

Carter Saved by Labor/Black Establishments

Businessman's Democrat Is Next Imperialist Chief

James Earl Carter, Jr., the Democratic president-elect of the United States, barely made it to the winner's circle November 2. His narrow victory margin was provided by the labor and black establishments and the Democratic Party machine, which mobilized their constituencies in a last-minute all-out effort as Carter's popularity plummeted from an early high of 33 percent over Ford to nearly neck-and-neck by election day.

The 1976 elections demonstrate that despite massive distrust of politicians in general, the Democratic Party still commands the allegiance of the masses of poor and working people. The traditional Democratic coalition of northern labor, a "solid South" and big-city liberal votes carried the day, despite considerable unease toward the candidate himself. Ironically for Carter (whose plastic smile and "trust me" talk were no more successful in winning the voters' trust than "Tricky Dick" Nixon's five o'clock shadow), it was the party, not the man, that won.

Even after eight years of Republican rule, during which the deeply corrupt and criminal conduct of the imperialist commander-in-chief and his entire administration was laid bare by Watergate and other scandals; even after the worst depression this country has suffered since the 1930's, Carter had to strain to win. Democrats did rather better in local elections around the country, with a total of 55 percent of the vote nationwide compared to Carter's 51 percent (*New York Times*, 7 November).

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the black Democrats and ex-civil rights leaders feel Carter owes them something—and they aim to collect. A last-minute blitz by black leaders ("Operation Big Vote") organized with Democratic Party money is credited with getting out a heavy black vote, while the labor bureaucracy mounted a \$4 million computerized effort to get unionists to the polls for Carter. The labor fakers and black sellouts are now cynically trumpeting their successful Carter drive as a reborn "New Deal" and a triumph for "civil rights."

It is indeed a testament to the influence still wielded by these small-change power-brokers; it certainly took a lot of effort to bury Carter's real record of pandering to segregationists during the heyday of the civil rights movement and the notorious open-shop, anti-union practices of his home state. The payoff is expected to be jobs. But patronage positions for a few bureaucrats and black Democrats who faithfully turned out the vote are the only jobs that will be forthcoming from the Carter administration. The masses of unemployed will get plenty of "benign neglect."

Of the twin parties of U.S. capitalism, the Democratic Party is the more



Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

Carter claims "the people will rule again." But, pictured above are "the people" who will rule: Pete Estes, General Motors president; Leonard Woodcock, United Auto Workers president; the president-elect; Detroit Mayor Coleman Young; John Riccardo, Chrysler board chairman, and Henry Ford II, Ford chairman.

dangerous enemy of the working masses. The Republicans, who are openly contemptuous of the poor, the aged, the foreign-born, are generally recognized as a "party of big business." The Democrats occasionally feel forced to make some empty promises to the working people at campaign time while shafting them for the next two-to-six years just like the Republicans. It is a reflection of the low level of elementary class consciousness in America that the Democratic Party, a thoroughly bourgeois political vehicle external to the working class, can consistently attract the votes of workers and blacks.

Of course, the much-vaunted "electoral process" is itself a fraud. As long as openly reactionary parties like the Republicans in this country and Mrs. Thatcher's Tories in Britain can occasionally win elections, the bourgeoisie is content to "let the people decide." But if revolutionary communists began to score significant electoral votes, the rules of the game would change with lightning speed. Even in today's America—where the working class has no political party representing its interests, where apathy and despair cripple the poor and unemployed, where

the bourgeoisie is confident of its ability to maintain total control—challenges to the two-party system meet with flagrant disregard for the polite pretenses of bourgeois democracy.

Eugene McCarthy got a slap from the iron hand controlling how America votes. His manifestly correct remark that there's nothing to spoil in a contest between the virtually interchangeable programs of Ford and Carter did not go down well among Democrats. McCarthy represented a very real threat to Carter and thus got slapped down hard, even though his campaign fell well within the range of normally acceptable bourgeois liberal politics.

The errant professor roamed the country sticking pins in Carter's "love for our people" image by pointing out, for example, that after the Kent State massacre in 1970, Carter (then governor of Georgia) advocated giving the National Guard live ammunition and shoot-to-kill orders in the event of student turmoil (*New York Times*, 25 October). For his efforts to be the "conscience" of liberalism, McCarthy was ruled off the ballot by Democrats in New York. The *New York Times* extended hypocritical sympathies while

suggesting that the issue should be settled after the elections, since meanwhile Carter had to win. As it turned out, Ford lost New York state by only 2 percent—and indeed New York's 41 electoral votes would have put Ford well over the requisite 270 votes.

Who Is Jimmy Carter?

The new Democratic chief and president-elect is an ambitious and ruthless man. Behind his ominous grin and carefully cultivated image of a down-home, god-loving peanut farmer lies a coldly calculating bourgeois politician.

In his first bid for office, Carter ran a right-wing campaign for governor of Georgia against an Atlanta liberal, pandering to conservative segregationist powers like Lester Maddox, his lieutenant-governor, whom he termed "the essence of the Democratic Party." After he was elected governor, his eye already on higher office, he put a few black faces into his administration as window-dressing.

Carter is deeply committed to American capitalism's military elite. His earliest ambition was to become a

continued on page 5

Feuding Neo-Colonial Nationalists Betray Rhodesian Masses.....8

More Deals, More Treachery

Lebanon: Islamic Unity Once Again?



Palestinian commandos in Beirut

Cameron/Syigma



Phalangist commandos

Paris Match



UPI

From left: Sadat, Assad, King Khalid and Arafat in Saudi Arabia for talks on Lebanon.

On September 23 former Beirut banker Elias Sarkis became Lebanon's sixth president. As is mandated by the feudal codes which govern Lebanon's political process, Sarkis is a member of the privileged Maronite Christian sect. Since the safety of the inauguration ceremonies could not be assured in the war-ravaged capital, constitutional experts of Lebanon's former colonial master, France, were consulted as to the propriety of holding the ceremony elsewhere. Receiving their consent, the Syrian-backed president-elect was flown in a Soviet-made helicopter from Junieh, the "capital" of the Maronite enclave north of Beirut, to Chataura in the heart of the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley. There, in the seedy "Park Hotel," surrounded by Syrian troops and tanks, Sarkis swore "to uphold the unity and sovereignty" of Lebanon.

Sarkis' inauguration takes place in the midst of Lebanon's bloody civil war, now in its nineteenth month, which has already taken 40,000 lives. The "unity" and "sovereignty" Sarkis swears to uphold does not exist, if it ever did. Lebanon is effectively partitioned into a Maronite enclave which runs from the northern sectors of Beirut to the south edge of Tripoli and a Muslim enclave running from southern Beirut to Saïda, once the capital of ancient Phoenicia. The rest of the country, especially the Bekaa Valley to the east, is occupied by Syrian troops.

There is also no single "sovereignty." There are militias belonging to various traditional Maronite and Muslim clans, the former counting some 25,000 men, the latter roughly 3,000 under arms. The Palestinian commandos number 25,000, and there are 23,000 Syrian troops and 500 tanks. In addition Syria has tried to create an indigenous Lebanese army from the remnants of the "Lebanese Arab Army"—units from the disintegrated Lebanese army which mutinied and went over to the Muslim side during the sectarian war—and from the Shi'ites of the Bekaa Valley. (The Shi'ite Muslims are Lebanon's largest and most oppressed religious community which, until recently, has been alienated from all sides in the bloody communal war.) This pro-Syrian force, now called the "Vanguard of the Lebanese Arab Army," numbers 6,000 and includes Lebanon's "air force" of two dozen Mirages and Hawker Hunter fighters.

Until now most of the fighting has been between Maronite militia groups like Pierre Gemeyal's Phalangists and forces associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) led by Yasir Arafat of Fatah. The so-called "Muslim left" has been almost entirely supplanted by the wholesale intervention of the PLO on their side. For example, when Alieh (home base of the self-proclaimed leader of the "Muslim left," Druse patriarch and "progressive socialist" Kamal Jumblat) came under direct attack by Syrian troops and Maronite militias in mid-October, its defense was left in the main to the Palestinians.

Until late September, Syrian troops tied up PLO/Muslim forces and provided artillery cover for Maronite attacks. But five days after Sarkis was inaugurated the Syrian forces went on the offensive. In a combined operation with Maronite militias they cleared PLO forces from the ridge of the Metn Mountains east of Beirut where the PLO had controlled the road from Junieh into the Bekaa Valley. Arafat sent an emotional appeal to the various kings, sheiks, generals and other despots

that rule the Arab countries, pleading for intervention to prevent Syria from "liquidating the Palestinian resistance movement and striking at the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples."

But according to the London *Guardian* of 1 October:

"Reports in some Beirut Leftist papers say that the Fatah leadership under Yasser Arafat had in fact already agreed with representatives of the new Lebanese President on a Palestinian-Leftist withdrawal from the mountains...."

The details of withdrawal were initially agreed to but then rejected by the PLO's "leftist" allies. Even though the PLO and Fatah controlled most of the troops in the Metn Mountains, they found themselves politically hamstrung in making the withdrawal. Consequently they staged a "fighting withdrawal" cutting their losses and preserving men and equipment.

Part of the deal worked out between Fatah and Damascus was that Syrian troops would occupy non-Maronite communities in order to forestall the usual savage butchery committed by both Maronite and Muslim militias whenever either side conquers a town. However, a Maronite militia was the first to arrive at Silima, a village in the southwest corner of the Metn Mountains area, which has a large Druse population living alongside the predominantly Greek Orthodox Christian community. Those Druses unable to flee were massacred.

Since the Syrian army has a large Druse component, this engendered the beginnings of a cleavage in the Syrian-Maronite alliance. Further, the next campaign took the Syrian army into the Chouf, a region south of the Metn Mountains where Jumblat has his stronghold among the 350,000 Druses. But as the Syrians and Maronites began a campaign that was to stop only at the gates of Jumblat's home base in Alieh, the "progressive socialist" patriarch was off in Paris begging for the re-intervention of Lebanon's old colonial masters and architects of the "confessional system" which led to the present hideous civil war.

The Myth of the "Muslim Left"

The bourgeois press has created the myth of the "Muslim left," a myth also perpetrated by fake-left organizations. Unquestionably the Maronite military organizations are right-wing: the Phalangists of Pierre Gemeyal which are modeled after the Hitler youth movement are considered "moderate" compared to the private militias of former Lebanese presidents Chamoun and Franjeh. One particularly ultra-rightist Maronite organization, the Guards of the Cedars led by Abu Arz, explicitly calls for driving the Palestinians out of Lebanon. At a recent press conference Abu Arz said it was the duty of every Lebanese to kill at least one Palestinian.

But the so-called "Muslim left" is composed of several organizations which are no more left-wing than the Phalangists. The Lebanese-based Syrian Social Nationalist Party, which is claimed as part of this "left," is as much inspired by European fascism as are the Phalangists. Jumblat's Progressive Socialist Party is ethnically based on the Druse communities of the Chouf. Actual left-wing Lebanese organizations recruit heavily from those minorities which are the most alienated from the confessional system, e.g., the leadership of the Communist Party of Lebanon is predominately Greek Orthodox.

The diverse organizations in this

WORKERS VANGUARD

"left" are not even united by their opposition to Maronite privilege or defense of the Palestinians, as is often claimed. Against Sarkis they supported the traditional right-wing Maronite politician, Raymond Edde, who during the sixties was a close political ally of both Gemeyal and Chamoun in the so-called Triple Alliance.

A disgusting example of apologetics for the PLO leadership and the Muslim "left" is provided by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). After the PLO's fake battle and negotiated retreat from the Metn the SWP, echoing Arafat's emotional demagoguery, wrote:

"The whole Palestinian community in Lebanon is in deadly danger. Whatever Assad's intentions—and there is good reason to assume the worst—his policy in Lebanon will lead inexorably to a bloody massacre if it succeeds."

