WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

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While Hundreds Wait on Death Row

STATE BUTCHERS GILMORE

Stop the Executions!

Gary Gilmore was executed by firing squad on Monday morning in a state prison at Point of the Mountain, Utah. It was the first execution in the United States since 1967.

We recoil at the spectacle of this vengeful slaughter. Almost two centuries ago the death penalty was denounced as barbarous by leaders of the bourgeois revolution. Today, in the name of the future of mankind, we demand its abolition.

The capitalist state has shot a man; hundreds more wait on death row as the repressive state machinery arrogantly wields its monopoly on the means of organized violence. The targets: usually the black and the poor.

In the weeks and months leading up to this execution, the reintroduction of capital punishment in the U.S. was peddled to the public in terms of the sick personality of an admitted murderer who "wanted to die."

The necessary cry of outrage sticks in the throat until the savage meaning of the death penalty is separated from the cult of Gary Gilmore.

The press has already fed us more than we need to know about Gilmore, in order to deny the enormity of what is really at stake. Months of the most putrid yellow journalism have oiled the rifles of the Utah firing squad. We do not want to read another word about Gilmore's last meal, his last song, the last jerk of his body. His love letters, his poetry, his fascination with death, his suicide attempts are matters of indifference to history.

The parasites who are exploiting the cult of Gary Gilmore for profit enact a repulsive ritual as old as punishment by death. Today, movie rights and ringside seats to the execution are sold; in the Middle Ages executioners found a ready market for the sale of the blood and parts of the criminal's corpse believed to possess magical qualities.

In 17th century England the crowds flocked to Newgate jail and jammed the roads to Tyburn prison to view torture and hangings. Now we are told that a Texas court has cleared the way for the next scheduled execution to be televised. We are witnessing the use of the propaganda techniques of 1984 fueling the social spirit of the punishment of 1684.

The obscene media build-up surrounding the case of Gary Gilmore must not be allowed to obscure the fundamental fact: the bourgeois state has reinstituted legal murder. The sensational publicity campaign was aimed at making it easier for the state to pull the trigger. On the day of the execution television specials announced victoriously that 71 percent of the American population now supported the death penalty.

As the death watch went into its final hours over the weekend, the "law enforcement community" must have been congratulating itself on finding such a perfect victim for the reinstatement of capital punishment. The Supreme Court opened the door last summer; President-elect Carter was on their side; demonstrations against the execution were few and small even Gary Gilmore was on their side. When the ACLU and a liberal judge threatened to get in the way, they could be brushed aside.

How different it would have been for the bloody enforcers of capitalist "law and order" if they were dealing with a more typical resident of the nation's death rows: a black man accused of the "crime" of shooting one of the killer cops who every day unleash ruling-class terror in the northern ghettos.

"Let's do it," read the headlines across the country, quoting Gilmore's last

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Der Spiegel

Peking wall poster denounces "Gang of Four."

What Now, Maoists?

The Return of Teng

JANUARY 16 –Twice purged as a "capitalist roader," Teng Hsiao-ping may yet live to become king of the mountain in Stalinist China. The tough, sharp-tongued veteran of Peking's turbulent clique battles has survived all the architects of his two falls from grace. He has outlived Mao, seen Lin Piao posthumously reviled and witnessed (perhaps helped plan) the overthrow of Chiang Ching and the so-called "Gang of Four."

The real questions now are when Teng will be officially "rehabilitated" and what post he will fill in the party or government hierarchy. Peking wall posters proclaiming "With Teng Hsiao-ping as prime minister, Chou En-lai can rest in peace" indicate that he may rise right to the top, co-equal with the new party chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

"Gang" Out, Teng Back

The Hua regime has not officially committed itself, but is testing the waters through the typical Maoist methods of manipulated "public opinion." Teng's restoration is organically linked with the purge of the "Shanghai circle" and follows fast apace. Short-

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Bureau/Sygma

Teng Hsiao-ping

SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE

IN CUBA

Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente....6

PART 1 OF 2

"Hypocrisy Is the Homage that Vice Pays to Virtue"

Joe Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by London supporters of the international Spartacist tendency at a January 14 meeting to protest Healyite slanders of SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

Considering the notorious scoundrels who mainly comprise the speakers tonight, this is not a company that we of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) would freely choose to be among. But Trotsky has taught us that if the issue is just, one can unite with "the devil and his granddam" (taking due account of the old folk saying that "when you sup with the devil, use a long spoon"). But the ostensible purpose of this meeting—to protest and expose the infamous slanders against Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) by Gerry Healy and his Workers Revolutionary Party— is at most only one of its purposes. For the speakers have another, overriding common denominator: they are all, to a man, revisionists and destroyers of the Trotskyist movement, not merely guaranteed to be oh-so-diplomatic about one another's betrayals of Marxism, but actively in pursuit of new combinations and configurations of revisionism (the stresses of an internationally rising line of class struggle having deeply undermined their old alignments).

It is only abstractly nauseating to think of speaking from the same platform as e.g., a Pierre Lambert, whose organization continues to practice endless physical violence against the "Vargaites" in the streets of Paris; or a servile Tim Wohlforth, now speaking for the shamelessly reformist SWP, who has spent fifteen years as a leading practitioner of Healyite slander and violence; or, above all, a Michel Pablo (sometime arch-enemy of the former two), who personally has done quite as much as any other living human being to destroy the Trotskyist movement from within and turn "Trotskyism" into a cesspool.

WV Photo

Gerry Healy at London meeting last week.

Nonetheless a meeting "for workers democracy" and "against frame-ups and slanders"—even including such elements as these—could be a good thing, only providing that it was an honest meeting with full freedom of criticism. Unfortunately, as the speakers' list guarantees, this is not the case here. It is the omissions which tell the story. For example, when Hansen's *Intercontinental Press* (6 September 1976) published the statement "A Shameless Frame-Up" signed by a long list of individuals and organizations, *IP* in its informational breakdown identified from among the hundreds of signers sixteen as "internationally known Trotskyists." Of these, eleven were supporters of the United Secretariat (USec), two were from the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert, two were from Lutte Ouvrière and one was from the iSt. But only some of the USec leaders, and Lambert from the presently ingratiating OCI, and that master of intrigue, Pablo himself, are to speak tonight. Particularly objectionable to the meeting's sponsors would be a spokesman of the iSt—the group which at the level of workers democracy campaigned earliest against the Healyite slanders (picketing with our slogan "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?") and which helped initiate the impartial Commission of Inquiry into the affair of the highly dubious Varga vs. the slanderous OCI.

It is not enough to describe Healy, as Hansen does, as a paranoid. The conduct of Healy's organization demands *political* explanation. The Healyite combination of crude opportunism and fake-Trotskyist "orthodoxy" has repeatedly lost out to the slicker USec, whose internally warring wings are led by Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel. In his slander campaign, Healy no doubt thinks he has gone V.I. Lenin one better. Lenin exposed Karl Kautsky as a revisionist through careful and savage analysis. It would therefore have been inconceivable for Lenin, as a Marxist, to have substituted the false and gratuitous and so simplifying—accusasation that Kautsky was an agent of the Kaiser. Healy cannot follow this principled course toward the USec revisionists, for comparable analysis would indict his own conduct. He resorts to contemptible slander which merely brings ostensible "anti-revisionism" into disrepute. As always, Healy is the horrible example which Hansen feeds off, for his own purposes – in this case, an unprincipled attempted international "regroupment" parading as a rally for workers democracy.

PUBLIC MEETING

*For Workers Democracy
*Against Frame-ups & Slanders

Hear

ERNEST MANDEL
GEORGE NOVACK
PIERRE LAMBERT
MICHEL PABLO
TIM WOHLFORTH

Chairperson **TARIQ ALI**

FRIDAY 14th JANUARY
FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD LONDON NW1
(opposite Euston Station)

7pm (doors open 6.30pm) admission 50p.

Over the past year the Workers Revolutionary Party, headed by Gerry Healy, has conducted a vicious campaign against the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, and two of its veteran leaders, Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

Healy and his followers in various countries have published articles and pamphlets, held public meetings and distributed leaflets and posters accusing Hansen and Novack of "criminal negligence" in Trotskys assassination and of being "accomplices of the GPU" alleging that they have covered up crimes of the Soviet secret police and shielded its agents.

Throughout the world individuals and groups representing a rather wide range of tendencies in the left have spoken out against these slanders and have signed a statement declaring that the slanders constitute a shameless frame-up. A number of the signatories were personally involved in the defense campaign for Leon Trotsky.

Some of the signers of this statement belong to no organised formation but are strong advocates of free and honest dialogue among working class organisations and are veteran battlers against frame-up methods. Others represent groups or organisations holding similar views on this question whatever their special political points of view may be and though they may disagree with the SWP on a number of issues.

The signers of the statement felt obliged to speak out in defense of Hansen and Novack and the SWP, against the smear campaign impugning their integrity. They express concern about the practice of such disruptive methods in the workers movement and ask others who share their position that frame ups have no place in the socialist movement to add their voice of protest and public condemnation.

In response to this appeal this meeting has been organised to publicly defend workers democracy and oppose the use of slanders and frame-ups as a way of settling political differences.

Meeting Convenor: Connie Harris, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Leaflet announcing January 14 rally to "defend workers democracy."

The real political issues which place all these squabbling slander-mongering, violence-prone elements at one pole and the iSt at the other are currently posed by two decisive considerations: the popular front and the Fourth International. Of course, as in the 1930's when the centrist London Bureau zig-zagged through the no-man's-land between Trotskyism and the mass reformist parties, so today one finds more leftist ephemeral groupings which seek to straddle between a revolutionary course and the accommodationism common to all tonight's speakers. The overriding characteristic of these groups is negative: not to stand *for* a common and coherent international program, but to posture *against* those (such as tonight's speakers) whose betrayals have become too overt. Thus for example there is the "Necessary International Initiative" bloc (including one Roberto from Italy, Sean Matgamna's recently split International Communist League, the disintegrating German Spartacusbund and maybe somebody else). Their tendency to themselves capitulate under pressure to popular frontism aside, they have hardly a point in common among their component factions and individuals except their objection to the manifest revisionism of the USec (and to the "sectarian" intransigence of the iSt).

With the renewal internationally of massive proletarian unrest, the popular front is again in the air. And all revisionists must try, in their own ways, to accommodate on the central question of class collaboration and, with their "new mass vanguards" or self-serving descriptions of mass reformist parties as simply "workers parties," to pave the way for new betrayals.

The 1930's centrists of the London Bureau, which Trotsky condemned, had to verbally separate themselves from the popular front rather more than such types do today:

> "The Popular Front practised by the Second and Third Internationals is a form of class collaboration between the proletariat and the Liberal bourgeoisie (and the petty bourgeoisie which depends on this latter) on a Capitalist basis which subordinates and sacrifices the class interests of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie to those of monopoly Capitalism.... In consequence, the Revolutionary Socialist Movement rejects the Popular Front as being absolutely contrary to the historic interests of the working class. To Capitalism we must oppose Socialism. To the Popular Front we must oppose the United Workers Front."
>
> —Resolution adopted at the "Revolutionary Socialist Congress" of the London Bureau, Febuary 1938

Thus despite their anti-Trotskyist *obliteration of the necessity of the* proletarian vanguard party, the London Bureau was perforce compelled to make a categoric class counterposition to the popular front and did not expect the Stalinist and reformist parties to somehow turn into their opposites. But instead of, and in opposition to, the Trotskyists' hard, bleak struggle for the Fourth International, those centrists counterposed to reformism their innocuous and impotent phantom, "the Revolutionary Socialist Movement." This is why the organizations of the London Bureau, though nominally disposing of forces one hundred times that of the Trotskyists, are a barely known historical footnote whose descendents must masquerade today as Trotskyists.

The hard lessons of the victorious October Revolution retain their full force on our planet. Lenin and Trotsky did not enter or tail the provisional government of socialists and liberals—they overthrew it on the basis of soviet power. The international Spartacist tendency stands today with Lenin's Third and Trotsky's Fourth International in insisting not only that the issue of state power is class against class, but that without the struggle to create a programmatically united and disciplined Fourth International the workers are left to wander into the new traps of capital – and, as in the 1930's, with the assistance of their revisionist would-be "leaders."

