

Detroit Truckers Oppose Contract

DETROIT, April 6—Teamsters union chief Fitzsimmons' dictatorial order calling off the "national" truck drivers' strike has met with some explosive rank-and-file opposition to his contract. Until this afternoon a wildcat raged in Detroit. But under the vacillating leadership of the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), the opposition fizzled out in the face of threatened court sanctions. On Sunday, employer spokesmen complained that several terminals around the city remained shut down. Outside IBT Local 299 offices almost 300 Teamsters rallied against Fitzsimmons' pact.

On Monday afternoon the protests escalated as a mass membership meeting of Local 299 overwhelmingly demonstrated disapproval of the contract. Over 2,000 union members packed Cobo Hall and hooted down Local president Dave Johnson and International vice president Robert Holmes, who attempted to defend the deal. When the bureaucrats abruptly adjourned the meeting, switched off the sound system and walked out, union dissidents—including supporters of TDC—called for a strike vote, which passed unanimously.

However, also on Monday, a federal court issued a restraining order against the dissidents' picketing. According to radio accounts, the response of the wildcat leadership at a meeting this morning called by the TDC was to urge compliance with the court order.



Teamster pickets confront scab trucker at Cleveland depot.

WV Photo

Teamster Strike Stopped Short by Fitzsimmons

APRIL 4—Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) called off the first "nationwide" truck-drivers' strike on its third day with the announcement that a new master freight agreement had been negotiated. The terms of the settlement were reportedly similar to agreements that had been signed with two employer groups the day before, providing for a \$1.65 wage increase over three years, a removal of the cap on the cost-of-living (c-o-l) clause in the second and third years, and an increase of \$17 a week in health and pension benefits.

The money settlement is much more substantial than the wage increase and 11-cent limit on the c-o-l negotiated by Fitzsimmons in 1973, when he was faithfully implementing Nixon's wage controls. The new wage

pact amounts to an increase of over 20 percent in three years. But the 1976 settlement is no better than the 1970 contract, and is a gift to the companies, who have been making record profits. Al Shaw, a prominent securities analyst at Standard and Poor's, said during negotiations that an increase in wages totalling 30 to 35 percent over the life of the contract would be "reasonable" (*New York Times*, 29 March). Moreover, the reported c-o-l formula of 1 cent increase for each 0.3 point increase in the Consumer Price Index is far from full cost-of-living protection, and it is rumored that there will be no c-o-l increase in the first year of the contract.

The real crunch will come on the questions of job security and work rules. Companies figure that whatever they give up in pay increases can

be recouped in increased productivity and intensification of labor. Over the last contract period jobs were slashed through the use of longer trailers and double and triple hitches. In addition, during recent years employers have utilized the frequent consolidations and mergers of trucking firms not only to cut jobs but also to eliminate traditional union work rules.

They have also made increasing use of casual labor at sub-union rates. Wednesday-Sunday schedules, designed to eliminate payment of overtime on weekends, have become commonplace. Overtime is generally mandatory and many truck drivers work backbreaking schedules of 70-80 hours a week. In 1973 the right to strike over grievances after 24 hours' notice was eliminated, and thousands

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MPLA flag being raised in Huambo, former FNLA/UNITA capital.

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Civil War Threatens Partition in Lebanon

APRIL 5—The utter impossibility of solving the most elementary and urgent democratic questions within the framework of decaying capitalism is demonstrated daily in the Lebanese civil war. Agonizingly slow and often dubious "victories" by predominantly Muslim military forces—costing on the average 100 fatalities a day, with an additional 200 wounded—are resulting in a gradual partition of Lebanon as the once-privileged Maronite Christians are squeezed into besieged enclaves.

Muslim militiamen backed up by al-Fatah-led Palestinian guerrillas decisively won the "Battle of the Hotels" by capturing the gārīsh 26-story Holiday Inn, the unfinished Hilton and pompous Normandy from Maronite militiamen belonging to the fascist Phalange. The Maronite population in Beirut has been forced into the Ashrafiyah district and the nearby Starco shopping complex.

On March 25, the "Lebanese Arab Army" composed of deserters from the now-disintegrated regular Lebanese army, along with the private army of Druze patriarch and "Progressive Socialist" Kamal Jumblat, drove Lebanon's Maronite president Suleiman Franjeh from the presidential palace at Baabda. Franjeh, with his state papers and personal belongings, was taken under armed escort through Maronite-controlled areas to Junieh. This port town north of Beirut is in the heart of an enclave which right-wing Maronites are determined to defend at all costs.

Franjeh's exodus to Junieh symbolizes the partition which may well be the outcome of this disastrous civil war. The struggle around Baabda is also part of a larger battle for control of the Beirut-Damascus road on which Baabda is situated. Here the "Arab Army" and Jumblat have been largely successful. Toward Beirut this road leads into the Maronite enclaves. From the other direction has come the increasing intervention of the Syrian Ba'athist regime in the Lebanese civil war, both politically and militarily.

For all save the most reactionary forces, Franjeh's resignation from the presidency (his term does not formally end until September) is now the talisman held up by the Lebanese ruling class to end the civil war. Those who have called for Franjeh's resignation include more than two thirds of the religiously based parliament (which has a built-in six-to-five Christian majority), all non-Maronite Christian groups and even the Maronite League of Raymond Edde (who sees himself as the next president), not to mention the Muslim parties.

On March 11, Brig. General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab, the highest-ranking Muslim in the Lebanese army and commander of Beirut's garrison, seized a television station and launched a "corrective movement," initiating the call for Franjeh's resignation. Aziz also

proclaimed himself provisional military governor of all Lebanon. Since, however, the regular army has disintegrated, the brigadier controls little more than the television station over which he reads his unheeded "communiqués."

The Damascus Connection

Franjeh is backed only by his own private army, the Phalange of Pierre Gemayel and the right-wing Maronite minister of the interior, Camille Chamoun, who as president in 1958 called in the U.S. Marines to suppress a Muslim-led rebellion. However, he has the protection of the Damascus Ba'athists, through Syrian-officered battalions of the Palestinian Liberation Army and the Syrian-backed commando group al-Saiqa.

For all their "Arab Revolution" rhetoric, the Damascus colonels support the isolated reactionary Franjeh in order to maintain the status quo next door. They fear that disintegration of Lebanon's feudal "confessional system," according to which government posts are allotted by religious affiliation, would spill over into Syria and exacerbate its own mixture of long-standing ethnic and national conflicts. Druze patriarch Jumblat, a long-time pillar of the "confessional system," now declares he is for secularization of Lebanese society and has become the archenemy of right-wing Maronites and the Syrian Ba'ath "Socialists."

On April 2 yet another "ceasefire" was formally agreed to. This one is to last ten days, during which time parliament is to meet for the purpose of amending the constitution so as to permit an early successor to Franjeh. The president, however, refused to resign under the pressure of political isolation and 130 mm. artillery shells, and may not be moved by constitutional amendments. Moreover, there has in fact been no cessation of conflict, and the parliament has been unable to find a safe place in Beirut in which to convene a meeting.

Within the Palestinian commando movement, the most prominent group, Yassir Arafat's al-Fatah (which previously observed strict neutrality in the civil war, as mandated by the 1969 Cairo accords), has now thrown itself into the conflict on the side of Jumblat and the "Arab Army." The pro-Syrian al-Saiqa, which once collaborated closely with al-Fatah, now has become the last line of defense for the hated enemies of the Palestinians—Franjeh, Gemayel and Chamoun—the right-wing Maronites who have been responsible for the savage repression and attempted expulsion of Palestinian refugees from Lebanon.

The deterioration of the right-wing Maronite forces' military position has placed direct military intervention on the agenda for Syria. The *New York Times* (30 March) reports that "In public and in private Mr. Kissinger has



Gamma/Liaison

Above: Muslim soldier fires on body of dead Phalangist being dragged through Beirut street by car. Right: Guards riding in the car of Phalange leader Pierre Gemayel.



Gamma

praised the Syrian mediation efforts in Lebanon," while cautioning against direct military intervention. Less cautious, the imperialist stooge of Amman, Jordan's King Hussein, while visiting his patrons in Washington, D.C., "told members of Congress today that probably only Syrian military intervention could restore order in Lebanon."

That the feudal Hashemite king looks to the current Syrian regime to "restore order in Lebanon" is no historical anomaly. Hussein is still grateful for the role Syrian ruler Hafez al-Assad played in the September 1970 Jordanian civil war, the so-called "Black September" when Hussein brutally massacred up to 10,000 Palestinians. On 16 September 1970 Syria sent armored units into Jordan in support of the beleaguered Palestinians. However, the units moved in without authorization from the ministry of defense, headed at the time by Assad, who opposed intervention. General Assad refused to provide air cover, and as a consequence the Syrian armored units were crushed by Jordanian air strikes.

Assad was severely criticized by the "civilian wing" of the Ba'ath party for opposing aid to the Palestinian resistance. But the general, firmly in control of the army and with the aid of the notoriously reformist Syrian Communist Party, purged the "civilians" and assumed the post of prime minister. In early 1971 he took the presidency, awarding the Syrian CP with two portfolios. Al-Saiqa was brought firmly under the thumb of the Syrian military. Thus the current honeymoon between the "radical" colonels in Damascus and the feudal king in Amman—in which there is much talk of a common military pact against Israel and even of eventual Syrian-Jordanian union (would Assad then become a prince, or Hussein a mere colonel?)—actually has its origins in Black September.

Baghdad and the Rejection Front

Another protagonist in the Black September events—notable more for what it failed to do than what it did—is the Damascus Ba'athists' rival in Bag-

dad, which is also threatening direct military intervention in the Lebanese civil war today. According to a *New York Times* (31 March) dispatch from Paris, "western intelligence reports" claim that "The Iraqis promised to send airborne units to help the Moslem-leftist alliance in Lebanon and to send army units across the Syrian-Iraqi border if the Syrian Army became substantially involved in the Lebanese situation."