—*Intercontinental Press*,
11 October 1976

And we also read that "the pro-imperialist forces now threaten the last short section of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway still in the hands of the Palestinians and Muslim leftists." Presumably the SWP now includes Syria among the "pro-imperialist forces," although in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israel wars it was, for the SWP, an "anti-imperialist" force. Among the "Muslim leftists" it includes the perennial friend of French imperialism, Jumblat.



Kamal Jumblat

petroleum to keep the Syrian tanks rolling across the Levant, it is evident that Syrian president Assad was under more than moral pressure to attend. The Damascus generals are currently shelling out \$1 million a day for their military adventure, and they would rapidly go bankrupt were it not for the drippings they receive from the sheikdom oil royalties.

Egypt's Anwar Sadat, the villain of the "Sinai sellout" who has since become the verbal "protector" of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, was also invited. This was the first meeting between Assad and Sadat since the U.S.-engineered and supervised Sinai Agreement was signed one year ago. Also invited was newly elected Lebanese president Sarkis and PLO leader Arafat. (As consolation in its hour of bloody defeat, the PLO was recently made a full member of the Arab League.)

After two days of haggling the six conferees signed a peace plan which expanded the Arab League-sponsored "peacekeeping force" in Lebanon from 2,500 to 30,000 in order to enforce compliance with the Cairo Agreement of 1969. The Cairo Agreement was concluded after a series of large-scale confrontations between the then-intact Lebanese Army, supported by Maronite militias, and the Palestinian commandos. It called for limiting the commandos' weaponry to small arms and their restriction to the refugee camps or operations in the Arkub, an area in the foothills of Mount Hermon adjacent to the Golan Heights in southeast Lebanon (popularly known as "Fatahland"). But even the poorly armed and organized Palestinian refugees could stand off the ineffectual Lebanese Army and the then much smaller Maronite gangs, so the Cairo Agreement was never enforced.

In order to give the Riyadh peace plan additional sanctity, it was ratified at a full meeting of the 22-member Arab League in Cairo the following week with only Iraq and Libya in opposition. However, Syria was reassured that the largest component of the 30,000-member "peacekeeping" force would come from its 23,000 troops already in Lebanon who would need only to paint their helmets and tanks white to be transformed.

Israel's "Open Borders"

Ironically, in the context of Israel's "open borders" campaign, enforcement of the Cairo Agreement to "tame" the Palestinian guerrilla movement pushes the PLO and Syria into conflict with the Zionist regime. For many years Israel has been covertly aiding the right-wing Maronite armed gangs. But during the Lebanese civil war it has directly intervened by patrolling the southern Lebanese coast (hence access to Saida), seizing or sinking ships it suspected of bringing supplies to the Muslim/PLO forces, and by providing direct logistical, communications and artillery sup-

continued on page 10

Union Bureaucrats Pave the Way

Anti-Labor Laws Pass in S.F.

Chavez' Prop 14 Meets Stinging Defeat

SAN FRANCISCO, November 4—Nearly all the union-busting, wage-cutting amendments to the city charter placed on the ballot by the labor-hating S.F. Board of Supervisors won approval by wide margins in Tuesday's voting.

Proposition B, which requires the immediate dismissal of all city workers who engage in strikes, or who "cause, instigate or afford leadership to a strike" passed by a vote of 136,040 to 91,134. Other anti-union measures to slash wages and retirement benefits (Propositions D and L); to sub-contract work out to private companies, i.e., scab outfits (Proposition J); and to refer deadlocked pay disputes to a voter referendum (Proposition O) passed by similar margins.

The passage of such vicious and reactionary laws is a defeat not only for the San Francisco city workers unions but for the entire labor movement. These measures are just part of the price for the abject surrender by the leaders of the city workers strike last May.

Prepare for Strike Action!

The capitalist city government now imagines it has "the big club" to completely tame the city workers unions. This is not true! As the Spartacist League (SL) pointed out in a leaflet directed to the striking city workers last May: "New York City had... a no-strike law called the Condon-Wadlin Act which said that any city employee who went on strike would be fired. This law was *ignored* and *broken* by two big strikes of city workers: the welfare workers in 1965 and TWU transit workers strike in January 1966. Not one worker was ever fired! No law has ever stopped working people from striking when they hold their ground" (SL leaflet, 5 May 1976).

Steps must be undertaken immediately to prepare S.F. city workers and the rest of the Bay Area labor movement for a solid general strike against this outrage! Smash the anti-labor laws through strike action!

Yet there is a real obstacle to a determined struggle against these laws. Now as last May, it is the treacherous, servile, corrupt, cowardly, incompetent and pro-capitalist misleaders of the trade unions who block the road to victory.

During the whole period leading up to the elections the leadership of the San Francisco labor movement did next to nothing to mobilize a fight against the city government's anti-labor offenses. Instead of organizing the unions for strike action, or even calling a mass labor demonstration against the capitalist union-busting drive, the labor bureaucrats were content to limit themselves to distributing some placid literature urging a "no" vote on the anti-labor propositions.

In fact, their main activity during the election was not directed against the Board of Supervisors' anti-union on-

slaught at all, but consisted of hustling votes for the racist, right-to-work Democratic Party candidate for president, Jimmy Carter.

Now Jimmy Carter has won the election. But in office he will prove no more a "friend of labor" than the overwhelmingly Democratic S.F. Board of Supervisors, most of whom the Central Labor Council tops supported as "lesser evils" in the last election. The labor fakers were thanked for their support by a kick in the teeth.

Union militants must make no mistake about it—if there is a mass confrontation between the San Francisco labor movement and the city government, Carter will come to the aid of his capitalist class brothers in trying to crush the strike.

The experience of last April and May, and all that has happened since, shows that to smash the city government's anti-labor onslaught means to wage a struggle to dump the pro-capitalist leaders of the city workers unions.

It is only necessary to note that both the California AFL-CIO and the San Francisco Central Labor Council last month gave a vote of thanks to supervisor John Barbagelata, architect of the current union-busting drive, because Barbagelata voted against the city's impeachment of Joe Mazzola of the Plumbers Union from the S.F. Airport Commission.

The misleadership of the San Francisco Central Labor Council is typical of the entire American trade-union bureaucracy. It is certainly no less gross, for example, than Cesar Chavez' reliance on the bosses' government, especially the capitalist Democratic Party, to advance the interests of the farm workers. Yet Chavez' pet project, Proposition 14—which the UFW tried to sell by pointing out that not only did it grant union organizers access rights to the fields, but it also provided for stiffer penalties for "unfair labor practices" for *both* the unions and the employers!—met a stinging defeat by a vote of 4,733,577 to 2,880,215.

We repeat: determined strike action is required to smash the San Francisco anti-labor laws. Militants in the city workers unions must take up the difficult task of preparing the union ranks for such a strike while conducting the necessary struggle to remove the class-collaborationist leaderships of these unions who stand as treacherous obstacles to such action. *Smash the S.F. Anti-Labor Laws Through a Solid City-Wide Strike! Oust the "Friend-Of-Capitalism" Labor Bureaucracy!*



Ledru/Syigma

Maronite youth atop armored personnel carrier.

But all of the contending forces in the Lebanese civil war are rapacious nationalists. A victory for any of the constantly shifting alliances would result in mass murder and oppression for the defeated communal groups. None of the forces—including the Palestinians and so-called "Muslim left"—are waging a just war of national liberation. As Leninists, we call for revolutionary defeatism on *all* sides in this squalid inter-communal war, while advocating self-defense for *all* communities threatened by sectarian terror and while opposing foreign intervention in Lebanon.

Arabian Kings Intervene

The collapse of an effective state power in Lebanon due to the civil war set the stage for the Syrian invasion last spring and summer. Damascus' war aim, fully supported by the leaders of the "Arab world" (most importantly by the hereditary rulers of the oil-rich Arabian peninsula) was essentially negative: to prevent the Palestinians from achieving military dominance, which might provoke an Israeli invasion spilling over into the surrounding Arab states.

The Syrians decisively defeated the PLO forces by mid-October. Further advances by the Syrians at this point could only engender confrontations with the concentrated masses of the Lebanese Muslim and Palestinian populations. Thereupon Syria's wealthy Islamic backers called a halt. Saudi Arabian king Khalid demanded the presence in Riyadh of the Arab rulers directly involved in the Lebanese war for a six-member summit.

Since Saudi Arabia bankrolls Syria's arms purchases from the Soviet Union, and closely allied Kuwait provides the

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

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

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

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

SUBSCRIBE

YOUNG SPARTACUS

monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League

\$2/11 issues

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

Free Bukovsky/Gluzman/Müller, Yes! Anti-Communism, No!

French CP Backs Liberal Anti-Soviet Meeting

PARIS—Several thousand people filled the Mutualité meeting hall here on October 21 to hear speakers representing a wide range of organizations denounce political repression in Latin America, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The meeting was organized on behalf of six victimized militants, equally divided between political dissidents in the Soviet bloc and victims of Latin American military dictatorships.

The most prominent of the Soviet dissidents was Vladimir Bukovsky, sentenced to 12 years in a prison camp for having protested the detention of dissidents in "psychiatric hospitals." Semyon Gluzman is a Soviet psychiatrist sentenced to ten years for having contested the testimony of government "psychiatric experts" against jailed Red Army general Pyotr Grigorenko, while J. Müller was a leader of the Prague student movement who is now serving his fourth year of a six-year sentence in Czechoslovakia.

The Latin American militants are: José-Luis Massera, a mathematician and member of the Uruguayan Communist Party; V. López Arias, a Bolivian miners' leader interned in Chile; and Edgardo Enriquez, a leader of the Chilean MIR who was arrested in Buenos Aires and handed over to the junta in Chile (where his fate is unknown).

The rally was organized by the Committee of Mathematicians, whose previous campaign on behalf of Leonid Plyushch was instrumental in obtaining the release of this Ukrainian dissident from a "psychiatric hospital" in the USSR last year. Among the 13 speakers were Plyushch himself, exiled Czech dissident Jiri Pelikan, a Socialist Party (PS) leader as well as representatives of PS-influenced labor federations, a speaker from Amnesty International and Gaullist Pierre Emmanuel. But the star of the show was Pierre Juquin representing the French Communist Party (PCF).

The PCF's participation—in keeping with its carefully increased distance from Moscow under the rubric of "socialism in French colors"—was not secured without a certain amount of squirming. On September 14 the Committee of Mathematicians had solicited participation of both the Communist Party and the PCF-dominated trade-union federation (CGT). The CGT, for its part, promptly responded with a refusal dated September 16 which took exception to "the scandalous attempts to put on the same plane the governments of the socialist countries and those of the fascist countries of Latin America," and decrying "any confusion between those whose only objective is to defend freedoms anywhere in the world where they are jeopardized and those whose exclusive concern is to undertake a systematic anti-Soviet campaign" (*Le Monde*, 31 October-1 November). Two weeks later the party itself declined the invitation.

But on 14 October *L'Humanité* published a letter by the PCF's Gaston Plissonnier which—while complaining that the PCF had never been consulted in the planning of the meeting and found

itself faced with a "fait accompli"—requested that a PCF speaker be given "speaking time which will allow him to clearly present the viewpoint of our party."

Juquin began his speech with a reference to the 22nd PCF Congress which committed itself to "socialism à la française." In the usual Stalinist social-patriotic style, he praised the USSR: "What Frenchman does not remember the twenty million deaths endured by the Soviet peoples in the war against fascism and for the freedom of the peoples of Europe?"

The PCF has been moving toward openly competing for the social democrats' mantle of "democratic socialism" since 1968, when it took polite exception to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Last year, after a good deal of foot-dragging, it came out for Plyushch—no doubt a major factor in his release. Juquin indignantly proclaimed:

"We cannot accept that there are, in the USSR or in Czechoslovakia, citizens who are prosecuted, jailed, interned for having expressed their opinions. We will never accept, in any country whatsoever, that the name of socialism is invoked for methods which violate human rights. ... For us, socialism and freedom are synonymous."