[Authorized text]

14 January 1977

international Spartacist tendency

Organización Trotskista
Revolucionaria de Chile

Trotskyist Faction (expelled) of the Spartacusbund (Germany)

London Spartacist Group
BCM Box 4272
London WC1V 6XX
England

WV Photo

Ernest Mandel speaking at January 14 London meeting.

WV Photo

Tim Wohlforth

WV Photo

Pierre Lambert

Opposing Healy Slanders, Suppressing Workers Democracy

London Meeting: Fake-Trotskyist Family Reunion

At a London meeting attended by some 1,500 people last Friday, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Lambert, Michel Pablo and representatives of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were to have shared the same platform for the first time in over 25 years. Behind the speakers was a banner proclaiming, "For Workers Democracy—Against Frame-Ups and Slanders," and the ostensible purpose of this reunion of renegades from Trotskyism was to condemn the outrageous accusation by Gerry Healy that SWP leaders Joe Hansen and George Novack were "accomplices of the GPU" in Stalin's 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky.

To be sure, Healy's disgusting slanders deserve nothing but utter contempt from revolutionists as they are manifestly absurd and groundless, and, moreover, serve to fuel the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was murdered by "one of his own." But the main purpose of the meeting's organizers lay elsewhere. Planned at an October 1976 session of the "United" Secretariat (USec), at the same time as an abortive pact was worked out between the USec and the French OCI (see "No Tango in Paris," *WV* No. 137, 10 December 1976), Friday's meeting provided a forum for the chieftains of the squabbling factions of competing revisionists masquerading as Trotskyists to publicly bury the hatchet.

Much of the meeting was an orgy of indignation against Healy and his Stalinist practices, from gangster attacks against other leftists to pernicious cop-baiting and character assassination. Healy richly deserves the harshest condemnation for his venomous slanders and thuggery, but the ex-Trotskyist dignitaries who use his travesty of anti-revisionism to justify their own maneuvers have little to boast about as partisans of workers democracy.

Starring in the role of "saved" sinner and prodigal son was former Healy lackey Tim Wohlforth. After a dozen years as servile Gauleiter of American Healyism, Wohlforth was blackjacked by his master (and perforce accused of harboring a suspected "CIA agent"). Wohlforth, now a book reviewer for the SWP's *Militant*, appealed for sympathy because of the trials and tribulations he and his companion Nancy Fields faced after being dumped by Healy ("no one knocked on our door"). In the process he inadvertently revealed his own moral cowardice and total unfitness to be a revolutionary leader.

According to Wohlforth, the "hardest thing that I ever said in my life" was to get up in a meeting with Healy and say that he "disagreed with the proceedings." But this "disagreement" was not sufficient to prevent him from voting ("against my convictions") for his own removal as head of the Workers League. By his own testimony, then, Wohlforth demonstrates that he would have stood in the front ranks of the capitulators to Stalin in the 1920's. If he cannot stand up to Healy's blustering, how could he have resisted the onslaught of Stalin, who had the full resources of state power at his command, or the pressures exerted by the bourgeoisie?

You Scratch My Back, I'll Scratch Yours

In the chummy atmosphere of a family reunion, the meeting also celebrated the "growth and vitality of the Fourth International." Mandel put it most clearly: the meeting was not called to refute Healy's vile frame-up, but "to defend the Fourth International through our solidarity with comrade Hansen and comrade Novack... because it needs defending."

The intervention by Lambert of the OCI—by far the most political of the evening—gently chided the USec majority for refusing to discuss with the OCI so long as the latter refused to characterize the Mandelites as "revolutionaries" (after all, he pointed out, terms such as "centrist" are a legitimate part of political debate among ostensible Marxists). But at the same time he abandoned the OCI's anti-Pabloist tradition and accepted the USec's ultimatum by several times pointedly referring to this gang of revisionists as "the Fourth International."

Lambert went out of his way to imply that the OCI had never considered the Socialist Workers Party as anything but revolutionary. He claimed that in 1963 when Healy characterized the SWP as centrist the OCI had rejected this label. This bald assertion cannot alter the fact that during the late 1960's and early 1970's the OCI referred to the SWP as "revisionist." Moreover, in 1962 Healy had split the Revolutionary Tendency (RT—predecessor of the Spartacist League/U.S.) of the SWP when the RT majority refused to sign his dictated statement avowing that the SWP was revolutionary and *not* centrist.

Mandel in his closing speech returned Lambert's compliment, stating that he must "give credit where credit is due" and praising the OCI for having played "an excellent, excellent leading role" in the campaign to free Leonid Plyushch and to defend other left dissidents in the Soviet Union. Referring to the liberation of Plyushch last February, Mandel assimilated the OCI to the USec by triumphantly proclaiming, "we got him out."

Michel Pablo, the dean of anti-Trotskyist revisionism, did not show up, no doubt to the secret relief of Mandel and Lambert, since Pablo no longer maintains any pretense of Trotskyism or adherence to the Fourth International and might therefore give the game away. His message read at the meeting was in many ways the frankest of all. He disparagingly referred to "this nasty quarrel" which was "symptomatic of a certain ideological decomposition in the movement of epigones, who have not succeeded in linking themselves up seriously with the natural movement of the class." But after denouncing the "exacerbated sectarianism of the sects," in the spirit of the evening he went on to propose "our common task" which was to "search with the utmost determination for what can unite us and not to divide ourselves." All that was necessary, said Pablo, was a "common program which corresponds to the current necessities."

The speakers wholeheartedly took up Pablo's admonition. Lambert declared that he did not wish to discuss "who was correct" in 1953, when Pablo caused the split and destruction of the Fourth International with his liquidationist program of "deep entrism" in the Stalinist and social-democratic mass reformist parties. Mandel, recalling Pablo's 1950's talk of a "new world reality" in which the Stalinists could no longer betray, discerned that "Eurocommunism" has introduced "new and tremendously vulnerable elements of division" into world Stalinism, which can have "fairly big effects in favor of Trotskyism." He therefore proposed that "all comrades present here, of all different tendencies, factions and organizations," undertake a "common political campaign" to "ask" the European Stalinists to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow trials," and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin! After all, "It can't hurt to ask?"!

Following hard on the USec's prostration before a new wave of popular-frontism in Europe and Latin America, Mandel is proposing a "broad front" of the "family of Trotskyism" to fight

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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CP Under Fire

Indira Gandhi Nods to Right Wing

JANUARY 15—Gaudy posters deifying Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi as the Hindu goddess Durga, "the savior of India," flutter over squalid and choked streets in Calcutta, where hundreds of thousands of emaciated pavement dwellers languish in living death.

Slogans hailing her rising son Sanjay Gandhi as "the helmsman of our new India" abound in New Delhi, where Muslims resisting forced sterilization or eviction from their hovels have been massacred by special police under the direction of "the helmsman."

Exhortations to "work hard, produce more, maintain discipline" bombard the destitute masses of India, where unemployment has become so acute that 200,000 people recently applied for a *single* menial job opening at a bank.

Despite the official façade of "order and progress" in "new India" the Congress Party government of Indira Gandhi has become increasingly isolated and unpopular since its imposition of the draconian "emergency" 18 months ago. Since that time, when Indira Gandhi invoked sweeping dictatorial powers to quell massive anti-government unrest across India and to cling to office following her conviction

The Economist

Sanjay Gandhi, center

on charges of corrupt electoral practices, the Congress government has jailed without trial some 100,000 to 200,000 political opponents of both the left and right, gagged the press with a rigid censorship, banned all so-called "anti-national" (i.e., anti-Gandhi) political activities and suppressed dozens of opposition parties, dissolved the two remaining non-Congress state governments (in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu), and launched its notorious forced sterilization campaign.

Several months ago Indira Gandhi took further steps toward unfettered police-state rule in an attempt to find a stable footing for her increasingly bonapartist regime. On November 2 the Lok Sabha (lower house of parliament) passed an omnibus package of constitutional amendments which in effect institutionalize the "emergency" powers wielded by Gandhi and the Congress-dominated parliament.

The following day parliament passed a proposal introduced by Gandhi to once again postpone the national elections, which were first postponed last February. Apparently Indira Gandhi was advised that at best Congress could hope to win only a razor-thin majority with 220-270 seats, more than a hundred less than its landslide majority of 1971. In fact, in the few local elections which have not been cancelled under the "emergency," Congress Party candidates have usually suffered stinging defeats.

At the same time, Gandhi recognizes that although severely crippled, the opposition has not been completely defeated. With the illness of populist leader Jaya Prakash Narayan and the collapse of his petty-bourgeois anti-corruption reform movement last year, the right-wing Hindu-communalist Jana Sangh (People's Party) has emerged as the leading force in the opposition. Unlike the smaller parliamentary parties, whose hopes were doused when the elections were postponed, the Jana Sangh has been able to organize its opposition on the basis of its extra-parliamentary, paramilitary wing (the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh).

Recently Gandhi has for the first time felt compelled to make at least gestures of accommodation toward the bourgeois opposition. Over the past several weeks the government has released from detention several prominent leaders of the Jana Sangh, the conservative Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's Party), the Tamil-separatist Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Federation), and the Congress Organization (the Congress bosses who split with Gandhi in 1969). In addition, Gandhi recently has released a number of Congress Party dissidents, notably former cabinet member Mohan Dharia and member of parliament Chandra Sekhar.

In late December leaders of these opposition parties held a three-day palaver to discuss opening a "dialogue" with Gandhi. Signaling their willingness to accomodate Gandhi these opposition parties coupled the call for an end to the "emergency" with a pledge to recognize certain government "restraints." In response, on December 23 Gandhi wrote to Congress Organization leader Ashok Mehta, released from jail last May after more than ten months detention, and stated that "it would not be impossible to find solutions to the problems between opposition and Government" (quoted in *New York Times*, 6 January 1977).

While holding the door of reconciliation ajar for its bourgeois opponents, the Gandhi regime meanwhile has intensified its repression against less pliant political opponents and the working-class movement. At the same time that prominent bourgeois politicians have been released the Gandhi regime began staging a show trial of George Fernandes, the head of the million-strong All-India Railwaymen's Federation and leader of the small reformist Socialist Party, who had organized underground opposition to Gandhi among the working class. Captured after a year-long manhunt by special police with shoot-to-kill orders, Fernandes along with 21 others has been charged with organizing a "deep-rooted criminal conspiracy having widespread ramifications to overawe" (!) the government (UPI dispatch, 24 September 1976).

Even more significant, however, the Gandhi regime has begun to lash out at the reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), which has been its only significant political ally since the imposition of the emergency. Early on the CPI stated, "The Communist Party of India has welcomed the declaration of Emergency and the firm measures taken by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi" (*World Marxist Review*, October 1975). Since then the CPI has staunchly supported the "emergency," even though the "firm measures" of Gandhi have included the banning of strikes and work actions, slashing by half the minimum annual bonus for workers, imposition of a general wage freeze, massive "slum clearance" which has driven workers from the hovels that were their only shelter, and torture of working-class militants under detention.

Gorgoni/Gamma

Gandhi supporters cheer the prime minister at Congress Party rally in New Delhi.

But as mass disillusionment and discontent with Gandhi's so-called "socio-economic revolution" increased, and especially after the constitutional amendment and postponement of national elections reduced Gandhi's need for parliamentary allies, the CPI last month finally ventured beyond its past occasional soft-spoken "criticism" of the government. In early December the CPI called for "more bold initiatives in order to mobilize the masses and democratic forces," while still supporting Gandhi and the "emergency" (*Daily World*, 4 December 1976). In particular, the CPI has directed most of its fire at the incompetent and venal Sanjay Gandhi, who has acted as the mouthpiece for sharp criticism of the CPI.

Congress Party poster in praise of the prime minister.

