



Effigy of security guard—and a warning—outside Justus Mine at Stearns, Kentucky. WV Photo



Striking miners hold a meeting at local union "hall," scene of nightly attacks by company gun thugs. United Mine Workers Journal

Guns Blaze in the Coalfields

Class Warfare in Stearns, Ky.

STEARNS, Kentucky, May 28—From 1 a.m. until 3:30 this morning, picketing coal miners in this tiny town not far from the Tennessee line came under a barrage of gunfire—more than 200 rounds—by criminal gun thugs of the Storm Security Service at the struck Justus Mine. Forty-five caliber slugs, buckshot and automatic weapons fire ripped overhead as strikers crowded in a

WV EXCLUSIVE

four-foot deep fox hole behind sandbag fortifications.

Between volleys, militants stood up with a megaphone to curse and ridicule the guards. The company goons fired from 200 yards' distance, behind their own bunkers, with the knowledge that the strikers were more than willing to defend themselves. Were it not for this fact, miners told a WV reporter who spent the night with them in their picket site, the gun thugs hired by the Stearns Mining Company would overrun the union's fortifications, drive off the pickets and break the ten-month-old strike.

The miners, however, have no intention of giving ground. "They won't run nobody off," one picket commented during a lull in the firing. "It'd be like running from your own home." Another striker pointed out that if union reinforcements are needed, most of the strikers live within a few miles of the struck mine.

The bitter class warfare in Stearns has become one of the hottest points in the eastern coalfields, which have been swept by one massive wildcat after another during the last four years. Already it has assumed the proportions of the 1973-74 strike at Brookside Mine in Harlan County, 80 miles to the east of

here. Yet the Stearns strike has been ignored by the news media and even by the left press.

The strike, which began last July 17 with a 151-to-1 vote, is to force the company to accept the national bituminous coal contract with the United Mine Workers (UMW), which has been certified as bargaining agent for the miners by the National Labor Relations Board. Safety is a major issue in the strike. One of the key demands is for an elected union safety committee. The Stearns Mining Company is a subsidiary of the notorious Blue Diamond Coal Company which also owns the Scotia Mine where 26 workers were killed in March 1976. Conditions at the Justus Mine are equally dangerous. When government safety inspectors tour the mine, the company has ample warning to eliminate flagrant safety

hazards. Miners say that the bosses threaten to fire any worker who complains about safety to the inspectors.

Battle Zone

Management broke off negotiations in late January, and the importation of hired gunmen was the first step in an attempt to resume production with scab labor (see "Miners Resist Coal Operators' Gun Thugs," WV No. 158, 20 May). However, militant resistance from the strikers has halted these plans. Strung up on a tree stump in front of the union "hall" (a cabin located just down the road from the entrance to the Justus Mine) is an effigy of a company security guard. Next to him is a sign which says in no uncertain terms, "Warning: The Stearns miners have determined that scabbing is dangerous to your health."

Round-the-clock picketing makes sure this warning is heeded.

Blue Diamond's determination to keep the UMW out of its mines has turned the Justus compound and surrounding woods into a battle zone. International organizer Lee Potter and UMW director of organizing John Cox showed WV reporters a line of trees cut down by massive company gunfire. This was so heavy one night that the strikers gathered up the severed branches to add to their bonfire.

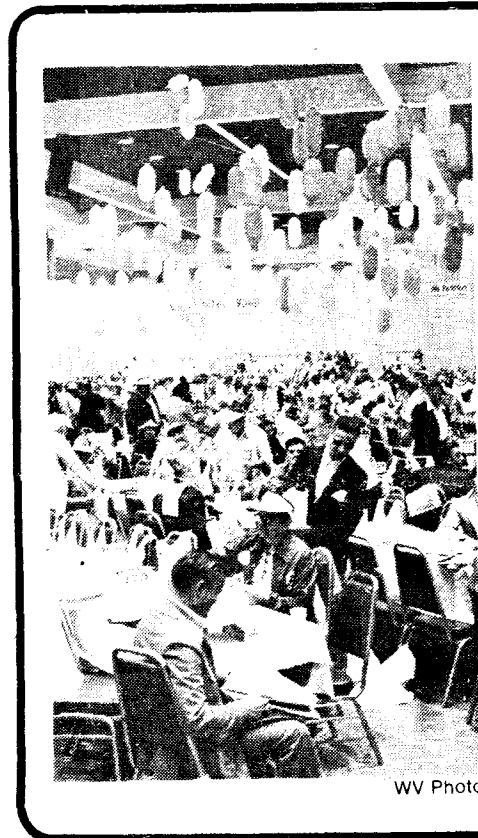
The shooting has continued nightly, and sometimes in broad daylight, for months since the Storm Security outfit was brought into Stearns in February. "It began the first day they came in," one worker said. Previously, picketing was peaceful and effective with no scabs daring to dig coal, although company officials have been entering the compound daily under police escort.

The small cabin built for pickets had all its windows shot out and its walls riddled with bullet holes. "You'll be sitting there playing cards," one worker said, "and next thing you know you'll be looking for a hole." An estimated 30 guards live inside company property and shoot at the strikers from behind steel-reinforced bunkers made of railroad ties and sandbags. Their food and ammunition comes in by helicopter.

Miners estimated that the Storm Security goons frequently fire 500 rounds or more per night. In fact, pickets described this morning's gunfire as light and speculated that the guards' supplies were low since no helicopter had landed for a few days. According to the strikers, the gun thugs' ammunition includes exploding shells, deer slugs and tracer bullets.

Miners say that individual guards do not stay at the mines for more than a few weeks in most cases. Many are chronically unemployed or ex-convicts from distant areas whose only care is the money and liquor that Storm and Blue

continued on page 8



WV Photo

Woodcock to Peking, Peanuts for Auto Workers

Carter Tub-Thumping at UAW Convention ...6

Letters

Herreshoff/WV: Round Three

22 April 1977

To the Editor:

You may be correct: the Muste quotation you cited in defense of your trade union policy may not be an expression of his personal view and may be representative of the Trotskyist line on the CIO as of the end of 1935. But the quotations from Cannon and Swabeck you hunted up to buttress your opinion don't really supply solid support for it. Cannon and Swabeck, as quoted by you (*WV* 145, 4: 8-77), don't call the conflict between the AFL and CIO bureaucrats "a mock battle" nor do they identify Lewis and Hillman as "more dangerous" than Green and Woll. Cannon and Swabeck simply identify the leaders of the AFL and CIO as bourgeois labor leaders with a common ideology. You are energetic researchers, and I surmise that if you had found Cannon and Swabeck saying something closer to what Muste said, you would have printed it. In the absence of more pertinent quotations, your insistence that what Muste said "obviously carried the full authority of the party" leaves me unpersuaded. If you could give up the idea that a Bolshevik paper always has a coherent line, you wouldn't feel the need to make such assertions.

But to me this is a side issue. Even if your undemonstrated conclusion about Muste is obviously correct, you still have to compare what was written in the *New Militant* with what was done by worker members of the party in the unions. The paper and the party's fractions were not always on precisely the same line. Purely literary studies of the party's policies are therefore likely to result in big misconceptions. Your reply to me is a case in point. No one reading it could learn from it that the Trotskyists systematically sought and made blocs with "progressives" in the unions in the 30s and 40s. I myself was a close observer and participant in such blocs for a decade. I can tell you something about them if you are willing to listen. Our blocs in general were alliances with unionists who were militant on economic issues and who voted for Roosevelt. During World War II and afterwards, the rubber fraction, of which I was a member, consistently supported the George Bass faction in local union elections and international union conventions. The workers and union officers in the caucus were overwhelmingly social-patriotic but were nevertheless against the no-strike pledge. I never heard tell that anybody in the party ever objected to what we were doing in the URW. Still, you chide me for drawing conclusions about SWP

union policy "flatly contradictory to the practice" of my generation of Trotskyists. Do you know anything about that practice other than what you read in the bound volumes? Do you comprehend what you read therein?

Now whether all the blocs we made were good blocs is properly open to review. I believe there was too consistent an adaptation to "progressive" unionists. Then sometimes we made internal union democracy—in the sense of elbow room for us—the key to our orientation. We chose to support unions where we had an in and the CP couldn't freeze us out. That was the case in California in the campaign to organize cannery workers. We had an AFL orientation there—a product of our bloc with Harry Lundberg of the SUP and of the fact that the CP ran the CIO affiliate in the field. Trotsky was worried about such adaptations in 1940. His proposal that the SWP support Browder in the 1940 presidential election, if accepted, would have blown our bloc with Lundberg and others like it sky high. That would have been salutatory for the revolutionary soul of the party.

Your proposition that revolutionists "cannot give support to candidates in union elections in the absence of a break with the class collaborationism of the bureaucracy on at least one key issue" is one that I am entirely at ease with.

By your own account Muste in 1935 believed that the left SPers could be won over to the Workers Party if the WP did good mass work. But to think that the WP had already gathered the essential cadres of the revolutionary party and could go directly to the masses without bothering much about the existence of rival tendencies in the workers movement was an error. It was a sectarian ultimatum misconception and you can't clear him of it by pointing out his eagerness to do mass work; Oehler too was hot to do mass work and he was plenty sectarian.

David Herreshoff

WV replies: Without once again going into issues such as the self-evident necessity for a Bolshevik paper to present the party's coherent political line, we would like to refer Comrade Herreshoff to our four-part series on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions," in *WV* Nos. 25 to 28. The series includes a description of SWP policy of blocking with sectors of "progressive" trade unionists during the 1930's and 1940's, and presents some criticisms. This history summarizes our knowledge of the SWP's actual practices during the period. We of course welcome the information which participants such as Herreshoff can provide on the basis of personal experience.

The question of the SWP's blocs with trade-union "progressives" in the 1930's would require a detailed examination of the specific instances. But Trotsky's and the SWP's own verdict on the policy reveals the danger the tactic poses if "the primacy of politics" is forgotten, above and beyond the principled nature of any particular bloc. We recall that in the 1940 discussions Trotsky, with Cannon concurring, was highly critical of the SWP's failure to build an independent political pole in the unions distinct from episodic blocs around immediate issues.

One thing especially is left unclear in Comrade Herreshoff's letter, namely where he stands on critical support to Sadlowski. This is what gave rise to this exchange in the first place. In a number of articles we demonstrated how Sadlowski had in fact *not* broken from the class collaboration of the bureaucracy on any cutting issue. We cited his affinities for Reutherism and exposed his real stand on the no-strike ENA pact

when the rest of the left was covering up for their "rank-and-file rebel." A talk by a class-struggle oppositionist in the Steelworkers union ("Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel," *WV* No. 155, 29 April) showed how the Sadlowski candidacy was not qualitatively different from the Abel and Rarick campaigns.

Now the 1977 steel contract has come and gone. If Sadlowski really opposed the ENA, as the CP and SWP claimed (they both said, in fact, that ENA was *the* issue), then steel workers could legitimately have expected some action from him to fight it. Class-struggle unionists would have been very interested in a bloc with Sadlowski forces to smash ENA through strike action. But even though "Steelworkers Fight Back" controlled the key District 31, it did nothing. Just a couple of paper resolutions and a press release.

We told the truth to steel workers: a vote for Sadlowski would *not* contribute to breaking the bureaucratic stranglehold. At most it would have put a slicker labor faker in office, and it would have done nothing about ENA. Don't forget Arnold Miller: mine workers have already experienced the solution which left-wing Sadlowski boosters advocated, and they are paying the price in broken strikes and a miserable contract. Let's see the SWP and CP tell militant West Virginia coal miners why it was right to vote for Miller and his Labor Department-backed phony "reform" movement in 1972. They would be lucky to get off the stage in one piece.

Let Clams Stew?

20 May 1977

To the Editor:

The article in 13 V 77 *WV* correctly notes that the Clamshell Alliance of well-heeled 'environmentalists' and parasitic hippies is no part of the workers movement. Why, then, call for their release without charge, any more than one would raise a call like Free All Traffic Violators? It is one thing to deplore the petty harassment that the state often brings to bear on criminals, another to raise a slogan that suggests that the crime is in any way politically defensible. The editors seem to have been led a bit beyond the proper measure by their justified distaste for the Clammies' main bourgeois antagonist, Gov. Thomson. True, the Governor years for the days before there were unions; but the ecofreaks seem to harken back even further, somewhere in the early Ape Age. It is no accident that the same protestors shower their tender concern on whales, seals, dogs, worms and what have you. Theirs is an essentially animalian enterprise.