—*L'Humanité*, 22 October 1976

In a clear slap at the social democrats, Juquin explicitly denounced the West German SPD's purge of Communists from government jobs. He boasted:

"Our history is marked by our initiatives, campaigns, struggles, sacrifices for the cause of freedom. How many times have we had to struggle—alone—against anti-working-class repression?"

He recalled the massacre of a half million Communists in Indonesia and the execution of the Rosenbergs during the McCarthyite witchhunt.

Juquin's democratic hypocrisy provoked an occasional outburst from the politically wildly heterogeneous audience, which responded with chants of "Budapest, Budapest!" to his reference to the CPSU's 1956 self-criticism of the crimes of the Stalin era.

Attempting to navigate the thin ice of PCF criticism of the USSR, Juquin threw in a saving clause:

"One cannot put on the same plane countries like the USSR and Uruguay! Democrats cannot confuse the violence used by the exploiters, the colonialists, the fascists to oppose the march of freedom in the world and the problems, however severe and lamentable they may be, which crop up in the course of this march itself. ..."

He praised the USSR for liberating its people from "hunger, illness, ignorance" and for its assistance "to the national liberation movement throughout the world, from China to Angola."

These sops were not enough to defuse the Kremlin's outrage at its French namesake. The official news service Tass blasted the PCF for "participating in a dirty venture of this type. Whatever its motives and considerations, the speech delivered at the Mutualité gives support only to forces utterly hostile to the ideas of liberty, democracy and socialism. ..." Tass denounced the lumping together of victims of rightist repression in Latin



Rouge

Leonid Plyushch, right, greeting PCF representative Pierre Juquin at October meeting in Paris.

America and victims of Stalinist repression in the Soviet bloc as "a provocative attempt to confuse the real combatants for liberty and social progress, held in fascist prisons, with the hate-filled anti-Sovietists who are fighting against the socialist system." It characterized the meeting's organizers as "known for their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist opinions" and the meeting as "an attempt to stir up a new wave of propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to strike a blow at international détente" (*Le Monde*, 24-25 October).

The Moscow *Literaturnaya Gazeta* followed up the Tass attack with a diatribe claiming that Bukovsky had been prosecuted not for his ideas but for having "distributed documents aimed at weakening Soviet power." It added that if the jailed "Chilean democrats" had been at the Mutualité meeting, "they would have believed that this rally had been specially organized to revamp bloody fascism and compromise the movement of international solidarity, in the forefront of which stands the Soviet Union" (*Le Monde*, 28 October).

L'Humanité of 23 October responded:

"It is true that all of the meeting's organizers are not animated by pure intentions, as Pierre Juquin emphasized as well. But the PC's attitude does not lend itself to the slightest confusion. ... To criticize some aspect of the Soviet reality which is open to criticism is not anti-Sovietism."

—*Le Monde*, 24-25 October

L'Humanité also announced that the PCF was preparing 6 million copies of Juquin's speech for distribution.

PCF head Georges Marchais defended his party's participation in the meeting as in keeping with the line of the 22nd PCF Congress "on the problems concerning socialist democracy" and added, "Nothing will make us budge a step from this line" (*L'Humanité*, 25 October). Both the PCF and CGT head Georges Séguay shrugged off as insignificant their divergent policies on the October 21 rally (*Le Monde*, 31 October-1 November).

The spectacular participation of the

Communist Party was not the only noteworthy component of the meeting's political coloration. Conspicuous by its absence was the ostensibly Trotskyist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), which had previously maintained the warmest of relations with the Committee of Mathematicians and its animating spirit, Nobel laureate Laurent Schwartz. The OCI, which had participated actively in the campaign around Leonid Plyushch, initially publicized the October 21 meeting but then began to downplay it.

At the meeting the OCI distributed a leaflet publicizing its own Mutualité meeting on Eastern Europe, which will feature Plyushch along with OCI leaders and others. Carefully phrased to give the appearance of support to the October 21 rally, the leaflet actually skirted the question, stating only:

"The OCI gave its unconditional support to the Committee of Mathematicians in the battle of united mobilization which compelled the Kremlin's governments to free L. Plyushch. The OCI thinks that this meeting can and should vote a motion. ..."

The OCI's report on the meeting (*Informations Ouvrières*, 27 October-4 November) with singularly bad grace takes the press to task for the publicity afforded Juquin and correctly denounces the Stalinist PCF's democratic posture as a fraud. However, it makes no mention of the OCI's own apparent eclipse in the organization of the meeting. In fact, its article is rather less informative than the account in the LCR's *Rouge* (21 October), which contains an analogous catalogue of the crimes of Stalinism but takes a positive tone, saluting the participation of the PCF and merely demanding that the PCF support the Polish strikers.

It would appear that the squeezing out of the OCI was formalized at an October 11 planning meeting, only a few days before the PCF reversed its decision to boycott the rally. The reasons for the cooling off between Schwartz and the OCI are obscure but it may be that, as the PS milieu was

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

Imperialist Chief...

(continued from page 1)

professional Navy man. Carter is a product of Annapolis, America's most elite military academy. He spent 11 years in a promising naval career, working directly under Admiral Hyman Rickover on a top-secret job developing prototypes for the first search-and-destroy nuclear submarines.

Carter is no dirt farmer, but a senior partner in a highly successful agribusiness enterprise which clears \$2.5 million annually. He has a personal fortune of nearly a million dollars, and his economic policies reflect the gut-level conservatism of a small businessman who "made it."

The liberals' cynical prating about a revamped "New Deal" is grafted onto Carter's opposition to public works programs, the liberals' traditional panacea for unemployment. He has instead made flashy promises of federal subsidies to private business for the purpose of instituting job-training programs. But it is not lack of training which keeps working people unemployed; the machines they could be working are gathering dust as more than one-quarter of America's productive capacity lies idle, the result of structural contradictions in the capitalist economy, which neither Carter nor Ford can do a thing to alter. The most the U.S. public can expect from Carter is a tax rebate such as that delivered by the Republicans in 1975.

Despite ritual obeisance to détente, Carter's foreign policy promises to be more openly anti-Communist than that of his predecessor. His most prominent foreign policy advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University (an upper-class Roman Catholic from Poland, already promised a top job in the Carter administration), propounds a Dulles-era "roll back the Reds" policy towards Eastern Europe. The USSR was noticeably cooler toward Democrat Carter than toward Nixon or Ford, sensing that the president-elect—drawing together such Democratic cold-warriors as Brzezinski and former "defense" secretary James Schlesinger—is in direct line with the appetites of large sections of the American bourgeoisie to step up economic and military pressure against the deformed workers states.

The debate over what to do with Yugoslavia after Tito dies revealed the extent to which the rivals for commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism—despite their talk of détente—are in fundamental agreement over the "right" of the U.S. bourgeoisie to intervene wherever, whenever, however it sees fit, and their open espousal of reconquering the Soviet bloc states as a fruitful market for moribund capitalism. While much hypocritical moralizing and arrogant racist contempt greeted madman Idi Amin's threat to invade Israel by marching his Ugandan army across Africa, the assumption by America's rulers that they can plunder the world at will is different only because of the U.S. bourgeoisie's ominous power to carry out its revanchist dreams of conquest.

As the Democratic faithful trek toward Washington to demand a share of the spoils of victory, presenting their credentials as certified betrayers of various plebeian constituencies, the working people, unemployed and blacks who voted Democratic this year can expect nothing but large doses of "god and love" bombast, continued unemployment and quite possibly wage controls. We are in for four years of a solid Democratic Congress and a Democratic president, and unless an organized and conscious working class intervenes to challenge capitalist rule, things to come will be as bad as they ever were. ■

London Meeting:

Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

LONDON—The London Spartacist Group held its first public forum here Friday, October 29, with James Robertson speaking on the topic "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International." Over 50 people attended the meeting, and after the presentation a lively discussion ensued in which many in the audience participated.

Comrade Robertson began his talk by contrasting the reality of the class struggle in Britain with the feeble response of the left: red sand-box "politics" consisting of each pursuing its own pet project and ignoring the central issues facing the British proletariat today. In a country saddled with a wage-freezing Social Contract, bounding inflation and corresponding devaluing currency, the response of the groups of the British left has been to set up sideshows on the fringes.

"Just look at them: the Healyites with their interminable 'right to work' marches across the country; the imitative International Socialists who want to prove that they're just a more left-wing version of the Communist Party; the International Marxist Group (IMG) with its campaigns against cuts in public spending; and the Workers Socialist League (WSL), which has conveniently forgotten its rhetoric about the Transitional Programme in a reformist Campaign for Democracy in the unions."

Meanwhile, the speaker noted, a people who are at the bottom of the heap in all of West and Central Europe are suddenly going to take an additional 25 percent cut in their living standards. This is the great social fact of life which is blowing Britain sky-high. "And that's why the union leaders are screaming that it's a foreign conspiracy of Swiss, Jewish and American bankers—because they're about to get a giant explosion in their own ranks. That's why we have a central orientation, not on withdrawal from Ireland, not on the Common Market, and so on, but on this massive cut in the standard of living of the British working class."

In the United States social discontent has been accumulating for a number of years, but it is not possible to predict when these tensions will erupt. In Britain, however, one can see a massive explosion coming and practically name the month when it will occur. The financiers and Labour government

leaders already got a bad scare in September when, despite massive pressure from the Trades Union Congress, the Seamen's Union nearly struck to break the Social Contract.

"Now the workers are going to go through Christmas. They're going to have a cold New Year's and by February there ought to be ripping hell in Britain," the speaker noted. "Break the Social Contract—that's the key question now. And with a Labour government in power to take responsibility for what they've done, because they did it."

What alternative is there for Britain, he asked. A "National Government" as the Tories are proposing? But a coalition government will not get Labour off the hook—there is the hideous example of Chile, where a left-leaning social democracy in a popular front failed to do its job for world capitalism. If the National Front were not anti-union, the speaker added, the British working class might have to content with a burgeoning fascist movement now.

The opportunities for Trotskyists in Britain recently have been in a couple of militant miners' strikes, and the attempt of a wing of the seamen to break the wage freeze. "But if you break that, given the archaic and incompetent character of the British bourgeoisie and industry, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the immediate answer. There's nothing in between, and Britain can't exist the way it is. Only a fascist government is a significant alternative to the dictatorship of the proletariat, because everything is so compressed. So it's posed point-blank."

Concerning Ireland, the speaker said, we demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops, no matter what the consequences. "And they will be awful. People think there's something terrible now—they don't know what sectarian civil war is. But it is not our responsibility to maintain the 'democratic, liberationary' presence of British troops." The question is whose blood is going to flow and along what axis the struggles will be fought, but the beginning is British troops out.

The Spartacist tendency, he noted, links withdrawal of British troops with our call for anti-sectarian workers militias based on the trade unions, as a working-class defence against mass

terror, orange or green. "We object to the bombing of the masses in the name of national liberation." The speaker emphasised that the majority of the British left tends to prettify the Provisional wing of the IRA, glossing over atrocities like the bombing of workingmen's pubs in order to tail petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillaism.

The Irish Labourite politician Conor Cruise O'Brien made an important statement revealing that elements in the southern Irish government saw Marxist currents growing in the IRA and so they encouraged Catholic clericals to take control and create a split. "What they got is a real nationalist movement, which doesn't just sit in the pubs and talk about how Protestant and Catholic workers will unite. The Provos' nationalism is not different from Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese nationalism and Pilsudski's Polish nationalism!"

Passing to international questions, Comrade Robertson noted that it seems to have become the fashion lately to publish histories of the 1951-53 split in the Fourth International. The first recent attempt was written by the Chartist group, and the best of the crop is a document by Frank Richards in *Revolutionary Communist* (May 1975), although many of the quotes seem to have been cribbed from our "Genesis of Pabloism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). This interest is a good thing, the speaker remarked, because it means that militants are making an attempt to come to terms with their history on an international level.

