance before the elections, Laguiller appealed to the 53 percent of the population which is female to vote for



Lutte Ouvrière presidential candidate Arlette Laguiller marching in May Day demonstration.

LUTTE OUVRIERE

neither campaign attempted to awaken revolutionary opposition to the popular front as such (as LO and the OCI had attempted, although in a distorted and partial way, during the 1973 legislative elections), their independent candidacies, at least formally opposing Mitterrand, offered the possibility of a class vote against all sections of the bourgeoisie. Consequently a policy of critical (very critical) support for both Krivine and Laguiller would have been justified.

"Vote for a Woman, Vote for Arlette Laguiller"

Lutte Ouvrière explained its critical support for the election of Mitterrand

her on the grounds that, as the only woman candidate, only she could represent women. The other main slogan offered by LO was "Vote against the right without giving Mitterrand a blank check": that is, cast a token vote for the "extreme left" as a form of support (but not too much support) for the popular front.

Lutte Ouvrière's capitulation to the popular front is but an extension of its consistent economism and workerism. In the face of such opportunist politics which masquerade as "Trotskyism," LO has had a number of split-offs in the last 18 months which, beginning from correct empirical criticisms of LO, have drawn ultra-left conclusions

Aside from "revolutionary" posturing, the basic thrust of the FCR campaign was the same as that of LO: critical support for Mitterrand. In the programmatic interview published in the first issue of the *Daily Rouge*, Krivine declared his support for the candidate of the Union of the Left on the second round:

"To a certain degree the election of Mitterrand would remove an obstacle. ... it could be the point of departure for a new surge forward."

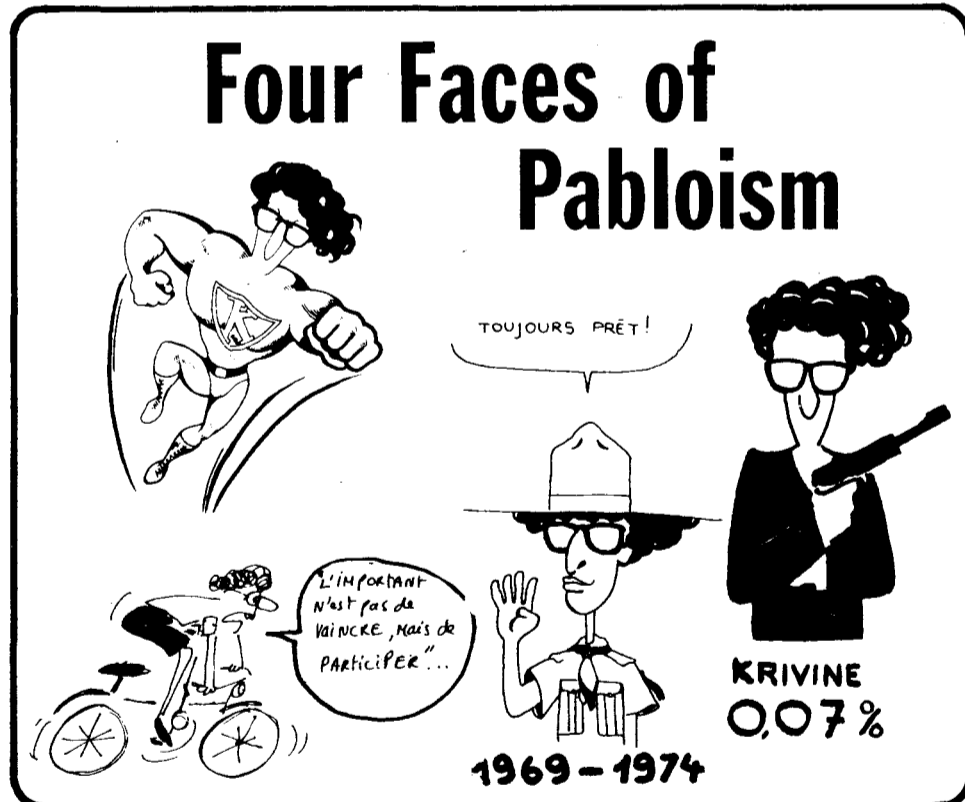
—*Intercontinental Press*, 13 May 1974

Mitterrand, claimed Krivine, has not concluded "any pact with significant sectors of the bourgeoisie." According to another leading supporter of *Rouge*, the socialist and Stalinist bureaucrats would like to consolidate their base by transforming the Union of the Left into a real popular front through an alliance with significant bourgeois forces" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 1 May).