When dealing with the increasingly prominent issue of nuclear energy, it is essential for Marxists to point out (as in the excellent 25 II 1977 *WV*) (1) our commitment to a high and rising material standard of living, which can be compassed only by an advancing organization of production, including both technological and social innovations (2) the inability of capitalists in their dotage to carry out the necessary program of e.g. nuclear development. Hampered by anachronistic property relations and short-term profit constraints, bosses resort to such idiocy as building a reactor near a geological fault, skimping on waste-disposal procedures, etc. By contrast, the Soviet deformed workers state is proceeding smoothly and soberly with construction and operation of fission plants and the

development of fusion technology.

I bother to bring up again what you already dealt with so masterfully in February because the Clamshellers, ZPGers and the rest are probably a more dangerous immediate opponent to socialist recruitment than the mossback bosses the Governor represents. Their political vocabulary ranges bizarrely from the Durruti column through the Weathermen down to Peter Paul and Mary; in Germany, the illusion of leftness has been further strengthened by the participation of ostensibly Marxist groups in atom-plant stormings. More than, say, US Nazis, they have the potential for explosive growth, for they feed on a widespread, if still low-level, social necrosis: the desire to return to the trees, to subsist on berries, to regress to the womb of prehistory.

D. Justice

WV replies: The writer has accurately divined the reference point of the Clamshell Alliance on the scale of political evolution. But really now, just because this conglomeration of hippies and atavistic muddleheads isn't part of the workers movement doesn't mean we can't protest their victimization. For shame, D. Justice.

The Clams, after all, committed no crime from the point of view of the working class. They violated private property in a protest and were subjected to a mass round-up that trampled upon their democratic rights. To answer the writer's question: if police rounded up more than 1,000 demonstrators, charging them with traffic violations, we might well object. Such high-handed bonapartist methods are ultimately directed against *labor and the left*. Just look at who took the brunt of the massive repression against anti-nuclear-power demonstrators in West Germany. (We protested that also.)

Of course, if it were a Klan rally or similar gathering of anti-working-class terrorists that was busted up, we wouldn't complain. But it's pretty far-fetched to view the Clams as that kind of a danger. The environmentalist fad in the U.S. is probably not so great a threat as D. Justice suggests. These are not really the leading edge of neo-Malthusian conservatism, but the hang-dog tail-end of New Left Moralism.

And by the way, Soviet nuclear plants aren't all that safe. Several have been built unnecessarily close to large cities and there has been at least one serious accident. The bureaucracy is not noted for its concern for the health and safety of the workers.

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At Chicago Debate

SL Blasts ACLU Defense of Fascists

CHICAGO—On May 24 a debate on "Free Speech for Fascists?" was held at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus. Rusty Gilbert of the "Chicago Anti-Nazi Coalition" had organized the meeting to feature himself and David Goldberger, legal director of the Illinois ACLU who is currently defending Frank Collin, leader of the fascist National Socialist Party of America. But the real "debate" at the meeting was between the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) and the ex-Trotskyist reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Until minutes before the debate, Gilbert refused to allow the SL a place on the panel since, he said, "I have your line." But though Gilbert opposes defending fascists' "rights" in court, he and his isolated and adventurist Anti-Nazi Coalition have no effective strategy for mobilizing the working masses to fight fascism, while the SL works toward the organization of trade-union defense guards to repulse the fascist scum.

When a small group convened for the poorly publicized debate, Gilbert—under pressure from Goldberger—finally agreed to allow an SL spokesman to join the panel. SWP members present were also offered a seat on the panel but declined.

Goldberger presented the classic civil-libertarian approach of legalistic, classless argumentation in favor of defending "free speech" for fascists. Conceding that the matter of fascists' "rights" is "an emotional issue," he announced, "I like the First Amendment." As a civil libertarian, the ACLU director views the capitalist state as a "neutral" arbiter of abstract democratic rights (see "Why the ACLU Defends Fascists," *WV* No. 157, 13 May).

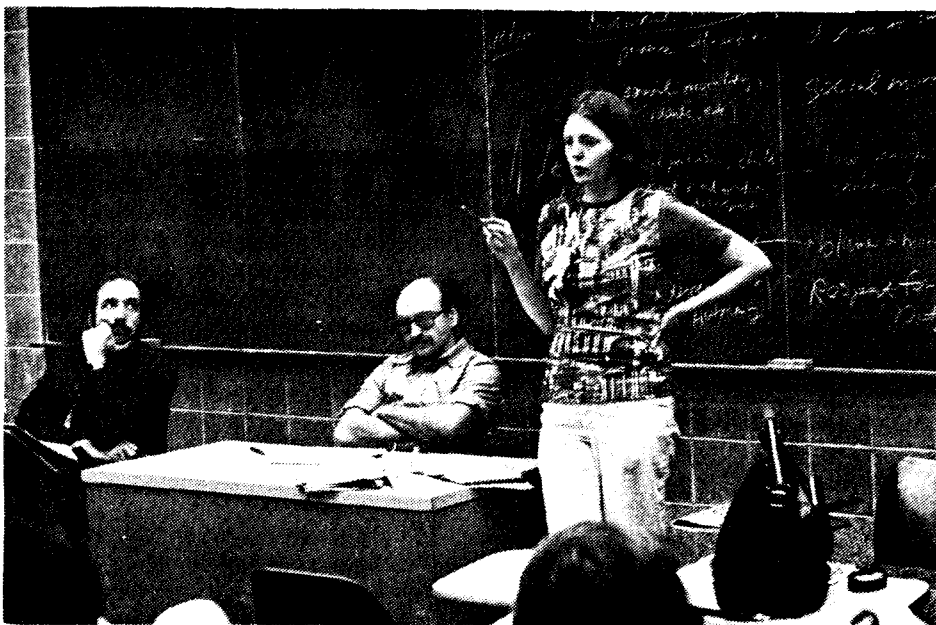
Gilbert's presentation was mainly a watered-down social-democratic paraphrase of the SL position. As befits a confused reformist, Gilbert claims to oppose the use of the courts against fascists, but has no qualms about labor fakers dragging the unions into court! Gilbert had little to offer except vague appeals to militancy.

SL spokesman Tweet Carter explained the SL's opposition to calling

for laws against fascists and injunctions against their demonstrations:

"Laws against fascists are always used against the left and labor movement. But unlike the ACLU and the SWP we do not defend fascists' 'right' to free speech. There is no 'right' to organize a lynch mob."

Carter stated that "the limitation of civil libertarians is their defense of free speech for fascists but not for communists," citing the ACLU's 1940 expulsion of the Communist Party's Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and contrasting it with the ACLU's legal defense of "virtually every right-wing terrorist and fascist organization that has been



Spartacist League spokesman Tweet Carter speaking at Chicago debate.

around in the last 40 years." She explained that the capitalist state is not "neutral" and explained:

"Fascism is the final resort of desperate capitalism. . . . If capitalism sees its rule threatened, rather than surrender to the proletariat it will throw its support to a Hitler or a Mussolini."

Carter stressed the importance of smashing the fascist groups while they are still small and cited the gross betrayals perpetrated by the SWP under the guise of defending "democratic rights" for fascists. In Houston the SWP actively defended the Klan's speaking in the face of protests from outraged black

students. In San Francisco the SWP opposed a united-front demonstration which resulted in the fascists being thrown off S.F. State University and has verbally denounced the destruction of a Nazi bookstore which had been provocatively set up across the street from a synagogue.

Linking the SWP's legalism with its increasingly overt class treason, she added:

"Not only does the SWP defend the rights of fascists; they also defend the 'democratic' rights of scabs to cross picket lines—two YSA [SWP youth group] supporters did just that in the last University of Chicago campus

workers' strike. In a debate last night at the University of Chicago, the YSA candidate for student body president explicitly defended this scabbing."

Carter called for the formation of integrated labor defense guards to fight racist terror and pointed to the labor/black defense set up by United Auto Workers Local 6 which successfully repulsed racist terrorists who had been firebombing the home of a black union member. "The SWP used to do this kind of thing in the 1930's and 1940's," she said, "but the SWP of the 1930's would spit on the SWP of today!"

SWP supporters requested extended speaking time from the floor to answer

the SL's trenchant criticisms. The first SWP speaker sought to dissociate his organization from the "free speech for fascists" line of the ACLU by describing the SWP's anti-fascist actions in the 1930's—hypocritically neglecting to mention that the SWP explicitly repudiates this position when it is raised today!

The SWP spokesman tried to twist the SL position into a call on the "government to ban the fascists" and demagogically charged, "The axis of their position is the denial of democratic rights." He reluctantly tried to explain away the SWP's abstention from demonstrations against recent Nazi provocations in the predominantly Jewish suburb of Skokie, on Chicago's far north side. His dismissal of a demonstration of some 500 people—many of them survivors of Nazi concentration camps—organized by the area's Jewish organizations, as "a bunch of leftist groups and the JDL" drew gasps of indignation and disbelief from the audience. It is outrageous for the SWP to amalgamate all Jews who refuse to prostrate themselves before the rampaging fascists' "rights" with the ultra-rightist Zionist terrorists of the Jewish Defense League, who had no overt presence at the demonstration.

His final argument for refusing to participate in this anti-fascist action was to claim that the protest's primary aim was to push for a government ordinance against the fascists, which presumably the SWP could not support. Instead, the next SWP speaker, a member of the YSA National Committee, said he thought it was a "good thing" that the cops had turned back the Nazis at the Skokie border! Dismissing the need for self-defense against fascist provocation, he charged that attempting to physically repulse the Nazis would merely have helped them get public sympathy as a "persecuted minority."

The SWP and the ACLU have no basic difference on how to fight fascism. Only the Spartacist League, in the tradition of the once-revolutionary SWP of the 1930's and 1940's, has a real strategy for smashing these night-riding scum, through mobilizing the organized might of the labor movement. ■

Six Post Pressmen Get Jail Sentence

WASHINGTON, May 20—"The *Washington Post* is criminal, we're not!" "The *Post* owns the court and it owns the judge!" Angry unionists protested vehemently today as District of Columbia Superior Court judge Sylvia Bacon read off jail sentences against six *Washington Post* pressmen. U.S. marshals were called in to clear the courtroom when members of the Local 6 pressmen's union defiantly sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" following the sentencing. The pressmen were given jail terms on charges ranging from assault to destruction of property, and another eight were fined for disorderly conduct. The charges stemmed from the bitterly fought *Post* strike which began in October 1975.

Those sentenced were Jack McIntosh, who was handed one year; John Raffo, Eugene O'Sullivan, and Cecil Rust, 120 days; Gil Fowler and Michael Tenorio, 60 days.

The strike was provoked by *Post* management, which had trained supervisory personnel beforehand at a special scab school in Oklahoma to replace the pressmen. The union-busting *Post* ousted Local 6 and used its immense power to vilify the strikers and blacklist them from the industry. The strike was gutted when the other printing trades crossed picket lines after several months, and by the scabbing of the Newspaper Guild.

Not satisfied with denying the pressmen their livelihoods, the *Post* pressed felony charges amounting to a cumulative 265 years in jail against the militants. The felony charges were later dropped and the pressmen agreed to plead guilty to misdemeanors. Although the overwhelming majority of presentencing reports of the court had recommended probation, Kathryn Graham's vindictive *Post*, through its powerful connections with the courts

and government officials, has succeeded in railroading six militants to jail.

The pressmen were the core of militancy among the printing trades at the *Post*. Local 6 members at strike headquarters told *WV* that a substantial number of pressmen, including several defendants, had been driven from

previous jobs by similar union-busting lockouts at newspapers in Miami, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Portland (Oregon) and Chattanooga.

The actions of the pressmen stand out as an example of courageous defense of the picket line and trade unions against overwhelming odds. Nineteen months after the inception of the strike, fully half of the *Post* pressmen are still actively striking, while only a handful have accepted management's offer to spit on the union and return to work in an "individual" capacity. Honor is also due 40 other unionists at the *Post*, including members of the Newspaper Guild and the printing and mechanical trades, who have refused to cross picket lines.