"Even the backward, fake-Trotskyist movement in Britain can no longer hide from the history of international Trotskyism, and above all the split between the SWP and Pablo, and what happened to the RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party]." A recent account in the IMG's *Red Weekly* (7 October) of the rise of Gerry Healy attempts to hybridise the history, praising Healy wherever he was most rotten and most successful, notably his deep entrisism in the Labour Party.

Concomitantly there has been a flurry of international maneuvering by groups on the left fringe of the United Secretariat (USec), and an attempt to set up a new "London Bureau" of diverse centrist currents. This is the "Necessary Initiative" spawned by Roberto Massari's FMR in Italy, the Spartacusbund in Germany and the International Communist League in Britain. By their call to rebuild or reconstruct the Fourth International (consciously opposed to the international Spartacist tendency's call for the rebirth of the FI), they indicate their desire to remain within the USec orbit. And with their numerous differences, both internationally and within the national groups, this rotten bloc will dissolve at the first test.

The speaker noted that the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal illuminated all the crevices and fissures in the United Secretariat. Counterposed documents by Hansen (for the minority) and Mandel (for the majority) published in *Intercontinental Press* (15 December 1975) show the minority faction as truly Kautskyan. The Mandel document makes a strong pretense of orthodox Leninism, except on the question of the party where it is infused with the USec's "broad vanguard" tailism. Of course,

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST

133

Enclosed is \$5 for 48 issues (1 year)

Enclosed is \$2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

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

INTERNATIONAL RATES: 48 issues — \$20 airmail/\$5 seamail; 16 introductory issues — \$5 airmail.

Argentine Junta Unable to Stifle Workers' Unrest

NOVEMBER 8—Early last month Argentine president General Jorge Videla and about 50 other dignitaries had no sooner ended a ceremony at the Campo de Mayo army base and stepped down from the reviewing stand than a powerful bomb explosion demolished it. Ironically retired army General Eduardo Catan, chairman of the army communications committee, had just delivered a speech describing the government's decisive victory over the guerrillas that had allegedly reduced their capabilities to mere scattered acts of "indiscriminate" terrorism.

To emphasize that they were far from



Dictator Videla

Economist

liquidated (though certainly weakened by the junta's blows), left-wing guerrillas set off more than 100 explosive devices in and around Buenos Aires on Sunday night, October 17 (a traditional Peronist holiday). But the military rulers have a more fundamental threat to preoccupy them: Argentine workers are unwilling and unable to remain passive in the face of the government's assault. In September auto workers struck for wage increases, spitting on the 12 percent pittance the government offered in the face of a more than 67 percent decline in real wages over the last year. Though troops suppressed the strike, the explosive potential of such confrontations was evident.

A few days after Videla's close call at Campo de Mayo, Buenos Aires electricity plant workers began a strike that threatened the power supply of the nation's capital. Carrying out the junta's policy of rationalizing public enterprises by firing "dispensable" workers, the state-owned SEGBA power company sparked the conflict October 4 with the dismissal of more than 200 workers, including the entire union executive committee and a large number of stewards. For almost a month the workers of the formerly powerful but now outlawed Luz y Fuerza union fought back in self-defense.

The 7,000 workers responded with work slowdowns and sitdowns throughout Buenos Aires. Though electric service continued, strike action combined with incidents and threats of sabotage stopped practically all administrative work, emergency service and attention to the public. The strike immediately spread to the privately owned Italo-Argentina power company and by the middle of the month was quite generalized, despite the *gorilas'* (militarists) repeated ultimatims alternating with announcement of "normalization."

Troops occupied power stations

ejecting some strikers and forcing others to work at gunpoint. About 180 were arrested and later released. On October 8 the strike gained renewed momentum when three electricity workers were kidnapped by an armed gang and beaten and tortured before being released. Videla threatened the strikers with prison terms of up to 10 years under provisions of the September edict against striking auto workers (see "Argentine Auto Workers Defy Military Dictatorship," *WV* No. 125, 17 September). Following the presidential communiqué October 14 warning that the government would use all means at its disposal to end the strike, explosions at two of the power stations occupied by troops caused power cuts in industrial districts.

By the end of the month the army had reportedly smashed the strike—at least 40 workers had been fired for their role in the strike and around 500 had been punitively suspended. But it was clearly not the end of labor resistance to the junta. Military officials were quite disturbed by the evident support for the strikers' tactics both from the ousted Luz y Fuerza union leadership and the clandestine General Labor Federation in the Resistance (CGTR). To demonstrate its effective its effectiveness the CGTR held a week of protests from October 17 to 24: "lightning strikes," slowdowns, work-to-rules and absenteeism.

The status quo in Argentina continues to be escalating repression, and the internal military power struggle between "moderates" and "hard-liners" goes on. *Le Monde* estimates a minimum of 30 kidnappings by rightist death squads a day, though they may no longer ostentatiously sign their work with the insignia of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) or the "Comandos Libertadores de América." Notorious hard-line right-winger General Ramon Díaz Bessone is now the ranking cabinet member and was deputized last week to replace Videla during temporary absences.

Nevertheless the guerrilla groups continue to be a thorn in the side of the military and the ruling class. *Latin America* (8 October) articulates the concern:

"The political importance of the continuing high level of guerrilla activity in Argentina is that it would be impossible without massive popular resistance to the military junta. There is an evident contradiction between the government's claim that the Montoneros and Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) are small bands of ultra-leftists, controlled from abroad and without popular support, on the one hand, and the need for massive repression to eliminate them, on the other. A recent study published with the evident cooperation of the army, in the new magazine *Somos*, suggested that when the army began its operations in Tucumán in February 1975... almost 50 per cent of the population collaborated with the guerrillas."

The article goes on to say regarding Tucumán that while the ERP's operational capacity may have been sharply curtailed, the fact that the army is resorting to a Vietnam-style "counterinsurgency" program calls into question the army's claim to victory, not to mention their casualty statistics achieved by executing political prisoners.

However, even though the guerrillas may have broad sympathy among the workers and economically hard-hit petty bourgeoisie—and the very fact



Stern

Striking auto workers demonstrating outside Mercedes-Benz headquarters in Buenos Aires last year.

that they continue to operate is a notable contrast to conditions in neighboring Chile—at best they will be unable to smash the ruthless military rulers. Far higher levels of urban terrorism by Peronist unionists in the late 1950's were unable to bring down even less determined military regimes.

The left-Peronist and Castroite enthusiasts of guerrillaist protracted war, on the other hand, practically hailed the Videla junta, since it largely eliminated their competition from left-wing parties and militant unionists and allowed the guerrillas to "get down to business" with a nakedly repressive regime. For instance, in the 3 March issue of *El Combatiente*, PRT/ERP leader Mario Roberto Santucho wrote of the imminent coup:

"The PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores] also maintains that the fundamental issue is not to fear the military coup because, as we have pointed out before, the step which the military intends to take is an irrational adventure condemned beforehand to a resounding failure....

"... Each crime and abuse will generate greater resistance.... In short, the military dictatorship will be completely isolated, confronting a determined people who will rise up massively in favor of the revolutionary struggle...."

At the time we compared this criminal, ostrich-like "after Videla, us" optimism to Stalin's treacherous immobility in the face of Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930's (see "The Bloody Repression Behind 'Gentlemen's Coup' in Argentina," *WV* No. 110, 21 May).

Though class-collaborationist Stalinist illusions continue to form the foundation of the PRT/ERP's politics, Santucho did endeavor a revealing "self-criticism" a few months after the coup:

"When we analyzed the perspective of a military coup, shortly before and after March 24, we made an error to the extent that we did not see that the repressive fury would at first weaken the people's struggle, therefore making more difficult mass mobilization and guerrilla activity. To the extent that we did not foresee a temporary retreat of the workers and mass mobilization and instead gave the impression that the masses would immediately react powerfully against the dictatorship, and the dictatorship would be immediately isolated internationally, and that moreover there would be a rapid approach of the democratic forces toward the revolutionary camp, we proved to be ideologically and organizationally insufficient for the new national situation."

—*El Combatiente*, 9 June 1976

The PRT/ERP paid a high price for these illusions: six weeks later Santucho was slaughtered by government forces and much of the group's central leadership was destroyed.

On the other hand, the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores) of Nahuel Moreno has done an about-face of its own. Previously it had condemned left-wing guerrillas as the "mirror image" of the AAA in a grovelling attempt to demonstrate its respectability to the Peronist government, whose continuity it pledged to defend. The PST had been formed through a fusion with a wing of the moribund Argentine social democracy, and was internationally linked with the American SWP in the reformist minority faction of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat." But now chances for electoral activity are nil and the PST is in the process of switching over to the centrist international majority of the USec, so its theoretician Nahuel Moreno has softened his line on guerrillaism.

In an interview in the Portuguese PRT's *Combate Socialista* (15 October) Moreno writes that:

"We disagree with Montonero [left-Peronist] terrorism, but it cannot be excluded that if the petty bourgeoisie continues to radicalize and there is no historic defeat of the proletariat and the people, the Montonero guerrilla struggle may become the expression of a wing of this process of radicalization."

It's not yet a Mandelite-Castroite line, but this is quite a distance from the PST's previous virulently anti-guerrilla tirades, which were infused with social-democratic legalism; in the elliptical language of USec polemics this is clearly intended to open the door for a qualified approval of guerrillaism under certain circumstances. Has the PST itself undergone a "process of radicalization" under the impact of the March 24 coup? Moreno should like to have us think that it's just a question of changed circumstances.

It was one thing, he says, when the ERP and Montoneros attacked a government "elected by 75 percent of the population and supported by 95 percent of the population..."; "it's something completely different [when]... there exists today a dictatorial regime, without a bourgeois-democratic margin..." Today the Montoneros' activity is "inserted in the general

struggle against a reactionary government." For all his talk of how a military dictatorship supposedly changes everything, it should be recalled that Moreno has opposed guerrillaism since 1968 (before that he was an enthusiastic arm-chair guerrillaist), and there were reactionary military dictatorships in Argentina from 1968 to 1973. It is not only the political climate that has changed—Moreno's factional maneuvers are equally important in explaining this shift.

In the same interview, Moreno goes to some length to assert that the Videla junta is not another Pinochet regime, that "although quite reactionary, it is obliged to concede certain legal margins from time to time." The Videla coup is "not a historic defeat for the Argentine proletariat," he adds. The "proof" is that there is still large-scale working-class resistance (the auto and electricity workers' strikes) and so far no mass unemployment.

In past articles we have pointed to examples of working-class protest in



Nahuel Moreno

Avanzada Socialista

Argentina as a sign that possibilities for mass resistance to the junta butchers still exist. Moreover, we indicated that there might be a drawn-out shift to the right. But we urgently pointed to the stepped up tempo of assassinations by the anti-communist death squads and the threat posed to left-wing political refugees in particular; we warned that behind Videla there stood numerous bloodthirsty Pinochetistas straining at the bit.

Why does Moreno make this distinction? He mentions the fact—as a proof of "margins of legality" under Videla—that the legally recognized parties have not been outlawed (only declared "in recess"), *except for the PST*. Is Moreno angling to obtain the "tolerated" status of the Communist Party and the bourgeois parties? In any case it is dangerously disorienting to make a sharp distinction between Pinochet and Videla.

While warning against the illusions spread by Moreno & Co. in the "margins of legality" tolerated by the military dictatorship (similar to the PST's earlier illusions in the "democracy" of the bonapartist Perón regime), and exposing their shifting attitude toward guerrillaism (in contrast to the Spartacist tendency's opposition to guerrillaism from the standpoint of proletarian mass mobilization, not social-democratic bourgeois legalism), we also call for the defense of PST and other left-wing victims of junta repression. It has been reported recently (*Intercontinental Press*, 25 October) that at least four PST militants have been assassinated under the junta, and scores more have disappeared. Among those arrested, two of the most prominent are PST auto workers' leader José Páez and metal workers' leader Arturo Apaza. Socialists and union militants throughout the world must take up their cause. Free Páez and Apaza and all class-war prisoners in Argentina! ■

Reformist Opposition Takes UAW to Bosses' Court

DETROIT, November 8—As the 6 p.m. bargaining deadline approached Friday more than 25,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) members at Chrysler plants in the U.S. and Canada walked off the job early, demonstrating their eagerness for militant strike action against the third-largest auto manufacturer. But with only minutes to spare, UAW president Leonard Woodcock and the union's Chrysler division vice president Doug Fraser announced a tentative agreement with the company, which to no one's surprise is virtually the same as the miserable Ford pact negotiated a month earlier.