So if the Union of the Left is not ("yet") a popular front, then what is it? The "theoreticians" of the ex-Ligue explain that "It would be more correct to speak of a workers' and people's government. This formula asserts the dominant role of the proletariat and explicitly indicates the problem of the alliance" (*ibid.*).

And so Trotskyism is flushed effortlessly down the drain: François Mitterrand, candidate of the bourgeois popular-front Union of the Left, is supported ("critically") because the workers support him (OCI and LO), because he will open a "necessary stage" in the struggle against capitalism (OCI), or increase the possibilities for revolutionaries since he has not "yet" succeeded in allying with "significant bourgeois forces" (FCR).

What about Trotsky's warnings that a coalition even with the "shadow of the bourgeoisie" would tie the workers to the preservation of capitalism ("The Lesson of Spain—Last Warning," 1937) or his statement that "the People's Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch" (letter to the Dutch RSAP, 1936)? And what of his admonition that the "workers and peasants' government" for the Bolsheviks represents "nothing more than the popular designation for the already established dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Transitional Program," 1938)? "Ultra-left babblings!" latter-day Pablos, Bukharins and Kautskys would reply. The struggle for authentic Trotskyism and for the rebirth of the Fourth International can go forward only by means of a bitter struggle against such renegades and revisionists. ■



Cartoons from the *Daily Rouge* show FCR presidential candidate Alain Krivine. On the bicycle he is declaring: "The important thing is not to win but to participate."

"because he is supported by the parties and the organizations which enjoy the confidence of the majority of the workers...because we are in solidarity with what the workers as a whole want" (editorial in *Lutte Ouvrière*, 16 April). LO insisted on this point: "If we, Lutte Ouvrière, support Arlette Laguiller's candidacy, it is not to try to make the slightest obstacle to Mitterrand's election" (*ibid.*).

In its main election tract, of which it printed some 31 million copies, LO failed to mention that Laguiller was a Trotskyist and, at least in the version printed in its newspaper, that she was sponsored by Lutte Ouvrière. Voters should cast their ballot for Laguiller,

and rejected Trotskyism. It is under such circumstances that the policy of critical support can greatly aid the revolutionaries to demonstrate to LO militants who disagree with their party's blatant opportunism that it is only by fighting for the full Trotskyist program that the revolutionary mobilization of the working masses can be achieved.

"Super-Krivine"

Once Piaget definitively declined to run at the invitation of his "revolutionary" hangers-on, the FCR geared up a frenzied campaign for Krivine which was characterized by the publi-

Continued from page 6

Black Liberation Army...

Liberation Front, which will include revolutionary forces in every community. It will not be an all-black organization... The experience we have gained in the Black Panther Party, particularly for developing our coalition for working with revolutionaries in other communities, must now be transferred over, not into the political arena, but strictly into the military arena where politics have become transformed into warfare." —*ibid.*

While Newton was unquestionably the leader of the new, reformed Panthers, Cleaver was merely the most prominent spokesman for the lumpen-militarist wing. Most of the anti-Newtonites were not interested in Cleaver's sophisticated (and fantastical) Third-Worldist strategies, but only in his reassertion of the need for armed struggle today.

For the lumpen-militarists, the function of "Marxism-Leninism" was to justify picking up the gun. As one of their number, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, put it, "We start from the practical half of the guerrilla because practice is primary and only through revolutionary practice can we derive a correct revolutionary theory."

The lumpen-militarist elements shared a narrow social outlook. They believed that the only real revolutionaries in the U.S. had to be drawn from prison-hardened ghetto youth, and that the only friendly terrain was the black communities.