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8 Million French Workers in Anti-Government Walkout

On May 24, responding to appeals by the six major trade-union federations, some eight million French workers went out on a 24-hour general strike against the austerity policies of the government of President Giscard d'Estaing. Although the Paris march—estimated at half a million by the unions—was no larger than a similar demonstration last October, elsewhere in France demonstrations were often as large as those of May 1968. In at least one major city, Rouen, it was even larger, equalling the outpouring at the time of the liberation of France from Nazi occupation in 1944.

Both the size of the response to the strike call and the unusual agreement of all the major union federations in organizing the anti-government strike bore witness to massive working-class anger over Prime Minister Barre's "Plan B," which limits wage increases to 6.5 percent. This was the first time since 1964 that the right-social-democratic Force Ouvrière had joined the Stalinist-led CGT and the CFDT in sponsoring a national strike.

All spring, and particularly since the victory of the popular-front Union of the Left in the March municipal elections, there have been a series of militant strikes in France, many of them involving plant occupations. A particularly hard-fought struggle by Dunkerque dock workers recently ended in a victory for the strikers. Another hot spot was the Lorraine steel industry, which faces layoffs of up to 19,000 workers by the end of the year.

A third sector marked by industrial tension is the printing industry, where

unionists are angered by the continuing 26-month-old *Parisien Libéré* strike and by threats of massive unemployment and breaking of the union shop through introduction of new technology. This was reflected in Tuesday's strike, as the London *Financial Times* (25 May) reported: "Virtually all miners, however, came out on strike, and the chemical and metallurgical industries as well as the country's biggest ports, were badly hit by the stoppage. . . . not a single newspaper was published in France to-day."

Unemployment in France has recently risen to over one million (out of a workforce of 22 million), and inflation is expected to exceed 11 percent this year despite the Barre austerity plan. Faced with this generalized capitalist attack on the working class and building on the several militant strikes, a key task of a revolutionary leadership would be to centralize these struggles and lead them toward the creation of organs of workers power.

But the May 24 "general strike" showed once again that the Communist (PCF) and Socialist (PS) parties, traditional leaders of the French working class, are interested only in the small change of electoralist/parliamentarist maneuvers. The work stoppage was limited in advance to 24 hours, and sandwiched in between two three-day holiday weekends. If the response was massive, the purpose was to bring the festering industrial unrest to an abrupt halt.

For the Union of the Left, whose eyes are fixed on the 1978 parliamentary elections, the strike was designed to put

maximum pressure on the government while simultaneously demonstrating how "responsibly" it would administer the capitalist state. *France-Soir* (25 May) noted that the original strike proposal by the CGT contained a reference to the ninth anniversary of the agreements which ended the 1968 general strike; but even this was eliminated in the final call, to avoid giving the slightest hint that the unions might be thinking of something on the order of 1968.

On the one hand, the labor bureaucrats built this strike more solidly than they had earlier actions. Last October the CGT called a national 24-hour action, but at the central Renault-Billancourt factory it ordered only a four-hour stoppage. This time all shifts were shut down. (A traditional saying has it that when Renault sneezes, France catches cold.) On the other hand, the CGT made a special effort to restrain the Dunkerque dockers, ordering them to stay on the job as a "gesture." After all, a strong contingent of dockers, marching in Paris fresh on the heels of their victory against the steel monopoly Usinor, might heat things up too much! (During the Dunkerque strike, CGT and CFDT bureaucracies made a similar "gesture"—by limiting solidarity strike action in other ports to weekends only.)

A similar demagogic maneuver designed to siphon off working-class militancy is the current maneuvering over "updating" the 1972 Common Program of the Union of the Left. In broad terms, the Left Radicals would

continued on page 11



UPI

8 million French workers struck May 24 to protest Barre's anti-labor "austerity plan."

Maritime Bosses Prepare Unilateral Action

S.F. Longshoremen Face Forced Transfers

SAN FRANCISCO, May 27—The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) has issued a job-stealing ultimatum to San Francisco longshoremen. Last Wednesday, PMA spokesmen told leaders of S.F. Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) that they intend to declare San Francisco a "low work opportunity port" (LWOP) and gave the union one week to respond. Under the terms of Supplement 3 of the ILWU/PMA contract, the LWOP designation can be invoked when available work falls below 18 hours a week per longshoreman. It allows the PMA to begin forced transfers of longshoremen out of San Francisco and opens the door to mass deregistrations. Refusal to transfer would mean loss of the already inadequate Pay Guarantee.

The PMA has drastically cut back work in the port over the years, through a series of automation measures implemented with the cooperation of retiring ILWU president Harry Bridges and his notorious "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts. With the PMA now seeking to drive over 1,000 longshoremen (out of a total Local 10 membership of 2,400) off the S.F. docks, the very existence of the historic center of the ILWU—the local which led the 1934 general strike—has

been posed point blank. If LWOP goes through, it will gut Local 10.

The PMA has been emboldened to make its move by the despicable treachery of the Local leadership in the face of the acute jobs crisis. Actively collaborating with the drive to drastically reduce the work force, Local 10 president Cleophus Williams and his pseudo-left opponents Herb Mills and Larry Wing have been presenting LWOP as a "voluntary" option rather than the oncoming attack which it is.

Williams has been actively campaigning on behalf of the PMA, trying to get the membership to adopt LWOP by "voting" for it. Frustrated by the refusal of the March Local membership meeting and the Coast Caucus in April to agree to this, Williams unilaterally placed the issue on the ballot for the election of International officers, to be held June 10. By then his ploy to gain "voluntary" acceptance of LWOP may well be academic, since his masters in PMA have announced their intention to declare LWOP in effect as early as June 1!

Under pressure from the rest of the Coast leadership (who do not want S.F. longshoremen coming into their job-scarce ports) and the Local 10 membership, Mills and Wing have

reversed their previous position and now oppose Supplement 3. But, like the clique around Leo Robinson and CP supporter Billy Proctor, these reformists still vehemently oppose strike action to smash Supplement 3 and consider "voluntary" transfers necessary.

Only the publishers of the "Longshore Militant," Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, have consistently warned that LWOP was coming: "Because the effect of LWOP will be so disastrous, they are trying to avoid a fight by tricking the membership into 'voting' for its own death warrant" ("Longshore Militant," 17 March).

Gow and Keylor call for a coast-wide strike to stop the transfers or deregistrations, by winning a shorter workshift with no loss in pay. But the Local 10 leadership has no intention of organizing such a strike. Reportedly, a motion for strike action put forward by Gow and Keylor at the May 26 Local executive board meeting was defeated. Williams continued his brazen role as front man for PMA and insisted on going ahead with the June 10 mock vote on LWOP. Mills and Wing reportedly continued their pitiful attempts to avoid the upcoming confrontation—this time by raising technical objections to the

figures on available work that the PMA has used to invoke LWOP.

But this is not a technical dispute. The employers are determined to slash the workforce and are forcing the issue. No stalling or half-way measures can get around it: the ILWU must fight now or face a devastating defeat.

In an interview with *WV*, Gow and Keylor said they are circulating a petition for a special membership meeting and are calling for all ILWU members to unite around the simple and straightforward demands which are the union's only defense in this crisis: for a coast-wide strike to win a shorter workshift at no loss in pay to save jobs; for abolishing the "steadyman" categories in the contract which are killing the hiring hall; and for electing strike committees in every port to run the strike.

With the virtual destruction of Local 10 on the agenda, it is urgent that the union ranks mobilize behind these demands. The ILWU must shut down all shipping from Canada to Mexico, demanding that the ILWU-Teamster warehouse alliance back up the strike.

Smash LWOP! Shut down West Coast shipping! For a shorter workshift with no loss in pay—jobs for all! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Red Flag Union at the Moment of Decision

On May 26 the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) sponsored a forum in New York entitled "Transformation of the Lavender and Red Union: From the Gay Left to Trotskyism." The speakers, prominent West Coast "gay liberation" spokesmen Michael Weinstein and Gene Shofner, were representing the Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender and Red Union).

For the first time since the MEC instituted its "optional" Stalinoid policy of limiting Spartacist League (SL) speakers to one per event, the lively discussion on revolutionary regroupment was conducted democratically. Credit for this unexpected manifestation of workers democracy cannot, however, go to the "Collective" of homeless American Pabloites and sundry other "Marxist" dilettantes, but to the fact that the RFU representatives had insisted on chairing their meeting.

To the evident discomfiture of the MEC honchos, several SL spokesmen intervened from the floor to challenge important unclaritys in the RFU's positions and to expose the contradictions between its attempt to embrace the Trotskyist worldview and its stated ambivalence between the SL and the centrist impressionists of Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). MEC "respected teacher" Murray Weiss sat through the discussion in silence as the two RFU spokesmen solidarized with the SL on several possibly crucial questions.

The MEC postures as a non-sectarian "school" for would-be Marxists but is seeking to become a center for dispersed supporters of the IMT, eventually hoping to challenge the reformist Socialist Workers Party's possession of the USec franchise for the U.S. MEC luminaries recently paid a visit to the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party and were rewarded with lavish compliments in the *Freedom Socialist* (Spring 1977), which described their visit as a "giant step forward that might well lead to revolutionary regroupment." The MEC's sponsorship of the RFU forum reflected the hope of pulling at least a section of this grouping into the Mandelite lash-up.

Derived from the New Left/Mao-oid "gay liberation movement," the Lavender and Red Union moved leftward through a process of study and an examination of ostensibly Marxist organizations in the U.S. It announced its adherence to the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution and declared that "the question of gay oppression is not of strategic importance to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S." To reflect its desire to "definitively break with an orientation to gay liberation," the group changed its name to indicate it would no longer restrict membership to homosexuals.

Though some decisive programmatic questions remain unresolved, the RFU's

recent evolution already placed it formally to the left of the IMT grab-bag. The *Freedom Socialist* was forced to gently chide its hoped-for bloc partners for rejecting "socialist feminism, which elevates the woman question to equal and interlocking status with the class question." The RFU's espousal of the primacy of the class question in the struggle against all social oppression is an indication of the distance these comrades have traveled from the New Leftist polyvanguardism which characterizes the IMT.

The RFU's motion toward revolutionary Trotskyism remains at this point partial and contradictory. Impelled toward an investigation of Trotskyism by the backward anti-homosexual stance of Stalinists—who must defend the atrocious persecution of "sexual deviants" in the bureaucratically deformed workers states—the RFU still tends to view the world through the prism of the question of sexual oppression. This parochial focus has distorted and even sometimes trivialized the group's approach, as when it posed the correct slogan of "no 'free speech' for fascists" in the context of whether to allow fascist homosexuals into a "gay rights" demonstration. Despite its avowal of Trotskyism, the RFU maintains what is in effect a minimum/maximum conception of program, posing a "program for gay liberation"—which, moreover, included such bizarre demands as nationalization of gay bars and baths and a gay press under workers control.

Most important, the RFU presently professes agnosticism on key programmatic issues which define authentic Trotskyism concretely, such as opposition to the contemporary popular front (as in Chile)—necessarily a central aspect of the leap from Stalinist class collaboration to Trotskyism. This programmatic amorphousness is reflected organizationally in the RFU's continuing to consider regroupment with either "the international Spartacist tendency, which has the same position [as we do] on the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states" or the IMT, with whom "we have certain disagreements but which we wish to struggle with and investigate."

The RFU has made an important step in the direction of authentic Trotskyism on the critically important Russian question by solidarizing with the unique analysis and program of the SL: that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers state, the product of the Stalinist bureaucratization of a proletarian revolution; that China, Cuba, Vietnam are deformed workers states resulting from the destruction of capitalist class rule by petty-bourgeois formations leading peasant-based social revolutions; that all the deformed workers states must be unconditionally militarily defended against imperialism; and that a Trotskyist vanguard party must be built to lead the proletariat of these states in political revolution to replace the rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste with soviet democracy.

The RFU spokesmen's presentation of their position on the Russian question at the May 26 forum provoked consternation among the MEC supporters and prompted sharp attacks



Red Flag Union leader speaking at Saturday forum in New York.

WV Photo

from some "gay rights" activists and the "third-camp socialist" Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), who protested the group's turn away from a primary orientation to the homosexual question. But the overwhelming focus of the discussion was the three-way debate on regroupment between the RFU, the SL and the MEC—marred by the latter's virtual abstention from the debate at its own meeting.