Ever since the Iraqi Ba'athists resolved their own civil war by drowning the Kurdish struggle for self-determination in blood, they have unleashed a barrage of chauvinist invective against Syria. In order to keep their bloated officer corps busy, they have massed Iraqi troops along the Syrian border, allegedly because of a conflict over the use of the water of the Euphrates River. But the Iraqi army is known more for its bluster than its military prowess, except against poorly armed Kurdish irregulars.

The Palestinian resistance movement has not forgotten Iraq's perfidious role during the Black September events. During 1970, Iraq maintained a 12,000-man expeditionary force in Jordan, which Baghdad promised to commit to the Palestinian side in any major conflict, either with the Zionists or the Hashemites. Yet the Iraqi forces remained *neutral* during the Black September massacre!

Both Syrian and Iraqi Ba'athists demonstrate that nationalism—even when it bombastically dresses itself up as "revolutionary" and "socialist," and loquaciously pays lip-service to the national justice for the Palestinians—is still the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie which aspires to exclusive exploitation of its "own" nation, and will readily sacrifice the Palestinian cause for defending that exploitation. "Pan-Arab" nationalism and the "Arab nation" of the Ba'athists are the slogans with which the Kurdish struggle is drowned in blood; the slogans around which Syrian and Iraqi soldiers are mobilized against one another for petty national claims, and the slogans for which Baghdad and Damascus inter-

vene on opposite sides in Lebanon's senseless communal war.

Since Iraq shares no common border with Israel, is not directly threatened by Israel and has not lost territory to Zionist expansionism, Baghdad has taken the verbally most intransigent position towards Israel, at no cost to itself. Iraqi-backed Palestinian commando organizations led by Dr. George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, notorious for its airline hijackings and the Lod Airport massacre are grouped together in the "Rejection Front," so-called because it rejects negotiations or interim settlements with Israel (such as a West Bank "mini-state"). There have been frequent clashes between al-Saiqa and the "Rejection Front," especially in Lebanon. Further, Iraqi aid to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and "Rejection Front forces" has often been blocked by Syria and its Palestinian supporters.

The Rest of the Gang

Egypt, as part of its bitter *guerre de plume* (paper war) with Syria brought on by the Sinai accords, has called for the dispatch of "joint Arab symbolic peace-keeping forces until the fighting subsides and a proper atmosphere is created to end this bloody strife" (*New York Times*, 29 March). Needless to say, the "atmosphere" in Lebanon has not improved and this symbolic call for "symbolic peace-keeping forces" goes unheeded.

Another protagonist of Black September, the U.S. ambassador to Amman at the time, I. Dean Brown, has been sent to Beirut as Kissinger's "special envoy." While a five-ship U.S. amphibious group headed by a helicopter carrier and two destroyer escorts, with 1,700 Marines aboard, has been off Lebanon's coast, and U.S. under secretary of state Joseph Sisco today refused to rule out direct American intervention, nonetheless the likelihood of such intervention at this point is not great. In 1958 the Eisenhower administration feared that the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in Iraq, where there existed a powerful proletariat and sizable Communist Party, would lead to a social revolution. Thus Lebanon was invaded not because of its own internal strife, which was used as a cover, but in order to serve as a beachhead for action against a potential Iraqi Mao Tse-tung.

The reduction of the Maronites from a relatively privileged group into a besieged minority in forcibly compacted enclaves will no more ameliorate the oppression of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, both Christian and Muslim, than the invasion and partition of Cyprus by the Turkish army in 1973 liberated the Greek and Turkish masses on that many-times conquered island. Only on the foundations of socialist property forms can there be a reconstruction of this war-ravaged country in which the old feudal institutions are swept away and the complex religious, ethnic and national conflicts are democratically resolved. ■

Bible-Thumping Courts Declare Sex a Crime

In obeisance to the most hypocritical and arch-puritan social prejudices the United States Supreme Court has ruled upholding the right of the state to proscribe certain sexual activities deemed "unnatural" by judicial "authorities." Without hearing verbal arguments and without issuing an opinion of its own, the court affirmed a lower federal court ruling which had rejected a challenge to a section of a Virginia law prohibiting "crimes against nature."

The Supreme Court decision provoked cries of outrage from spokesmen for liberal, legal, civil rights and humanist organizations. Recent cases belie the myth that these laws are unenforced. A New York Police Department spokesman claimed that the equivalent New York law (which applies only to unmarried couples) is "basically a law we don't make arrests for." But according to the National Gay Task Force, over 200 people were arrested under the law from January to June 1973. The threat of arbitrary prosecution under these vicious laws is not only real, but reinforces social prejudices by providing legal sanction for the pervasive harassment of homosexuals.

"Unnatural" vs. "Natural" Sex

The Virginia statute provides for the courts to decide between "unnatural" and "natural" acts of sex. In practice, such laws are applied almost exclusively against homosexuals, but formally their scope is far broader. The Virginia law may be used to prosecute for sodomy, defined as any "abnormal" sexual intercourse such as anal intercourse or bestiality. It also allows for the determination of other sorts of sexual activity - such as cunnilingus, fellatio, masturbation, pederasty or onanism - as "abnormal" or "unnatural" and thus illegal. (Kinsey indicates that a majority of human beings engage in "abnormal" practices.) Comparable statutes have been interpreted in case law to cover any sexual activity other than standard "missionary position" sexual intercourse. Some states require homosexual "offenders" to register with the police in their jurisdiction, a procedure often involving photographs and fingerprinting, and to inform the police when there is a change in residence.

The Supreme Court ruling goes directly against the trend toward liberalization of laws banning homosexual activity. Such organizations as the

National Institute of Mental Health, the American Law Institute and the American Psychiatric Association have spoken out against considering homosexuality a crime. In December 1971 the Florida Supreme Court struck down an almost identical statute which had been on the books for 103 years. Even in Massachusetts, home of the U.S.' most stringent "blue laws," the state's highest court has overturned a law prohibiting "unnatural and lascivious" acts between consenting adults.

While 15 states have repealed similar laws or overturned them through court action since 1962, such puritanical laws still stand in 36 states. Most often they provide a lever for the persecution of homosexuals. However, a married couple, convicted under the same Virginia statute, is now serving a five year sentence. The couple's "crime" was revealed when their young child brought a photograph of them in a sexual act to school for "show and tell!"

The civil suit—filed originally by two men in a Richmond, Virginia, federal district court was brought against the statute only as it is applied to homosexual relations between consenting adults in private. The plaintiffs cited Supreme Court rulings on the right to privacy such as the 1965 ruling written by William O. Douglas striking down the Connecticut law banning contraception to married adults.

In the Virginia suit, the two majority district court justices reverted to overtly reactionary bombast denying the right to personal privacy outside the marriage bed. The state argued, in part, that homosexual conduct "is likely to end in a contribution to moral delinquency" and even that its prohibition would serve to encourage heterosexual marriages! The dissenting judge dubbed the latter argument "unworthy of judicial response." He added that "private consensual sex acts between adults are matters, absent evidence that they are harmful, in which the state has no legitimate interest."

Going back to the Bible for an enlightened opinion on homosexuality, the majority judges cited a quotation from Leviticus: "Thou shall not lie with mankind, as with womankind. This is an abomination." How does the court stand on the rest of the prescription which reads: "They shall be put to death; their blood is upon them"? And what is its stand on other pronouncements in Leviticus which call for death to practitioners of adultery and bestiality, as well as for death by fire for certain incestuous acts?!

Homosexuality as such may be legally viewed in the same way as other so-called "crimes without victims," such as prostitution, narcotic and drug violations, gambling and pornography. These "crimes" are distinguished by their voluntary and consensual nature. Thus, arrest is frequently accomplished by entrapment since the participants are not interested in prosecuting each other for the offense. "Morals" laws in the United States are typically vague and wide-ranging and carry sentences up to 20 years or more in prison. The New York state law, before a recent liberalization, considered any sexual contact between persons of the same sex to be sodomy and therefore illegal. If one of the participants were a minor, the offense became a felony.

Among the industrialized Western countries, none punishes sodomy more harshly than the United States. Laws governing private, consensual sexual

conduct have been abandoned by many European and Latin American countries in many cases in the early 19th century as part of sweeping legal reforms which followed in the wake of the French Revolution.

In 1966 Britain decriminalized private, consensual homosexual practice after an extended parliamentary debate. The British government-constituted Wolfenden Committee had found in 1957 that:

"Unless a deliberate attempt is to be made by society, acting through the agency of the law, to equate the sphere of crime with that of sin, there must remain a realm of private morality and immorality which is, in brief and crude terms, not the law's business."

But although another section of the report advocating stiffer penalties for prostitutes was codified (with a vengeance!) within two years, it took nine years to implement the liberalization of laws regarding homosexual behavior along the lines advocated in the Wolfenden Committee report.

Bourgeois morality - which closely parallels the social, economic and political needs of capitalist society - opposes homosexuality in order to bolster the ideal of the nuclear family, a bulwark of capitalism. While the abolition of laws criminalizing consensual homosexuality would begin to allow for changes in social attitudes toward homosexuals, it would not prevent their continued persecution. A myriad of other misdemeanor provisions - such as loitering, "lewd or lascivious behavior" and soliciting are used to persecute homosexuals. Moralistic prejudices stemming from fear that homosexual individuals tend to be unstable, dangerous, sexually aggressive or exhibitionist reinforce discrimination in housing and employment. Furthermore, because of the illegality itself homosexuals are often seen as undesirable tenants, bad employment risks and vulnerable to blackmail.