A little-known pamphlet put out in 1971 provides a valuable insight into the origins of a group like the BLA and the outlook of its members. Written largely by "Geronimo" Pratt, a leading anti-Newtonite then imprisoned in Los Angeles, the pamphlet announces the formation of the Afro-American Liberation Army:

"The Afro-American Liberation Army is a revolutionary military organization. It grew out of the contradictions caused by the criminal direction that Huey P. Newton and the rest of the 'Peralta Street Gang' has taken the Black Panther Party.... The Afro-American Liberation Army is not a regular army but a guerilla army. Consequently it has no central headquarters that directs. It is directed by revolutionary principles and is made up of small units that are knowledgeable of the particular area in which they operate.... The major requirements for membership are adherence to pro-

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gressive, revolutionary principles and above all, *action.*" [emphasis in original]

George Jackson's Way

George Jackson was won to revolutionary black nationalism and joined the Panthers after being in prison for several years. Shortly before he was shot to death by prison guards in 1971 he solidarized with the Newton wing of the party and openly attacked Cleaver. Jackson, like many martyrs who die when their ideas are rapidly changing (e.g., Rosa Luxemburg or Malcolm X), has been claimed by all interested parties.

In reality, Jackson stands solidly in the lumpen-militarist current of Pantherism and can be regarded as an ideological inspirer of the BLA. Running through Jackson's writing is an obsession with violence that goes beyond reasoned strategic aims—a display of strength through vengeance:

"There are many thousands of ways to correct individuals. The best way is to send one armed expert.... Slay him, assassinate him with thuggee, by silenced pistol, shotgun.... The counter-terrorist, faceless, nameless specialist in all martial arts is the first soldier of the people! His violence will be swift, surging, explosive and tied into a clearly political matrix."

—Jackson, *Blood in My Eye*, 1972

At his most political Jackson projects an underground armed force as an imaginary defense contingent for an open party:

"I'm convinced that any serious organizing of people must carry with it from the start a potential threat of revolutionary violence. Without it, the establishment forces will succeed in isolating the political organizer and closing down his project before the people can feel its benefits. Self-determination requires a small, hidden, highly trained army...." —*ibid.*

This conception turns out to be terrorism in the service of social workerism: the "project" Jackson is referring to is like the Panthers' free breakfast program. It is a peculiar, militarist-bonapartist conception of the revolutionary dynamic whereby the armed wing of the party first defeats the state apparatus and then the loyalty of the masses is gained by providing material benefits.

At the heart of Jackson's outlook is the concept of symbolic or exemplary revolutionary violence. The people must see that the cops can be killed, disorganized and frightened—the classic anarchist-terrorist "propaganda of the deed":

"All intellectual arguments against the necessity of counter-violence, even in the opening stages of a People's War against an industrial establishment such as the one in the U.S.A., are false. We must stop the debate; prestige must be destroyed. People must see the venerated institutions and the 'omnipotent administrator' actually under physical attack." —*ibid.*

From the Panther 21 to the BLA

The original cadre of the Black Liberation Army derived from the old New York Panther leadership which, in the main, went with the anti-Newton wing. Some of its members, like Richard Moore, probably visited the Cleaverite center in Algeria. However, the BLA does *not* conform to the concept of an underground armed force laid out by Cleaver or Jackson. Cleaver's and Jackson's concept of a black liberation army was the underground, armed *wing* of a hopefully mass party engaging in selected actions organically connected to popular struggles.

In contrast, the BLA was a loosely organized group, isolated from mass struggle and engaging in random, arbitrary acts for purely symbolic effect. Joanne Chesimard stated that the BLA purpose was simply to keep alive the spirit of black rebellion:

"The main function of the Black Liberation Army at this time is to create

good examples to struggle for Black freedom and to prepare for the future." —*Observation Post* [CCNY], 24 January 1974

The BLA's failure to conform to the Cleaver/Jackson program of an underground army tied to a potentially mass party is not one of conscious choice. Rather, the link could not be made because such a party could not be created.

The political conditions in the ghetto are now far worse for lumpen-militarism than they were in the Panthers' heyday of 1968-71. The "porkchop" nationalists, which now include the present-day Panthers, have overwhelmingly defeated the "revolutionary" nationalists.

The political beneficiaries of the civil rights agitation, the ghetto anti-police upheavals and of "revolutionary nationalism" with its martyrs have been the Tom Bradleys, Coleman Youngs and Kenneth Gibsons. Because the ruling class is increasingly employing black politicians to administer the ghetto the need to destroy liberal reformist illusions as a precondition for even defensive violence against the government is far greater than it was five years ago.