Just to make sure the membership didn't get any funny ideas about voting down the contract, local agreements at 69 Chrysler installations were extended. Solidarity House also announced that if local strikes do occur, they will be staggered in order to guarantee continuous production.

As thousands of Chrysler workers were streaming from the plants, supporters of a reformist UAW opposition group, the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), were in Detroit federal district court with a lawsuit against the union. The plaintiffs, headed up by ISTC leader Al Gardner (former chairman of the Local 600 skilled trades unit), sought to enjoin the UAW from putting into effect the Ford contract and to order the International to recount the membership ratification vote according to the unit rule.

Under this procedure, the total membership of each union bargaining unit is tallied on the side that wins a majority in the balloting. The ISTC claims that Woodcock rigged the vote by dropping the previously used unit rule, under which there might well have been a majority "no" vote by skilled tradesmen. In 1973 when there was a heavy skilled-trades majority against the Ford contract, the International peremptorily ignored their previously recognized right to veto the pact; this time Woodcock announced he would respect the veto right, then changed the voting rules!

However, calling on the bosses' courts to impose voting procedures on the UAW opens the door to government intervention to overturn *any* contract and dictate internal union affairs. The plaintiffs' brief makes the incredible statement that "The courts have historically been the only protectors of workers against an illegal ratification," but this is not so. Capitalist courts are no friends of the unions, and the suit initiated by ISTC supporters must be sharply condemned as an appeal to the class enemy to attack the independence of the labor movement.

Of course, the sellout Ford contract is quite acceptable to the companies, and so Judge Charles Joiner refused the plea for a temporary restraining order (stating that the plaintiffs had not exhausted internal union procedures for challenging the vote). The backers of the suit have not yet decided whether to appeal.

In addition to justifying government intervention, the lawsuit allows the highhanded Woodcock bureaucracy to appear as a champion of union democracy and sovereignty. Each plaintiff called to the stand admitted that no official challenge had been submitted to the UAW, and at the November 5 press conference announcing the Chrysler pact, Woodcock was able to point out that the unit system is in fact less democratic than the "one man, one vote" procedure actually used. Instead of running to the courts, principled class-struggle unionists would wage a



WV Photo

Woodcock, left, and Fraser announcing Chrysler settlement.

fight against the contract *within* the union.

The suit also revealed the unseriousness of the ISTC initiators and their lawyer Ron Glotta (whose politics reflect the views of the Communist Labor Party) since they tried to argue that the unit rule was required by the UAW constitution—which is untrue—and they were unaware that the "one man, one vote" procedure had been used at Ford in 1967 and General Motors in 1970 and 1973.

Naturally, the UAW leadership is not adverse to appealing to the state to

with no loss in pay. To fight "runaway shops" auto workers must demand the extension of union wages and benefits through massive organizing drives in the South and at non-union shops throughout the country. Without such a struggle, the demand to control subcontracting becomes a narrow attempt to protect tradesmen's jobs at the expense of other workers.

To win such demands requires mobilizing the ranks for militant struggle against the companies, but the ISTC refuses to call for an industry-wide strike of all North American auto and agricultural implement workers. Week after week hundreds of skilled tradesmen have turned out at ISTC meetings looking for a winning strategy, and week after week they return home disappointed. Typically Gardner will describe the contract sellout and Woodcock's latest bureaucratic measures to ram it through, and then ISTC secretary Charles Dewey will follow with a vague motion to "start thinking about" an industry-wide strike.

At an October 28 meeting attended by several hundred Chrysler and GM workers, ISTC treasurer Pete Kelley added a new wrinkle by pointing to "blue flu days" held by Detroit cops to win higher pay and announced, "we are going to do the same." After equating the bosses' armed thugs with the working class (!), Kelley went on to hail

continued on page 11

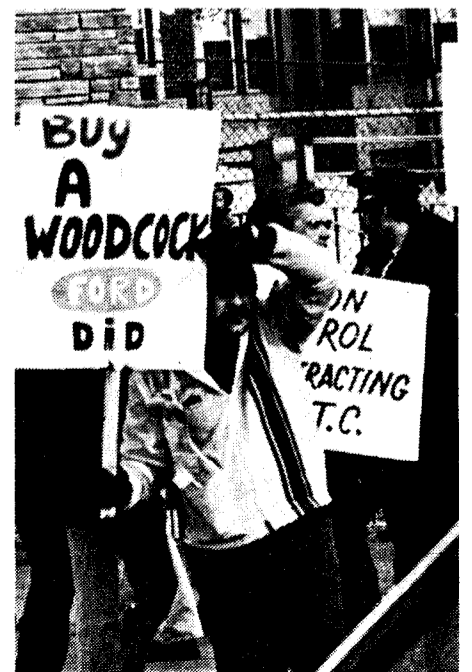


WV Photo

Auto workers at Dodge Main walking out one hour before strike deadline Friday evening.

intervene in union affairs, as shown by the deployment of cops outside Solidarity House during the last ISTC demonstration. This underscores the essential political identity of the in-bureaucrats of the Woodcock machine and the straggling out-bureaucrats who head up the ISTC. The same is true of the economist program presented by the skilled trades opposition group: a shorter workweek, union control of subcontracting, wage parity with the building trades (\$10 per hour) and a cost-of-living allowance for retirees.

In the first place, such a parochial program has nothing to offer the large majority of UAW members, the production workers. As to the "shorter workweek" scheme favored by the ISTC, it only demands 17 extra paid holidays per year and then "32 for 40"—in the 1979 bargaining. Yet the mass layoffs of 1974-75 show that the jobs of all auto workers can be defended only through a militant fight to end unemployment through a drastically shorter workweek



WV Photo

Auto workers protest outside UAW Solidarity House.

Feuding Neo-Colonial Nationalists Betray Rhodesian Masses

As the Geneva talks on "transition to majority rule" in Rhodesia began two weeks ago, the white-supremacist Salisbury regime ordered its army to cross the border into Mozambique where it reportedly devastated several guerrilla training camps, leaving hundreds dead. The hoped-for effect of this provocation was soon achieved, as guerrilla leaders sent word to the black delegations in Geneva urging their representatives to leave the meetings.

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzanian leader



Joshua Nkomo

Gamma/Liaison



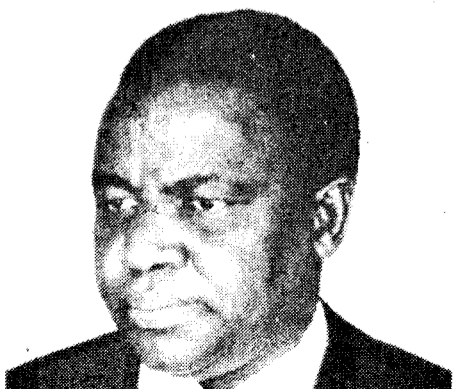
Bishop Abel Muzorewa

AP



Robert Mugabe

AP



Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole

Africa

Julius Nyerere convened a meeting of presidents of African so-called "front-line states" which issued a sharp condemnation of the Rhodesian murder raids, and added: "At the same time as imperialism is speaking about a peaceful settlement, the present escalations in attacks and provocations unmask the true imperialist intentions of gaining time to consolidate the white racist regime and divert our attention from the main issue, which is majority rule and independence now" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Meanwhile, at the conference itself Rhodesian premier Ian Smith managed to produce a deadlock by simply refusing to agree to "independence" under majority rule in 12 months—which had supposedly been the least controversial item on the agenda. In response, the head of one of the four black delegations, Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), left the meetings, and Smith returned to Salisbury proclaiming that he was wasting time.

The deadlock in Geneva could not have been more predictable, as the white settlers stubbornly defend their privileges and power and the black nationalist leaders, no matter how "moderate," are constrained to reject continued minority rule. But should the talks fail to produce any tangible result—as is likely—it will not be for lack of willingness to compromise on the part of the feuding petty-bourgeois black politicians who have made their careers out of trying to pressure British imperialism to install them in power. Of all the post-1960 black independence leaders in Africa, the several cliques of Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) nationalists are among the most moderate and least successful on the continent.

In addition to Mugabe's ZANU delegation—which includes leaders of the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA)—there is the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) delegation headed by ever-so-reasonable Joshua Nkomo, the wildest and most durable of the nationalist politicians and the one with the strongest support from the West. The two other delegations are present as a testimony to more than a decade of sordid political betrayals and personalist factional struggles in the independence movement.

One is led by Nbandanngi Sithole, who was an Nkomo lieutenant until the 1963 split in ZAPU which produced ZANU. Despite an international reputation built over the years by assorted "Third World" cheerleaders, Sithole became an isolated figure after he was unceremoniously expelled from ZANU last year by forces loyal to Mugabe. The fourth delegation is headed by Methodist bishop Abel Muzorewa, whose African National Council (ANC) commands considerable support in the urban areas but is completely isolated from the ZIPA, which he characterizes as a tribalist formation.

The church influence among the top black leaders is quite marked. In addition to Muzorewa, who is head of the American Methodist Episcopal church in Rhodesia, Sithole is a Congregational minister, Nkomo is a former Protestant lay preacher, and Mugabe, frequently touted in the imperialist press

as a revolutionary, is a practising Catholic.

Rise of African Nationalism in Rhodesia

Nkomo has long been regarded as the likeliest candidate to head a neo-colonial black regime installed by the imperialists. His entry into nationalist politics predates that of his competitors by nearly a decade. Beginning in "welfare committees" protesting discrimination against the educated African elite (relatively numerous in Rhodesia compared to apartheid South Africa),



Sygma

Prime minister Ian Smith

by 1952 he had become general secretary of the Rhodesian Railways African Employees' Association.

As in South Africa there is a relatively significant black proletariat in Rhodesia, formed in the post-World War II economic boom. Over a third of the black population is urbanized and more than 10 percent is employed in mining, manufacturing, processing and government services. The young proletariat quickly grew conscious of its strength, and waged a series of large-scale strikes in the 1945-50 period. Black railway workers launched a crippling railway strike in 1945, and in 1948 Bulawayo municipal workers sparked a general strike throughout Southern Rhodesia (Martin Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, 1975).

The immediate origins of Nkomo's ZAPU lie in the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC), a moribund association of the black elite which under the impact of the post-war working-class upsurge had revived in the railway junction of Bulawayo, Rhodesia's second largest city. The new ANC fought for reforms on a broad front—education, voting rights, bus fares, land policies. It especially sought to enlist the aid of Prime Minister Garfield Todd, who earned a reputation among whites as a flaming liberal more for his rhetorical "partnership of the races" than for any concrete reforms.

The white settlers responded to the ANC agitation by a sharp right turn. Todd was dumped in 1958 by a congress of his party. In February 1959 a state of emergency was declared: the ANC was banned and 500 of its members were arrested. The government also took a major step to sever ties between the black labor movement and the nationalists. The 1959 Industrial Conciliation

Act extended collective bargaining rights to most African workers (the railway workers had won this by a strike in 1949), but unions which contributed funds or provided facilities to political parties lost their official recognition.

Facing a hardening white-supremacist regime at home, Nkomo began a period of extensive international lobbying in imperialist capitals, newly independent African states and the United Nations, seeking external support for majority rule in Rhodesia. In early 1960 Nkomo's supporters established the National Democratic Party (NDP) as successor to the outlawed ANC and adopted "one man, one vote" as its single focus for agitation, essentially dropping the social and economic demands of the ANC.