The Supreme Court ruling is part of a generalized rightward shift on a broad range of social questions in the United States. In particular, reactionary and religious forces are currently waging a campaign to reverse ratifications of the Equal Rights Amendment in numerous states. This must be vigorously resisted by the workers movement. Support the ERA - Extend protective legislation to all workers!

Other democratic rights and demands are also under attack. In New York state the legislature has just strengthened restrictions on abortion. Class-conscious workers must demand: Free abortion on demand! Free health care for all!

"Crimes" without victims are not crimes! Abolish all laws regulating consensual sexual conduct!

Full democratic rights for homosexuals - No discrimination! ■

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"Investigation by Terrorism"

Drop All Charges Against Susan Saxe!

Susan Saxe, a fugitive for over four years, is scheduled to come to trial in Boston. Her pre-trial hearings will resume April 12. Charged with a 1970 bank robbery and murder of a cop in Boston, Saxe has been denied bail, and if found guilty faces three life sentences.

Saxe was picked up by the police a year ago in Philadelphia and charged with a bank robbery there and with theft of classified government documents from the Newburyport Arsenal. She pleaded guilty "in the context of the laws of the United States," and will receive a maximum of ten years for the Philadelphia robbery and two years for the document theft, to be served concurrently.

In return for her guilty plea, Saxe obtained a government agreement that she will not be compelled to testify in any proceeding about events which occurred between 1969 and the present, even if granted immunity from prosecution. Thus she will not supply any information to the government about her "underground" years or contacts made during that time. Saxe was also adamant that the agreement guarantee she would never have to testify against Katherine Power, accused of participation in the Boston robbery, who is on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list.

Unlike Jane Alpert whose "feminism" led her to "cooperate fully with Federal investigators in providing details of her years as a fugitive" (*New York Times*, 15 November 1974) — Susan Saxe, a self-proclaimed "Lesbian feminist Amazon," has refused to cooperate with the government. In a 9 June 1975 statement issued at the time of her appearance in court on federal charges in Philadelphia, Saxe writes:

"The most significant point of this plea agreement is that the United States government realizes that I am not and never will be a collaborator. I have made it clear to them that if I am called as a witness in any government proceeding, I will refuse to testify...." [emphasis in original]

In contrast to Alpert's grovelling before the authorities, Susan Saxe's refusal to be an informer, despite the personal consequences for her, is courageous and commendable. The government's case in Boston is a continuation of the witchhunt against Saxe. As a symbol of resistance to "forced informing" for the bourgeois state, Susan Saxe must be defended by the entire left and workers movement. Drop all charges against Susan Saxe — Free her now!

Saxe and the Grand Juries

Saxe stood up to an all-out FBI "star chamber" investigation. Since the late 1960's, the FBI — armed with grand juries that make a mockery of the right to protection against "self-incrimination" — has gone on a rampage against black militants, the antiwar movement and the left.

Grand juries act either as rubber stamps of the prosecutors' office or, when they go after the left, as investigative witchhunts. At a seminar for cops and prosecutors in Houston last December, the chief of Detroit's Organized Crime Strike Force "spoke enthusiastically of 'investigation by terrorism'. The prosecutors and cops agreed that 'in the hands of a competent prosecutor there are few better tools'" (*Newsweek*, 1 December 1975).

An added weapon in the "investiga-

tion by terrorism" was Nixon's 1970 Organized Crime Control Act. By granting "use immunity," the FBI can subpoena a witness who is deprived of legal counsel and forced to talk or go to jail. A witness can be held in jail for the entire term of a grand jury and then be re-subpoenaed. Although the 1970 bill was nominally aimed at the Mafia, few indictments against organized crime were brought in by the federal grand juries. But the law opened up a barrage of grand jury investigations against the



Susan Saxe

left and antiwar movement.

Supposedly in connection with its search for "armed and dangerous" Saxe and Power, the FBI conducted an extensive grand jury investigation. Still imprisoned in Lexington, Kentucky for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury,

Jill Raymond has already been jailed for a year and cannot be released until May, when the life of the Lexington grand jury expires, and may then be re-subpoenaed. The Lexington investigation included 40-50 people who were extensively grilled by the FBI about the personal lives of their acquaintances. Six women refused to talk to the FBI, were subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury and were imprisoned when they refused to testify. Informed they would remain in jail until they cooperated, only Jill Raymond continues to refuse to provide information to the government.

Another such FBI sweep, concerning supposed harboring of Saxe and Power, occurred in New Haven, with Ellen Grusse and Terri Turgeon refusing to talk to the FBI and to a subsequent grand jury. They were jailed for more than eight months until their release December 19. Although non-appearance before grand juries is not a principle, the refusal to "inform" certainly is. For their solidarity in facing jail themselves rather than supply information which will be used against the left, these courageous women must be commended. We call for the immediate release of Jill Raymond!

Grand jury harassment is only one weapon in the legal arsenal of the bourgeois state. The prosecutors of U.S. capitalism's courts will give up their awesome power to indict their political enemies only when they are themselves indicted by the workers' tribunals of the victorious proletarian revolution.

Stop the Witchhunt! Drop the Charges! Free Susan Saxe!

For more information, contact: Susan Saxe Defense Committee, P.O. Box 39, West Somerville, Mass. 02144. ■

Protest Anti-Communist Exclusion!

Mandel Barred by U.S. Government

Ernest Mandel, a leader of the centrist Majority faction of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) as well as its most prominent academic, has been denied a visa to visit the U.S. to accept a teaching position at Stanford University. According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (22 March), Mandel was told by the U.S. embassy in Brussels that his visa request was being denied under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, which "prohibits the issuance of a visa to anyone who is or has been a member of the Communist Party or a communist-controlled organization." In order to gain entrance to the U.S., Mandel would now have to be granted waivers by the Departments of State and Justice.

This atrocity is potentially of great importance, especially in view of the American government's earlier harassment of Mandel. In October 1969, Mandel had been refused entrance to the U.S. despite an impressive array of academic invitations and planned speaking engagements. The USec and its American co-thinkers, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), mounted a vigorous campaign to publicize the important legal battle against this explicitly anti-communist exclusion. The SWP's publicity efforts lasted until the Supreme Court in June 1972 upheld the ban against Mandel. The post-Watergate revelations of the govern-

ment's persistent and criminal persecution of the SWP (see article on FBI break-ins in this issue) make this a particularly important time to take the offensive against the legal persecution of the left.

The McCarran-Walter Act is a blatantly reactionary attack on basic democratic rights. This witchhunting bill is the legal basis for both political exclusions of leftists such as the Mandel ban and the anti-democratic and racist immigration policies of the U.S. government. It decrees both the suppression of leftist political views and the exclusion from the U.S. of broad categories of oppressed working people. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, desperate refugees from reactionary terror in Chile are arrogantly refused asylum in the U.S., while Cuban and Vietnamese criminals and butchers are welcomed: "illegal immigrant" laborers are exploited for the profits of American corporations while being denied the rights of citizens.

The only appropriate response to this latest Mandel case must be to bring together the broadest possible mobilization of left and working-class militants in protest against the Mandel exclusion, as part of an aggressive campaign to strike down this arbitrary and unconstitutional law. However, the SWP has as yet made no public response whatsoever to the government's obstruction of the Mandel visit, while continuing to

heavily publicize the exclusion of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, a supporter of the SWP-led minority wing of the USec.

The SWP's sectarianism and ultra-"respectable" approach have also undercut the building of a broad-based



Ernest Mandel

political defense of Blanco. On 3 October 1975 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle legal defense group whose work for anti-sectarian defense of victimized left-wing and labor militants the Spartacist League endorses, had addressed a letter to the SWP-backed U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) urging a united-front demonstration to protest Blanco's exclusion. The letter pointed out:

"...it was just such broad public, united front demonstrations combined with other forms of publicity and protest which galvanized international support behind Blanco when he was imprisoned

on the Peruvian prison island of El Frontón and saved him from execution, eventually winning him his freedom. The Spartacist League took an active part in building the campaign in the U.S. to free Hugo Blanco. Now that Blanco is again being subjected to political repression the PDC and the SL again intend to take an active part in protesting this naked exercise of political censorship by the U.S. government."

Neither USLA nor the SWP made any response to this letter, nor did they participate in a PDC-organized demonstration against Blanco's exclusion held later that month in San Francisco.

In opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act, the PDC has actively protested the exclusion from the U.S. of a broad range of prominent left-wing spokesmen and unionists, including — in addition to Blanco and Mandel of the USec — veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, Australian labor leader Laurie Carmichael, Dr. Melba Hernandez of the Cuban Communist Party and Chilean MIR leader Carmen Castillo. The SL and PDC have publicized these cases in *Workers Vanguard* and through protest demonstrations around such issues as deportations of "illegal aliens" and exclusion of Chilean refugees. We express our solidarity with Ernest Mandel, latest target of McCarran-Walter Act repression. Protest the exclusion of Ernest Mandel — Down with reactionary immigration legislation! ■

After Rout of Imperialist-Led Forces

MPLA Consolidates Bourgeois State in Angola

APRIL 3 — The withdrawal at the end of March of the last two battalions of South African troops from Angola marked the ignominious end of the first major post-Vietnam U.S.-orchestrated imperialist military adventure. After an initial lightning advance in November-December to within rocket range of the former colonial capital, Luanda, the CIA-led coalition suffered one reverse after another at the hands of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The rag-tag "armies" of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) were so pathetically incapable of serious fighting that they and their mercenary "advisor"-commanders wisely fled at the mere approach of the Russian-equipped, Cuban-reinforced MPLA troops.