In response, on December 23 Indira Gandhi for the first time publicly attacked the CPI, lashing the Stalinists for criticizing Sanjay and for good measure raking up their betrayal of the Indian independence struggle during World War II. (Following the Kremlin dictate of allying with "democratic" Anglo-American imperialism against Japan and fascist Germany, the CPI did indeed treacherously collaborate with the British colonial rulers to sabotage and even suppress the mass upheaval which erupted in India in August 1942.) In addition, the Gandhi regime clamped a tight censorship on the pro-CPI journal *Mainstream*, a clear warning to the Stalinists.

When the Communist Party called for demonstrations on January 1 to protest inflation, the government gave the CPI a taste of its "firm measures": on the eve of the scheduled "Anti-Price Rise Day" some 70 CPI organizers were arrested in Uttar Pradesh. Although protesting the arrests of the CPI cadres (but not of the many thousands of other opponents of Gandhi), the CPI nevertheless rushed to reaffirm its so-called "critical [sic] support" for the "emergency" and the allegedly "progressive" Gandhi regime.

While the betrayal of the Stalinist CPI has been monumental, the other self-proclaimed socialist tendencies in India have also remained mired in abject reformism. The Socialist Party of George Fernandes has consistently played the role of fifth wheel for the opposition front led by the reactionary Jana Sangh, while the "left" Stalinist Communist Party of India (Marxist) has called for a multi-class "Democratic People's Front" limited to simpering pleas for the restoration of parliamentary "democracy."

The "emergency" in India has also put to the test the revolutionary pretensions of the Communist League of India (CLI), section of the factionally polarized fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). Although condemning the more draconian "emergency" measures (jailings, censorship, banning of left parties) and the role of the Stalinist CPI as left prop to the government, the centrist CLI took a dive on Gandhi's demagogic "20-point program," initially differentiating between the so-called "progressive" and "reactionary" demands. Last year the Hindi-language central organ of the CLI carried a three-part article on the "20-point program" which not only failed to raise the Transitional Program but also fostered the illusion that the working class could simply appropriate the "progressive" aspects of the program raised by Gandhi (in *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti* [Workers and Peasants Revolution] Nos. 3-5, February-March 1976).

However, at its fourth national conference held last June the CLI

sharply reversed its earlier position, denouncing any such "critical support" to the "20-point program" as "politically disorienting" and "to say the least, unprincipled" ("The Situation in India Since 26 June 1975"). But the revised line of the CLI on the "emergency" is no less reformist, inspired by the USec minority led by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the U.S.

Closely paraphrasing the SWP line on the Indian "emergency" the CLI political resolution adopted at the fourth national conference limits its political perspective and programmatic horizon simply to the call for the restoration of bourgeois-democratic rights in India. Not one anti-capitalist demand—not to mention the full Trotskyist Transitional Program—appears in this CLI tasks and perspectives document. The populist program of Jaya Prakash Narayan and his ill-starred Janata Morcha (People's Front) contained demands formally to the left of the CLI's social-democratic program on the "emergency"!

Nor is this liquidationism any momentary aberration by the League leadership. Following the conference the Kanpur local of the CLI (which publishes *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti*) launched a new English-language press, *Communist Commentary*. The first issue of *Communist Commentary* (1-16 October 1976) contained the first article in a series "The Struggle for Democra-

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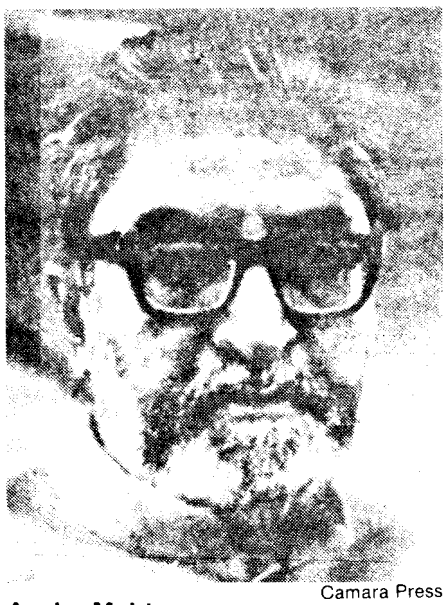
Laffont/Sygma

Jaya Prakash Narayan



Camara Press

Asoka Mehta

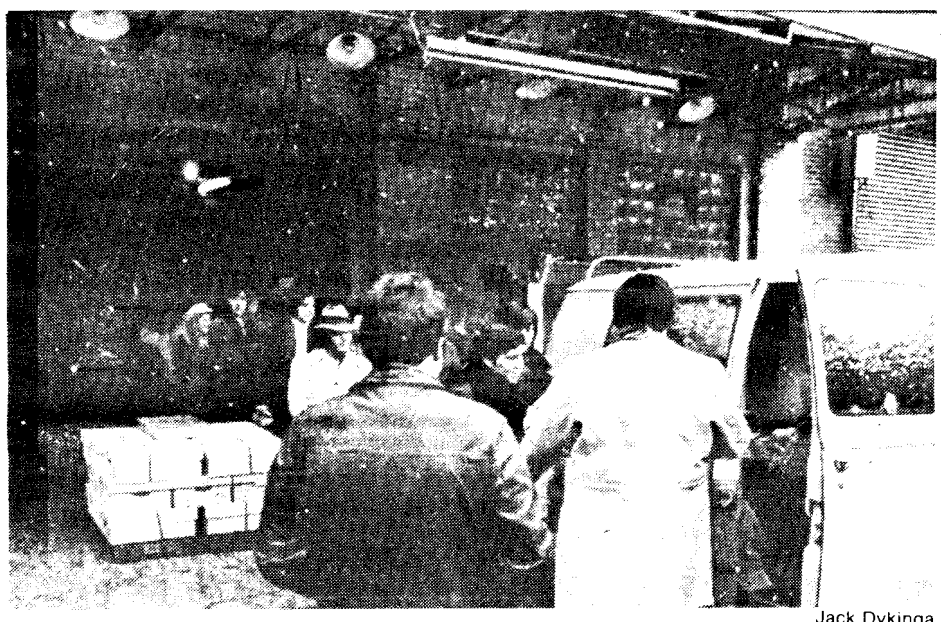
Der Spiegel

George Fernandes

Immigration Agents Raid ILWU Warehouses

OAKLAND—In a campaign to fan chauvinist hysteria, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has stepped up raids throughout California in search of "illegal aliens." Recently, since the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) leadership sabotaged last June's Bay Area warehouse strike, INS agents have been emboldened in searching ILWU shops, indiscriminately dragging off "suspects" and asking questions later.

Historically the ILWU has resisted attempts by Immigration officials to victimize foreign workers. Strong working-class traditions and a successful fight against the government's repeated attempts to deport Australian-born Harry Bridges (founder and International president of the union) gave the ILWU real backbone. But Bridges long ago made his peace with American capitalism, and in the recent elections gave official endorsement to racist Jimmy Carter without consulting the membership.



Jack Dykinga

INS roundup at Chicago plant

With the union politically prostrate before the capitalist parties and weakened on the industrial front through bureaucratic misleadership and downright giveaways, government/employer attacks are now taking their toll.

Late last year ILWU secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt added to the chorus of anti-foreigner hysteria by appealing to the U.S. International Trade Commission to reinstitute sugar quotas in order to "protect" the jobs of Hawaiian sugar workers in ILWU Local 142. With classical chauvinist arguments, Goldblatt warned November 30 that foreign producers employing cheap labor "endanger the existence of the domestic sugar industry" (*Dispatcher*, 3 December 1976).

In an interview with a spokesman for the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in ILWU Local 6, *WV* learned about recent INS raids in the warehouses. At the January East Bay stewards council meeting, the chief steward at Pabco Fiberboard in Emeryville reported that just that week Immigration agents had come to the plant looking for two of the workers by name. One of the men was not at work and the agents hauled off the other. The arrested union brother, who has legal status, was released only after his fellow workers made vigorous protests to the company and the INS. The well-deserved reputation for militancy earned by these workers during the June strike paid off.

At the meeting another steward, from Rathjen Liquors in Union City, related a similar incident from several weeks previously when INS agents had come to the plant with the names of two women workers. In 1975 Immigration officials arrested a union member on the job at the Folger's Coffee plant in South San Francisco, and two years ago the INS reportedly arrested two Mexican-born workers right in the parking lot of the Local 6 hiring hall!

In light of these dangerous probes by the Immigration Service, the Militant Caucus put forward the following motion at the stewards council meeting:

> "We recognize that the bosses seek to blame foreign-born workers for unemployment in order to prevent a united working-class fight for jobs. We oppose all attempts to deport foreign-born workers and stand ready to mobilize the union against any such raids involving ILWU members including if necessary union defense squads and strikes to stop the raids."

The Caucus correctly argues that if the union fails to protect its members on the job, even more widespread raids will be the next step. When faced with lightning Immigration raids it is urgent that the membership be rapidly and massively mobilized to thwart the INS' Gestapo-like actions. This must include preparations for a union flying squad which could be assembled on a few minutes' notice—particularly important in a Local with numerous small shops—and if necessary a resort to militant strike action.

At the stewards meeting a well-known supporter of Communist Party views, chief steward Joe Lindsay, predictably came to the rescue of the bureaucracy. Lindsay, who in last June's warehouse strike arranged for management to cross the picket lines at Golden Grain, mumbled some platitudes against deportations and then moved to strike out the section of the Militant Caucus motion referring to defense squads and strikes. In a typical Stalinist maneuver he proposed to rip the guts out of the motion and turn it into an empty paper resolution for *People's World* (the West Coast CP weekly). This shoddy trick passed by a narrow margin, but the fight against deportations has by no means stopped.

The INS is clearly gearing up for ever-bigger raids. In December the government announced it will soon start to issue new computerized ID cards for "legal" aliens to replace the traditional green cards. The new cards make use of the latest computer technology and military cryptography to enforce a South African-style passport system on immigrants: along with a photograph, the cards have encoded information about the individual which is stored in a central INS computer bank. The Immigration Service is also advertising a special telephone number in San Francisco which anyone can call to fink on supposedly "illegal aliens."

A new law, the Eilberg bill, signed by President Ford in October has widened the INS' legal powers to conduct raids. The bill significantly reduces the number of legal immigrants from Mexico and abolishes previous preferential treatment for parents of children born in the U.S. The Immigration Service is also attempting to hamstring various activists engaged in legal counseling on immigration laws, as in last April's INS raid on the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona. Four of the counselors at this community agency located in a Chicano ghetto were indicted on federal charges in October and others have been harassed. All union militants and defenders of democratic rights must demand that the charges against the Manzo defendants be immediately dropped!

While arresting more than 800,000 "illegal aliens" annually, most of them in California and the Southwest, deporting tens of thousands in air- and bus-lifts without permitting the victims recourse to legal counsel (and frequently expelling U.S. citizens who simply did not have their papers with them), officials of the hated "*migra*" are also implicated in smuggling rings bringing in "illegal" farm workers from Mexico. In 1972 the Justice Department was forced to mount an "investigation" of these and other charges of "narcotics trafficking, smuggling of guns, sexual abuse of women aliens" and other crimes. But though the inquiry ended in a whitewash, newspaper reports indicate that the widespread corruption continues.

The labor movement must counterattack against the increasing anti-alien chauvinist hysteria. Along with militant defense of their co-workers on the job, class-conscious workers must demand: Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families! Abolish the INS pass system—Stop the deportations! Against all protectionist trade legislation—For international working-class struggle! ■

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From Punta del Este to the Panama Canal

Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente

PART 1 OF 2

Of all the myths about Castro's Cuba, the most widespread is that of its supposedly revolutionary foreign policy. "Third World" cheerleaders in the New Left joined cold war liberals and McCarthyite conservatives in agreeing that Havana was exporting guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America. When confronted with evidence of suppression of socialist critics in Cuba, *fidelistas* dismiss this as nitpicking compared to Castro's "titanic" hemispheric battle against Yankee imperialist domination. Just remember "Che" Guevara's noble Bolivian mission! Think how Radio Havana, beaming nightly from the "First Free Territory of America," kept up the spirits of thousands of militants facing the most savage repression!