However, with Britain pressing for black representation at a constitutional conference the next year, the NDP mobilized mass demonstrations for majority rule and suffered arrests of its leaders as a result. In July 1960 this led to a two-week general strike centered on Bulawayo in which NDP intellectuals played a major role (Eshmael Mlambo, *Rhodesia: The Struggle for a Birthright*, 1972). Even this did not overcome the ingrained conservatism of the educated petty-bourgeois black leaders. An NDP delegation to the 1961 constitutional conference accepted the sop of a separate black voting role, which was subsequently rejected by the party ranks, much to the leaders' embarrassment.

The NDP was banned in December 1961, leading to the formation of ZAPU, which in turn was banned in September 1962. The right-wing Rhodesian Front won that year's elections and the nationalists feared that the racist regime would imminently declare itself independent and move to smash ZAPU's base of support. Nkomo engineered a disastrous attempt to transfer the ZAPU executive to Tanzania but was rebuffed by Nyerere and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which insisted that the leadership direct the struggle from inside Rhodesia.

ZANU/ZAPU Split

This imbroglio exacerbated criticisms of Nkomo's leadership by members of the ZAPU executive, and the group split. In August 1963, Sithole, Mugabe and others formed ZANU. A myth persists, particularly in New Left and Maoist circles, that this was a "left" split. Although tactical differences existed (where the leadership was to be located, whether to attempt the formation of a new legal party, etc.), the split was essentially the result of frustration and personality clashes.

Each organization characterized the other as "reformist" and accused its rival of relying on the British rather than on its own force of arms to achieve independence under majority rule. In both cases the charges were essentially accurate. Nkomo's conciliation of Britain was long-standing, while Sithole and Mugabe had joined the NDP in direct response to Britain's inclusion of nationalists in the constitutional talks. (Both Nkomo and Sithole were leaders of the delegation which accepted the franchise sellout.)

Both ZANU and ZAPU relied on small-scale guerrilla actions to step up pressure on Britain. In a militant speech

to the inaugural congress of ZANU in May 1964, Sithole declared:

"Those who believe that the United Nations... [or] the Afro-Asian Bloc will bring us independence are greatly mistaken.... Independence is not ours unless we liberate ourselves."

But virtually in the same breath he reaffirmed the traditional appeal to the "democratic" colonial power:

"The United Kingdom is the only power that can grant Southern Rhodesia legal independence.... At present Britain which holds the constitutional key to the problem facing us is unwilling to use that key."

—Ndabaningi Sithole, *In Defense of a Birthright*, 1975

Not only did Rhodesia's colonial overlords refuse to use the "constitutional key," but when the die-hard white supremacists of the Rhodesian Front (already headed by Ian Smith) proclaimed a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in November 1965, London "ruled out the use of force" and

sabotage was maintained by both groups over the next few years, but stopped almost entirely from 1970 to 1972. The fighters had sustained heavy losses and were increasingly demoralized. ZAPU was weakened by a second split, which produced a third, and far smaller, organization, the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI). Six years of severe repression had largely severed the links between the nationalists and the urban masses. Isolation and failures on the battlefield encouraged intrigues among the leaders and fanned the flames of tribal enmity among the ranks, even though such hostilities had largely broken down among urban black workers.

Treachery and Capitulation

In 1971 a new contender entered the scene in the form of Bishop Muzorewa's African National Council. Filling a breach left by the outlawed and exiled

Afrikaaner Nationalist rulers decided that the Rhodesian salient of white rule was untenable in the long run. This led to a Pretoria initiative for "détente" in southern Africa, offering to trade economic aid for a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. A key role in the ill-fated détente negotiations was played by Zambia's president Kenneth Kaunda, who saw an opportunity to bail out his crisis-racked economy by striking a deal with South African premier Balthazar Vorster.

In December 1974 Kaunda engineered another paper unity agreement between ZANU and ZAPU, this time embracing FROLIZI, all under the aegis of Muzorewa's ANC. Under pressure from Washington, Pretoria and London, Smith released a number of political prisoners (among them Nkomo, Sithole and Mugabe) and reluctantly entered a new round of talks. Because the released prisoners feared rearrest inside Rhodesia, the negotiations with Smith were held in a railroad car on a bridge spanning the Zambezi River between Rhodesia and Zambia.

The united nationalist delegation was headed by Muzorewa, a source of great irritation to Nkomo. After the talks fell apart (as usual due to Smith's unwillingness to bend), Nkomo formed his own ANC (little more than ZAPU with a new name) and offered to negotiate alone with Smith inside Rhodesia. Following the U.S./South African defeat in Angola, the "front-line states" forced Nkomo to break off negotiations this March. (As a measure of the kaleidoscopic wheeling and dealing of the several nationalist leaders, at Geneva Nkomo formed a "patriotic front" with Mugabe, leading Smith to dismiss last year's bargaining partner as "faded.")

ZANU guerrillas based in Zambia attempted to continue the military struggle while the negotiations went on.

from revealing the executions (for details see *Africa*, May 1976 and the *Guardian* [London], 10 April 1976).

While these tribalist killings were thoroughly reprehensible, Zambia's massive repression of ZANU was clearly aimed at breaking the ability of "hot-headed" guerrillas to spoil its deal with Vorster. Thus the Spartacist League called for an end to the Zambian detentions and condemned the repression unleashed by erstwhile "anti-imperialist" Kaunda. (During the Angolan civil war, Kaunda launched another dragnet, this time rounding up PROMPLA university students and labeling them pawns of "Soviet imperialism.")

Following the breakdown of the 1975 ANC unity move, the "front-line presidents" decided to bypass the squabbling Rhodesian nationalist leaders and set up the ZIPA as a joint military command to direct a major escalation of guerrilla warfare. Although the ZIPA leaders are reportedly critical of the politicians, including Mugabe, they are totally dependent on Tanzania and Mozambique, which hope for a negotiated settlement in order to step up trade with South Africa. Thus those impressionistic petty-bourgeois radicals who today hail the "revolutionary" ZIPA (just as yesterday they supported the Sithole-led ZANU), are bound to be sorely disappointed as once again it turns out that "picking up the gun" is no guarantee of anti-imperialist politics.

A characteristic example of the disunity inside ZIPA came at the beginning of the Geneva negotiations. On September 30 a guerrilla spokesman identified with Mugabe's ZANU held a press conference in Maputo, Mozambique. He read a statement calling for continuation of the armed struggle until "final victory" and declared: "Under no circumstances are we prepared to share power with racists and fascists" (*Guardian* [London], 1 October). The following day, Alfred Nkita, political commissar of ZIPA and a Nkomo loyalist, publicly upbraided the other guerrilla leader for presuming to speak in the name of ZIPA.

A few days earlier, Nyerere had explained the facts of life to the guerrillas. In a British television interview, he explained: "Their work, the work of the armed forces, is pressure. They will not necessarily take part in the negotiations" (*Guardian* [London], 28 September).

The presence of all the Rhodesian nationalist factions at the Geneva talks—set up to discuss the Kissinger plan for a "negotiated transition to majority rule"—and their repeated calls on Britain to perform its colonial duties and bring Smith to heel, reveal their lack of a revolutionary perspective. It could not be otherwise, for these petty-bourgeois nationalists who rely on the imperialists to hand them independence simply aspire to become new exploiters, setting their sights on assuming the place of their former colonial masters.

In the military conflict presently engulfing Rhodesia, Marxists give military support to the nationalist guerrillas in their struggle to topple white supremacy. At the same time, Trotskyists draw the lessons of the impotence of peasant-based guerrilla struggle and the nationalists' inability to break with imperialism, pointing instead to the vital necessity of forging a proletarian revolutionary party.

With the 5-million-strong non-white working class of South Africa visibly shaking the subcontinent with its heroic revolt against apartheid oppression, the need for Trotskyist proletarian parties in Rhodesia and South Africa to lead these struggles could not be more clear. Seeking to prepare the urban working masses of Rhodesia and South Africa for mass uprisings against the white supremacist regimes, such parties would struggle to win the best militants away from their nationalist misleaders and lead the fight for a black workers and peasants government of Zimbabwe in a united socialist states of Africa. ■



S.S.

Frelimo soldiers demonstrate against white supremacist Rhodesian regime. Mozambique has suffered numerous attacks by Smith's army.

opted for ineffectual sanctions. Repeated appeals to Britain produced nothing but frustration.

Labour prime minister Harold Wilson held negotiations with Smith within a year, proposing a complex plan for gradual extension of the African franchise which would not have produced a black majority before 1999! (The Rhodesian leader turned thumbs down even on these token concessions.) While bending over backwards to conciliate the racist regime, Britain delivered a note to Zambia in September 1967 demanding assurance that the latter was "not affording support to armed incursions into Rhodesia" (quoted in Kees Maxey, "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," 1972).

Following UDI, detentions of nationalist leaders were made permanent, a state of emergency was in effect and the ZAPU/ZANU leaders became less hopeful of British intervention. There was a limited radicalization, with timid talk of "African socialism" which wouldn't even startle such neo-colonial "statesmen" as Kenyatta in Kenya. All the leaders—Nkomo, Sithole, and Mugabe, each of whom spent more than a decade in detention—have advocated "armed struggle" of some sort; but they have likewise all faced revolts in the guerrilla camps over lack of supplies, charges of corruption, tribal favoritism and inattention of the politicians to day-to-day problems of the soldiers.

While ZANU initiated guerrilla actions earlier than ZAPU, the latter carried the brunt of the fighting in the late 1960's. In August 1967 a joint force of about 80 ZAPU guerrillas and members of the South African ANC crossed into Rhodesia from camps in Zambia. ZAPU and the South African nationalists leaders announced that the guerrilla force was engaged in a long-term operation to fight its way through into South Africa itself. But after a pitched battle with Smith's army, which was aided by South African jet fighters, the heroic guerrilla fighters were decimated.

A low level of guerrilla attacks and



The Rhodesia Herald

Rhodesian cavalry.

nationalist parties, Muzorewa's group gained mass support in the towns through a campaign for "constitutional government" based on "non-racialism" (and to be achieved "in a Christian and non-violent manner"). He has periodically been the favorite of the Smith regime among the competing nationalists, including at present when the Rhodesian prime minister patronizingly labeled Muzorewa's delegation "the best behaved" at the Geneva talks (*New York Times*, 6 November).

Under pressure from the neighboring bourgeois African regimes who provide them with bases and funnel their financial aid, ZANU and ZAPU formed a joint military command in Lusaka, Zambia, in March 1972, and in December of that year the guerrilla war heated up again. However, it was effectively contained by Rhodesian troops and the joint command fell apart. In early 1974, Muzorewa, with the support of the tiny white opposition parties, attempted to upstage his rivals by entering into talks with Smith. However, the April coup in war-weary Portugal opened the way to fundamental change in southern Africa, as colonial rule ended within a year and a half in both Mozambique and Angola.

At this point, South Africa's

However, a tribally inspired blood purge in the guerrilla army gave Kaunda the opportunity to arrest virtually the entire ZANU leadership, invade the camps and detain 1,400 militants in March 1975. After the bombing assassination of Herbert Chitepo, who led ZANU while Sithole and Mugabe were in prison, an international commission representing 11 African states was established to investigate the murder and its background.

The commission reported that the killings began after a November 1974 revolt in the guerrilla camps, charging "wholesale corruption in the Military High Command which manifested itself in the form of preferential treatment based on ethnic affiliation." The rebellion was suppressed and a blood purge launched in which military leaders from the Shona-speaking Karanga tribe systematically eliminated rivals from the Shona-speaking Manyika tribe. The purge, according to the commission report, was led by Josiah Tongogara and other commanders who are now in the leadership of ZIPA. The investigators found that Tongogara and other guerrilla chiefs had assassinated Chitepo, a Manyika, in order to prevent him

French CP ...

(continued from page 4)

coming to play an increasingly prominent role, a significant factor may have been the side issue of the OCI's physical confrontations with a small splinter group around its former supporter, the ill-reputed Michel Varga. Schwartz enlisted the LCR's *service d'ordre* (goon squad) to prevent a repetition of the OCI's violent attacks on the Varga grouping which marred the Plyushch meeting last year.