The first SL speaker termed the RFU's Russian question line "only the beginning of wisdom." She pointed out that agreement on an abstract presentation (such as Murray Weiss's professed agreement with an SL speaker at a MEC forum several months ago) may conceal counterposed programmatic conclusions. Another SL spokesman pointed out that the RFU's recognition that agreement on the Russian question is a key to principled regroupment is marred by formalism:

"Why is the IMT better than the RSL? The point is that only Trotskyists can defend the Soviet Union. Does... hiding and apologizing for the role of the deformed workers states' bureaucracies help?... Does that really defend the Soviet Union?"

A supporter of the IMT's English group tried to bury the question of programmatic agreement:

"Whether or not you have differences with a tendency which may at present have a majority in a democratic centralist organization—that shouldn't be the question you ask yourselves.... The question you face is the question of joining the Fourth International. What is it? Why should you not join the Fourth International, not whether or not you agree or disagree with positions."

An SL spokesman replied by demonstrating that "unity" at the expense of program is a cynical maneuver which collapses in the face of the class struggle. Thus the competing wings of the "United" Secretariat pursued counterposed opportunisms over Portugal, the reformist SWP-led wing orienting to the CIA-financed Socialists (PS) while the centrist IMT proclaimed the Communists (PCP) and the "revolutionary officers" of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement to be the vanguard of socialist revolution:

"What happens in Portugal when one wing of the USec says, 'Rah, rah, rah for Soares and the PS!' and the other says, 'Rah, rah, rah for the PCP!' and they are on opposite sides of the barricades shooting at each other?"

The RFU response again reflected its confused separation of theory and program:

"We really recognize the weakness of the position we're in. We recognize that Michel Pablo was a revisionist and the methodology he developed was incorrect. But beyond that point we are still investigating the IMT."

SL speakers continued to hammer at the RFU's failure to generalize its agreement on the Russian question to an understanding of the methodology of Pabloist revisionism, defined by

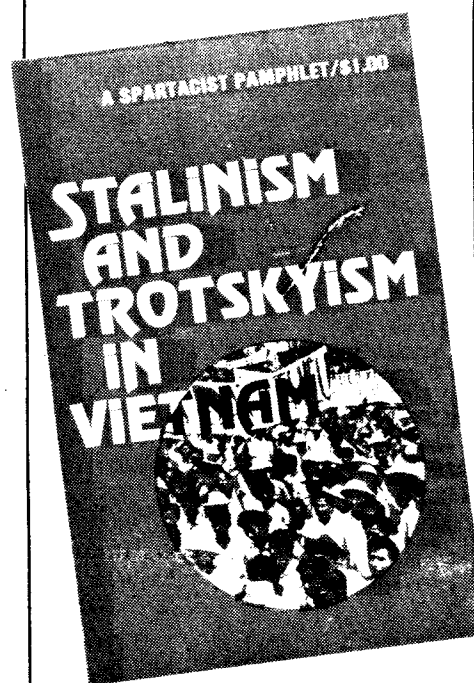
programmatic liquidation of the party in favor of non-proletarian strata and Stalinist and nationalist leaderships, from Castro's guerrillas to the Portuguese officer corps.

The RFU spokesmen evidenced a desire to break from the soft "circle spirit" of New Left radicalism as they castigated the MEC:

"The MEC supports what's popular and avoids what's unpopular. We have serious questions about the role the MEC is seeking to play. Our vision is that they see themselves as the stage-managers of revolution, more particularly as the stage-managers of regroupment.... We feel that there are political currents hiding at the MEC and that they should be brought out."

The Red Flag Union has indicated that it recognizes the MEC's Pabloist revisionism on the Russian question and the cowardly MEC posture of all-inclusiveness to conceal the programmatic disarray of its USec mentors. That the RFU still exhibits a lingering attraction to the MEC "free spirits" testifies to the immense gulf separating the RFU's origins in the petty-bourgeois polyvanguardist New Left and its stated aim of contributing to the construction of a disciplined Leninist vanguard party of the working class. The MEC is the embodiment of the obstacles standing in the way of the RFU's adhesion to authentic revolutionary Trotskyism. For our part, we announce our determination to continue to struggle with these comrades to deepen and consolidate their impressive partial evolution toward Trotskyism, represented by the program of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

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Woodcock to Peking, Peanuts for Auto Workers

Carter Tub-Thumping at UAW Convention

LOS ANGELES—The 25th constitutional convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW) was more reminiscent of a Democratic Party pep rally than a union convention. Throughout the convention one capitalist politician after another took the stage to congratulate outgoing UAW president Leonard Woodcock for his years of faithful service in clamping the lid on the class struggle and keeping the union tied to the interests of American imperialism.

Included in this parade of "prominent" Democrats were Detroit mayor Coleman Young, L.A. mayor Tom Bradley, U.S. senator Ted Kennedy (who was made an honorary member of the UAW!) and U.S. president Jimmy Carter. As political representatives of the bourgeoisie, the Youngs, Bradleys and Carters are the sworn enemies of the working people and guardians of capitalist enterprise. Their presence at this UAW convention was an insult to the membership and vile betrayal of labor's cause.

Carter's appearance typified the disgusting subordination of the union to the capitalist state. On the day he arrived a hoard of L.A. police, FBI and Secret Service agents descended on the Los Angeles Convention Center. Eager that no one embarrass the chief of U.S. imperialism, Woodcock/Fraser eagerly cooperated with this small army of cops to insure an "orderly" audience. Delegates and visitors found themselves being pushed around by LAPD thugs, and a number of elected union officials (including at least one local president) were prevented by police from attending this session of their own convention!

Carter's speech was billed as a "major policy address." In fact, it was simply a long-winded and platitudinous grab bag of conservative economic homilies intended as a counterattack against criticisms raised by the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party. Carter did, however, pay off a campaign debt. Leonard Woodcock provided early and crucial support to Carter's presidential bid last year and will get an ambassador-level post as envoy to the People's Republic of China in return. Having faithfully served capitalist interests in the UAW for 40 years, Woodcock will now directly represent U.S. imperialism in Peking.

That the convention was dominated by Democratic Party tub-thumping was no accident. This was the clear intent of the UAW tops. The real purpose of the convention was certainly not to hammer out a program to fight the auto companies and defend the workers, but instead to insure the orderly succession of Woodcock's handpicked successor, Doug Fraser, and to ratify the Solidarity House "strategy" of begging in Congress for crumbs from the capitalist table.

An Orderly Succession

In the last five years the UAW has lost some 300,000 members. This is principally the result of depression-level layoffs in 1974-75 and a massive dose of speed-up and overtime imposed by the companies. Woodcock and Fraser



WV Photo

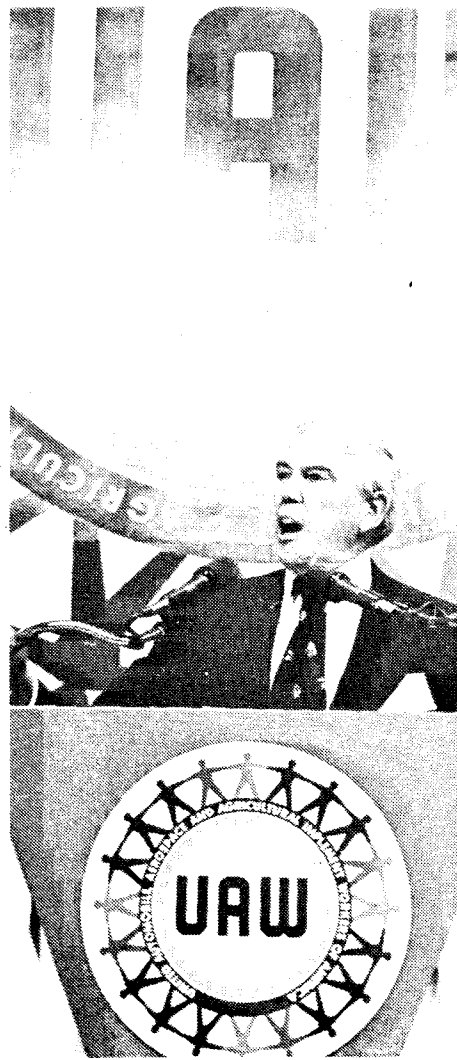
Woodcock introducing Carter to UAW convention in Los Angeles.

have not lifted a finger to stop this vicious assault. And when there have been sporadic revolts, as occurred this spring in Chrysler Indianapolis Local 1226 and GM Local 1364 in Fremont, the International has crushed them mercilessly.

Since being passed over by a narrow margin by the International Executive Board in favor of Woodcock to succeed Walter Reuther, Doug Fraser has been "responsibly" completing his apprenticeship. He personally intervened to quash the Local 1226 strike. Fraser was also the organizer of a 1,000-man goon squad that broke the Mack Avenue wildcat in 1973. As head of the UAW skilled trades department, Fraser had prime responsibility for quelling the revolts of skilled tradesmen against the contract in 1973 and 1976.

There were at least a few UAW members present at the convention who had personal experience with these victimizations. There was sometimes-opponent Jordan Sims, who was fired by Chrysler and then had the local presidency snatched out from under him by the International, which put his local into receivership. (Sims, an inveterate opportunist, supported Fraser anyway.) There were two fired militants from Cadillac Local 15, who were expressly elected as alternate delegates to protest a company purge of wildcatting union members, and the failure of the International to defend them. None of these cases were redressed at the convention.

Nor did one have to be an opponent or a participant in a strike that Solidarity House did not approve of to be shafted by Woodcock/Fraser & Co. While the bureaucrats were praising Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet campaign for "human rights," they were turning a cold shoulder to UAW members who



WV Photo

Doug Fraser gives his inaugural speech.

have been victimized by racist oppression. A case in point was Bennie Lenard, a black member of UAW Local 6 in Chicago. Lenard was arrested, brutally beaten and blinded in one eye by racist cops in suburban Melrose Park. His wife Ardella, who traveled from Chicago to Los Angeles to address the

convention about the case and ask for support, was denied even two minutes to make a presentation. Local 6 resolutions to defend Lenard were buried.

The message from Solidarity House is that there will be no support forthcoming to UAW members who defend themselves against racist provocations or who fight back on the shop floor against the companies. Instead, the rank and file is told that the answer lies with the legislative program of the Democratic Party. This is particularly insulting in that "honored guest" Carter has just spit on the labor movement by turning thumbs down on the "common situs" construction picketing bill and opposing a raise of the minimum wage to a measly \$3.00/hour. While the UAW bureaucracy was celebrating its one-way love affair with Carter, even arch-conservative AFL-CIO chief George Meany was finding it necessary to criticize the White House.

Cowardly Local Bureaucrats

Economic hard times over the past three and a half years have cut most of the ground from under the local bureaucrats used to maneuvering between the International and the members. Before massive depression-level layoffs in 1974-75 there were dozens of local leaders like the Brotherhood Caucus of Local 1364 in Fremont which masqueraded, to one degree or another, as "oppositionists" against the International. The layoffs called their bluff. They quickly snapped to attention, and those who have gotten out of line, such as leaders of Chrysler Local 1226, have had the consequences "explained" to them in no uncertain terms.

Even occasionally critical local officials like Frank Runnels, president of Cadillac Local 22, showed no desire to upset the applecart. Runnels, who is the leading spokesman for the National Short Work Week Committee, dutifully reported out of the Resolutions Committee an endorsement of Woodcock's "reduced work time" 1976 contract hoax (a few extra holidays). The resolution did not even call for a 40-hour week and appealed to Carter and Congress to reduce the workweek, while promising "productivity gains so that annual income is not reduced."

The only electoral opposition to Fraser was totally un-serious. Hank Wilson, president of the assembly unit of Local 600 at Rouge, nominated himself for president in a cheap publicity stunt, stressing that "I have no quarrel with the leadership of this great union...." Wilson called for more blacks to be on the International Executive Board. But the kind of "leaders" Wilson had in mind was revealed when he raised the incredible example of David Mundy, the black Local 600 official who is now in prison for shooting a skilled tradesman during a protest demonstration against the 1973 contract sellout!

Wilson bowed out early on in the roll call, having appropriately received no votes for his ploy. Wayne Medders, the disgruntled president of Local 1250, whose politics are to the right of the

UAW leadership and who has threatened left-wing newspaper salesmen at his plant near Cleveland, also dropped out of the vice-presidential race. The "Fraser team" was then elected by acclamation.