Among ostensible Trotskyists, this belief in a revolutionary internationalist commitment by the Cuban rulers was one of the bases for the formation of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), which proclaimed in its founding document:

> "The Cuban Revolution dealt a blow to the class-collaborationist policy of Stalinism in Latin America and other colonial countries. New currents, developing under the influence of the victory in Cuba, are groping their way to revolutionary socialism...."
>
> —"For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," March 1963

The orientation of the United Secretariat in Latin America was "the infusion of Troskyist concepts in this new Castroist current" ("Dynamics of World Revolution Today," adopted at the USec's founding congress, June 1963).

In recent years, however, the glitter has begun to wear off the heroic image of the Cuban revolution, and many former Castro enthusiasts have become disillusioned with their "*jefe máximo*." Particularly disturbing has been his penchant for courting nationalist generals, from the Peruvian junta to Panamanian dictator Torrijos, and Castro's explicit support for Brezhnevite policies of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In the early 1970's it became fashionable in certain "far-left" circles to hold a "private opinion" that something had gone awry in Cuba: bureaucratism was setting in and there had been a "right turn" in Castro's foreign policy.

There was no unanimity over the timing of the alleged turn. Some placed it at the time of Guevara's departure from Cuba, or else his murder in Bolivia, making the "heroic guerrilla" out to be the left conscience of the revolution. Others set the date at Castro's support for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, an action which deeply shocked many Latin American *fidelistas* who had seen Castroism as a left alternative to Moscow-line Stalinism. What the several explanations of the "right turn" have in common is a desire to avoid taking responsibility for Cuba's latest international gambits while not breaking fundamentally from Castroism.

Then late last year several thousand Cuban troops and army officers were dispatched to Angola to save the besieged MPLA from a South African-led imperialist power play. American president Ford hypocritically branded Castro an "international outlaw." In the U.S. the Marcyites tried to resuscitate a petty-bourgeois antiwar movement around political support for the MPLA and praise of Cuba's "courageous assistance" to liberation struggles the world over (*Workers World*, 30 January 1976). In Europe Livio Maitan, a leader of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," crowed that "Cuba's decisive commitment to a crucial anti-imperialist battle has few precedents in the history of past decades..." (*Inprecor*, 18 March 1976).

Maitan took the occasion to excoriate Castro's detractors and unnamed doubtists:

> "For some time there had been much talk of Cuba's desire to reach a compromise with the United States, and some people, falling into hasty impressionism, had drawn the conclusion that the Cuban leaders were prepared to pay a very high price for such a compromise. It is now clear, however, that they were not prepared to pay the price of renouncing their courageous attitude of internationalist solidarity.... The intervention in Angola confirmed it brilliantly.... whatever the particular tactical reasons for the intervention may have been, it remains exemplary testimony to revolutionary internationalism."

But this "revolutionary internationalism" was subordinate to the Kremlin's foreign policy aims, which in no way

Cheddi Jagan Daily World

ceased to be for global détente. In fact, at the same time as Cuban troops were fighting CIA-financed forces in Angola, Havana voters were approving a new constitution which wrote "peaceful coexistence" into the basic law of the country!

There have, of course, been some zigs and zags in Cuban foreign policy. In the early 1960's, Castro concentrated on a hapless search for diplomatic support from bourgeois nationalist Latin American regimes while from time to time offering to strike a modus vivendi with Uncle Sam. In the "heroic" period of 1964-67, *fidelista* policy in Latin America concentrated on promoting guerrillaism and castigating certain Latin American Communist parties for their illusions in a "peaceful road." Since then Havana has hewed more closely to the Moscow line. But despite periodic quantitative shifts, from the consolidation of a deformed workers state in late 1960 onwards, the Castro regime has followed a nationalist course based on the Stalinist illusion of building socialism on one island while courting at least the toleration of the imperialists.

Punta del Este

All those who yearn for the days when Guevara was riding high in Havana should be reminded that it was none other than "Che" who led the Cuban delegation to the 1961 Punta del Este (Uruguay) conference where the Castro regime made its first offer of hemispheric peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism. The conference itself had been set up to launch American president Kennedy's brainstorm of an "Alliance for Progress," whose aim was to isolate Cuba and thwart the chances of revolution in Latin America with a few million dollars in crumbs from the imperialist table.

It is well remembered that Guevara made a fiery two-hour speech at the August 1961 meetings, warning that American aid would not come without strings attached. What is not so frequently recalled is that he ended with an offer of détente:

> "We cannot promise that we will not export our example, as the United States asks us to because an example is a matter of spirit and a spiritual element can cross frontiers. But we will give our guarantee that no arms will be transported from Cuba to be used for fighting in any Latin American country."
>
> —quoted in John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (1965)

Right, Che Guevara at March 1964 press conference in Geneva

There is no doubt that the offer was sincere. After the conference, at an "unplanned social gathering" with top Kennedy aide Richard Goodwin in Montevideo, Guevara proposed a Cuba U.S. parley on reimbursing American interests for expropriated properties, in exchange for calling off the trade embargo.

Trotskyists do not oppose Cuba's efforts to break the U.S.-imposed economic blockade. On the contrary, we defend Cuba's right to trade with all nations, from the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states to those bourgeois regimes which maintain diplomatic relations with Havana.

During the early 1960's, this policy was reflected in Cuban support for Brazilian president Jânio Quadros and his successor João Goulart. As the pro-Cuban U.S. academic James Petras wrote:

> "Between 1959 and 1962 the Cuban leadership basically supported a broad spectrum of Latin political forces ranging from left-wing to moderate nationalist forces, including personages like Quadros of Brazil."
>
> in *Latin America: Reform or Revolution?* (1968)

In the spring of 1961 Cuban newspapers praised the Brazilian president for condemning the U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion and in August, when Guevara was on his way home from the Punta del Este conference, Quadros awarded the Cuban leader Brazil's highest decoration, the Southern Cross. This produced an uproar in which pro-American politicians and military leaders threatened to depose Quadros, who thereupon fled the country. Castro

SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE

IN CUBA

reactionary bourgeois dictatorships such as Franco's Spain in order to prevent economic strangulation. Revolutionary Russia under Lenin concluded trade agreements with England and Germany without in any way restricting the activities of the Communist International. As Trotsky wrote:

> "The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis, the safety of the workers state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution."
>
> —*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

But Castro's Cuba has built no Communist International, and it has on numerous occasions called on the proletariat to limit its struggle against

Castro with Nikita Khrushchev at 1964 Kremlin reception.

Prensa Latina

Former Brazilian presidents Goulart, left, and Quadros.

hailed Quadros as "one of the staunchest supporters of self-determination."

Just who was this great "progressive"? In actuality Quadros was an eccentric conservative believer in clean government and tight money. Pro-Cuban journalist Gerassi summarized the policies of this "maverick":

> "He thus clamped down hard on unions, sent federal troops to the Northeast hunger dens to squash protest rallies, jailed disobedient students, tightened credit, stopped most federal subsidies, fired government featherbedders, and devalued the cruzeiro almost to its free market level."
>
> *Op. cit.*

In this case the Castro regime was unable to develop extensive relations because Quadros was forced to depart under fire so suddenly.

Quadros was succeeded by his vice president, Goulart, who trod a cautious path between left and right by conducting a relatively independent foreign policy while knuckling under to the landowners and industrialists at home. Himself a millionaire latifundista, Goulart headed the bourgeois populist Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) and needed to cultivate a "left" image in order to appear as the ally of the rapidly expanding workers and peasants movements. His reputation as a "firm friend" of Cuba aided this demagogy.

Maintaining state-to-state relations does not require fostering illusions about "progressive" landowners, and the internationalist leadership of a revolutionary workers state would seek to aid the development of protest movements by the exploited into a powerful offensive against capitalist rule. There were certainly revolutionary opportunities at this time in Brazil, where a large and diverse peasant movement was exploding in the Northeast, led by the Communist Party, Catholic clergy and above all by the pro-Cuban Socialist politician Francisco Julião.

Castro was in close touch with this movement through Julião, whose trips to Cuba were so frequent that some of his opponents spoke of a "shuttle" between Havana and Brazil's Northeast. But the politics which Julião infused in the peasants movement were hardly revolutionary. He refused to expand into the coastal plantation zones and link up with agricultural workers and the urban labor movement; and politically his influence rested on an alliance with the PTB state governor of Pernambuco, Miguel Arraes. Significantly, a former organizer of the Northeastern peasant leagues wrote of the frustration of plans for guerrilla activity (which Julião opposed):

> "It appears that in addition to other factors, the existence of friendly diplomatic relations between the Cuban and Brazilian governments was closely related to the failure of the military scheme of the Peasant Leagues. The maintenance of diplomatic relations between the two countries prevented the Cubans from giving open support to the League's guerrilla activities. Some Cuban elements even advised the Leagues to move closer to Presidents Quadros and Goulart."
>
> Clodomir Moraes, "Peasant Leagues in Brazil," in Rodolfo Stavenhagen, ed., *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America* (1970)

As for Goulart's left-wing reputation—assiduously fostered by the U.S., which (it is now revealed) was preparing a sizable naval/troop intervention in Brazil on the scale carried out in Santo Domingo a year later—his most "radical" measure was a land reform announced two weeks before being ousted as president. This timid decree, never implemented, called only for dividing up large estates "bordering highways, railroads and water reservoirs" (!), to be compensated with government bonds (Goulart speech to a mass workers rally in Rio de Janeiro, 13 January 1964; quoted in *Hispanic-American Report*, May 1964).

Frustrated Search for Détente

Brazil was the most notable of Castro's attempts to form political alliances with left-talking bourgeois-nationalist politicians and governments. Cuba also maintained close relations with Guyanese prime minister Cheddi Jagan, whose East Indian-based Progressive People's Party was thrown out of office following a CIA-engineered strike by black supporters of Jagan's rival, Forbes Burnham. Another bourgeois politician favored by Castro was former Ecuadorian minister Manuel Araujo, who was dropped by aging populist demagogue president Velasco Ibarra after a CIA-instigated campaign of student demonstrations against Araujo's pro-Cuban policies.

A good example of Cuban foreign policy during this period was Castro's reaction to being expelled from the Organization of American States in January 1962. Best remembered is Castro's "Second Declaration of Havana" in which he dismissed the OAS as a veritable "Yankee ministry of colonies," declared that in Latin America "the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle" and denounced those who talk of uprooting the ruling class by legal means.

Less remarked upon is the fact that the Declaration called for unity with "the most progressive layers of the national bourgeoisie." What this meant in practice could be seen in Castro's "challenge" to the OAS: an "Assembly of the Peoples" held concurrently with the Punta del Este meeting and called by ten prominent Latin American "progressive" politicians, including former Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas, future Chilean president Salvador Allende, Julião and Araujo.