On the diplomatic front, after the myth of bourgeois Pan-Africanism went up in smoke at a deadlocked January meeting of the Organization of African "Unity," the military rout of the imperialist colonialist-led forces in Angola soon convinced virtually all of the black African states to jump on the MPLA bandwagon, or at least to make their peace with the victors. In Europe, one-time suppliers of the FNLA (France) and UNITA (West Germany) decided to cut their losses and clumsily stumbled over each other in a hasty scramble to recognize the Luanda regime.

Then last week the United Nations all but put its official seal of approval on the Cuban military intervention in Angola by condemning the South African invasion. By this time, Henry Kissinger was left alone holding hands with the hated white-supremacist Pretoria regime. So unpopular had the U.S. position become that it did not dare to veto the Security Council resolution. In virtually every respect, the Angolan adventure had become the Edsel of the Ford administration.

"Détente of a New Type"

Meanwhile, the MPLA regime in Luanda, the "People's Republic of Angola" (PRA) led by Agostinho Neto, is riding high. Having routed the phantom "Democratic Republic" of the neo-colonialist/anti-communist UNITA and FNLA, the PRA is not even faced with the necessity of extensive mopping-up operations. Instead it is concentrating on wiping up crumbs from the diplomatic table and "normalizing" relations with the neighboring countries that had backed its nationalist rivals.

To the north, the Angolan government has concluded an agreement with Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo) "to assure mutual confidence and security of each state." After supporting the FNLA for 14 years, Zaïre has now cut loose the shattered organization. The National Front's leader, Holden Roberto, has reportedly fled to Tunisia. In return, Neto guaranteed to Zaïrean president Mobutu Sese Seko (the CIA's number one man in tropical Africa) the return or pacification of 6,000 ex-Katangan gendarmes. These former



Angolan war caused thousands of refugees.

Salgado/Gamma

supporters of secessionist Congolese politician Moïse Tshombe had fought first with the Portuguese colonial army and then alongside the MPLA in the hope of securing an Angolan base from which to attack Mobutu (*New York Times*, 23 March).

In the south, UNITA forces abandoned the towns in mid-February, shortly after the pull-back of its South African suppliers. This did not, however, stop the notoriously mendacious UNITA press officers from claiming, as late as March 17, that their army was "more organized and nearly 20 times larger than it was during the colonial epoch," and that its guerrilla operations against the Luanda government were "becoming more successful every day!"

When it held the towns of the south-central highlands, UNITA was incapable of providing any administrative order or even marketing agricultural produce. Its only "success" was in unleashing random despotic terror in the region it controlled. And as the UNITA defenses were collapsing, in a parting gesture before fleeing, it carried out a gruesome massacre of several thousand MPLA partisans.

The most blood-chilling report was of a former PIDE (Portuguese secret police) jail outside Bie which had been

taken over by UNITA to imprison local leaders of the MPLA. According to *Le Monde* (18 February):

"All were massacred. A small corn field sloped gently toward the brush. When they got to the edge, the prisoners took off their shoes. The soldiers who accompanied us counted off 235 pairs. Then they were killed by blows with iron bars, thrown into common graves and barely covered with dirt. Under a swarm of flies, parts of bodies protruded. Further along, more common graves—older ones. Under the trees there were skeletons. How many [dead]? Lucio Lara, general secretary of the Movement, answered, 'hundreds.' Among them might be Joaquim Campagno, who was a member of the [MPLA] political bureau and enjoyed great popularity throughout the central plateau."

As he retreated from his "capital" of Huambo, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi declared his willingness to join a coalition government with the MPLA. Neto, for his part, had not excluded an eventual coalition with other "patriotic forces." But the vicious mass killings brutally slammed this door shut. Fearing similar treatment at the hands of the victors, masses of UNITA supporters have crossed the border into Zambia. The MPLA leaders will not soon forget the massacres instigated by UNITA, and one of the PRA's key demands in

negotiating with Zambia over diplomatic recognition and re-opening of the vital Benguela railway to Zambian goods has been for repatriation of some 12,000 Angolan refugees (*Times* [London], 19 March).

The only anti-MPLA force which withdrew from the Angolan battlefields in a semblance of good order was the South African army. However, the fact that the largely black armed forces of the MPLA had defeated their vaunted military juggernaut was a serious psychological defeat for the defenders of apartheid. South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster based his announcement of the withdrawal of his last troops from the Calueque dam on the border of Southwest Africa (Namibia) on reported "third party" assurances—via Britain and UN secretary-general Waldheim—that Angola would respect Pretoria's interests in the massive hydroelectric project.

On March 19 Neto denied that any formal assurances were given. However, earlier in the month official Luanda sources explicitly denied press accounts which had quoted the PRA president as saying the MPLA "would continue the armed struggle against the white racists in power in Namibia and Rhodesia." "We do not have the intention to go beyond our boundaries," said the Angolan government, adding "it is not a question for us of invading Namibia..." (*Le Monde*, 4 March).

But just in case the détente with the MPLA should fall through, South Africa has not forgotten the ghosts of the FNLA and UNITA. In addition to maintaining a cordon of troops along the 1,600 kilometer northern border of Southwest Africa and creating puppet black armies for the "bantustans" of Ovamboland and Kavangoland, the Pretoria regime is now reportedly hiring former FNLA soldiers as mercenary border guards. It also permitted 200 UNITA soldiers to slink across the border and take refuge in the Kavango region (*Le Monde*, 30 March).

Hatching a New Ruling Class

In an article entitled, "Smash the Imperialist Power Play," soon after the



Members of people's militia in Luanda.

Afrique-Asie

beginning of the South African invasion (WV No. 85, 14 November 1975), we wrote that "The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time ... is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed South African-organized offensive." At the same time we warned: "The MPLA while presently aligned with Moscow could tomorrow become the favorite of Washington, and it is in any case no less hostile to the slightest expression of working-class independence." Calling for military victory of the MPLA's struggle against the imperialist onslaught, communists nevertheless do not give *political* support to these "aspiring exploiters" who despite their "progressive anti-imperialist" posture aspire to build a *bourgeois* Angola.

The reformist apologists of the MPLA are currently churning forth reams of accolades for the "socialist option" and "non-capitalist road" of the "People's Republic" of Angola. Veteran Stalinist carpetbagger Wilfred Burchett conducted a lengthy interview with PRA prime minister Lopo do Nascimento, who explained that the new regime has "no choice but to build socialism" because economic reconstruction requires government operation of enterprises abandoned by Portuguese colonialists. Burchett even compares Angola to Vietnam where, he says, "the White House...scared South Vietnam's capitalists and bourgeoisie into wholesale flight" (*Guardian*, 24 March).

But Angola is *not* Vietnam. Now that they hold the reins of state power, the former petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrilleros of the MPLA are giving ample proof of their fundamental allegiance to capitalism. This is the content of their "détente" with Zaïre, Zambia and (more tenuously) with South Africa. Moreover, in sharp contrast to Vietnam, the major capitalist enterprises in Angola either never left or are now coming back. The latest and most important was the announcement Friday by Gulf Oil that it would resume pumping from its Cabinda offshore

writes in its 28 February edition that:

"The holy alliance against the invader is frittering away. A confrontation between those who call for a true 'people's power' and those who aspire to finally enjoy the privileges of the former colonists appears to be inevitable."

While the writer appears to have some illusions in the top "left" leaders of the MPLA, he details the transformation of former black petty-bourgeois officials and traders into small capitalists: "the new group of businessmen, transporters and functionaries who always believed that their MPLA card gave them the right to take over the positions which the departure of the Portuguese left open." He also quotes a regional MPLA political commissar who commented:

"While we were occupied at the front, the people at the rear were occupying positions from which they must be removed.... The population has been very sensitive to our propaganda. The war is almost over. They are now demanding, therefore, that our slogans be followed by concrete results, but they are not sufficiently organized within the MPLA to be able to defend their interests there."

The Hoax of People's Power

The new regime has made much of a "law on people's power" implementing article 3 of the PRA constitution, which guarantees "broad and effective participation in the exercise of political power" to the popular masses. The formal structure is similar to that provided for in the recently adopted Cuban constitution (see "Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress," WV No. 100, 12 March), and the content is far from bourgeois democracy (not to mention the proletarian democracy which the Cuban regime pretends to). The highest level is provincial; real power remains in the hands of centrally appointed commissars, and the function of the various "people's commissions" is purely consultative. Most importantly, this "people's power" decreed from above has nothing to do with the organizations which grew up in 1974-75 partly independent of MPLA control (see "MPLA: 'Nationalists of New Type?'"

On the Road to State Department Socialism?

Which Way for Comrade Plyushch?



Leonid Plyushch

Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch was the principal speaker at a panel discussion in New York on Saturday evening, March 4, entitled "The Left and the Soviet Union: Is a Broad-Based Left-Wing Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners Possible?" The panel, which was more liberal than left, included British historian E. P. Thompson, pacifist Grace Paley, Daniel Berrigan, S. J. and George Saunders of the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The meeting was sponsored by a medley of social-democratic groups, including the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Party USA and others.

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Plyushch's statement that "the light is not coming from any direction now" and his later comment (which was met with applause) that "...maybe our entire world is insane, but what can you do?" encapsulate the pessimism and profound demoralization which ran through his entire message. He not only warned his audience to place no hope in the Soviet Union lest they be "duped the way the Soviet peoples were duped," but also to have no confidence in *any* government or political party. Quoting a Russian poet, Aleksandr Galich, he said:

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"History," said Plyushch, "is confirming these words." On the contrary. But history does record that Galich has admitted to working with the CIA-run Radio Liberty.