The only organized opposition crumbled disgracefully. The United National Caucus (UNC), whose base is in the skilled trades in Detroit, ran candidates against Woodcock at the last convention, but could not even agree to oppose Fraser, taking no public stand on the issue. However, UNC members and allies, including UNC co-chairman Jordan Sims and Local 122 president Bob Weissman, told *WV* that they supported Fraser's election. The pathetic UNC, despite occasional paper references to militant sounding demands, has based its real strategy on finding a minimalist program acceptable to disgruntled local bureaucrats. But with the relative homogenization of the local-level UAW bureaucracy, the UNC has become demoralized, disintegrating rapidly in the past few months.

Similarly, the single delegate who supported the Communist Party-

backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC), Norm Roth of Local 6, cast his vote for Fraser, just as he backed Woodcock in 1974. Thus Roth, who has postured as a defender of Bennie Lenard, voted for the gang that denied his case a hearing, and which systematically spits on the victims of persecution by the auto companies and the capitalist state.

What little opposition surfaced at the convention was confined to "safe" issues, ones which did not threaten the bureaucracy but allowed "oppositionists" to return to their plants to report to their frustrated constituents that at least they had tried to do "something." One was a proposal to replace the present system of election of International officers at the convention with a referendum election. In fact, elections at a convention are ultimately more democratic. In the early days of the UAW, when there were well organized caucuses with distinctive political viewpoints, this method provided that officers were chosen by delegates after their positions had been carefully tested through several days of concentrated debate. The desire to introduce a

referendum reflects the pessimistic view that a convention must be a rubber-stamp affair, and ultimately despairs of building a real opposition throughout the locals. Unfortunately, the main reason the referendum was defeated was not out of commitment to union democracy, but because Solidarity House opposed the referendum. Local 906 president Joe Reilly summed up the feeling of many bureaucrats when he said, "We're a little bit too democratic already!"

Sentiment against reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO is being pushed by bureaucrats who cling to the Reutherite myth of UAW "progressivism." In fact, there is no qualitative difference between the politics of the AFL-CIO and UAW leaderships: both are contained within the spectrum of the Democratic Party's bourgeois reformism. The convention approved a motion for a special convention this September to vote on re-affiliation.

The sharpest floor fight came up over the issue of union finances, always a cheap shot for every bureaucrat with a beef. A rumor that the Constitution

Committee might recommend an increase in dues sparked widespread apprehension. A delegate requested that a motion submitted to the committee to freeze dues at the current level of 2 hours per month be reported out. By the UAW's highly restrictive rule, getting such a motion on the floor requires 435 votes. A hand vote clearly showed well over that number, but vice president Pat Greathouse, who was chairing the session, declared that the motion had failed.

Booing and outbursts from the floor forced a stop in the proceedings at this point until a second, stand-up vote was taken. Despite jeering from the delegates, Greathouse again said the motion had failed and simply rode roughshod over the delegates. But the protest evidently had some effect: no proposal to increase dues was forthcoming. While class-struggle militants would oppose an increase in the union's dues, pointing out that such a measure would be a vote of confidence in the bureaucracy, none of the delegates took up the key issue, the pro-company

continued on page 8

Ukrainian Anti-Communist Ploy at UAW Convention

Jimmy Carter's anti-communist "human rights" campaign drew support from many quarters at the UAW convention. Right-wingers, mainline bureaucrats and even so-called "oppositionists" shamelessly jumped on the anti-Soviet bandwagon.

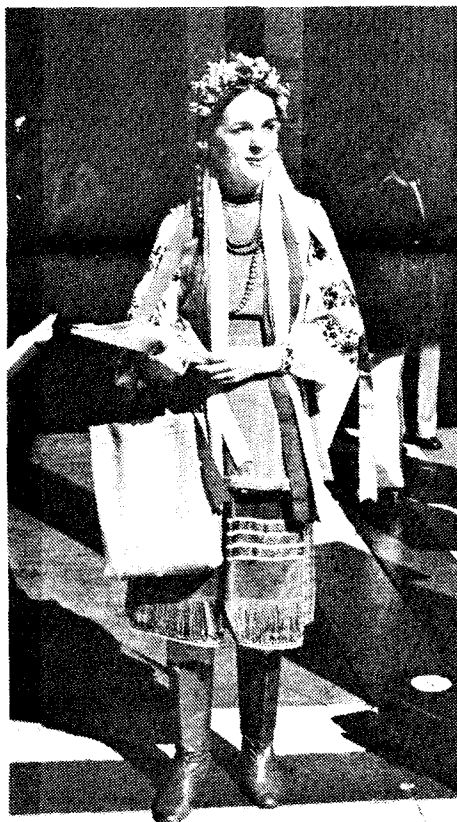
Outside the hall the "Ukrainian American Auto Workers for Human Rights" dressed up pretty maidens in national costumes to distribute a leaflet worthy of the tsarist Black Hundreds. Printed in red, white and blue, praising Carter's "great and noble stand on human rights" and denouncing "especially Soviet Russian dictator Brezhnev and his cohorts," the leaflet railed against alleged "softness" on the "reds" by past administrations in Washington:

"It is precisely this fear of offending the Russians that has blinded some of our leaders, who have been helping the Soviet Union financially, technologically, economically and politically, despite the fact that Moscow has been doing everything to undermine our prestige throughout the world, and has proclaimed openly that it will bury us! "It is because of our economic help that the USSR, the last remaining colonial empire, that has enslaved the 48-million Ukrainian nation and some 60 million of other non-Russian nationalities, has grown and expanded in Europe and Asia and now is making encroachments in Africa."

This poisonous diatribe concluded by calling for support to a "Human Rights Resolution" proposed by UAW Local 160.

Spokesmen for "democratic" U.S. imperialism have, unfortunately, in their efforts to enlist American workers in "defending the free world against Communist totalitarianism," been able to make hay out of the very real crimes of the Stalinist regimes. Marxists, of course, denounce the Gulag of forced labor camps for political dissidents as well as the national oppression by a Great Russian chauvinist bureaucracy. However, class-conscious workers oppose these betrayals in the framework of defending the world-historic conquests which the October Revolution brought to all the peoples of the USSR.

But at the UAW convention Ukrainian national rights were placed squarely in the service of counterrevolution. Moreover, it just happens that the local which submitted the "Human



WV Photo

Ukrainian reactionary handing out leaflets outside UAW convention.

Rights Resolution" is a main base for the reformist United National Caucus (UNC) and its offshoot, the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC). And, sure enough, the main speaker on the floor of the convention for the anti-Soviet motion was UNC recording secretary and Local 160 delegate Ken Wizinsky.

The official Resolutions Committee reported out an altered version of the Local 160 motion, including references to South Africa and Chile in an attempt to appear more "evenhanded." But Wizinsky took the floor "on behalf of Ukrainians" to make sure the anti-communist thrust was clear. Bewailing the absence in the "Soviet empire" of "the rights we enjoy here," Wizinsky gushed over Carter's "dedication to human rights for all people in the world" and called for a "strong condemnation of the Soviet government."

"Ukrainian Auto Workers" spokesman Jerry Stasyh told *WV* that he had written the original motion and then reviewed it with Wizinsky and UNC co-

chairman Pete Kelly, both of whom approved and supported it in Local 160. When we asked Kelly why he supported Carter's bible-thumping anti-communist crusade, the sometime "socialist" UNC leader grew infuriated and yelled, "If he says that he's for human rights throughout the world, we support that position."

So did the sole delegate of the Communist Party-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC), Norm Roth of Local 6. Roth said, "I was particularly happy to hear the President of the United States declare himself for human rights." In the pages of the *Daily World* the Stalinists regularly hit Carter's anti-Sovietism, but under red-baiting pressure Roth completely dodged the pro-imperialist purpose of the motion. The AWAC leader restricted himself to calling for "human rights at home, too."

The Ukrainian nationalists who flocked to greet the invading Nazi army and joined special SS Einsatzkommandos to murder Jews and communists also invoked the "fight for democracy." Those who today enthuse over Carter's crusade are making themselves the tools of imperialist counterrevolution. There are, of course, "socialists" who feel at home in this role. The International Socialists (I.S.), whose "third camp" politics are shaped centrally by its

hatred of the USSR, has boosted and built the UNC for years. For the I.S., Wizinsky's Carter-praising, Ukrainian nationalist tirade is quite in character.

The disgusting reformists of the thoroughly degenerated Socialist Workers Party (SWP) also capitulate to bourgeois anti-Sovietism. In the 27 May *Militant*, the SWP printed without comment a letter from Wizinsky urging support for the "Human Rights Resolution" and its call for Ukrainian "self-determination." This call for an independent capitalist Ukraine could only be implemented through a fascist dictatorship and a massacre of the class-conscious workers.

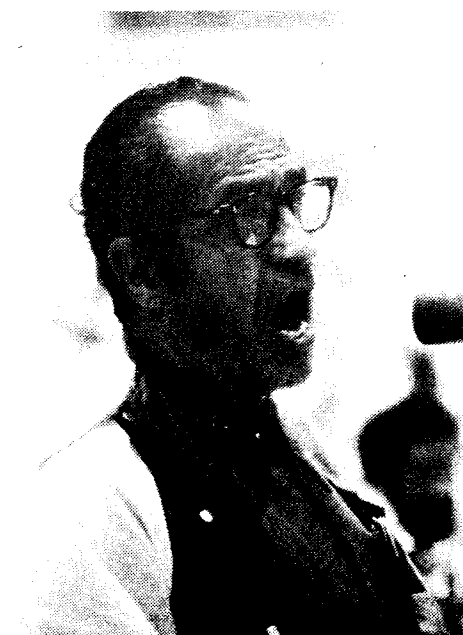
The Trotskyist movement, from its inception as the Russian Left Opposition, has always combatted the bureaucratic national oppression of non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. Trotsky in 1939 called for an independent workers and peasants *Soviet* Ukraine. But he warned against any cooperation with nationalists who sought to "free" the Ukraine in league with imperialism:

"These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement. Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist!"

— Writings, 1938-39

Trotskyists call for a working-class political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy but unconditionally defend the USSR from imperialist attack. We denounce Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade as an utterly hypocritical attempt to prettify the butchers of Vietnam and prepare the masses for a new imperialist war.

As for the "socialists" who jump onto Carter's anti-Soviet bandwagon, their present irrelevance should not cause them to despair. Since George Meany recently received the "Eugene V. Debs Award" from the Social Democrats U.S.A., perhaps they can some day sign on as speechwriters for the aging anti-communist blowhard of the AFL-CIO. That, in any case, is where they belong. ■



WV Photo

Norm Roth, Local 6.

Stearns, Ky...

(continued from page 1)

Diamond provide. No doubt they lose some of their taste for gunfire after meeting coal miners, many of whom are veterans and are themselves no strangers to weapons.

Company "Justice"

Blue Diamond's assault on the coal miners is not restricted to hot lead from Storm Security gangsters. The company and courts have also mounted a legal attack. Yesterday, 27 strikers were arraigned in McCreary Circuit Court as the result of a grand jury indictment charging them with first degree assault, kidnapping and first degree robbery. Three cowardly company guards claim that on the night of April 13 they were allegedly disarmed by strikers, given a tour of the county and dropped off minus their pants. When two of their heavily armed cohorts arrived to pick the redfaced thugs up, they set off a gunfight and the two were seriously injured. All 27 of the indicted UMW members pleaded innocent and will face trial in October.

A few minutes after the arraignment, union organizer Potter was arrested on the same charges. When word of Potter's arrest arrived at strike headquarters across the street from the courthouse, one miner yelled "Let's all go," and the hall was virtually cleared. After the men had stood around in the hallway grumbling for several hours, Potter was eventually released on proof of personal property in lieu of a \$15,000 bond.

Last weekend McCreary County judge J.B. Johnson fined the union \$4,050 for nine counts of contempt of court. The judge also ordered the UMW to post a \$100,000 penal bond as a condition for permission to continue picketing. The contempt citation charged the union with violations of a temporary restraining order, including blocking entrance to the Justus Mine on several occasions with rocks, logs, trees and burning tires; interfering with company employees attempting to remove these obstructions; damage of company property resulting in loss of electricity, water and phone service inside the compound; and firing high-powered weapons into company property. The court also cited an incident on March 12 when miners allegedly roughed up five security guards and their boss, Bob Storm.