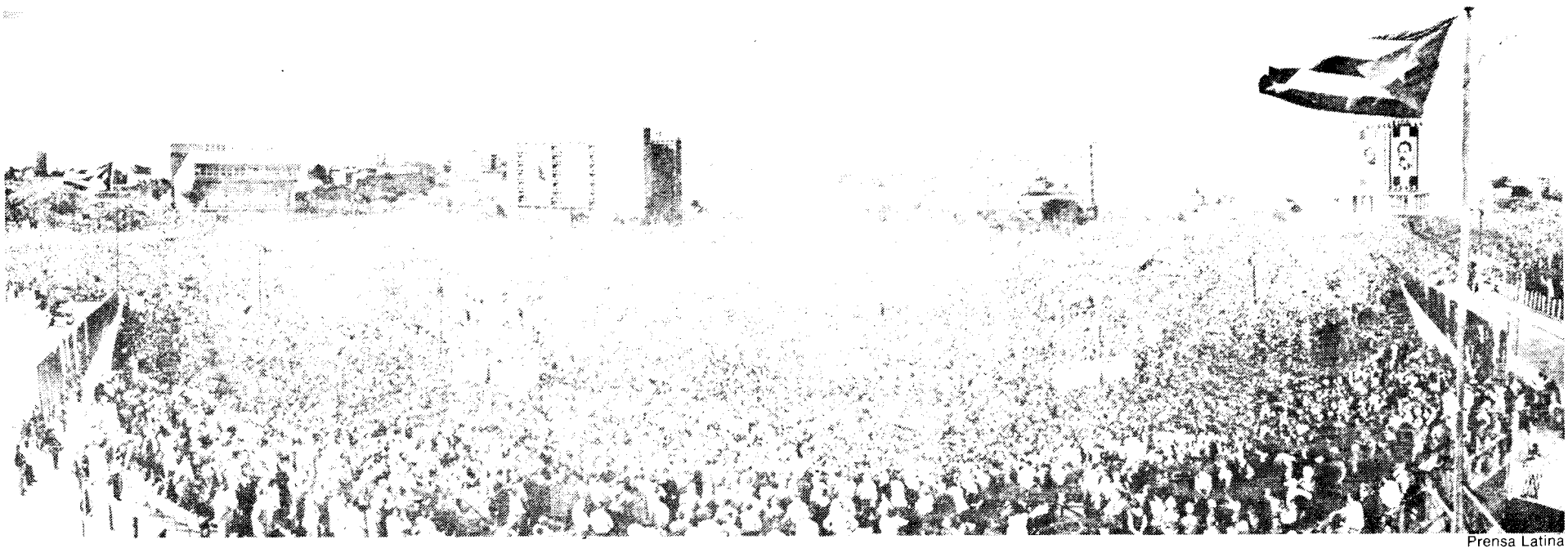
The reward Castro reaped for his attempt to curry favor with "the most progressive layers of the national bourgeoisie" was meager indeed. Again Brazil was the archetype: at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, the Goulart government voted in the OAS to *support* the American naval blockade as an act of "legitimate self-defense." Even Goulart's left-posturing brother-in-law, Governor Leonel Brizola of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, condemned the Russian delivery of missiles to the Castro regime as "tak[ing] advantage of the struggle of the Cuban people" and declared his opposition to "Cuba's transformation into a satellite of the Soviet Union" (quoted in *Hispanic-American Report*, January 1963).

On 31 March 1964, Cuba's "firm friend" Goulart was ousted in a military revolt obviously planned and executed in close cooperation with Washington. It took Castro until May Day to issue a public comment on the reactionary Brazil coup, yet only two days after it occurred he renewed offers of U.S.-Cuban détente. The occasion was an interview in which the Cuban prime minister uncritically praised Senator J. W. Fulbright's March 25 speech on "myths and realities of U.S. foreign policy." Castro commented:

> "Senator Fulbright said that Cuba could be tolerated as something unpleasant... but was not a danger to the United States. This is not only essentially true but it could be added that Cuba will be much less unpleasant in the same degree that Cuba is respected and left in peace."
>
> —*New York Times*, 3 April 1964

Guevara also praised the speech of the

continued on page 10



Prensa Latina

Crowd hears Fidel read "Second Declaration of Havana" in 1962.

London Meeting...

(continued from page 3)

"what *remains* [his emphasis] of the poison of Stalinism today in the working-class movement, in the Communist parties and the trade-union organizations" in Europe. As the Stalinists seek to prove their reliability to the imperialist bourgeoisies, in classic Pabloist fashion Mandel capitulates to their talk of classless "democracy" rather than exposing its pro-capitalist essence. Is he preparing for entrism in the "Eurocommunist" parties?

Workers Democracy or Bureaucratic Suppression?

Any remaining doubts concerning the real purpose of the meeting were dispelled after the scheduled speakers had finished. As chairman Tariq Ali was announcing the end of the proceedings, Gerry Healy rose from the audience and demanded speaking time to answer the chorus of attackers. All serious defenders of workers democracy—purportedly the central theme of the meeting—would have wanted Healy to speak, but Ali, with the practised sleight-of-hand of union bureaucrats and shell game operators, called for an immediate vote amidst the uproar, then declared that "workers democracy" had upheld him. As Healy continued to protest, with considerable support among the audience, the chair demagogically silenced him by bursting into the *Internationale* to close the meeting.

This outrageous violation of elementary workers democracy—at a meeting allegedly called precisely in order to defend it—again exposes the USec's rotten bureaucratic maneuvers. Moreover, it is only because the decomposition of the "United" Secretariat has reached such a point that it barely exists that this meeting was held at all. Today Mandel and Lambert exchange compliments on the podium and defend the integrity of Hansen and Novack; but when the SWP first sought statements denouncing Healy's slanders a year and a half ago, it took Mandel & Co. quite a while before coming up with a statement.

None of the organizers of this meeting are true defenders of workers democracy or of the Fourth International. The OCI systematically uses thug violence against its ostensibly Trotskyist opponents on the left. Pablo and his acolytes (today the Mandelite USec majority) refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed by Mao in 1949-51, slandering them as "refugees from a revolution" for their courageous defense of proletarian democracy against the bureaucratic Stalinist regime. As for the SWP, it responded to Castro's jailing of the Cuban Trotskyists by remarking, in the words of Barry Sheppard, now SWP national secretary, "There are Trotskyists and there are Trotskyists. But if I were in Cuba, I wouldn't be arrested."

While the USec and OCI use Healy's despicable slanders as a convenient excuse for a reunion of the "family" of ex-Trotskyists, the international Spartacist tendency insisted that a genuine and principled programmatic regroupment of authentic Trotskyists can come about only through hard, open debate. A leaflet distributed at the meeting by the London Spartacist Group co-signed by the iSt, the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile and the Trotskyist Faction (expelled) of the German Spartacusbund pointed out that "The real political issues which place all these squabbling slander-mongering, violence-prone elements at one pole and the iSt at the other are currently posed by two decisive considerations: the popular front and the Fourth International."

Exposing the speakers' false pretensions to defending workers democracy, the leaflet explained that behind this lay their capitulation to reformist programs of class collaboration. It concluded, "without the struggle to create a programmatically united and disciplined Fourth International the workers are left to wander into the new traps of capital...with the assistance of their revisionist would-be 'leaders'." Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

State Butchers Gilmore...

(continued from page 1)

utterance. But the bourgeois press was not so eager to publicize the words of Bartolomeo Vanzetti: "I am and will remain to the death for the emancipation of the working class." It did not find so titillating the political opinions of this class-war martyr who faced his judge saying, "You are the one that is afraid. You are the one that is shrinking with fear, because you are the one that is guilty of attempt to murder."

Gary Gilmore is far from the first corpse claimed by U.S. capitalism in the last decade. On the contrary, U.S. imperialism is accustomed to killing its perceived enemies with numbing regularity on a scale never before imagined. The same year in which capital punishment was temporarily halted, 1967, marked a dramatic escalation of U.S. "saturation" bombing in Vietnam. The mad killings of a Gary Gilmore pale in comparison to the calculated holocaust unleashed by a Nixon, Johnson or Kissinger.

The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life. And the bourgeois "public opinion" which today approves of the death penalty out of fear of spreading crime will soon find that state executions result in more crime and not less.

With Gilmore dead and buried the cops, courts and capitalist politicians hope it will be easier the next time. It need not be so. But the hangmen and firing squads will not be eliminated through civil libertarian reforms. Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism.

As we wrote last year:

> "In the epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeoisie and its institutions cannot protect society. They have passed over into the camp of naked reaction and must be smashed by the revolutionary proletariat, the only social force which can establish a world social system based on order, peace and justice."
>
> —"Abolish the Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976

FORUM—

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

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Central Committee,
Spartacist League/U.S.

Date: Sat., 29 January 1977

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NEW YORK

Milt Rosen's Latest "Self-Criticism"

PL: Zigging and Zagging on the Reformist Road

The 14 October issue of *Challenge* carried a lengthy report from the National Committee of Progressive Labor Party (PL) which effectively discredits the entire history of PL's political work, particularly within the trade unions. "To avoid adventurism," the incredible "soul-baring" self-criticism runs, "we opted for opportunism and downplaying the open Party role at the expense of avoiding sectarianism (and getting fired immediately)." Although the report, entitled "Reform and Revolution," attempts to excuse past betrayals as a question of mistaken *emphasis*—i.e., too much emphasis on reform, too little on revolution—it is clear that these betrayals have flowed and will continue to flow from PL's program and that, despite periodic self-criticism purification rituals, it has learned nothing from the past.

In the absence of the Trotskyist transitional program—bridging the gap between the immediate needs of the working class and the proletarian revolution which alone can meet those needs—PL can only vacillate between reformist belly-crawling and empty revolutionary slogans, between left turns and right turns, between minimum program and maximum program, between opportunism and adventurism. The article's attempt to explain the connection between reform and revolution is confused and contradictory, claiming at one point that they are counterposed, at another that they are united and finally, in traditional Maoist doubletalk, that, as in every contradiction, "there is a primary aspect and a secondary aspect" and PL should pay a little more attention to the former.

PL's history has been marked by dramatic turns and line changes, each promising instant success. Starting out as a left-Stalinist movement in 1963, the organization went through a Maoist period, then broke empirically to the left over the national question and the stages "theory" of revolution. Subsequently, as we noted in "PL: Road to Oblivion" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 16, February 1973): "PL elaborated its break from Maoism into a full-scale flight from Leninism toward syndicalism and sterile ultra-leftism," represented by the appearance of "Road to Revolution III" in 1972. Then, demoralized by the failure of this leftist phase, it engaged in a deep plunge to the right with the building of the reformist Workers Action Movement (WAM), which lifted the demand of 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay from the Transitional Program and advanced it, out of its revolutionary context, as a reformist panacea (even trying to vote it in through local referenda).

In 1973 the Spartacist League predicted that "a right turn of such proportions is bound to result in demoralization when it fails to bring the expected masses of recruits." And, indeed, it is the profound demoralization within PL's ranks which appears to have motivated the appearance of this latest and most severe of PL's numerous self-criticisms. A recent article in *Challenge* ("Lenin's April Theses," 25 November 1976) begins:

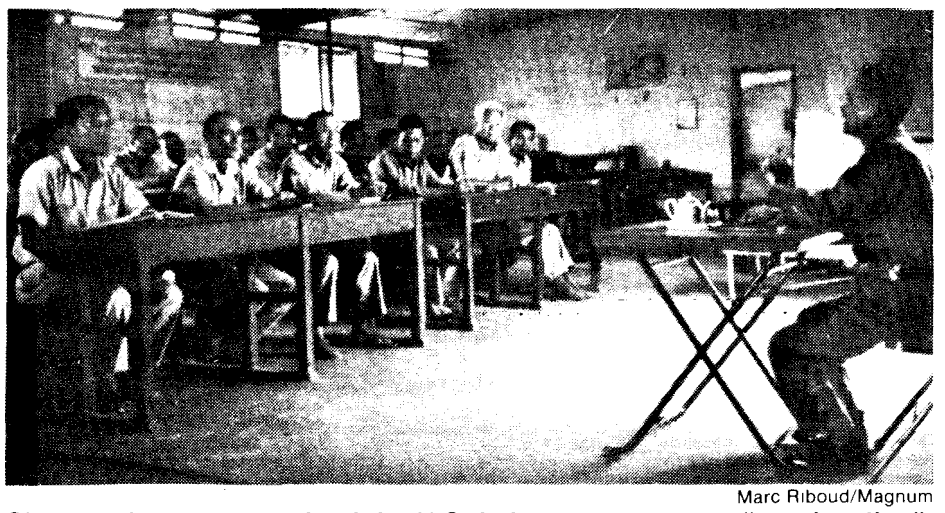
> "Many *Challenge* readers, PL members, and friends do not believe in the possibility of revolution in our lifetime. Since state power resides in the claws of the bosses today, many of us believe that is how it will always remain."

But PL's leadership is no less demoralized than its rank and file. Fifteen years of spaghetti dinners and softball games; ordering its members to marry and have babies "because the workers do"; "uniting the many" on the most sub-reformist demands (rubber mats in campus cafeterias); and obsequiously tailing after reformist trade-union bureaucrats have failed to "build a base in the working class." However, it seems they have succeeded in recruiting a number of members on a reformist basis—members who now want to quit. Too late, PL's leadership has discovered that:

> "The further danger of recruiting people on a militant reform line is that once the ruling class succeeds in reversing the gains won through the militant reform, once the first dip in the reform struggle comes along, this new recruit winds up leaving the Party.... But, if we have already recruited people on a reform basis, we shouldn't now ask them to leave; we should attempt to *consolidate them on the basis of revolutionary ideas and struggle*."