Criticisms of Trotskyism

Following a brief attack on the Communist Party USA, which he characterized as a religious organization existing only as a remnant of obscurantist fanaticism, Plyushch stated:

"I'd like now to turn to my Trotskyist

comrades. I'd like to get into discussions and arguments. They say that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers state. Degenerated, yes; but why a workers state? The nature of the state is determined by the nature of power.... The working class, like the peasantry and the working intelligentsia, are oppressed. The upper echelons of the party and the bureaucracy are in power."

While it is true that the bureaucracy has usurped political power in the Soviet Union, the nationalization of the means of production, the establishment of economic planning and the state monopoly of foreign trade remain the historic legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution, which expelled imperialism and destroyed capitalist property relations. These gains have brought tremendous increases in the living standards of the Soviet masses and provide the indispensable precondition for advancing to a socialist society. While Plyushch may believe that there is *nothing* worth preserving in a world gone mad, the Soviet working class understands quite well the value of these gains and will not relinquish them. Nor will it place confidence in those "anti-bureaucratic fighters" whose program invites capitalist restoration.

Plyushch also criticized Trotskyists for calling only for political revolution in the Soviet Union. "The USSR," he said, "needs not only a political but also a social revolution." Then, in a contradictory turnabout, he proclaimed that he was opposed to *all* revolutionary activity:

"...the government and the authorities will be willing to do anything [to smash a socialist revolution], even use thermonuclear weapons, against their own people. The imperialist states will not sit passively on the sidelines. Mankind will perish. Even the rotten civilization in which we are living now will perish. That is why we, the majority of the members of the democratic movement of opposition in the USSR, are for peaceful revolution—or evolution."

This cry of terror and despair reflects Plyushch's total loss of confidence in the international working class and its historic mission, as well as his lack of a materialist viewpoint. The alternative to socialist revolution is not maintenance of "the rotten civilization in which we are living now" which he is so anxious to preserve, but, as Trotsky said, *barbarism!* Plyushch fails to grasp that the suffering of the masses in the course of the proletarian revolution which he so



Bohemia

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The economic disruption caused by the war and the flight of the white colons does dictate major government intervention in the Angolan economy, but such measures, accompanied by vague leftist sloganeering, hardly constitute the destruction of capitalist rule. As in Algeria they are the basis for creating stable conditions for continued exploitation.

Again recalling the early post-independence years in Algeria, the contradictory tendencies within the MPLA are presently sorting themselves out. The correspondent of *Le Monde*

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

of unresolved grievances have piled up as a result. On all these issues Fitzsimmons' proposed contract is silent.

Nationwide Strike?

Trucks carry over 60 percent of domestic freight in the U.S. It is obvious that a national Teamsters strike would have a tremendous impact on the economy. After only two days of the current strike, auto manufacturers were already forced to lay off 20,000 workers. Yet it would be a misnomer to say that Fitzsimmons called a "nationwide" Teamsters strike. Even before the announcement of a new master freight agreement, two thirds of the 435,000 drivers "on strike" had been ordered back to work by the IBT. And even though the proposed national pact has yet to be ratified by the membership, Fitzsimmons has urged that the remaining drivers return to their jobs.

One third of the Teamsters drivers ordered back to work were employees of generally smaller companies who signed so-called "me-too" agreements with the union. These agreements exempted the firms from being struck, on condition that they observe an interim contract until a national pact was signed. Another one third of the Teamsters drivers were employees of the Irregular Route Carriers and the Motor Carriers Labor Advisory Council, who on Friday agreed to the contract that became the model for the master agreement accepted a day later.

Furthermore, Local 705 in the key trucking hub of Chicago, which has the right to bargain its own wage agreement, extended its contract and did not strike at all. In the past this local and the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union have been a major problem for the IBT brass because of their militancy. The recent promotion of Local 705 chief Louis Peick to one of the International vice presidencies apparently achieved its purpose: "persuading" the Local to cooperate with Fitzsimmons' weak-kneed strike policies.

Fitzsimmons justifies the policy of signing separate contracts with individual employers on the grounds that it splits the companies and applies pressure on those who continue to hold out. However, the interim agreements were signed with the smaller, intra-state firms which have little impact on the principal interstate carriers. This strategy, which

SWP Offices Ransacked 92 Times

Nation's No.1 Burglar: the FBI

MARCH 29 — It was announced yesterday that specially trained teams of FBI agents burglarized the New York offices of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at least 92 times between 1960 and 1966, an average of once every three weeks. This criminal program, sanctioned in Washington, produced an astounding mass of some 10,000 photographs of documents and correspondence concerning virtually every aspect of SWP activities, including the defense activities of members involved in federal legal proceedings. Organizational correspondence, records of political contributions, minutes of meetings and other material were on occasion even stolen outright by J. Edgar Hoover's gangsters.

This intensive scrutiny was uncovered in the thousands of pages of FBI documents turned over to the SWP as the result of the party's suit for \$27 million in damages for years of federal harassment and violation of the most elementary democratic rights. The disclosure of these blatantly illegal activities explodes the mendacious denials by Justice Department officials, who testified during the case that the SWP had not been a victim of the hundreds of FBI burglaries previously reported as having occurred against fourteen unidentified "target" organizations from 1942 to 1968.

With his political police caught red-handed, FBI director Clarence Kelly acknowledged at a news conference last July that the bureau had conducted what he described as "surreptitious

entries" over this 25-year period. These so-called "black-bag jobs" were undertaken, according to the FBI head, in order to "obtain information relative to the security of the nation" and were "paramount in the protection of the country." Cut from the same cloth as his predecessor, Hoover (once aptly described by a Communist Party leader and victim of the 1950's witchhunt as "a prevaricating pimp"), Kelly shamefacedly told reporters at that conference that "I do not note in these activities any gross abuse of authority" (*New York Times*, 29 March).

FBI records already made public indicate that some of the internal information contained in the rifled SWP files was used by Hoover's agents in their notorious Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of disrupting the activities of the SWP and other leftist organizations. Pilfered information on the private lives and backgrounds of SWP members was used in various attempts to cripple party activities. Federal agents supplied anonymous tips to the media concerning arrest records (often on trumped-up charges) of SWP electoral candidates.

In addition, internal differences or tensions within the organization were exploited by the circulation of unsigned and often slanderous letters; the possession of membership lists and addresses was necessary to give these letters an air of credibility. Major arenas of SWP activity, like the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (civil rights activ-

ists arrested in North Carolina) and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, were targeted for disruption. Federal agents sent "poison pen letters" to the employers of SWP members in order to get them fired. Other COINTELPRO provocations resulted in the murders of several Black Panthers.

Equally as scandalous as the revelations arising from the SWP suit is the ease with which the bourgeoisie's professional thugs are excused for their crimes after a few ritual "mea culpas." Even liberal news commentator Bill Moyers was led to remark on his 29 March National Educational Television program:

"Four years ago, you recall, 'White House plumbers' broke into the headquarters of the Democratic Party. A president was eventually toppled as a result. It says a lot that there has been no general outcry over the harassment of the Socialist Workers Party and no evidence that any federal bureaucrat has even been reprimanded."

The left and labor movement must call the perpetrators of these acts to account. The thieving FBI agents, their superiors who authorized the operations and the New York police who provided security must be tried and punished like the criminals they are. The working class will not forget or forgive the bourgeois hypocrisy which accepts burglary, wire-taps, slander, physical assault and even cold-blooded murder as instruments of government policy toward socialist, black and labor militants. ■

is pursued by other labor fakers like Woodcock of the UAW, served to dampen the impact of the strike nationwide. Most observers agree that Fitzsimmons consciously utilized this tactic in order to mollify President Ford and convince him that the work stoppage was not severe enough to justify invoking Taft-Hartley.

Companies who signed "me-too" agreements with the union were given "red stickers" to identify their trucks. For the most part this sowed confusion in the ranks of Teamsters, who were

unclear as to just who had been permitted to operate and who was scabbing. Militants complained that local union bureaucrats commonly accepted payoffs from trucking companies who had signed *no* agreement, in return for the right to red-sticker their vehicles. There was considerable sentiment among rank-and-file Teamsters for a policy of "if you shut one down, shut them all down!"

Fitzsimmons' call for all strikers to return to work also leaves unresolved local bargaining issues, which include key questions of work rules and seniority rights. Under a 1973 contract innovation designed to further suppress rank-and-file militancy, locals are deprived of the power to reject their own contract supplements and call a strike. Local supplements are included in the same package as the master freight agreement. Ratification is by the undemocratic procedure of a nationwide mail ballot supervised by the Department of Labor, and a two-thirds vote is required to reject. Locals which want to strike essentially must get the sanction of the IBT International.

Break With Fitzsimmons/TDC Reformism

It should be clear from the strike-breaking policies pursued by the Teamster bureaucracy that an elected strike committee is needed to conduct the struggle against the companies. But Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), a reformist pressure group inside the IBT, in the first issue of its "daily strike bulletin" instead counseled individual Teamsters to send wires to Fitzsimmons urging that he fight for TDC demands!

As if this impotent tactic weren't bad enough, TDC also called on union members to send President Ford a pathetic appeal which said in part,

"Don't use Taft-Hartley and become a strike-breaking president." This can only spread illusions that the capitalist government can be neutral in the class struggle.

And while in one breath Teamsters for a Decent Contract was demanding that there be no government interference in the strike, in the next it was calling for intervention by the same government into the labor movement: thus TDC is currently publicizing two suits against Teamster locals—one against Thomas "Eddie" Lee, secretary-treasurer of Cleveland Local 407, for interfering with the distribution of TDC literature; the other, in Pittsburgh, demanding the right of locals to ratify their own contracts.