We do not know the precise political development of the BLA from its origins in the New York Panthers. However, the conditions of the BLA's existence could only lead to degeneration—isolation from political life and mass struggle, recruitment of lumpen elements who do not need "Marxism-Leninism" to be willing to shoot it out with cops, the recourse to lumpen methods of financing. The whole tendency of the BLA's politics (such as they are—which is to say, very limited) is toward an ideological facade for lumpen rage, lacking any political character.

Not Urban Guerrilla War, But Proletarian Revolution

The Black Panther Party was formed in 1966 to transform the spontaneous outpourings of lumpen rage into an organized revolutionary war. With that prospect, the Panthers opposed "porkchop" nationalism, that is, Democratic Party ethnic, reform politics. Both wings of the Panther split have subsequently betrayed this original Pan-

ther program.

This is obvious in the case of the present-day Oakland Panthers, but it is no less true of the BLA. The BLA has abandoned any attempt to organize a guerrilla war based on the ghetto because it could not be done. It has instead reduced itself to keeping alive the spirit of Watts 1965 and Detroit 1967 through individual heroics.

That all elements of the Panthers have turned against its founding principals is not the result of individual corruption or adventurism, although undoubtedly that is involved. Revolutionary black nationalism failed because black people do not constitute a nation and cannot liberate themselves separately from the rest of the oppressed sections of American capitalist society. Equality and freedom for black people can be achieved only under socialism, the result of racially united working-class revolution. The working masses will liberate themselves, organized around their class interests under the leadership of a Leninist combat party, without need for "guerrilla struggle" waged by self-appointed "liberators" speaking in the name of the "people." As long as they do not recognize this truth, black militants will always remain trapped in that dead-end between Kenneth Gibson and George Jackson, between liberal careerism and "revolutionary suicide." ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Birth of the Zionist State, Part 2/The 1948 War," in *WV* No. 45, 24 May, it is stated that Jordanian King Abdullah explained to the Zionists that he "had no interest in occupying the Jewish districts." Rather, he declared his disinterest in occupying the areas allotted to the Jews under the UN partition plan. In the article "Balaguer 'Wins' Rigged Dominican Elections," in the same issue, one sentence reads, "By forming a political bloc with sections of the bourgeoisie these Marxists are paving the way for their own destruction...." The word "Marxists" should have read "Maoists."



Black Panthers at Marin City, California, August 1968.

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Beirne Maneuvers to Prevent Telephone Strike

Soaring inflation and a sharp decrease in jobs due to automation have left the poorly-paid telephone workers hard-pressed as the Communication Workers of America goes into 1974 bargaining. Even CWA President Joseph Beirne, who successfully resisted the efforts of militant New York phone strikers to improve the terms of the last contract, admitted that the terms of that sellout had failed to protect his union's members from the 17 percent inflation of the intervening three years: "Who could have imagined," he asked rhetorically in the April *CWA News*, "that the menace of inflation, which was then [1971] stealing heavily from the workers' paychecks, would virtually run amuck for another three years?"

Beirne, too, has been running amuck lately, but not in the sense of a militant struggle for telephone workers' needs in 1974. Like I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, who recently extended his autocratically imposed no-strike pledge until 1980, Beirne has been devoting his creative energy not to curbing layoffs and inflation but to finding ways of eliminating strikes. His latest ploy, an announcement in January that AT&T had agreed to national bargaining with CWA, is a new smokescreen for his long-standing advocacy of company/union cooperation and the replacement

of the strike weapon with more "up-to-date" methods.

"National Bargaining" Scheme— a Hoax

Beirne's main concern is to eliminate nagging local strikes, such as the wildcats in Michigan over the 1968 contract and the seven-month-long New York strike in 1971-72. In 1968, locals were given about 72 hours to ratify the "pattern" set by a selected bargaining unit and get the results into CWA headquarters.

Since this didn't prevent local strikes then, the next time around (1971) Beirne ordered members back to work before the voting (despite his so-called "rule" against doing just that) and held a nationwide mail referendum (despite earlier complaints about the union's being broke). This bureaucratic atrocity led to widespread discontent and formal rejection of the terms in New York State locals. Since the locals still had the right to reject the contract settlement Beirne had to grudgingly recognize the strike as official. Now this will be changed.

The new "national bargaining" formally institutionalizes the mail referendum, eliminating ratification by lo-



CWA President Joseph Beirne's "national bargaining" scheme eliminates locals' right to reject contract.

icals, and lends more authority to Beirne's "pattern," taking away the power of rejection by individual locals.