Lacking a revolutionary program around which to consolidate its demoralized reformist members, the PL leadership is desperately attempting to halt the exodus and infuse life into the moribund organization through left-sounding rhetoric combined with crisis-mongering about the imminence of fascism and nuclear war.

The report ends with warnings against its misinterpretation, the first being: "thinking...that this report represents no change at all from our previous line." It's easy to see how a seasoned PLer might conclude that the latest fillip is just "more of the same" from Milt Rosen's bag of petty-bourgeois moralizing and guilt-tripping. An identical earlier attempt to boost sagging morale was Rosen's 1972 speech ("The Struggle for Socialism—A Matter of Life and Death," *PL*, January 1973) in which he accused PL members of thinking such thoughts as "I'm bored," "workers are rotten," "we can't win" and "it is possible that we will not live to see socialism in our country." After concluding that they were defeatist and hated the workers, PL members were expected to go right on zigging and zagging down the road to oblivion. After a period of agonized centrist contradictions and a headlong reformist plunge, PL is very near to the end. ■



Marc Riboud/Magnum

Class for former generals of the U.S.-led puppet army at a "re-education" center in South Vietnam.

Liberal Peaceniks Fuel Reactionary Anti-Vietnam Campaign

Late last month a group of 110 "peace movement leaders" made public a "confidential" letter to the government of Vietnam. "More in sorrow than in anger," as the Rev. Richard Neuhaus (a founder of Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam) put it, the letter criticized "grievous and systematic violations of human rights" and cited reports that some 300,000 Vietnamese are still being held in "re-education" camps.

For Trotskyists the repressive nature of the Stalinist regime in Hanoi comes as no surprise; nevertheless we greeted the overthrow of capitalist rule when NLF/DRV troops toppled the puppet Thieu dictatorship in the South. In contrast, behind the "confidential" letter's talk of "human rights" is the concern of the right wing of the defunct peace movement to demonstrate its "responsiblity"—i.e., its fundamental loyalty to "democratic" U.S. imperialism.

In a language of soul-searching religious "witness," the authors of the letter pose as naive individuals who have suddenly discovered that the Vietnamese government is not based on love:

> "... the actions of your government constitute a great disappointment to all those who expected not the 'bloodbath' so eagerly predicted by the American White House but rather an example of reconciliation built on tolerance.
> "We voice our protest in the hope that your government can avoid repetition of the tragic historical pattern in which liberators gain power only to impose a new oppression."

Who are these "concerned friends of the Vietnamese people" so piously bemoaning their disenchantment? A look at the list of signatories reveals some key liberal anti-communist brain-trusters, like Roger Baldwin, listed as honorary chairman of the "International League for Human Rights" which called the December 29 press conference. Baldwin achieved fame by his behind-the-scenes engineering of the late 1930's anti-Communist purge of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) board of directors.

Other notables included Sanford Gottlieb, the executive director of SANE, notorious for its anti-communist machinations at the October 1965 New York "peace" parade and its demand of "all foreign troops" out of South Vietnam, which accepted LBJ's contention that the North Vietnamese were aggressors invading the South. A host of clergymen and "personalities" also signed the appeal, including the Berrigan brothers, Daniel Ellsberg, Joan Baez and Allen Ginsberg, along with liberal politicians Paul O'Dwyer and Donald Fraser.

Using "I was a commie dupe" rhetoric with a familiar cold-war ring, James Forest, chairman of the Catholic Peace Fellowship during the Vietnam War years and one of the initiators of the "confidential" letter, claimed at the press conference that his experiences with the Hanoi bureaucracy had left him "sadder but wiser." He earlier told a reporter from the *Washington Star* (16 December) that those who still defended Vietnam were acting out of "militant naiveté" and had been sadly misled because of their "almost religious faith in wanting something they can respect ... and the farther away it is the more they can admire it."

Another of the participants in the press conference, former State Department official Theodore Jacqueney, was the source of a 17 September *New York Times* article alleging extensive "violations of human rights" in Vietnam. Jacqueney had worked in the CIA-directed "pacification" program and acted as an adviser to the mayor of Danang, South Vietnam's second-largest city. His tactical falling out with the U.S. military command was based on his belief that Thieu was doomed and more reputable anti-communists could have maintained capitalism in Indochina.

In the midst of the massive imperialist carnage of the 1960's it was difficult for the liberal cold-warriors to mount an anti-communist mobilization. Students for a Democratic Society slipped from social-democratic control and SANE was quickly displaced from the leadership of the "antiwar community." However, following the demise of the "peace movement," "doves" among the bourgeois intelligentsia are seeking to use the bourgeois-defeatist common denominator of the "peace movement" (expressed in the McCarthy/McGovern presidential campaigns) to reaffirm their "free world" credentials.

In this effort they have been greatly aided by the classless, civil-libertarian defense activities of reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who call for freeing "all political prisoners." In fact, at the December 29 press conference Rep. Edward Koch, the Manhattan reform Democrat, proposed a prisoner exchange such as the Corvalán-Bukovsky swap currently being hailed by liberals in order to equate Chile and the Soviet Union as "totalitarian dictatorships."

To their credit, several of the initial

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London Spartacist Forum on Women's Liberation

Nearly forty people—including representatives of at least five ostensibly revolutionary organizations—attended a London Spartacist Group forum on December 3 entitled "Marxism Against Feminism—Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." The speaker was Helene Brosius, editorial board member of the Spartacist League/U.S. journal *Women and Revolution*, and a leading spokesman of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).

Comrade Brosius began with an analysis of the emergence of the contemporary feminist movement as an outgrowth of petty-bourgeois New Leftism and presented the fundamental premises of Leninism with regard to the woman question: on the one hand, recognition of the special oppression of women and the need for special forms of work among women and special bodies *within the revolutionary organization* to carry out this work; on the other, the insistence that there is only *one* solution to this oppression—the seizure of power by the working class. "The revolutionary program on the woman question," said Brosius, "encompasses the revolutionary program of Leninism itself and is not separate from that and cannot be separate from that. The program is therefore the program of the whole party; the task is therefore the task of the whole party."

The speaker also discussed the historical development of the conflict between Marxism and feminism. Feminism, because it takes sex as the dividing line in society, is class-collaborationist in essence, she explained. She went on to illustrate the class-struggle approach to women's liberation with the experiences of principled oppositional caucuses within the American telephone and automobile unions. These caucuses, which the Spartacist League politically supports, have consistently intervened around immediate questions of women's oppression, such as discrimination in hiring, training and promotion, and broader trade-union issues such as impending layoffs. But where various opportunists pander to feminism with such schemes as "super-seniority" for women workers (meaning "preferential *layoffs*" [redundancies] for their male co-workers), these caucuses have fought for a program of united class struggle to achieve jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and strikes against layoffs. In contrast to reformists of various stripes, they have always explicitly linked these immediate struggles with the need to smash the capitalist system.

In the discussion period, the points of view argued for by speakers from the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), Workers Power (a recent split from the International-Communist League) and the International Marxist Group (IMG) contrasted sharply with that of the speaker. While differing among themselves to a degree, these groups all denied that it was the task of revolutionaries to *split* the women's movement along class lines by intervening with a revolutionary program, and they all asserted that the Bolshevik approach of the iSt was "sectarian," "ultimatistic" or "brushing aside the special oppression of women."

A leading member of the RCG, which has recently undergone a deep split, confirmed once more what the London Spartacist Group has insisted for some time—that behind the "orthodox" phrases of the RCG's occasional theoretical journal lurks an appetite to tail after struggles in the most unoriginal opportunist fashion. Thus, she insisted that women could not be organized around a revolutionary program but only "a part of the main program," and that there is a problem specific to women "*as opposed to* the question facing the working class as a whole—the seizure of state power." Comrade Brosius replied curtly that "there is only one program."

The intervention of the comrade from the equally opportunist IMG emphasized the need to "help along" the women's movement so that it could be an "objectively revolutionary force." He counterposed to the "sectarian purism" of the iSt the IMG's strategy of trying to lead struggles *without* changing reformist consciousness.

An unaffiliated British leftist answered the RCG and IMG criticisms by saying, "It seems to me that what the SL are being accused of doing is actually going to women on the basis of the transitional program. Now if that is the accusation that's being made—great!... That's what it's all about: it's a struggle for program, comrades."

The spokesmen for Workers Power insisted that groups like the British Working Women's Charter and various "rank-and-file" formations were, in fact, united fronts in which revolutionists should slowly and over time raise aspects of the transitional program.

Supporters of the iSt pointed out that in reality these "united fronts" were long-term, on-going blocs for propaganda in which fake-revolutionists pretended to be "just folks" in order to give the impression of mass influence. This has been well illustrated in the U.S. by the example of the now defunct Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The example of CLUW was also cited by a member of the audience who had recently left the International Socialists in the U.S. and who was sharply critical of the illusions which various left groups (other than the Spartacist League) had built in CLUW.

Spartacist supporters emphasized that revolutionists seek to participate actively in struggles against oppression and to intervene with a revolutionary perspective even in these fake mass formations. But we do not believe that consciousness can be changed on the sly, nor do we try to substitute these propaganda blocs for the tasks of the party, as Workers Power proposes. Why, asked one Spartacist speaker, should revolutionaries want to organize around a "minimum" program which will so easily be inherited by other class forces?

The vigorous debate provided vivid examples of how fake-Trotskyists recoil from the struggle for the full transitional program. The London Spartacist Group looks forward to further such debates as a valuable part of the creation of the British section of the iSt. And the Spartacist tendency will continue to fight those who adapt to feminism, because, in the words of the Communist International, such "non-sectarian" methods as the revisionists propose succeed only in "delaying thereby the triumph of the social revolution and the advent of Communism, and thus also postponing the great hour of women's ultimate liberation."■

Castro...

(continued from page 7)

"courageous" head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (who during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis had urged invasion of the island).

Just what did Fulbright say that so shocked his colleagues and warmed the hearts of Castro and Guevara? He called for a "candid re-evaluation of our Cuban policy," declaring that "the boycott policy is a failure" and urging that the trade embargo be abandoned. However, the senator added:

> "Cuban Communism does pose a grave threat to other Latin American countries, but this threat can be dealt with, by the prompt and vigorous use of the established procedures of the inter-American system against any act of aggression."
>
> *New York Times*, 26 March 1964

Quadros, Goulart, Jagan and Araujo had already had bitter experiences with these "established procedures," but apparently Castro and "Che" hadn't figured them out yet!

In an interview that summer, Castro went even further, reiterating Guevara's offer at Punta del Este to withhold material aid from Latin American revolutionaries in exchange for U.S. agreement to stop trying to overthrow the Cuban government:

> "If they [the United States] are ready to live with us in subjection to norms, then we would feel the same obligation....
> "If Cuba should finance a revolution against a government that respects her, it would be a violation of the norm."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 July 1964

The interviewer said Castro was ready to ban both arms supply and economic aid to pro-Cuban insurgents, adding that "European Communist sources here insist that such aid has stopped entirely or almost entirely since the beginning of the year."

And those who seek to contrast the "revolutionary" Guevara to the "compromising" Castro should consult the speech by "Che" at the United Nations General Assembly in December 1964, where he stated that for Cuba the most important problem for the UN to deal with was "peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems." He bemoaned the fact that U.S. imperialism, while seemingly capable of coexisting with the Soviet Union, could not seem to keep its hands off the smaller states in Latin America. "Today, the kind of peaceful coexistence to which we aspire has, in many instances, failed to materialize" (*Che: Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara* [1969]).

Stalinist Guerrillaism versus Workers Insurrection

But Castro's repeated bids for a modus vivendi with Yankee imperialism were curtly rejected. U.S. leaders continued to regard the Caribbean as an American lake and agreed with the professional anti-Communist pundit Theodore Draper that, "if there is one place in the world where Communism can be 'reversible,' it is Cuba" (*Castroism: Theory and Practice* [1965]). Rebuffed by the State Department on every count and seeing its Latin American bourgeois "friends" being toppled one by one in CIA-inspired coups, the Cuban regime made a quarter turn to the left but without altering its fundamental *nationalist* policies, characteristic of all Stalinist-ruled states.