It is precisely the strategy of inviting the government into union affairs that reinforces the IBT bureaucracy's red-baiting claim that the TDC is composed of "outsiders" and allows Fitzsimmons to pose as a defender of union sovereignty. Only a program of class independence from the bourgeoisie and its state can spearhead the fight to oust Fitzsimmons and defeat the companies. Such a program must include demands for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, expropriation of the trucking companies without compensation, a workers party, opposition to racial and sexual oppression and IBT raiding of the Farm Workers.

Lacking such a program, the TDC is seen by class-conscious Teamsters as qualitatively no different from the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. (Fitzsimmons also believes that the federal government is neutral in the class struggle and that Gerald Ford needn't be a strikebreaker.) Only a leadership which breaks from TDC's reformist economism as well as Fitzsimmons' gangsterism can show the way forward. ■



Demonstration by Teamster militants in front of hotel near Chicago where contract negotiations were held.

Death Sentence Commuted After International Protests

NYC Rally Demands Freedom for Desmond Trotter

Desmond Trotter, the young political activist imprisoned on the tiny Caribbean island of Dominica, narrowly escaped the hangman's noose. Trotter's execution on a frame-up murder conviction, scheduled for April 8, was halted by mounting international protest. Rallies were held in Dominica, and on the nearby island of Martinique nearly 4,000 demonstrated on Trotter's behalf. Telegrams of outrage and appeal from Europe and North America flooded the government offices of the tourist-minded petty bureaucrats who run the island of only 72,000 inhabitants. Last week an international delegation went to Dominica and to the neighboring island of Antigua, where they located the only two "witnesses" against Trotter and obtained from them a retraction of their testimony.

These vigorous defense efforts compelled the tinpot tyranny of Dominica's Premier Patrick John to commute the death sentence at the eleventh hour. But Trotter remains in jail, facing a life sentence, and only massive international protest can free him.

At a rally last Sunday in Brooklyn's Bellrose Ballroom, supporters of Trotter's defense hailed the news that the victimized youth would not hang and pledged to continue the fight to free him. The audience of about 125 heard how John and his plantation bosses' "Labour" Party were blocked from implementing the slogan they had hung over the jury room during the trial: "Hang Trotter!"

A member of the international dele-

gation recently returned from Dominica told the audience how they had attempted to visit Trotter in jail, where he had been in solitary confinement for two years. Magistrate Ephram Georges, who had initially agreed to the visit, turned the delegation away, asking "Why is there such international concern for Desmond Trotter? He's just one person." The delegation replied that Trotter is a symbol of political repression under John's brutal regime.

The U.S. delegation, headed by Bernard Wiltshire of the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, was joined by a 17-man delegation from Martinique. The delegation went to Antigua and located the only two civilian witnesses against Trotter, who had earlier admitted to an Antiguan lawyer that they had been coerced into identifying Trotter. One woman disappeared after this confession and did not appear at Trotter's trial; the other spun a web of lies that nearly cost Trotter his life.

The delegation obtained from these "witnesses" a signed statement admitting they had been coerced by the Dominica police to make a false identification, in return for leniency on their threatened arrest for overstaying their visa and drug charges. The Mercy Committee, a six-man panel scheduled to review Trotter's death sentence, was handed the women's confession and an emergency cabinet meeting was called. Following this meeting, Premier John announced the commutation of the death sentence over the radio, then reportedly took to the streets to explain



Demonstration March 31 at the UN demanded freedom for Desmond Trotter. WV Photo

that his action was due to his own magnanimity rather than to the international protest.

The Brooklyn rally—sponsored by the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, Caribbean Student League, Organization for Total Independence of Dominica, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Student Coalition Against Racism, Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League (SL SYL) and others—heard the numerous speakers stress the need to build a powerful and united defense for Trotter. With the exception of the USLA speaker, all the statements of solidarity linked the defense of Trotter to the need to address the miserable economic

conditions in Dominica and the Caribbean.

Most of the speakers placed the defense of Trotter in the political context of pan-Caribbean nationalism. Bernard Wiltshire presented his political views within the framework of non-sectarian defense work. His speech praised the work of USLA, the SWP and PDC and the efforts of the delegation and two WLIB radio announcers. He noted that all had come forward without being asked for help, and that the PDC had been involved in Trotter's defense even before his Defense Committee had been formed. Wiltshire stated that the Trotter case had brought the struggle for the "Caribbean nation" to a higher level; the Defense Committee, in his view, was an

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CP Jobs Rally in Washington



WV Photo

APRIL 5—The National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment (NCFIU), a group led by the reformist Communist Party (CP), held a "Bicentennial March for Jobs" in Washington, D.C., Saturday. Supporters of the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) comprised the bulk of the 1,500 marchers, and the Stalinists lost no opportunity to demonstrate their true-blue class-collaborationist colors. From the high school marching band that led the march, playing "America the Beautiful" all afternoon, to the rostrum of speakers who urged a "pink slip" for Ford and a vote for the Democrats in November, this liberal protest rally was anchored firmly within the orbit of bourgeois electoral politics.

The large YWLL contingent chanted "We Need a J-O-B, So We Can E-A-T" and carried signs reading "Slash the Military Budget," "Youth Too Have a Dream" and "Jobs and Education for All HR 50." The latter referred to the phony "full employment" Hawkins-Humphrey bill. Through NCFIU, the CP has stamped the country gathering 200,000 signatures on a support petition and building numerous rallies and demonstrations for this bill, which is little more than a vehicle for Hubert Humphrey, the undeclared Democratic presidential candidate, to garner election-year publicity. The Stalinists

ballyhoo this measure, attempting to lend credibility to the pretensions of liberal Democrats that full employment can be achieved under capitalism with a little fiscal fine-tuning. A statement by CP leader Daniel Rubin in the April 3 issue of *Daily World* demonstrates that the CP swallows this moldy hoax in the cynical knowledge that it is impotent and meaningless:

"...the acid test for a bill in this field is what it will do to put people to work or alleviate the burdens of unemployment.... By that test, no version of the bill was of great significance, with the present one of much less value. The main argument for it has been its establishment of the policies and rights discussed. As we see, some of these are not new at all, some are contentless, some negative and only some positive. In the current bill, even rights such as the right to a job have no mandated implementation in the bill itself."

These left criticisms (essentially correct) underscore the two-faced hypocrisy of the CP's support to the bill. By the same token, the CP's "independent" electoral campaign is revealed by these pro-Democratic Party rallies to be nothing more than a left cover. The CP is still perched firmly on its "three-legged-stool strategy" one leg in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, one leg in the CP itself, one leg in the mini-"mass movement" of the likes of NCFIU with all three legs planted in the mire of opportunism. ■

Angola...

(continued from page 7)

infiltrations of imperialism."

Just what is the nature of these "infiltrations"? *Le Monde* of 12 March described the repression in the *muqueques*:

"...the MPLA...struck out much more often to its left than to its right. Since the month of October, the local leadership of the autonomous 'people's power' organizations of the population in the Luanda slums...was eliminated after its members had entered into open conflict with the MPLA.

"...the extreme left, which immediately demanded a dominant role for the Angolan working class (therefore incompatible with the frontist strategy of the Movement) disappeared in Luanda. Today, even though the leaders do not fail to attack the 'pseudo-revolutionaries' in their speeches, no evidence of this far left is perceptible. In contrast, the hatching of a caste of nouveaux riches strikes the eyes."

What has surfaced instead is a demagogic appeal to racist hostility among impoverished blacks against whites and mulattos, including the leadership of the MPLA. The *Washington Post* (1 March) reported that "In recent weeks there have been public demonstrations assailing what were termed pro-white and pro-mulatto bias in government policy" in Luanda.

On the few occasions that the phenomenon has been mentioned in the American press this racist appeal has been ascribed to "young, city-based leftists trying to win popular support" (*ibid.*). *Le Monde*, however, lays the origins of this racial demagoguery at the feet of the new rich. It is worth quoting its account in detail:

"Almost all of the retail trade and transport services are in the hands of newcomers, whose rapaciousness hardly seems compatible with the declared objectives of the MPLA. In the space of a few months, tens of thousands of Angolans have gone from the status of clerks or lower-level technicians and white-collar employees to that of businessmen with a house of their own or department managers....

"On the other hand, the pressure of the popular masses is increasing. They now demand a considerable improvement in their living conditions, in all areas. Those who bore most of the sacrifices of the war do not intend to be excluded from the fruits of what they consider their victory. Obviously, the privileges of one group cannot be reconciled with the demands of the other.

"The problem will be posed in particularly confusing conditions. First of all, in leaving their social program vague the MPLA leaders gave everyone the illusion that they would defend interests that were in fact quite divergent: there will be a rude awakening. On the other hand, it is not clear in which framework this confrontation can be solved.... The best cadre are involved in the armed forces, where they have been assigned administrative tasks. The 'opportunists' occupy positions within the Movement [MPLA], up to the highest levels.

"This situation favors the formation of a 'coalition of malcontents,' manipulated by those who do not wish to lose their new privileges, and who often use demagogic arguments. It is in this manner that a black racism is developing against the mulattos, who play a preponderant role in the higher levels of the MPLA."

The article goes on to ascribe to the army—"the only organized force"—a "preponderant role in the denouement of the crisis." But it also reports that during December a regiment in Luanda mutinied and the Cuban contingent had to take over security in the capital.

What Anti-Imperialism?

The return of Gulf Oil to Cabinda and the request by the international Diamang consortium for Angolan state participation in its diamond mines (to increase labor discipline) give a good idea of the future outlines of the PRA's policy toward imperialist investment in the key sectors of its economy. However, in various left newspapers there has been much talk of popular represen-

tation in companies and state enterprises (e.g., Burchett's enthusiastic account of "Workers Control in Angola," *Guardian*, 17 March). The reality of this phony "workers control" was shown in the 28 February *Le Monde*.