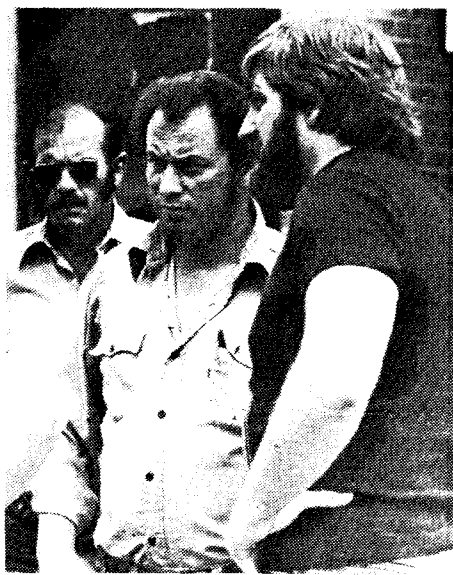
While claiming that some miners "obviously have violated this Court's orders," the judge admitted he could not determine "who did what." Unable to crucify individual strikers, Johnson found the UMW as a whole guilty of contempt. The \$100,000 bond is to cover future damage claims which Stearns or the Storm guards may make. As for the damages, miners told *WV* that the guards, who are often drunk, frequently shoot up their own area and blame it on the strikers.

The court is also considering a motion by Stearns Mining Company which would force the union to vacate its property adjacent to the mine.

"The Court is aware that the so-called 'Union Hall' which is leased near the picket line is a subterfuge as a staging area for mass picketing... if it is again used as a staging area for mass picketing, storing of weapons, or any other such illegal purpose, its use will be enjoined entirely. This the Court feels it has the right to do under the Commonwealth police powers, even though same might be in conflict with the Union's property rights."

-McCreary County Record,
24 May

Elsewhere in Johnson's ruling he warned that the "maximum sentence that a judge can impose" will be "the rule rather than the exception" in the event of future contempt citations. But the picket camp—which the union owns, not rents—is the only protection the miners have in shielding themselves



WV Photo
UMWA organizer Lee Potter (center).

from the company guards' gunfire while asserting their right to picket.

Finally, the miners were dealt a blow by the NLRB. Based on the same allegations as the circuit court contempt citations, the Board issued an unfair labor practices complaint against the UMW. Earlier in the strike, a union petition against Blue Diamond was turned down by the NLRB. Needless to say, the cops and courts have consistently turned a deaf ear to the strikers' complaints.

First of all, it is only the workers who are denied use of their guns for self-defense. Protests to the police are useless. One miner went to the courthouse seeking a warrant against the nightly company shooting sprees, but before he had uttered a word he was told he would get no help from the court.

Another striker, whose house was shot up by a former Stearns Mining Company employee, succeeded in obtaining a warrant for the latter's arrest. But before the warrant was served, the striker was attacked by this same assailant, pistol-whipped, dragged from his car and shot in the arm. Only then did he manage to shoot back in self-defense against the attacker. Yet the assailant was released on \$5,000 bond while his victim was slapped with a \$15,000 one! The trigger-happy attacker was reportedly offered immediate work at the Scotia Mine.

For a National UMW Walkout to Defend the Stearns Strike!

These individual cases of pro-company "justice" are typical. The arrest of Potter, the contempt citations, the \$100,000 penal bond and the NLRB complaint are even more serious threats to the strike and the union. They indicate an eagerness on the part of Blue Diamond and the federal government to block union efforts to organize non-UMW mines which have been opening up, re-opening or expanding production since the 1973-74 "energy crisis."

This challenge must not go unanswered. A belated five-day national coal work stoppage in August 1974 was required to force the Duke Power Company to finally recognize the UMW after the 13-month Brookside strike at Harlan. A national strike in the coalfields today would quickly bring Blue Diamond to terms and could be a springboard for organizing non-union mines throughout the U.S. and Canada.

It is the United Mine Workers bureaucracy, not the rank and file, which fears to take such measures. *WV* asked one UMW organizer in Stearns about the possibility of a national work stoppage such as was organized around the Harlan strike. He answered that if 500 or more miners were to come here, "I don't know how the hell we would have handled them." Fearing that such a mobilization might get "out of control," the bureaucracy claims concern that someone might get hurt.

This is just an excuse. Every night militant pickets at the Justus Mine are pinned down by murderous gunfire. If a

Stearns miner is killed as a result of the failure of the UMW tops to mobilize the union to win this strike, class-conscious workers will hold the bureaucracy responsible as well as the company gun-slingers. The \$100 per week strike benefits (\$25 more than normal) and insurance cards provided by the International are valuable, but they are no substitute for solidarity strike action.

It is an outrage that miners here are being shot up with the connivance of pro-company courts and cops without the UMW calling the rest of the union out of the pits! It is because the bureaucracy—including UMW president Arnold Miller and his rivals for the presidency, Harry Patrick and LeRoy Patterson, as well as the whole International Executive Board—fears a nationwide coal strike might well get "out of control" and open the union ranks up to class-struggle policies that it refuses to back up the Stearns strikers. A militant union leadership would not only call a national strike but also appeal to unionists in the steel mills, power companies and railroads to stand with the UMW by refusing to handle coal while a strike continued.

Despite the halfway measures by the International, support from rank-and-file miners has been impressive. Over \$80,000 has been contributed by other locals to the Stearns relief fund. Local 1974 at Brookside contributed \$3,000 and the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* was shown last week in Stearns to an audience of strikers. A UMW organizer reported that visits from miners from Illinois, West Virginia and Tennessee are regular occurrences. These militants visit the picket site and strike headquarters and then take the story of the struggle back to miners in their home districts.

For a Class-Struggle UMW

The tenacity of the Stearns strikers is inspiring. Although a court order allows only eight pickets at the main entrance to the Justus Mine, extra strikers are usually on hand at the nearby camp. Volunteers come and go all night long. At 4 a.m. this morning one militant was anxious to leave for breakfast since his assigned picket duty began in an hour. "You have to beat them away," Potter said of the eager pickets. Another miner remarked that he has long had plans to return to his home in western Kentucky but will not move until the UMW wins a contract at Stearns.

Some of the strikers have worked in union mines, and describe the difference as "about like daylight and dark." Others have worked in auto plants up north. Add to this the traditional militancy of coal miners—a response to the dangerous and oppressive nature of their work—and the solidarity of the close-knit mining towns, and the potential for a militant union organizing drive in the southern Appalachian coalfields is clear.

Expansion of coal production has drawn in younger workers, many of them Vietnam veterans, and has given the miners a sense of their power which industrial workers hard-hit by 1973-74 layoffs have lacked. This helps to explain the large number of miners wildcats and the determination with which strikes like Harlan and Stearns have been fought. With the national UMW bituminous coal contract due to expire in December, the objective possibilities for a successful nationwide coal strike are here. Such a strike could bring thousands of new members into the union and spark militant action in other industries. What is lacking is the class-struggle leadership to wage such a battle.

Today disillusionment is widespread in the UMW ranks with Miller, who came to power at the head of a reform movement, Miners for Democracy (MFD), against the corrupt and murderous regime of Tony Boyle. Miller has since dissolved the MFD, run the union in a dictatorial fashion,

enforced the rotten Boyle contract, sold out demands for the right to strike over local grievances and in every other way served as a loyal lieutenant of the companies. Patterson and Patrick—who, together with Miller have refused to support every wildcat for the last four years—are no better.

At the time of the 1972 elections, most of the self-proclaimed socialist groups backed Miller as the lesser evil compared to Boyle. The Spartacist League, in contrast, exposed the sub-reformist content of Miller's program, which in no way broke from the class collaborationism of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and denounced him for bringing in the federal government to run the elections:

"The unions, despite their corrupt and reactionary leaderships, represent the workers' first step in overcoming atomization and impotence at the hands of their employers. Going to the Labor Department to 'protect' workers' rights is inviting the class enemy into the workers' organizations."

—"Labor Department Wins
Mine Workers' Elections,"
WV No. 17, March 1973

None of the bureaucratic rivals who are contending for the UMW presidency has put forward a program for victory in the Stearns strike; none has taken the side of the wildcats against the coal operators and the union-busting courts; none has renounced bringing the bosses' government into the affairs of the labor movement. None of these sellout labor fakery deserves the support of militant miners. It will require an uncompromising struggle against all bureaucratic factions and cliques to bring the union onto a course of class struggle which can organize the Stearns and Harlans throughout the country and put an end to the murderous gun thugs and working conditions which have been the miners' plight. ■

UAW...

(continued from page 7)

policies on which Solidarity House expends the dues money.

The Left and the Convention

The strategy of almost all the left groups has been to find a layer of "progressive" bureaucrats to tail after. The rightward shift of the bureaucracy, and the evaporation of most of the local bureaucratic oppositionists, has thrust the left into disarray.

The International Socialists (I.S.) had a very modest presence at the convention and seemed exceedingly embarrassed. The I.S. put all its marbles on the UNC. After five years of babbling about how the UNC is the real opposition to Woodcock, Fraser & Co., I.S. supporters at a pre-convention UNC meeting in Detroit were unable to win the group to publicly oppose Fraser's election!

The Stalinist groupings were also left in the lurch. After years of tailing "progressive" bureaucrats like Earlie Mays of Local 1364, they have suddenly been left without partners for their "left-center coalitions." Outside the convention the Progressive Labor Party, the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) all held impotent protest demonstrations of 100 or so supporters, who mainly occupied themselves with thumbing their noses at the delegates and empty demagoguery. The RCP had boasted before hand, "We'll wipe the smile off Carter's face in L.A.!" but did nothing when the U.S. president showed up at the convention. Was this deliberate? After all, Chinese officials are reportedly pleased as punch with Carter's campaign of anti-Sovietism. And what will the RCP-OL say now that Leonard Woodcock is in charge of coordinating U.S. and Chinese policy against "Soviet social-imperialism" in Peking? Playing Charlie McCarthy for Chairman Hua is certainly a just fate for

these cynical phonies.

But despite this pathetic attempt to substitute themselves for a real base in the union, all were looking over their shoulders for future allies in the bureaucracy. Thus, Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF, which is supported by the RCP), tailed local bureaucrats who opposed re-affiliation to the AFL-CIO and supported the referendum vote proposal. But the best example of zigzagging from idiot sectarianism to gross opportunism was provided by the half-crazed August 29th Movement (ATM), which has surfaced at Fremont GM. Starting from the supportable position of opposing a dues increase, the ATM has joined "right-to-work" union busters in advocating an end to the dues checkoff, an anti-labor measure which, if instituted, would mean the end of the union shop! At the same time, the ATM lauded the totally phony campaign of Hank Wilson, whom it hailed as the "grandson of a slave."

The only serious and principled alternative present was provided by the Committee for a Militant UAW of Local 1364. The Committee distributed a leaflet which drew a clear line between class-struggle policies and those espoused by the bureaucracy and the fake oppositionists:

"What sets off our caucus, the Committee for a Militant UAW, from all other opposition groups in the union is our position from the complete and total independence of the unions from the capitalist state. Despite all the anti-capitalist rhetoric of groups like the O.L. and the UNC, when they're not supporting one or another out-bureaucrat in the hope of pressuring him to the left, they are running to the government to settle union affairs. This is the same methodology of the bureaucrats in tying our union to the Democratic Party. Our caucus aims to build a nationwide opposition that draws a line between the union on the one hand and the employers and the state on the other."

The proceedings of this convention were far, far removed from the real problems facing auto workers. Their future lies not with the aging and class-collaborationist bureaucracy, but in the struggle to build a genuine militant leadership, programmatically grounded in the principles laid out by the Committee for a Militant UAW, which can change the UAW into a weapon of the working masses in the struggle against the capitalists. ■

Andrew Young...

(continued from page 12)

generosity of his feelings toward the black majorities of Rhodesia and South Africa and his distaste for the heads of the white minorities have undoubtedly had their effect. Andrew Young is enjoying a favorable reception."

Reston and the Dixiecrats missed the point. If Young actually were an embarrassment to the administration he would be long gone by now. Carter certainly owes a considerable campaign debt to the man who opened doors for him to black community leaders across the country. But the "moral" president has made it clear that neither blacks nor labor will receive even the smallest concession in return for their votes, and the Congressional Black Caucus complains that Young refuses to intercede for them.