During 1965 Castroite rural guerrilla struggles were initiated in Colombia (January) and Peru (June). In Guatemala, Luis Augusto Turcios Lima split from Yon Sosa's MR-13 (Revolutionary Movement of November 13) guerrilla front to form the FAR (Rebel Armed Forces), which had a Guevarist program and close links to Cuba. Also in 1965 the Venezuelan FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) led by Douglas Bravo rebelled against an attempt by the Communist Party leadership to call off guerrilla actions. Previously, several dozen pro-Cuban groups had sprung up around Latin America, generally without any ties to Havana, while Guevara's advocacy of the Cuban model ("Cuba: Exceptional Case or Vanguard in the Struggle Against Colonialism?", April 1961; and "Guerrilla Warfare: A Method," September 1963) remained largely in the realm of intellectual admonishing. Now, however, in a series of countries there existed more or less official Castroite guerrilla "armies" whose success or failure would directly involve the international standing of the Cuban regime.

In retrospect, various "critical Castroites" have seen 1965 as the beginning of a heroic period in Cuba's international policies. Castroism emerged as a left contender against the pro-Moscow CP's. Regis Debray, an authorized mouthpiece for the Cuban leader's views, denounced the "frank hostility to armed struggle revealed by the leaderships of several Latin American communist parties (Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Brazil)" ("Latin America: The Long March," *New Left Review*, September-October 1965) and explicitly criticized the 20th congress of the CPSU which "led the CPs to take the line of 'national democracy', of 'United Front with the Bourgeoisie'" ("Problems of Revolutionary Strategy in Latin America," *New Left Review*, September-October 1967).

While the period 1965-68 did, to a degree, see a more militant international policy by the Castro regime—the result of its diplomatic isolation in Latin America—there was no fundamental shift of its narrow nationalist orientation. For one thing, Cuba obediently toed the line whenever the Kremlin put its foot down. In January 1964 Castro issued a joint communiqué with Khrushchev in Moscow, hailing the nuclear test ban treaty and condemning "factionalist and sectarian activity in the ranks of the Communist and workers parties"—a clear slap at China. Again in March 1965 Castro obliquely warned the Chinese against "Byzantine battles" (following Cuba's participation in the Moscow meeting called by Khrushchev to read China out of the "socialist camp"); and in January 1966, on the eve of the Tricontinental Congress in Havana, Castro dramatically condemned China for halving its rice deliveries to Cuba.

Moreover, at the beginning at least, a number of pro-Moscow CP's went along with cautious references to (and even limited applications of) "armed struggle." A meeting of Latin American Communist parties in Havana in late 1964 agreed to "actively aid" fighters in Venezuela, Guatemala and elsewhere; many of the participants at the Tricontinental were from Moscow-line Stalinist parties. This should not be so surprising, since Stalin himself was hardly a pacifist. In fact, virtually every one of the pro-Cuban guerrilla groups at one point or another had (or sought) close relations with the "official" CP. The Venezuelan FALN was originally subordinate to a political command dominated by the Communist Party; the Guatemalan FAR was led by a central committee member of the pro-Moscow party and maintained formal ties with it until 1967; and the Colombian ELN (National Liberation Army) during the early months of its existence repeatedly sought to form a unified military command with the CP's guerrilla group (see Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America* [1972]).

Equally important in judging the extent of Castro's "left" phase in the mid-1960's is the fact that the Cuban regime did not lift a finger to aid genuine mass struggles against U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction. A good example was the Panamanian student protest against American control of the Canal Zone which broke out in January 1964. As an anti-communist academic source (who could be expected to discover Castroite subversion behind every leftist demonstration) reported: "[Castro's] reaction to the riots was restricted to an announcement that his government was ready to set up, in conjunction with the other Latin American nations, a common fund to assist the Panamanians" (Andrés Suárez, *Cuba: Castroism and Communism, 1959-1966*).

An even more explosive struggle, where the Cuban regime could have given real content to Guevara's call to create "two, three, many Vietnams" in Latin America, was the Santo Domingo uprising of April-May 1965. Though it was under bourgeois leadership—the PRD (Revolutionary Dominican Party) of Juan Bosch—the "Constitutionalist" forces were made up of thousands of urban workers and a section of the army that had rebelled against the reactionary high command. The masses were seething with desire to do away with every vestige and every accomplice of the hated Trujillo dictatorship (i.e., virtually the entire state apparatus and most of the stunted bourgeoisie); the revolutionary possibilities were obvious.

The imperialist U.S. rulers, of course, in order to justify the Marine invasion alleged that the rising was a Castroite plot. The FBI produced its famous list of "57 leading communists" (many of whom were dead, out of the country or in jail). In fact, the opposite was the case: as we pointed out, "The Cuban leadership, and its main spokesman, Fidel Castro, failed to effectively aid the Dominican uprising" (*Spartacist*, September-October 1966). This is confirmed by Suárez:

> "On April 28 the same 'imperialists' who were bombing Vietnam landed in Santo Domingo. Fortune was giving him [Castro] a chance to show the Soviets and the Chinese how to comply with 'proletarian internationalism.' But he did nothing."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

UPI

"Constitutionalist" forces march during 1965 Santo Domingo uprising against U.S. intervention. Although urban workers rose en masse and armed themselves, Castro did nothing to aid them.

U.S. Steel...

(continued from page 12)

the motion was raised, the union president said he would not allow anyone to be victimized but saw no need for a motion. A prominent member of United Rank and File objected to talk of a strike and counterposed a substitute motion omitting any reference to union action, hailing the NLRB ruling and praising Gary mayor Hatcher for allegedly promising that cops would not be used again to arrest leafletting unionists. However, this pathetic motion, which builds illusions in the "neutrality" of the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" in a company town named after a former head of U.S. Steel, was not voted for lack of a second. The motion offered by the three militants was tabled.

Sadlowski's pro-capitalist platform of "tough" but empty rhetoric, his repeated appeals to the bourgeois courts to interfere in the labor movement and his supporters' blatant disregard of workers democracy expose this union "reformer" as just another bureaucrat on the make. Condemnation of U.S. Steel's recent atrocity and a vigorous defense of those being victimized must be coupled with repudiation of both the Sadlowski and the Abel McBride brands of class collaboration if a leadership capable of defeating the steel companies and the entire bourgeoisie is to be built.■

Indira Gandhi...

(continued from page 5)

cy" which not only failed to raise any anti-capitalist demands but even failed to condemn the "emergency"!

The CLI has followed the fake "orthodox Trotskyism" of the SWP to its scandalous conclusion in India. According to SWP guru Joseph Hansen, "capitalism in India would go down if it abided by the norms and rules of democracy" (*Militant*, 15 August 1975). Indeed! For nearly three decades India was the "democratic" showcase of Asia. But after 30 years of formal "independence" under a "democratic" government India remains mired in backwardness, with massive illiteracy, an unchanged caste system, rural feudalism virtually unscathed, and economic underdevelopment which condemns over 300 million Indians to live at, or below, the subsistence level. Yet the social-democratic SWP maintains that the struggle for democracy in India is sufficient to ensure the downfall of capitalism!

The vanguard party that will lead the Indian proletariat to power remains to be forged. Militants of the CLI must break with the reformism of the SWP, which projects the liberation of the oppressed millions of India through the "democratic" institutions bequeathed by British imperialism. No less must Trotskyists in India repudiate the pro-Naxalite guerrillaism of the USec majority, which has capitulated to the populist movement of Jaya Prakash Narayan and has failed to counterpose a Trotskyist program to the "emergency." Only the revolutionary Trotskyist program upheld by the international Spartacist tendency points the way forward to mobilizing the masses of India to smash the Gandhi regime and the class of exploiting parasites her Congress Party represents and place all power in the hands of the victorious Indian proletariat.■

Teng...

(continued from page 1)

ly after the arrest of the four in early October, Teng was reportedly escorted back to Peking by the powerful Canton regional commander and political bureau member, Hsu Shih-yu. The "anti-rightist" campaign directed against Teng was in effect abandoned.

If one accepts the current Peking line that the "Gang of Four" were "vile counterrevolutionaries," there would definitely be justice in Teng's elevation to the highest position of authority. After all, it was Teng who was the most consistent, intractable enemy of the Chiang Ching clique; he fought them far longer and harder than did Chou or Hua—not to mention Mao, their sometime ally.

Teng's restoration has been carefully orchestrated. In November, provincial radio broadcasts and newspaper articles denounced Chiang Ching and her cohorts for having "shifted the main orientation" of the campaign against Teng. Communist Party sources began telling foreign newsmen that Mao intended to moderate the criticism of Teng and in a "comradely" manner help him "reform." However, the vicious "Gang of Four" allegedly subverted the Chairman's purpose in order to politically destroy the former deputy prime minister and his so-called "moderate" supporters in the leadership. In an important speech on November 24, Hua neglected the ritual criticism of Teng, obviously a calculated omission.

The first reported pro-Teng wall poster occurred in Canton in late November. Signed by the city's foreign trade department staff, it hailed the man once labeled as the "main unrepentant capitalist roader in the party" as "a warrior who opposed the gang of four" (*New York Times*, 28 November 1976). During the past week's activities commemorating the first anniversary of Chou En-lai's death, pro-Teng "big character" posters (*dazibaos*) proliferated in the capital. Some were calling for him to be made prime minister.

Since the Chinese bureaucracy rules through police state methods, the pro-Teng posters can only exist with the tolerance of the Hua regime. Despite claims by Maoists and their starry-eyed liberal fellow travelers (like British economist Joan Robinson), *dazibaos* are not the Chinese version of freedom of the press. In November Reuters reported that someone who had defaced a pro-Hua wall poster in Changsha was *executed* for this act (*Times* [London], 15 November 1976). If someone today put up *dazibaos* defending Chiang Ching, both the author and his work would meet a swift and sorry fate.

What's It All About?

Intra-bureaucratic clique battles and shifting alliances often are expressed in policy differences. The decade-old fight between Teng and Chiang Ching's "radicals" covered such issues as centralized planning versus economic regionalism; the guerrilla strategy of "people's war" versus the build-up of sophisticated weaponry for the armed forces; the importation of foreign technology versus national "self-sufficiency"; and increased income differentials versus labor allocation through social pressure/state coercion. However, this did not represent a left-right division and *all* wings of the Chinese bureaucracy share an anti-proletarian, anti-internationalist program. None is worthy of support from communist revolutionaries and the working class.

The underlying *unity* of Teng and the Chiang Ching group was highlighted in the summer of 1975 when strikes shut down the major textile center of Hangchow (near Shanghai). First, the regime's most prominent young "radical," Wang Hung-wen, was sent to talk the strikers back to work. When Wang failed in this assignment, deputy prime minister Teng led a Red Army detachment to crush the strike.

The policy questions which have at one time or another separated Teng from the Chiang Ching "radicals" do not express fundamental programmatic differences, but rather their different respective clienteles and power bases within the bureaucracy. Teng supporters come from the administrative/technical apparatus which crystallized during the 1950's and among the party's "old boy" network. The Chiang Ching clique rested on the student-centered youth catapulted to power through the "Cultural Revolution" of the mid-1960's at the expense of the veteran cadre.

Thus a Teng supporter might be a Harvard-educated engineer who returned to China in the 1950's and obtained a materially privileged position in the industrial administration. A characteristic supporter of Chiang Ching would be a former student activist who made it into the bureaucracy by turning his back on fellow Red Guards when they were suppressed after 1968.

There is a widespread notion that there exists a "moderate" or "rightist" faction (represented by Teng) and a "radical" or "leftist" faction (led by Chiang Ching) whose differences can be summed up as "red versus expert." The sometime Maoist accusation that Teng is a "capitalist roader" is based on his supposed overriding concern for economic growth and efficiency. This outlook is encapsulated in Teng's alleged statement: "It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white. Any cat that catches mice is a good cat."