French newsmen who visited a coffee plantation of the Agricultural Company of Angola (CADA) found it still under the management of the Espirito Santo group. This was until last year a major Portuguese monopoly, now nationalized by the Lisbon government; today its main holdings are in Angola and Brazil. "Events required the administrators of the company to leave Portugal and locate themselves in Luanda"! So even with a center-right government in the former metropolitan center currently cracking down on leftists, "socialist" Angola is a main base for one of the top Portuguese trusts!

There have been "problems," the article reports. After April 1974 the *fazenda* (estate) workforce of 3,000 went on strike for the first time and doubled their wages. "However, since according to the new agreement food is no longer furnished by the company, it is not clear that this wage increase will compensate for the rise in the price of food." The account goes on:

"The workers commission? 'A simple consultative organ,' responded the manager, who hastened to add: 'Management's powers are intact.' In any case, the importance of the company is such that in case of a sharp social conflict it turns to arbitration by the government, whose general attitude was judged 'very reasonable.' The managers even considered a nationalization quite implausible."

"Nationalize CADA? The eight members of the coordinating committee of the workers commission (six administrative employees and two foremen) were very astonished to hear such an incongruous question posed."

Already in Ben Bella's Algeria, such state-controlled "workers committees" proved a key instrument of the bourgeois government in disciplining the working masses who had been mobilized in the course of a struggle for independence. Those who today praise the "socialism" of Neto & Co. should look at the history of Algeria and consider the sorry fate of its "self-management committees" and union federation (not to mention that of the left-posturing Ben Bella regime, which was subsequently effortlessly overthrown by Boumediene).

The initial measures of the "People's Republic" fully bear out our earlier statements that the MPLA was committed to building a bourgeois Angola. They also clearly confirm the Spartacist tendency's insistence that it is only under the most exceptional historical circumstances that petty-bourgeois nationalist or Stalinist guerrillas have created bureaucratically deformed workers states such as China or Cuba.

The most far-sighted imperialist regimes, along with Lisbon's military rulers and major investors, recognized some time ago that the MPLA was the only one of the three contending nationalist formations with sufficient educated cadres and administrative personnel to run a post-colonial government. Hence the new regime will not be forced to the left by the kind of imperialist intransigence which confronted Castro. Already, the new rulers in Luanda have moved decisively against their left flank by firmly repressing the workers and poor in the capital and outlawing any potential socialist opposition.

As we have repeatedly emphasized—and a recounting of the MPLA's first weeks in office confirms—complete liberation of the Angolan masses from imperialism can only be accomplished by the proletariat in power, led by a Trotskyist proletarian vanguard party, forged on the program of permanent revolution and closely linked to the powerful working class of South Africa. ■

Plyushch...

(continued from page 7)

fears will be *nothing* compared to that of the reactionary holocaust which would follow the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Convinced that the working class is impotent and apathetic despite proletarian uprisings in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956 and Poland in 1970, as well as a number of strikes in the Soviet Union Plyushch can only counsel leftists to forget about revolution in Eastern Europe. Inviting imperialist warmongers like Henry Jackson and religious leaders of every sect to join him, Plyushch appeals to the bourgeoisie to put pressure on the Soviet bureaucrats to give Stalinism a "human face."

Refuses to Take Position on Defense of USSR

During the discussion period, a supporter of the Spartacist League (SL) pointed out that the parasitic bureaucracy of the Soviet Union plays a role similar in many ways to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy of trade unions in the United States. While the SL calls for the ouster of the sellout union bureaucrats, he said, it does not claim that the trade unions have ceased to be workers organizations because they are led by class traitors. Similarly, the fact that the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies must be overthrown does not change the *class* nature of the Soviet Union. The dictatorship of the proletariat remains, although saddled with a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste that transmits the pressures of imperialism and ultimately prepares the way for counterrevolution. The SL calls for political revolution in the USSR precisely to *defend* the social conquests of the October Revolution.

The SL speaker proceeded to raise the crucial question of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack:

"You have stated that you consider the Soviet Union to be 'state capitalist' and regard our characterization of a 'degenerated workers state' as an 'error of the Trotskyites.' We would point out that many of those who consider the USSR 'state capitalist' logically enough refuse to defend it against imperialism and counterrevolution. Trotsky always held that unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union was an absolute necessity for communists and all class-conscious workers. As he wrote in his 'Letter to the Workers of the USSR' in 1940: 'Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might.' What is your position, Comrade Plyushch? Do you stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and counterrevolution?"

While nothing in Plyushch's address indicated that he sees anything worth defending in the Soviet Union, his answer to the SL spokesman's question was evasive. In fact, he now apologized for having raised political issues at all:

"I am very sorry that instead of talking more about political prisoners I began to elaborate all sorts of theories. It seems to me that this whole question is so complicated that we can't just lay it all out and decide everything right here. We must keep in mind the political prisoners.

"I do believe that in order to make our defense of Soviet political prisoners more effective, we must understand the nature of the Soviet state. But for that

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we'd need a second discussion just for this one question. If leftists start to talk about the nature of the state, they're going to quarrel and they'll never be able to come to terms, never be able to agree on the defense of Soviet political prisoners.

"It's easier to come to agreement on what the Soviet Union is not: it is not socialism, it is not humanism, it is not internationalism, it is not democracy."

On the Road to Anti-Communism

Revolutionary militants sharply denounce the Stalinist repression which imprisoned mathematician Plyushch in a psychiatric torture center for three years for the "crime" of criticizing the bureaucracy. We also note the important fact that Plyushch declares himself to be a socialist. This stands in positive contrast to so many exiled Soviet dissidents who have become virulent anti-Communist demagogues; the most prominent, of course, being Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who now praises the "Christian virtues" of tsarist Russia and hails the Francoist dictatorship in Spain as a model of freedom.

However, in an earlier article, entitled "Dissident Plyushch Freed: Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in USSR!" (*WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976), we pointed out:

"...now that he is out of the USSR Plyushch must face a concrete choice: he will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists anxious to use the issue of the persecution of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism."

The social democrat-sponsored panel discussion on March 4, and his appearance together with U.S. senator Henry Jackson at Manhattan Center a week earlier (see *WV* No. 103, 2 April), indicate that despite his insistence that he is a "neo-Marxist," Plyushch has gone more than a few steps down the road to collaboration with the class enemy. His failure to defend the conquests of October and evident fear of revolution lead him into the arms of those who favored saturation bombing in Vietnam and use grain exports as a means of imperialist blackmail of the Soviet Union. Consciously or unconsciously, the prophets of despair become the allies of reaction. ■

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Trotter...

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"embryo of the workings of the Caribbean nation." "From Cuba to Guyana we are one nation," he said; "we will say what must be done with the product of our labor."

Alfie Roberts, speaking on behalf of the International Caribbean Service Bureau in Montreal, also stressed pan-Caribbean nationalism. He focused on Cuba as the model for West Indian revolution and praised Cuba's "revolutionary role in Angola." He urged the audience to study the Caribbean "tradition of internationalism" by reading the works of Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, C.L.R. James and Franz Fanon.

In its message of solidarity the Spartacist League linked the Trotter defense to a strategy for a socialist federation of the Caribbean. SL/SYL speaker Gerald Smith emphasized international proletarian solidarity to free Trotter as part of an "uncompromising commitment—which is a long-held principle in the communist movement—to fight for the unconditional freedom of all class-war prisoners. For us, for proletarians of all nations, there can be no justice under capitalism!"

Smith pointed out that Trotter, a leader of the Movement for a New Dominica, was "being used as a scapegoat for the government's inability to solve the depression conditions in Dominica." Stressing the role of the working class and the need for the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, Smith offered a sharp criticism of pan-Caribbean nationalism and Cuban Stalinism as revolutionary models:

"Black Power" schemes, whether they are called 'pan-Caribbean nationalism' or 'pan-Africanism,' offer the masses no solution. Only through a working-class offensive against our class enemies—the Patrick Johns, Eric Williams, Michael Manleys and Duvaliers—and their imperialist masters is real social revolution possible. But neither can we look to Cuba as an alternative—its aid to the 'progressive' Manley regime in Jamaica includes money to train his native police force! Our defense of Cuba against imperialism should not in any way inhibit our criticism of this betrayal. A better educated and trained Jamaican police force would be used to arrest more Desmond Trotters!"

The PDC speaker presented the perspective of a mass class-struggle defense organization on the order of the International Red Aid that existed in the 1920's under the leadership of the revolutionary Communist International. Emphasizing "the unknown Desmond Trotters throughout the Caribbean and the world," he ended his message of solidarity by recalling the class-struggle traditions of the workers movement: "There is an old trade-union slogan. It is simple but has become the victim of years of betrayal. It is, 'An Injury to One is an Injury to All!' The PDC is determined to fight along with all those for whom 'Freedom for

Desmond Trotter' is the slogan."

Other messages of solidarity were read. These included statements from C.L.R. James, Caribbean Unity Conference, SWP Congressional candidate Pat Wright, Ethiopian Students Union, Caribbean Socialist League, Pan African Students Organization, Caribbean Student League, Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906, New Beginning Movement and Junior Cattle Defense Committee. The speaker from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU praised the Waterfront and Allied Workers Union of Dominica for its support to Trotter's freedom and drew applause when he announced his group was sending telegrams to the British Labour Party and TGWU urging action on behalf of Trotter.