Now finding itself on the outside looking in, the OCI has little more to say than to correctly expose the hollowness of the PCF's claim to stand for democracy. The OCI has proven itself chronically unable to address the main deficiency of the Committee of Mathematicians' campaign. The October 21 rally took six supportable cases and—in a fully social-democratic spirit which pulled the PCF behind in tow—built them into an anti-Stalinist campaign which sought to position itself in a never-never-land between principled left opposition to the Russian bureaucracy and the reactionary protestations about "democracy" beneath which lurk appetites toward capitalist restoration in the deformed workers states.

A principled defense of Soviet dissidents must distinguish itself from the anti-communist crusading which animated Plyushch's statement at the rally that the Soviet regime "obeys the logic of a police-state system." The demand for freedom of political expression and an end to the persecution of dissidents (even for the Solzhenitsyn ilk, whose poisonous reactionary obscurantism poses less danger to the deformed workers states than the treacherous anti-proletarian policies of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies) must be coupled with the explicit refusal to defend active counterrevolutionaries who seek to reverse the gains of the October Revolution and turn the deformed workers states over to the rapacious imperialists. Those who "unite" with bourgeois politicians like Pierre Emmanuel to demand "democracy" in the USSR serve as the witting or unwitting cover for an eventual revanchist "holy war" for imperialism.

Earlier this year, *Workers Vanguard* saluted the successful effort undertaken

on behalf of Plyushch, noting it had been "spearheaded by the French OCI through a 'Committee for the Immediate Liberation of Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe' which it initiated and led." At that time we warned:

"The OCI can be justifiably proud of playing a major role in Plyushch's liberation.... The OCI's Committee, however, has been far from clear on the fundamental distinction between efforts such as those it carried out in the Plyushch campaign and pro-imperialist 'anti-totalitarianism' which serves the ends of the deadly enemies of the Russian proletariat.

"The Committee declares that it 'defends Marxists, non-Marxists, anti-Marxists, all those who are struck by repression, because they are struggling for freedom of expression, and because freedom of expression in the countries where capital has been expropriated cannot but have an eminently positive value' (the Committee's *Bulletin*, June 1974)... Revolutionary defense work must be unambiguously placed in an explicit context of solidarity with the gains of the October Revolution and the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Classless rhetoric like the OCI's constitutes an open invitation to subvert the struggles against the anti-socialist repression perpetrated by the Russian bureaucracy into a weapon against the deformed workers state itself.

"In the capitalist countries there is no lack of supposed 'civil libertarians' all too happy to expose the crimes of Stalinism...."

—*WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976

The OCI appears to have learned nothing from its isolation from the influential left-defense milieu. It can do little except gripe about how the democrats-come-lately of the PCF are hogging the publicity. The defense of Bukovsky, Gluzman and Müller—in the context of the explicit defense of the gains of the October Revolution—is an important cause for the international workers movement. Every victory in the fight to liberate the pro-Marxist victims of Stalinist terror in the USSR hastens the day when the new generation of communist militants will rediscover the suppressed history of the Trotskyist Left Opposition and find the road forward to political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers and re-establish the rule of the workers soviets over the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union.

—Free Massera, López Arias and Enriquez! Smash Junta Terror! For Socialist Revolution!

—Free Bukovsky, Gluzman and Müller! For Workers Political Revolution Against the Stalinist Usurpers!

Lebanon ...

(continued from page 3)

port to Maronite militias operating near the Israeli border.

Hypocritically claiming humanitarian intentions, Israel has recently "opened" its northern border to Lebanese who wish to travel, receive medical care or look for work in Israel, whereas previously Arabs crossing this border were simply shot. But the border "opens" two ways and the Israeli army has sent scouting units as far north as the Litani River.

More rapacious Zionist chauvinists perhaps dream of annexing Lebanon south of the Litani River, but the present policy of the Rabin regime is to create a Maronite-controlled "security belt" running from the Mediterranean to the Golan Heights. Equipped with Israeli arms the Maronites would police this "security belt" and keep the area free of Palestinian commandos.

As the Syrian army has moved its campaign southward it has found itself in an embarrassing alliance with Maronite militias whose weapons bear Hebrew markings. Further, the "open borders" policy not only infringes upon Lebanese "sovereignty" but is perceived by Syria as a direct threat to its own security, especially if it attempts to regain the Golan Heights by military

force.

The open collaboration between Israel and the Maronites is cracking the alliance between Syria and the Maronite militias. Already, there have been battles between Syrian troops and the Phalangists on the road to Saida. Palestinian commandos are moving back into the Arkub and Syria has reportedly reopened a supply line, the "Arafat Trail," which runs from the Arkub through the Bekaa Valley into Syria.

The Zionist strategists have clearly outsmarted themselves by their "open border" policy. Syria and the Arab League sheiks and generals who thought they might tame the Palestinian commandos by using Syrian troops to enforce the Cairo Agreement and drive the commandos back into the Arkub, may in fact be laying the basis for the next Arab-Israeli confrontation. The PLO's alliance with the Lebanese Muslim "left" has reaped only a harvest of blood. Returning to their old allies and recent enemies in Damascus will not lay the basis for the genuine national emancipation of the Palestinian people. The only real ally of Palestinian self-determination is the Arab and Hebrew proletariat of the Near East. ■

London Meeting ...

(continued from page 5)

this is only one of Mandel's many turns: not so long ago he was preaching unadulterated Castroite guerrillaism.

"People accuse us of being sectarian," the speaker pointed out. "It is because we are committed to what we believe are the necessary, decisive principles of Trotskyism, and these principles are not generally shared—rather they are opposed—by other organisations." But if we should find that in a developing revolutionary situation militants who had taken Mandel's passing orthodox verbiage seriously began to polarise along our programmatic principles, we would surrender our not-sought-for independence in an instant in order to have a fusion. "We stand ready to unite with any developing and incipient revolutionary wing of the U.Sec," he added, "on the basis of the Trotskyist programme."

The discussion from the floor opened with a speaker from the International Communist Current (ICC). Reflecting a spirit of anarchist individualism (dressed up with a little working-class rhetoric for British conditions), the speaker reiterated the gist of a leaflet his group passed out at the meeting, that if the hopelessly reactionary trade unions didn't exist there would be nothing left for the masses but pure communism. The Spartacist tendency, he indicated, is reformist because it advocates struggling for leadership in the unions, and is "on the road to the National Front" because it advocates British troops out of Ireland. Robertson suggested that the militants of the ICC could profit from reading Lenin's *Left Wing Commun-*

ism: An Infantile Disorder.

Other speakers included a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), who valiantly defended his organisation's programme, or rather lack of one. On questions where the revisions are falling all over each other in their mutual opportunism, such as Ireland or the woman question, he said, taking a Marxist analysis to the class could at least put a stop to the worst reformist excesses. How such a non-programme could do anything but reform the reformists was left unsaid.

The arrival of several London cadres of the Workers Socialist League gave members of the London Spartacist Group an opportunity to question the WSL on its Campaign for Democracy in the unions. As mentioned in a Spartacist leaflet distributed at the WSL's recent Conference on Wages held in Birmingham, the Campaign's lack of programme means that it is simply another façade of "mass" activity designed to give an illusion of influence in the working class. The spokesman for the WSL replied that they had come to hear the Spartacist programme, not to listen to attacks. He added that the WSL saw the need to continue discussions with the international Spartacist tendency, which was agreed with by the speaker.

There was a short summary, emphasising once again that smashing the Social Contract is crucial to the British proletariat. Even a small revolutionary nucleus could have a tremendous impact in the unions, which are class-conscious and wide-open. The speaker concluded that the London Spartacist Group is here to stay! Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

SUB DRIVE RESULTS

The success of the fall 1976 *Workers Vanguard/Women & Revolution* subscription drive is a tribute to the hard work of the comrades of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) and the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC). The five-week sub drive brought in 1291 subscriptions to the weekly *WV* and 613 to *W&R*, journal of the SL Commission for Work Among Women, as well as 134 subscriptions to *Young Spartacus*, monthly press of the SYL, and 38 to *Spartacist Canada*, monthly organ of the TLC.

Every local organization of the SL surpassed its quota, with the Boston local committee topping the list at 149 percent. The individual star was Comrade Bernard of Los Angeles, who carried the honors with 82 points. Runners-up were Tracy (Berkeley/Oakland) with 35-1/2 points and Douglas (Detroit) with 35.

Although 475 introductory subscriptions to *WV* were sold, the emphasis was on full-year subs. Fully 90 percent of all the *WV* subs sold in Los Angeles and Philadelphia were full-year subs, followed by 81 percent in Chicago and 78 percent in Vancouver.

The Editorial Board of *Workers Vanguard* welcomes the new subscribers and pledges itself to work toward a consistently high standard of Marxist clarity and journalistic excellence.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

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

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

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:30-8:00 p.m.

Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
650 South Clark 2nd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday-Friday 6:30-9:00 p.m.

Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway, Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUM

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

Speaker: JAMES ROBERTSON

Executive Committee of the International Spartacist tendency

Saturday, November 20 7:30 p.m.

Britannia Public Library Room L-2

1661 Napier Social to follow

For more info: 291-8993

VANCOUVER

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR (313) 769-6376
c/o SYL, Room 4316
Michigan Union, U. of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

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

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

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

CLEVELAND (216) 281-4781
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT (313) 869-1551
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES (213) 385-1962
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

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

PHILADELPHIA
P.O. Box 13138
Philadelphia, PA 19101

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

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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

VANCOUVER (604) 291-8993
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Ford Mahwah ...

(continued from page 12)

might not have a job—a direct threat of firing.

For at least six months prior to this fall's UAW strike, Ford carried out daily harassment against another MSC member, Richie Bradley. Bradley, a black militant with seven years in the plant, has had his seniority rights systematically violated. Bradley had been a leader in the fight against the company's turning up of line speed in his section when Ford suddenly took him off his job last February.

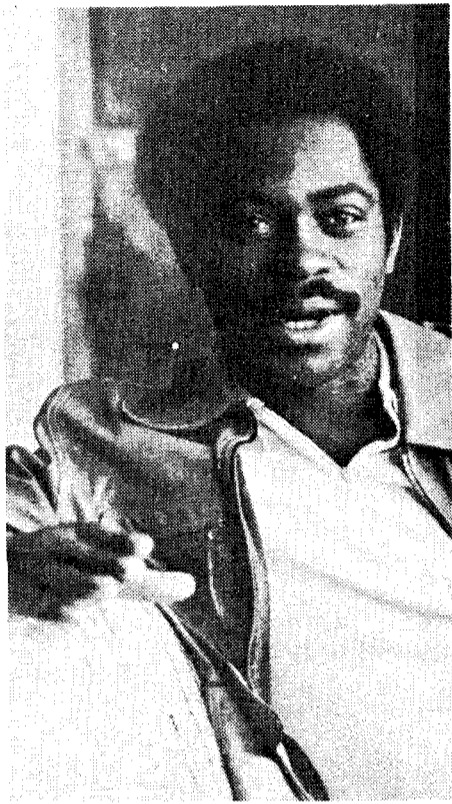
Since then Ford has been on a non-stop campaign to get him fired—he has been put on a different job almost every day despite a long-standing policy that seniority employees are to be put on steady, permanent operations (prior to the fight over line speed, Bradley had held the same job for over six years). Bradley has also been loaned out of his department in violation of his contractual seniority rights. The company then had the gall to give him a "permanent" job that violates his medical restriction. Ford has repeatedly disciplined him when he protested this treatment.

Members of the MSC told *WV* that everyone in the plant has been pressured by the company's intense speed-up and overtime since the end of the Ford strike. But, they stressed, the attacks on the Caucus are a deliberate all-out drive to railroad the oppositionists out of the plant.