The truth is that Young is not merely tolerated, but his publicity-grabbing UN performance is an integral part of Carter's "human rights" campaign to repair the image of post-Vietnam American imperialism. Having gotten off to an anti-Soviet start reminiscent of the cold war, the new administration can use a dose of anti-apartheid rhetoric in order to claim it is not being "one-sided." If some of Young's remarks don't represent actual U.S. policy, Carter is not adverse to letting the gullible believe that "behind the scenes" Washington is moving to force "majority



Andrew Young: glamour boy for bourgeois press, darling of "Third World" diplomats, enemy of working people.

rule" in South Africa.

Andrew Young is just doing his job as black front man for U.S. imperialism.

"Erasing the Moral Stain"

Belatedly the imperialist media have caught on to Young's role. The press no longer refers to Vice President Mondale's role in African policy as a check on the voluble UN ambassador but rather as reinforcement. It portrayed the cordial Vienna meeting with South African premier Vorster as a confrontation, and highlighted Mondale's self-pardoning proclamation that the "moral stain" on America had been erased by "coming clean" on South Africa. Andy Young's "unofficial" trip to the bastion of white supremacy was billed as Daniel in the lion's den.

Times correspondent Michael Kaufman wrote glowingly:

"Like an itinerant preacher affirming the perfectability of man, Andrew Young has swept through eight African countries in 16 days, proclaiming the advent of a new age of American foreign policy toward Africa and the world."

And this time, when Young announced on his return that the Russians were "the worst racists in the world," that black people in Sweden were treated like blacks in Queens, and that Britain's colonial mentality is still "very strong," the response was different than to previous "gaffes." *The New York Times* (29 May) editorialized: "Andrew Young's almost jolly campaign to make racism a subject fit for table talk is in the highest interest of the country."

Even some of Young's statements which seemed most at odds with past U.S. policy are part of Carter's campaign for a Pax Americana in southern Africa. His remarks on "stabilizing" Cuban troops may have made senators Byrd and Talmadge see red, but stability is uppermost in the minds of the African leaders Young is wooing. Many of them sided with the pro-Western FNLA and UNITA against the Soviet-backed MPLA last year, but you don't see them opposing the Neto government today.

Due to the notorious fragility of the imperialist-created states in Africa, there is an unwritten rule in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that whoever has got a country is allowed to keep it. Otherwise everything

could blow apart. That is why there was such unanimous support in the OAU for the corrupt Mobutu regime during the recent "invasion" of southern Zaire by former Katangan gendarmes. Even some of the more conservative governments wouldn't mind a few Cuban (or French, or British) troops to get a little "stability" for themselves. And no doubt the State Department was pleased to see Cuban soldiers patrolling the streets of Luanda last weekend after putting down an abortive leftist coup.

As for "majority rule" in southern Africa, the game being played by Carter's ambassador of doubletalk was typified by his arrival in Johannesburg, where he gave the black-power handshake to airport workers then turned around and extended a traditional glad hand to Afrikaner police who were standing by. Young was never exactly a radical in the civil rights movement, but at least at that time he claimed to stand for "one man, one vote." In South Africa, however, his version of "majority rule" turned out to be urging a meeting of white businessmen to recognize that it was in their own interest that "four or five million blacks be brought into the system."

So if Andrew Young manages to hoodwink the "front-line presidents" and some nationalist guerrilla leaders into believing that they can rely on the U.S. to peacefully oust the bitter-end white-supremacist government in Rhodesia and abolish apartheid in South Africa, Carter won't complain. As *New York Times* UN correspondent Joseph Lelyveld wrote on 6 February after an interview with the cynical former clergyman:

"An invincible optimist, he [Young] contends that majority rule can be achieved in South Africa by moderate, nonviolent means and that, as a dividend for trying, the United States can pick up credits in the third world that it can cash in for support on energy issues and the Middle East."

"Roots" for South Africa?

While spreading the gospel of enlightened self-interest to the Afrikaner *laager*, "Mr. Ambassador" has been advertising himself at home as

a black Horatio Alger. "Andy Young," wrote *Newsweek* (28 March) in a cover story, "is an authentic American success story—a black preacher who rose through the civil rights movement, won a Congressional seat in the New South and formed an almost mystical friendship with another Georgian who marched all the way to the White House." The ostentatious "casual elegance" of Young's 42nd-floor Waldorf Towers suite—seemingly at odds with the style of an administration which turns down the heat and mothballs government limousines—is an essential element of this "Roots" story.

Like union bureaucrats who drive around in Cadillacs, Young's posh lifestyle is deliberate political propaganda for the supposed wonders of American capitalism. The classic justification for such high living was the cynical comment by Black Panther Party leader Elaine Brown defending her 19th-story Oakland penthouse: otherwise, she says, people will ask, "How's she going to get some for us if she can't get it for herself." Never known for getting down with the people, Young was widely despised for the way he used to show up flashing diamond cufflinks in Southern black churches where grimy civil rights workers were bleeding on the floor. Today he shows he hasn't lost touch with the masses... by introducing visitors to the butler and breakfasting with the chauffeur.

But Young's "rags to riches" success story, however phony, is as irrelevant to apartheid South Africa as his references to the "lessons" of the American civil rights movement and appeals to the capitalists' enlightened self-interest. His strange remark that "Jimmy Carter is an Afrikaner" (which the *New York Times* interpreted as "meaning that the President is as determined in supporting freedom for blacks here as the Afrikaners... have been in denying it to them"), whatever its intent, could not be more wrong. This is not the "New South," nor even the Dixieland of Jim Crow segregation. South African capitalism is based on the superexploitation of black labor, and like the antebellum American slavocracy, the ruling class will not give up the social/economic/political content of white supremacy short of defeat in civil war.

Young points to his friendship with plutocrat Harry Oppenheimer, head of South Africa's Progressive Reform Party, as proof that at least some businessmen are for "majority rule." Oppenheimer, however, is not for full bourgeois democracy for the oppressed non-white majority but a "qualified franchise"; and his vast diamond-mining empire, the Anglo-American Corporation, is built on imported indentured contract labor paid even less than South African black workers. If he is for ending the color bar, it is only to be able to slash all wages to the starvation level.

Andrew Young's task is to present a new face for American foreign policy, to dupe black African leaders into believing they can achieve their aims by relying on U.S. power, just as Arab leaders were sucked into Kissinger's Near East "shuttle diplomacy." But the world's leading imperialist power is hardly more "progressive" than the South African apartheid regime. Those who appeal to the butchers of Indochina to liberate blacks in southern Africa are sowing the most dangerous illusions.

It is the working masses of southern Africa, led by a proletarian vanguard party and with the active solidarity of the exploited and oppressed on the continent who hold the key to smashing white supremacy in South Africa. Andrew Young will not contribute to that struggle any more than he put an end to black oppression in the U.S. with his wheeling and dealing with corporation executives. The tools of imperialist rule are the enemies of emancipation for black people. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

for a few ounces of gold per head delivered to his treasury. Such fakery are incapable of waging a revolutionary struggle against white supremacy, much less liberating Africa from imperialist domination, tribalism and poverty!

"Socialist" Regimes Massacre Leftists

The bankruptcy of fake-revolutionaries who rely on such nationalist misleaders has just been demonstrated again in Angola. On Friday, May 27, the regime of Agostinho Neto brutally suppressed a left-wing revolt in Luanda, originating from among formerly "pro-Soviet" elements within the MPLA itself. During last year's Angolan war, virtually the entire U.S. left gave political support either to the MPLA or to its nationalist rivals.

Most shameless of all were the Maoists, who openly lined up with the U.S.-supplied FNLA and UNITA who were an integral part of the South African invasion. The ever more openly social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP) claimed to be sitting on the fence, while leaning sharply to the CIA-financed FNLA. Meanwhile, "Third Worldists" of various labels sang the praises of the MPLA, some going so far as to discover the birth of a workers state in Angola!

The Spartacist League (SL) was unique in calling for military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist power play, while warning against placing any political confidence in these nationalists. The MPLA leaders, we wrote, no less than the FNLA and UNITA seek to construct an independent bourgeois state so that they can replace the Portuguese colonists as exploiters of the peasants and workers. For telling this basic truth, SL contingents were forcibly excluded from several Angola demonstrations, notably by the now-fractured African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and its rent-a-goat thugs from Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF).



Youth in the streets of Soweto last summer. Der Spiegel

What do you say now, we ask YAWF and the pan-Africanists, when those in the MPLA who would have stood closest to you are devoured by the Neto government which you hailed only a year ago? Perhaps, as Stalin said of Chiang Kai-shek when the generalissimo turned on the Shanghai workers in 1927, you will now claim that the MPLA has ceased to be "anti-imperialist." Like the "Great Organizer of Defeats," your politics of revolution by "stages" are a roadblock to workers revolution and ultimately suicidal.

Nowhere can this be seen more clearly at present than in Ethiopia, where the self-proclaimed "socialist" military dictatorship of Colonel Mengistu is carrying out a systematic extermination of leftist students and trade unionists. A massacre on May Day weekend by troops of the Derg (junta) claimed hundreds of lives, reportedly 1,500 or more in a single week, yet the Communist Party (CP) praises Mengistu's boasts of "exterminating domestic counterrevolution"! Simultaneously these Greater Ethiopia nationalist butchers are organizing a peasant army to drown a struggle for self-determination by Eritrean guerrillas in a sea of blood and lay waste to the country like a swarm of locusts. But following the Derg's overthrow of feudalist emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, many pseudo-socialists and pan-Africanists—including some of the leftists now being massacred in Addis Ababa—gave "critical support" to these "anti-imperialists."

Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa

The experience of two decades of African independence struggles fully confirms the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which proclaims that neither the bourgeoisie nor various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Whether openly neo-colonialist, "African socialist" or "Marxist-Leninist," post-independence nationalist regimes have bowed down before the imperialists. They have been unable to achieve even capitalist development of their economies, and as the poverty deepens it is accompanied by a recrudescence of tribalism. Only

the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant masses and establishing its own class rule, can emancipate the black masses of Africa.

The need for working-class leadership is posed most sharply in South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent with a six-million-strong black proletariat. South Africa combines aspects of the classical colonial situation with a more complex interweaving of class oppression and caste/communal privilege. To the black Africans, the country remains little more than a slave colony where the most fundamental democratic rights are totally proscribed, where their labor is savagely exploited to reap some of the highest profit rates in the world. Blacks have "rights" only on 13 percent of the land, the arid wastes of the so-called bantustans, which are in reality not "tribal homelands" but giant holding pens for the industrial reserve army of black labor.

Yet South Africa is independent of European colonial rule and its industrially advanced economy allows it to function as a sub-imperialist power with significant holdings in several African countries. Moreover, South Africa's white settlers long ago evolved an identity distinct from the European peoples whence they came. (Afrikaans, for example, is spoken nowhere else on earth.) Unlike the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, where a colonial administrative apparatus and a thin layer of expatriate entrepreneurs and adventurers stood in the way of national independence, the non-white masses of South Africa face a relatively large and economically powerful oppressor caste.

A revolutionary program for South Africa must begin with recognition that the oppressed non-white majority has the democratic right to determine the government under which they live; that their power rests above all in their strategic role in the white-owned economy; that the guerrillaist, pacifist and parliamentarist programs of the African nationalists have proved impotent; and that they are faced with a well-armed white population with deep roots in the country and nowhere else to go. Only a proletarian strategy, which can unite the coloured (mixed race) and Indian working masses with the blacks, while appealing to white workers with a program of full democratic rights and

an egalitarian social order, offers even the possibility of a way out of this situation short of colossal bloodshed.

The Spartacist League raises the slogan of "workers revolution through smashing apartheid." To conquer power the non-white proletariat must wage militant struggles to achieve essential democratic rights and rudimentary bases of political and organizational power.

We demand that political and trade-union organization rights be extended to non-whites; that all anti-communist and "anti-terrorist" legislation be abolished; that the infamous pass laws and all racist legislation be abolished; that the contract labor system and job reservation by race be outlawed. We also call for equality of pay and working conditions and for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. But we also point out that, contrary to the nationalists and their Stalinist apologists, in the imperialist epoch these democratic tasks can be fully realized only through a proletarian revolution.