But ex-Red Guards such as Wang Hung-wen are no closer to being revolutionaries than are the technocrats from the First Five Year Plan. An administration of revolutionary communists requires above all thoroughgoing workers democracy, which can be achieved only through a political revolution against all wings of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. For the Chinese working masses, whether Teng or Chiang Ching comes out on top determines nothing save the age, rhetoric and possibly the competence of their bureaucratic oppressors.

As the Maoist World Turns

Teng's restoration is being accompanied by a new version of the Tien An Men incident, suggesting that the "Gang of Four" and not Teng were responsible for the rioting in central Peking last April 5. Once again Maoist groups around the world will have to strain their resources to keep in step with Peking's ever-changing tune. American Maoist groups like the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) dutifully "analyzed" the purge of Teng in April by explaining that he had remained an "enemy of the people" all along and that his 1973 self-criticism was insincere.

The OL's *Call* (1 May 1976) explains:

> "The target of this struggle was Teng Hsiao-ping because he represented the bourgeois class in China....
> "Teng launched an open attack on the party and instigated the counterrevolutionary incident in Tien An Men Square. This incident changed the nature of the struggle with Teng into an antagonistic contradiction."

Likewise the RCP hailed Teng's second fall as a "victory for socialism":

> "With the guidance of Mao's line, the Chinese people were able to recognize the line and policies of the capitalist roaders, headed this time by Teng Hsiao-ping, and to beat back their attempts at reversing the achievements of the Cultural Revolution and restoring capitalism."
> —*Revolution*, 15 October 1976

The RCP even produced some of Mao's deathless poetry, which was reputedly "one of the big salvos in this battle against Teng's line":

> "Using the form of a dialogue between two birds, with the sparrow in the role of the revisionists, one of these poems describes how 'A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff,' whining that '«This is one hell of a mess!/Oh I want to flit and fly away...To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills...There'll be plenty to eat/Potatoes piping hot/With beef thrown in».' To this the other bird, putting forward the outlook of the proletariat, replies, '«Stop your windy nonsense!/Look you, the world is being turned upside down».'"

Equally if not more dramatically flagrant in the Teng affair was the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, whose December 1976 issue of *New China* carries an "eyewitness account" of the Tien An Men incident complete with full-page glossy color photographs and the explanation that "A small group of counterrevolutionaries manipulate[d] the spontaneous sentiments of grief and respect for the late Premier" in an attempt to "symbolically link the revolutionary Chou with the capitalist-roader Deng Xiao-ping...." The Friendship Association, we suspect, may soon be discovering some "capitalist roaders" in its own midst.

Since Mao's murky poem was penned and the "friends of People's China" saw with their own eyes the "small group of counterrevolutionaries," the bureaucratic in-fighting in the Forbidden Palace has once again "turned the world upside down." Hua is violating the eleventh commandment of Mao. The rehabilitation of Teng will certainly "reverse the verdict" Mao handed down last April. While those committed above all to securing the Peking franchise will dutifully hail yesterday's "capitalist roader" as today's revolutionary leader, the more serious militants within the Maoist movement must look to Trotskyism to pierce through the self-serving mystifications of the Chinese Stalinists. ■

Peaceniks...

(continued from page 9)

signatories of the "appeal" withdrew their names within a matter of hours after it was published. Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Don Luce, Paul Mayer and David Dellinger almost immediately issued an "open letter" charging that the "confidential letter" had "raised charges in an irresponsible manner." They had, said the radical pacifists, "new materials" which "give us confidence that the new government is deeply concerned about human rights."

While these individuals drew back from or refused to be part of the liberal anti-Communist campaign, their defense of Vietnam—based as it is on "humanistic" grounds rather than solid class criteria—leaves them open to being sucked into the cold-warriors' maneuvers at a later date. In a display of liberal credulity that matched the "confidential" letter's "disappointment," they insisted: "We are further reassured by recalling that the government there [Vietnam] was a signatory to the Paris accords" (so was Henry Kissinger)! They were confident that Vietnam would offer the world "a scrupulous example of pro-human conduct."

Without a Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism the pacifist "progressives" are condemned to either naively praise or to take up anti-communist attacks against the bureaucratic regimes. Vietnam must be defended because it is a *workers state*, albeit qualitatively *deformed* by the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy which rules in Hanoi. The overthrow of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie is a historic gain for the entire world proletariat, which must be defended against imperialist attack or homegrown counterrevolution. Yet there are undoubtedly some innocent people in the Vietnamese "relocation" camps, as well as some genuine fighters for proletarian democracy. We have no illusions in the "pro-human" proclivities of the Vietnamese Stalinists, who under Ho Chi Minh were responsible for the slaughter of the Vietnamese Trotskyists that led the heroic workers uprising in Saigon in 1945.

It is also true that a great many of the "political prisoners" in Vietnam today are genuine enemies of the working people the wretched remnants of the corr[illegible] Thieu regime and its hangers-on, torturers, exploiters and military butchers. Although most of the top criminals along with their war profits, gold bars, silks and jewels were evacuated by the U.S., those that were left behind richly deserve to be set to work removing unexploded mines from rice fields, one of the "violations of human rights" discovered by the liberals.

The Spartacist League hails the tremendous victory won by the worker and peasant masses of Vietnam in driving the U.S. and its toadies out of the country and overturning capitalist property relations. At the same time, we have always warned of the bureaucratic and nationalist character of the Stalinist ruling caste which blocks the international extension of the revolution, and with that the road forward to socialism—while calling for *political revolution* to oust the bureaucracy and establish the proletarian democracy of soviet rule. All Indochina Must Go Communist! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Sadlowski Supporters Reject United Defense

U.S. Steel Orders Union Leafletters Arrested in Gary

CHICAGO On Tuesday, January 4, three supporters of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski were arrested as they distributed union campaign material at the entrance to a parking lot at U.S. Steel's massive Gary Works. The arrested unionists, all members of USWA Local 1014, were Al Samter, Bill Todd and H. Lee Riley. According to the *Gary Post-Tribune* (5 January) the three were "arrested by mill security personnel," who then summoned the Gary police.

However, policemen arriving on the scene decided they lacked authority to make an arrest, as did their supervisor. Not until a force of five squad cars had been amassed—staffed by seven patrolmen, a sergeant, a lieutenant and a police captain—could an officer be found who was willing to arrest the three. Two hours later at Gary police headquarters they were released when the company failed to press charges. However, they may be rearrested at any time if U.S. Steel signs affidavits charging the three with trespassing.

The reluctance of the police to arrest the unionists and the company's unwillingness to press charges no doubt stem from recent rulings by the National Labor Relations Board and a federal circuit court upholding the right of employees to distribute union material in non-work locations on U.S. Steel property. But the steel monopoly's legendary contempt for the labor movement continues as plant guards are reportedly confiscating leaflets from workers entering the Gary Works' Broadway Street gate with more than three copies, as well as subjecting leafletters to systematic harassment.

WV Photo

Ed Sadlowski

U.S. Steel reiterated its arrogant stand in a press statement by its public affairs director for Indiana, who said that despite NLRB and court rulings, "For the time being, we will continue to enforce our long-standing policy banning distribution of literature anywhere within the confines of our private property." In other words, to hell with legal technicalities and the rights of labor be damned!

While the steel barons insist on enforcing their sacrosanct property rights, the response by victimized Sadlowski supporters typified the utter reformism and reliance on the bosses' courts which characterize the campaign of their touted "steel rebel." Although the court decision on leafletting rights grew out of complaints filed with the NLRB by Samter and others, at no time have they ever taken this issue to the Local 1014 membership. Nor has Sadlowski, as head of USWA District 31, ever used the power of his office to initiate a campaign to win and enforce union leafletting rights.

On January 5 a "protest meeting" chaired by Todd (who is ex-vice president of Local 1014 and current president of the Gary branch of the NAACP) was held at the Gary headquarters of Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fightback." Although the meeting was advertised as open to anyone who supported the right to leaflet, Todd and other local Sadlowski supporters managed to disrupt it by spending most of the time trying to bureaucratically expel those union militants who do not support the Sadlowski slate. This sectarian action was instigated by the United Rank and File Committee, a local reformist hodgepodge led by Todd and Samter, which is politically endorsed by the Communist Party (CP) and the International Socialists (IS). It was applauded with equal vigor by the Revolutionary Communist Party-supported Breakout grouping.

The United Rank and File leaders had evidently expected to get rid of "troublemakers" without a fuss so that they could get on with the "real" business of the meeting: not defending the arrested leafletters but beating the drums for "Oil Can Eddy." However, after anti-Sadlowski militants denounced the false advertising for the meeting, condemned Sadlowski's big-business support and reliance on the courts, stated their solidarity in protesting the arrests and criticized the bureaucratic exclusion, a 45-minute discussion ensued. Although several Sadlowski supporters had spoken against exclusion, Todd ruled the militants excluded but said they could stay for the rest of the meeting without the right to participate! It was a dramatic display of what a Sadlowski regime would be like, giving the lie to his demagogic talk of "union democracy" and "getting the members involved." After rejecting a united defense against the company, the meeting voted to continue distributing Sadlowski campaign literature.

Three of the excluded militants published a leaflet for the January 10 union meeting which criticized the exclusion for "undermin[ing] our ability to bring union members together in a common front against company provocation...." The leaflet contained a motion to be presented at the meeting which would commit the Local to defense of members against discipline or charges in connection with the arrests and called for union action to defend workers rights:

> "Be it further resolved, that L.U. 1014 will defend through class-struggle tactics up to and including militant strike action the right of our membership and all members of the workers movement to the free and open discussion and dissemination of their views."

Workers who attended the Local meeting told *WV* salesmen that when

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Sadlowski/McBride

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?

CHICAGO—The United Steelworkers presidential elections are down to the wire. Candidates Sadlowski and McBride spend their time in the revolving door of the bosses' courts, flinging court suits back and forth until you can't tell them apart.

The current hot issue between the contenders in the giant steel union is campaign funds: where's the money coming from? McBride says Sadlowski is accepting cash from employers. Sadlowski accuses McBride of libel and charges him with illegal use of union funds for his campaign.

The top "labor statesmen"—so-called because of their notorious "responsibility"...to the companies—have sensed Sadlowski's vulnerability on this issue and suddenly jumped to the defense of union independence. Incumbent USWA president I. W. Abel took the "rebel" district director to task for receiving funds from "limousine liberals." AFL-CIO chief George Meany denounced the influence of ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) big shots and "the string of employers and wealthy angels whose treasuries they seek to tap."

So on January 9 Sadlowski made a sweeping gesture of "openness and honesty." Two days prior to a court-ordered deadline for turning over all his campaign sources, he held a press conference to release a select list of his big contributors. The *Wall Street Journal* (10 January) announced: "United Steelworkers rebel Edward Sadlowski opened his campaign finances...."

The next day, however, the *Journal* said, "it was impossible for reporters to determine precisely the total amount of outside contributions to his campaign." And there seems to be some reason to take a look. In the 5 January *Chicago Sun-Times* Sadlowski was admitting to $1,450 from "prominent business figures"; at the press conference the amount was up to $26,000 in "large" gifts by outsiders (but not "one penny of corporate money"); and by mid-January the figure was "about $30,000."

Having ourselves warned of the danger represented by Sadlowski's links to big-money liberals—although from a completely different standpoint than that of the hypocritical Meany Abel labor fakers, who have plenty of ties (financial and otherwise) to the class enemy—*WV* called up "Steelworkers Fightback" headquarters in Chicago to request to see the "open" books. Clem Balanoff (brother of Jim, who is president of USWA Local 1010 and Sadlowski's candidate to succeed him as District 31 director) gave us an unambiguous answer: "No!"

"We're not going to be bothered by any reporter coming tromping into our headquarters and bothering us," he went on. "You'll be here today, then tomorrow it will be *Workers Power*.... Look, you know the game as well as I do now; we're not opening them up to anyone else." So much for open books! Sadlowski runs to the courts at the drop of a hat to get government control of the union elections, government inspection of his opponent's finances, government censorship of the USWA newspaper. But when it comes to leveling with the workers movement, "Oil Can Eddy's" word is: No dice!