The MSC is recognized by Mahwah workers as the only visible union opposition to the Local 906 bureaucracy. In the past the MSC has campaigned for an industry-wide strike and sit-downs against layoffs, fought against speed-up and harassment in the shop and demanded an end to the Woodcock

number of militants were fired. In the atmosphere of repression and demoralization which set in after the unsuccessful walkout, most of these reformist oppositions—whose politics were geared to tailing the spontaneous militancy of the rank and file—disintegrated. The MSC is today the only opposition in the plant to the pro-company Woodcock/Reilly UAW bureaucracy.

Ford management is taking advantage of a generally quiescent period in the labor movement, particularly in a plant feeling the letdown after a sellout contract settlement, to rid itself of a serious potential threat. Although the company has been able to hold the lid on



Richie Bradley

WV Photo

militancy in the plant since 1973, it knows the situation cannot last—outbreaks of class struggle lie ahead. The MSC, with its clear banner of opposition to Woodcock, could become a pole to organize and lead such an upsurge.

UAW workers at Mahwah have rallied to the MSC's defense. Last summer about 500 members of the Local signed a petition demanding that company harassment of Bradley stop, that the union leadership take action to get him back on his permanent job and that other victims of Ford's repression be reinstated. But the workers' petition fell on the deaf ears of the Local's right-wing leadership.

Since the attacks began last year, Reilly has done nothing against Ford Motor Co.'s attempt to drive these union militants out of the industry. Reilly's foot-dragging on their cases can only be explained by a desire to see the Caucus out of the way before Local 906 elections this spring, hoping to ensure that his own three-year record of sellouts will go unexposed during the campaign.

Such sectarian attempts by the union leadership to play politics with the jobs of union members must be stopped! An MSC leaflet protesting the victimizations concluded with a call to make the union fight: "The company wants to

make an example out of Richie Bradley and Lisa Diamond to show that anyone who stands up to the Ford Motor Co. gets smashed. If an aggressive campaign is waged at Mahwah to defend these militants, they could become another kind of example: an example of the strength of solidarity among workers, proof that if we unite and stand up for each other we can win. *Defend the Militants! Reinstatement Lisa Diamond! Put Richie Bradley Back on His Original Job! Remove the Disciplines! Stop the Firings!*"

Ford Canada ...

(continued from page 12)

tors in the U.S. and Canada, although a substantially bigger settlement at Ford and Chrysler could still have led to a drawn-out strike at GM.

The fate of Canadian GM workers was augured by the outcome of a wildcat by militant Quebec auto workers just prior to the expiration of the Big Three contracts in September. Three thousand auto workers in Ste.-Therèse near Montreal had occupied the plant for ten days in protest against company firings and suspensions aimed at wiping out hard-won working conditions. Undoubtedly worried that this show of militancy by a group of auto workers not "scheduled" to strike might lead to industry-wide solidarity, UAW bureaucrats forced the Ste.-Therèse workers back to work without winning a thing—and immediately announced the extension of the GM contract beyond its expiration date.

While Solidarity House proclaims that the three-year pact is "historic," the reality is very different. The net wage increase is a pitiful 3 percent per year, while the "reduced work time" scheme is a patent fraud. The new contract does nothing about the companies' massive scheduling of forced overtime. *WV* salesmen at the Ford Oakville ratification vote meeting yesterday morning found widespread dissatisfaction with the rumoured agreement to bring back Saturday overtime, which had been erased at that plant over the past few years.

The top UAW bureaucrats were covered on their left by well-entrenched and influential supporters of the Communist Party, which printed a deceitful article in its *Canadian Tribune* claiming that negotiations were taking place for a shorter workweek, and chiming in with the bourgeois media's acclaim of the U.S. Ford sellout. Actually, the new contract will allow grueling 56-hour workweeks for production-line workers to continue according to management's whims.

The wage settlement agreed to by the UAW tops is so bad that it is even likely to fall within the wage-control guidelines of the Canadian Anti-Inflation Board (AIB). At the press conference which announced the Ford Canada pact, union and company spokesmen proudly stated that they expected no trouble with the wage-slashing AIB because the pay increase was so low! Thus the Ford settlement is a defeat not just for auto workers, but for the entire Canadian labor movement which is forced to shoulder the burden of inflation by the government's anti-labor controls program.

Only last month Dennis McDermott was avowing his "unconditional opposition" to this wage control program, as he called upon the UAW Canadian membership to support the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) one-day general strike. The auto worker ranks showed their determination to do away with Trudeau's wage straitjacket by solidly shutting down the auto plants on October 14. However, rather than lead a militant, international industry-wide

auto strike—which could also have been a spark for a cross-Canada general strike to smash the wage controls—Woodcock, McDermott & Co. were happy to settle amicably on miserable terms agreeable to both the profit-bloated auto barons and the AIB.

The militancy of the auto worker rank and file is beyond question. It is only the lack of a powerful class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist business-unionist Woodcock machine that has allowed the bosses and their government to emerge victorious once again. UAW militants on both sides of the border must struggle to forge a militant leadership which can oust the incumbent cap-in-hand UAW bureaucracy and prevent further demoralizing defeats like the 1976 auto contract.

Such a leadership would dump the treacherous Reutherite "one-at-a-time" strategy, instead mobilizing the union's tremendous strength for a North American industry-wide strike. It would organize around a full transitional program, including demands for a sharply reduced workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40" or better) and a sliding scale of wages, as well as struggling to lead the workers to put an end to the irrational boom-bust capitalist business cycle, through a planned economy under a workers government. ■

ISTC Suit ...

(continued from page 7)

like-minded opposition groups in other unions such as Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). He also remarked, "you know what happened to [Joseph] Yablonski," the slain UMW presidential candidate of the Miners for Democracy.

The reformist oppositionists mentioned do have a lot in common—vague or minimalist programs, appetites to become a new bureaucracy, willingness to appeal for government intervention—and auto workers should also know what happened when Yablonski's successor, Arnold Miller, took control of the UMW. Three massive wildcats were broken, the demand for the right to strike over local grievances has been abandoned and a witchhunt atmosphere has been unleashed in the union.

Except for the Spartacist League (SL), almost every tendency on the U.S. left has capitulated to such reformist fakers. Unlike the social-democratic International Socialists—which backed Miller in 1972 and builds the TDU and the ISTC today—the SL warns union militants that reformist out-bureaucrats like Gardner & Co. do not represent a step forward over Woodcock. Only by breaking sharply with Woodcock's whole program of class collaboration can the UAW ranks put a stop to the dreary succession of contract defeats. ■



Lisa Diamond

WV photo

bureaucracy's support for the capitalist political parties. The caucus is also known for its defense of the rights of specially oppressed black workers and the large plant population of foreign workers.

In 1974, running for local union office on a class-struggle program, MSC candidates received up to 13 percent of the vote. Through its activities during its three-year history the MSC has won considerable respect in the plant, unlike many here today, gone tomorrow opposition groups.

In 1973, a number of oppositional groupings existed in the plant, including the Rank and File Caucus (supported by the Communist Party, the International Socialists and El Comité), the United Black Workers and Workers Action Movement (supported by Progressive Labor). A wildcat broke out that year in response to the firing of the Local's black vice president, Dave Gardner. The wildcat was sabotaged by the Local 906 leadership under Joe Reilly and a

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Mao's Heirs at Each Other's Throats
**VIOLENT POWER STRUGGLE
ERUPTS IN CHINA**

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League
Central Committee

Friday, November 12, 7:30 p.m.
Quaker House
5615 South Woodlawn

For more information:
(312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

JUST OUT

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

Contents:

- Before "Socialist Realism" in the Soviet Union
- On "Gay Liberation": A Marxist Analysis
- Seattle Radical Women
- Women Scapegoated for Rising Unemployment
- DEFEND: — Susan Saxe — Johnny Ross — Yvonne Wanrow

SUBSCRIBE \$2/4 issues

Make checks payable/mail to:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Militants Suspended

Defeat the Witchhunt at Ford Mahwah!

In recent weeks the Ford Motor Company has stepped up a vicious harassment campaign aimed at driving supporters of a militant union caucus out of its Mahwah, New Jersey, plant. On November 3, the company indefinitely suspended Lisa Diamond, long-time member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 906. Diamond's suspension, the result of a provocative company set-up, was only the latest in a long series of actions against Caucus members.

Diamond was suspended when she was unable to perform a job the company had specially assigned to her, knowing it was impossible for her to do. Despite her 5 ft. 2 in. height and a permanent medical restriction on one wrist stemming from a plant injury, Diamond was assigned to the underbody sealer's job—work which required her to stand in an enclosed pit and use

both hands to hold a heavy sealer gun overhead for long periods of time. Diamond told *WV* that this company provocation was so blatant that even her foreman was embarrassed by it, apologizing profusely all the time he was carrying out his orders from the higher-ups.

At Diamond's hearing on November 8, she was given two days off for "disrespect to a member of management," for having told the plant doctor, who had selected this outrageous job assignment, that "They had doctors like you in the concentration camps." In addition, she was given another three days off for refusal to perform work assigned. Upon returning to work she was put on the same job she was previously unable to perform, and then again suspended indefinitely and told if she didn't do the work, the next time she

continued on page 11



WV Photo

UAW Local 906 demonstration in New York City during recent Ford strike.

Carbon Copy Settlement

Canadian Ford Strikers' Militancy Wasted

TORONTO, November 7—Composed and smiling, United Auto Workers (UAW) Canada director Dennis McDermott announced last Thursday night that the union had reached a tentative contract settlement to end a short-lived strike by 14,500 Canadian Ford workers. The agreement with Ford Motor Co. of Canada—which is subject to membership ratification this weekend—is virtually a carbon copy of the sellout contract signed by the UAW and Ford in the U.S. last month.

Two nights earlier, McDermott wasn't smiling. The day before the November 3 strike deadline, thousands of Ford workers in southern Ontario walked off the job, shutting down production at the Oakville and St. Thomas assembly plants. Furious at this militant defiance of the bureaucracy's instructions, McDermott railed to the media that those responsible for the wildcat were guilty of an "act of sabotage against the union." "We thought we had made it clear at leadership meetings that the deadline was sacred," McDermott fulminated, vowing to seek out the instigators of the early walkout, in order to "stop it once and for all."

Only about a week before McDermott's sacred deadline, virtually all Ford Canada employees had returned to work after prolonged layoffs during the U.S. Ford strike. The International

bureaucracy's defeatist "one-at-a-time" strike strategy had forced Canadian Ford workers to continue working during the American strike until lack of parts shipments led to layoffs and plant closures. Although the earlier refusal to strike was justified in terms of "smart" tactics—so the members would be eligible for unemployment benefits—it meant that Canadian Ford workers would face the multinational corporate giant alone.

After the American strike had ended and Ford plants resumed production, the Canadian UAW hierarchy announced its strike deadline. Heavy-handed union leaflets were issued warning the membership in bold headlines to "STAY AT WORK!" While containing little information about the state of negotiations, the leaflets promised that the union officialdom would win the best contract terms possible, hopefully before November 3. As it turned out, McDermott required an extra 36 hours beyond the deadline, and was forced to call out those remaining Ford workers who had not jumped the gun, to nail down the sellout pact.

Meanwhile, some 109,000 employees at Chrysler plants in the U.S. and Canada faced their own strike deadline on November 5. As in the case of Ford, a majority of the 16,000 Canadian Chrysler workers left the job early, shutting down Windsor plants in anticipation of

Canadian auto workers at "Day of Protest" demonstration in Windsor last month. Sign refers to government "Anti-Inflation" Board which imposes wage controls on Canadian workers.



WV Photo

a strike. But this time the strike never saw the light of day, as word came down from the International only minutes before the deadline that the pattern settlement with Ford had been agreed to by the number three auto maker. One small local in suburban Toronto reportedly remained out, despite orders from the bureaucracy to return to work.

With the settlements at Ford and Chrysler, the UAW tops have now forced through one of the worst contracts in years on the majority of North American auto workers. The Solidarity House bureaucracy clearly expects little trouble in "winning" the same deal in the coming negotiations with General Motors.

continued on page 11