Bargaining for the union will be by

six hand-picked national officers. Referendum approval of the terms, as in 1971, will no doubt be held after members are ordered back to work (if they are called out at all, which is doubtful). This virtually ensures approval of the terms as a fait accompli.

Furthermore, local agreements involving working conditions are settled separately under Beirne's plan, which means that the locals will be isolated and key issues will be sold out by powerless local bureaucrats. Working conditions are not "local." In particular, rectifying the lack of any sick leave provisions and eliminating the company's vicious "absentee control program" should be given top national priority. An operator in New York City who was on "final warning" for being out sick recently collapsed and died of a heart attack while on the job.

The real purpose of Beirne's measure, and the reason AT&T agreed to this "first" in CWA's "proud 36-year history," was candidly summed up in the *New York Times* (17 January) report:

"It is hoped that the national bargaining approach will eliminate regional dissatisfactions of the kind that produced

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Class-Struggle Opposition in Oakland CWA Local

The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Oakland CWA Local 9415 ran a candidate, Kathleen Burnham, in elections for convention delegate this spring, on the basis of its class-struggle opposition to Beirne's bargaining plan and many other issues, including its call for expropriation of the phone companies and oil industry under workers control, for a general strike to oust Nixon and force new elections and for a workers party and a workers

government.

The Caucus has a four-year history of struggle for its program in the Local. MAC fought last summer for a united labor defense for the Farm Workers against the Teamster/grower alliance, including demands clearly counterposed to the pacifism and liberalism of the Chavez leadership of the UFW: MAC called for "hot-cargoing" of struck goods by other unions and a California-wide general strike to de-

fend the Farm Workers.

MAC has also been in the forefront of the struggle against racial and sexual discrimination. Its campaign program called for putting an end to discrimination through the struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to end unemployment and for equal access to all jobs and promotions through non-discriminatory, union-controlled hiring. MAC counterposed this program to divisive "Affirmative Action" quota systems, which do not make more jobs and invite government intervention to undermine unionism.

During the recent "Operation Zebra" program, in which San Francisco Mayor Alioto instituted a racist roundup of black males in the city, MAC raised a motion condemning this "vicious attack" which was "designed to fan racist hysteria." The motion passed overwhelmingly in the Local.

MAC injected another issue into the campaign, which it alone has been raising in the union. The Beirne regime has been notorious as a major supporter of anti-communist union-busting opera-

tions by the AFL-CIO in foreign countries, particularly Europe and Latin America. A Caucus leaflet issued during the Local campaign points out:

"The American Institute for Free Labor Development is supposedly a private organization to support the development of 'free unions' in Latin America. Joe Beirne was the brains behind the idea of AIFLD and its treasurer. ... George Meany is its president. Its Board of Directors, however, reads like an international investors list—representatives of ITT, Kennecott and Anaconda Copper, Chase Manhattan Bank—22 corporations in all. With such a board of directors it should be apparent what kind of 'free unions' AIFLD wants—those free of workers control."

The leaflet goes on to expose AIFLD's activities in Chile. "Unions" affiliated to AIFLD in Chile include an organization of the same naval officers who were instrumental in leading the reactionary military coup that overthrew the Allende government, and a hodge-podge grouping including shopkeepers and professionals, some of the officers

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For Clothing Workers' Strike Victory!

For the first time in over 50 years the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has called a strike against the Clothing Manufacturers' Association. The clothing workers, largely black and Spanish-speaking women, have suffered even more from the runaway inflation than most other unionized workers in this period. Faced with import competition the Potofsky-Finley leadership has collaborated with the clothing companies to keep out Far-Eastern imports and hold down the wages of U.S. workers. The 1971 contract was so bad that clothing workers in Philadelphia wildcatted and assaulted local union bureaucrats. In this strike the clothing workers must win a substantial wage increase with a full cost of living escalator! A nationwide clothing workers' strike could be an impetus to unionization of the Southern textile industry, one of the bastions of the low-wage South. Organize the Southern textile industry with secondary boycotts of non-union goods! In an industry in which union leaderships historically capitulate to employer demands to cut wages to maintain profits, clothing workers must demand: Nationalize the clothing industry under workers control! For an international union of clothing workers!