Political differentiation emerged within the context of the united struggle to free Desmond Trotter. Following the remarks of the SL/SYL speaker, the rally's chairman interjected that she felt personally obligated to reassert that Cuba is a fine example "for our struggle." The Cuba issue was again raised during the discussion period and informally following the meeting. Only the USLA and SWP supporters maintained as though it were a principle that defense work was not political, although the rally itself clearly demonstrated that pan-Caribbean nationalists, Trotskyists and others could unite around the Trotter defense as long as they were free to present their own motivations for

For more information on how you can assist the campaign, contact:

**DESMOND TROTTER
DEFENSE COMMITTEE**
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New York, NY 10003
Phone: (212) 254-6062 or
(212) 666-8451

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DEFENSE COMMITTEE**
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London N. 4, England
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undertaking this important work. In the fight for non-sectarian defense it will be those who argue that politics "alienates" the masses who pose the real danger of narrowing the broad base of the struggle.

The rally enthusiastically agreed to send a resolution to the Dominica government demanding review of the Trotter case and his exoneration and immediate freedom.

Join the campaign to free Desmond Trotter! Cable Premier Patrick John, Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies to demand immediate, unconditional release of Desmond Trotter. (Copies should be mailed to: Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, P.O. Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.) Only mass international protest will free Desmond Trotter! ■

San Francisco...

(continued from page 12)

the city, and sewage plants have been allowed to continue operation under supervisory personnel. Although Muni drivers have unenthusiastically respected the picket lines, many other workers have not.

Conversations with strikers in various parts of the city Friday revealed great concern over the scabbing, and cynicism about the union leadership. Several picketers told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that at some point "something extreme" might happen. One such incident may have involved the traffic signals, which snarled extra-heavy rush hour traffic by continuously blinking red. At city hall a union militant complained that the leadership was uninterested in building a solid strike. "They want us out here impressing the public about how we're good boys," he told *WV*. Everyone standing around agreed that the public would be a lot more impressed by a show of determination than the present namby-pamby half-hearted militancy.

The failure of the Labor Council to halt or even significantly cut back the number of workers going into city hall or the hospitals, despite an SEIU vote to respect the picket lines, has been a source of much gloating by the board of supervisors, who have locked themselves away and sent their errand boy Mahler out to talk to the enraged union leaders. Meanwhile, Mayor Moscone has assumed a fake "neutral" stance, letting the supervisors take the heat in the hope that he might play a mediation role later.

Until now most of the talk of a general strike has come from Moscone rather than the union leaders. But having put their authority on the line and no results to show for it, some of the local union bigwigs, such as George Evankovich of the Laborers Union, have begun threatening to "escalate the strike until it's a general strike" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 April). Even Crowley has warned of the "very grave possibility" of a general strike and made reference to the

verbal support of Harry Bridges of the ILWU. Some piers were, in fact, shut down briefly by roving pickets on Wednesday, indicating the tremendous potential for a militant city-wide mass strike. Yet the labor bureaucrats obviously fear such an escalation, which could get "out of control" with the enraged ranks brushing them aside. At last report, the union leaders have agreed to resume negotiations in the presence of a "neutral" observer—former San Francisco mayor George Christopher.

It is clear that a powerful general strike is necessary to beat back the attacks of the city officials. An effective general strike means not only militant tactics, but also a qualitative broadening of the demands. The demand must be raised to reopen all city workers' contracts, to win large wage increases, 100 percent cost-of-living protection and more hiring, not cutbacks, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay.

The bourgeoisie's scare tactic of threatening higher taxes must be answered by a call to cancel the city debt and expropriate the rapacious banks without compensation. Furthermore, a general strike must demand abolition of all the anti-labor propositions and legalization of the right of public workers to strike. This means a fight to break the unions from the capitalist parties and build an independent workers party, to fight for a workers government—a task requiring the ousting of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy by a class-struggle leadership committed to fighting on to victory instead of finagling with the bosses. ■

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Funds Urgently Needed for Philip Allen Defense

Philip Allen, the victim of a racist frame-up, accused of shooting Los Angeles sheriff's deputies last year is now appealing his conviction in court. But the costs of an adequate legal defense at the appellate court level are simply out of reach of the victims of bourgeois class "justice."

The ability to raise funds can mean the difference between an unjust prison term and freedom! The Philip Allen Defense Committee is under tremendous financial strain and has a pressing need for funds *immediately*. The PDC urges *WV* readers to send contributions to:

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Pickets at San Francisco Muni transit barn last week.

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO, April 3—Despite the impressive labor strength demonstrated by the shutdown of mass transit here this week, the city board of supervisors and S.F. mayor George Moscone went ahead and signed into law a stringent new wage ordinance on April 1. The wage package for 1,900 skilled tradesmen and 18,500 "miscellaneous" city workers was presented at the last minute with a high-handed "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude by the board's special negotiator, Patrick Mahler. Mahler is being paid \$3,000 per month for his services.

This display of arrogance by S.F. city officials is a reflection of the bourgeoisie's current drive for severe austerity in the public sector. Last November's municipal elections marked a shift to a get-tough policy which relies more on direct confrontation with the working class than on mediation by the trade-union bureaucracy (the style of former mayor Alioto) in maintaining bourgeois order. The electorate, particularly the heavily taxed petty bourgeoisie, was worked into an anti-labor frenzy by a campaign of lies in the Hearst press about \$17,000-a-year street sweepers.

The new mayor and budget-slashing majority of the supervisors were armed by the passage of Proposition B, which erased a 30-year-old city charter provision pegging municipal craft workers' pay to the prevailing rate in private industry. With the parity formula repealed, the board moved Monday to slash the wages of skilled tradesmen (machinists, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, etc.) by \$2,000-\$4,000 plus per year. Limited wage increases for the non-crafts workers came to only \$2.3 million, as against the \$65 million originally demanded by the unions.

The glaring exception to the austerity budget was an 11 percent raise for the Teamsters and 15 percent for the Stationary Engineers, strategically placed workers who run the sewage

plants, among other things. As one city official admitted, "The game plan was to first go after two key unions—the Teamsters and the Stationary Engineers. Call it a buy-off" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 26 March 1976).

San Francisco rulers have begun a frontal assault on the city unions by using "salami tactics," first slicing off the craft workers. The potential division within the workforce fostered by the great gap between the wages of skilled tradesmen and those of other municipal employees has been skillfully exploited by the union-busting supervisors. Decades of neglect of the bulk of city workers by the union tops are now coming home to roost with widespread scabbing on the craft unions' strike. "I want to know what I'm going to get now," snapped one black woman as she brushed past a picketer at city hospital on April 1.

The last-minute bargaining, led by Jack Crowley of the San Francisco Labor Council, served to fuel the bitterness of lower-paid workers. On March 25, shortly before the new ordinance was to be enacted, bureaucrats of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) rammed through approval of the token pay raise for their members, largely clerks and nurses. It was only when the city proposed to cut deeply into craft workers' pay that Crowley balked. The narrow labor aristocracy of tradesmen is the core of the local union bureaucracy's social support.

Thus the single focus of Crowley's strike call was to defend the old wage-parity formula for craft workers. The strategy was to put pressure on city hall by stopping mass transit (Muni) and harassing other services such as the airport, without actually shutting down the city. No attempt has yet been made to close the schools or halt trucking in

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LATE BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 6—The S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) today voted to prepare a general strike against drastic pay cuts ordered by the city board of supervisors for municipal craftsmen. It would be the first general strike in the city in more than 40 years, since San Francisco labor shut the city down in 1934 to back a strike by longshoremen.

This morning CLC head Jack Crowley announced that the union body's executive committee had voted to back a general strike, but did not set a date. Crowley said that council members were going back to consult with their unions and it would take "several days" to organize.

The tension in the city craft unions' strike, which began March 31, has increased as the labor tops gradually escalate their tactics. Today began with a strike by Teamster taxi drivers at Yellow Cab Co., which operates 500 of the 850 San Francisco cabs. When striking municipal employees sent pickets to the school bus garages, drivers refused to cross the lines. Meanwhile, Muni transit drivers continue to solidly back the tradesmen. There have been no city buses and streetcars since last Wednesday.

Police harassment of the strikers has also increased, with as much as one cop per picket at many sites. As we go to press there are reports of more than 100 picketers massed at San Francisco International Airport facing scores of police. One account termed the situation at the airport a "near riot."

The ILWU is formally committed to backing the municipal unions' strike action. Longshore leader Harry Bridges yesterday quipped, "Well, I came in during a general strike, and it looks like I may be going out with one." However, the ILWU has not called out the longshoremen and warehousemen in sympathy action, and has done nothing to prepare for a serious mass strike.

The CLC tops likewise have not mobilized their ranks for militant union action to smash the draconian wage cut. Instead they are trying to use the threat of a general strike to pressure their Democratic Party friends in city hall. It remains to be seen whether the militancy of the ranks and the intransigency of city officials will force the pro-capitalist labor fakers to go farther than they intend.

San Francisco mayor George Moscone has in effect dared the unions to carry out their threats, predicting that a general strike would never get off the ground. In response Crowley talked of closing the airport, the Golden Gate and Oakland Bay bridges and Highway 101, moves which would largely seal off the city. The first test of strength may be at the airport.

Any successful general strike would quickly bring down the full weight of the state against the strike. All Bay Area labor must prepare to come to the aid of embattled San Francisco workers.

Now is the time for the working class to draw the line. S.F. officials and the chamber of commerce have for several years been waging a campaign to break the municipal unions, particularly since the explosive city workers strike of February 1974. The unions must grasp the tremendous potential for labor solidarity to take the offensive and fight for a program that offers a real answer to the workers' needs.

—Smash the wage cut! For a militant S.F. general strike!

—Reopen all city workers' contracts—Reject the insulting pact negotiated by Crowley! For a big raise and full cost-of-living protection! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!

—For mass picketing and a democratically elected strike committee! Organize to militantly defend the picket lines!

—Prepare to smash a government anti-strike injunction! Abolish the anti-labor charter amendments!

—Cancel the city debt—Expropriate the banks!

—Break with the bosses' parties—Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!