The African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC) nationalist program of guerrillaism has remained almost entirely confined to paper; on the few occasions when attempts were made to put it into practice against the entrenched military power of the apartheid system it proved an unmitigated disaster. But even if successful guerrilla war were a possibility in South Africa, it would result in the same sort of anti-working-class black bourgeois regimes that prevail elsewhere on the continent. The key task in South Africa is the forging of a Trotskyist, proletarian vanguard party to wrest hegemony of the masses from the nationalist misleaders and lead the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Proletarian revolution in South Africa is also key to emancipation of the toiling masses of all of sub-Saharan Africa. In country after country, the masses' aspirations for an end to imperialist oppression were dashed when a native ruling class installed itself in the mansions of the colonial elite. The swollen urban shanty towns sank into sullen decay while tribal, religious and ethnic conflicts emerged with ever greater fury. The failure of the nationalist regimes to stem centrifugal tendencies led to a second generation of post-independence regimes headed by former sergeants of the colonial armies. Idi Amin is only one of the more grotesque of these strutting two-bit bonapartes.

When guerrillas came to power in Angola and Mozambique, it was widely predicted that "socialist" transformations would result. Yet Gulf Oil remains in Cabinda, and now it is the MPLA apparatus and the Cuban-trained political police who regiment Luanda workers. South Africa's naked power grab in Angola was turned back, but only narrowly and due to the arrival of 15,000 Soviet-armed Cuban troops. Until the white-supremacist regime in South Africa is destroyed, Pretoria will continue to wield its economic and military power like a club over all of black Africa.

Fake-Lefts Tail Andrew Young

The task of communists is to draw these key lessons for "African liberation": to demonstrate that democratic demands (independence, universal suffrage, land to the tiller) cannot be won without a struggle for workers power; to show that the petty-bourgeois nationalists and bourgeois liberals hold out no answers to the African masses, whether suffering under the apartheid yoke or living in fear of tribalist pogroms and anti-communist bloodbaths unleashed by black bonapartist regimes. But the left groups which are building May 28 African Liberation Day marches have done just the opposite.

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At a time when the Carter administration is attempting to bolster the United States' image in Africa, these so-called revolutionaries fall into step with the proposition that the American bourgeoisie ought to be the moral arbiters of southern Africa. Behind their demands for boycotting everything South African—from shrimp to musicals and sports teams—lies a call (implicit or explicit) for government sanctions against Pretoria. This rests on the same premise as Andrew Young's sermonizing: that South African apartheid is somehow qualitatively more reactionary than U.S. imperialism.

Thus the Maoist Revolutionary



Marion Kaplan/Echave & Associates

Idi Amin

Communist Party (RCP) in the May issue of *Revolution* vociferously called on the American ruling class to live up to Jimmy Carter's moralistic pretensions. It applauded "demonstrations at banks selling gold Krugerrands... actions against corporations and colleges with interests in and investments in the apartheid system, protests at sports and cultural events with South African participation." The tiny Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) went even further (?), demanding in a headline, "Drive the Krugerrand Out of Detroit!"

On university campuses the RCP and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, together with the SWP and its Young Socialist Alliance, have been demanding that boards of trustees divest themselves of stocks of companies with South African interests. While solidarizing with students seeking to fight against white supremacy, where this becomes a mass struggle, it is the duty of Marxists to point out that this empty gesture assumes that General Motors' investment in South Africa is "immoral" in some way that its investments in the U.S. are not. On the contrary, the U.S. bourgeoisie—from bankers to liberal politicians and university presidents—far from being a potential ally against apartheid is truly



Camerapix

Ethiopian strongman Mengistu



Laffont/Sygma

Samora Machel



Fotolib

Agostinho Neto

the enemy of all the world's peoples, from Chile to Indochina.

In more ways than one the fake-lefts have been sucked into Jimmy Carter's "human rights" ploy to beautify U.S. imperialism. They carefully avoid any challenge to the African nationalists' programs and leadership while praising the periodic guerrilla struggles. But, as the events in Angola show, even the most left nationalists once in power are not a threat to imperialist domination. Andrew Young has praised the Cuban troops for enforcing "stability" in Angola and even flew to a conference in Mozambique against white minority rule where he embraced Machel and such guerrilla leaders as Sam Nujoma of the South West African Peoples Organization.

The SWP, in particular, has tailed after the liberals by taking up the deliberately vague slogan of "majority rule" used by both Carter/Young and

the African nationalists. This ambiguous call—which means vastly different things to different people—was chosen over the more precise and radical-democratic demand for a constituent assembly, raised by the Trotskyist SL. When Kissinger and Young refer to "majority rule" in Rhodesia or South Africa, they mean a limited franchise for blacks and a black figurehead as governmental leader while preserving the social, economic and political substance of white supremacy. In the mouths of African nationalists, the same term has been used to cover their selling out of demands for "one man, one vote."

At most, "majority rule" means only the ousting of white minority regimes and neither indicates the form of government (democratic or bonapartist) or the class nature of the state (bourgeois or proletarian). By demagogically using this vaguely democratic slogan, the SWP can simultaneously bloc with petty-bourgeois nationalists like Stokely Carmichael's All-African People's Revolutionary Party while tailing liberal imperialists like Andrew Young.

Maoist Running Dogs

The Maoists add a particularly obscene note to the African Liberation Day marches. While picking up remnants of pan-Africanist groups and engaging in organizational squabbles which are no more clear than the internecine clique warfare among Peking bureaucrats, the vague "fight-back," "self-reliance" and "armed people's struggle" rhetoric of groups like the RCP and Workers Viewpoint cannot hide the fact that these masters of "two-line" doubletalk supported the racist South African army invasion of Angola little more than a year ago!

Today the Maoists try to sweep this embarrassing bit of recent history under the rug, but so long as they march with China they cannot avoid linking arms with Western imperialism. The current issue of *Revolution* screams from the front page, "Soviet Backed Mercenaries Invade Zaire," and *Workers Viewpoint* demands "Defend Zaire's Sovereignty" from a supposed Cuban attack. Thus these slavish Peking toadies take the same position as Paris and Brussels, as well as Zairean dictator Mobutu, the CIA's "number one man in Africa."

Feeding into the anti-Soviet frenzy which is the real purpose of Carter's "human rights" campaign, the Maoists have apologized for African reactionaries from Vorster to Mobutu in the guise of fighting Russian "imperialism." In fact, the major difference between the African Liberation Day marches dominated by Workers Viewpoint and the RCP respectively is whether the "social-imperialist" USSR is equally as dangerous as the U.S. or is instead the worse of the two "superpowers."

Trotskyists understand that the Soviet Union is not imperialist but a degenerated workers state resting on the historic conquests of the October Revolution (expropriation of the bourgeoisie, collectivized economy). While calling for political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and opposing the Kremlin's opportunist, nationalist foreign policy (for example, its shameful assistance to the Ethiopian junta's massacre of left-wing students and war of extermination against Eritrean secessionists), we unconditionally defend the USSR against imperialism.

On African Liberation Day, we raise the banner not of African nationalism nor Stalinist reformism but of proletarian internationalism. This banner is the rightful property of the Trotskyist Fourth International, whose programmatic continuity and political integrity are today defended only by the international Spartacist tendency, and whose reforging is the vital task facing authentic communists throughout the world. ■

France...

(continued from page 4)

like to reduce its scope somewhat, the Socialists insist on holding the line and the PCF is proposing to add a small number of companies to the *nine* trusts originally slated to be nationalized (that is, bought by the state with handsome payments to the capitalists, so that the burden of financing them can be passed on to the working class). Several of the PCF-proposed additions are steel producers.

To underline its commitment to the maintenance of French capitalism, the Communist Party is also pushing to include the "Gaullists for Progress" as a fourth component of the Union of the Left. Moreover, the PCF has now dropped its "demand" that military service be reduced from one year to six months, and (no doubt linked to its call for "socialism under French colors") has come out in favor of France's nuclear "force de frappe" (striking force), a favorite Gaullist hobby horse. In presenting a report on defense policy to the PCF central committee, Jean Kanapa repeatedly denounced the danger of "West German imperialism" (what about French imperialism?) and called for modernizing French nuclear weaponry (*Le Monde*, 13 May).

While the PCF and PS tie the French workers directly to the bourgeoisie through the popular front, the task of a Trotskyist vanguard must be to warn the proletariat against the danger represented by the Union of the Left and to uphold the revolutionary program against the reformist schemes of the Stalinists and social democrats. But the three large ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France do nothing of the sort. In the May 24 demonstrations, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) marched in step with popular-front electoralism, by demanding dissolution of the national assembly and new elections. Lutte Ouvrière (LO) simply calls for a "united front of the working class."

In the recent elections, these pseudo-Trotskyists all gave backhanded support to the Union of the Left. In addition to voting for the popular front slates (with one or two fig-leaf exceptions) on the decisive second round, the LCR and LO formed an electoral coalition with the "critical Maoist" (pro-Gang of Four) Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT), with the purpose of acting as a left pressure group on the Union of the Left. In contrast, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, demanded "Not One Vote for Any of the Candidates of the Popular Front!" (*Le Bolshevik* No. 5, March 1977).

The fake-lefts, tailing the Union of the Left, perpetuate the reformist stranglehold which frustrates the proletariat's will to resist the "austerity" assault. Only the LTF, swimming against the popular-front stream, embodies the program to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

African Liberation Day 1977

South Africa's Proletariat Is Key

African Liberation Day 1977 takes place under conditions of exceptional turmoil and prospects for great social struggles in white-ruled southern Africa. The defeat of a South African expeditionary force in Angola early last year was followed by the sharpest attack on apartheid in a generation, the June-August Soweto rebellion. Despite the murderous repression unrest continues to boil among the oppressed non-white masses in Vorster's racist hell, most recently in militant protests against staggering rent increases for the crowded shanties of the urban labor compounds.

To the north, the anachronistic colonial settler state in Rhodesia is on its last legs. Ian Smith's tiny base of white planters is inadequate to dominate the remaining 95 percent of the population, and since the collapse of Portuguese colonialism it has been caught in a vise of black states, with only a tenuous land bridge to the south. Even the United States, long a prop for white minority governments in the subcontinent, has given up Ian Smith's pariah regime for lost.

There must be no illusions about the meaning of U.S. talk of "majority rule" in southern Africa. As part of an effort to defuse Rhodesian guerrilla struggles which could provide a diplomatic opening for the Soviet Union, Kissinger began to apply pressure for a "peaceful transition" to a neo-colonial Zimbabwe, decked out with a thin layer of black leaders beholden to Washington for placing them in power. Now, adding a dose of empty anti-apartheid rhetoric, this has become part of Carter's "human rights" campaign, a propaganda offensive to repair the tattered moral pretensions of U.S. imperialism to act as world gendarme.

Such maneuvers require partners, and Kissinger-Carter have gotten plenty of cooperation from the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists who speak in the name of the African masses. Would-be "statesmen" Nkomo, Muzorewa and Mugabe of the Rhodesian nationalist groups all flocked to Geneva on the basis of Kissinger's proposal for a white-controlled "transition government." All have, at one point or another, signed agreements abandoning the democratic demand of "one man, one vote" in exchange for promises of governmental positions in such a regime. Only the intransigence of the white-supremacist Salisbury regime has prevented these sellout schemes from being implemented.

As for the so-called front-line states, Zambia's "humanist" president Kaunda was sucked into Vorster's 1974 "détente" maneuver, even jailing ZANU guerrillas and stopping raids across the border in exchange for a few million rands of South African "economic aid." Mozambique's "Marxist-Leninist" president Machel, meanwhile, continues to supply indentured contract laborers to suffer barbarous exploitation in South Africa's mines, in return

continued on page 10



South African students demand freedom for prisoners of Vorster regime.

AFP

Andrew Young: Black Front Man for U.S. Imperialism



Andrew Young with imperialist chief Carter.

Sygma

One of Jimmy Carter's most successful foreign policy gambits has been the selling of his ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, as an advocate of "Third World" concerns at the highest levels of the U.S. government. After years of "benign neglect," American blacks are now supposed to think they have a friend in the White House. And in Africa, crowds from Lagos to Johannesburg were reportedly enraptured as the former aide to the martyred Martin Luther King breezed through the continent giving the black power handshake and presenting

himself as a personal testimony to a new "moral" American policy.

There was some dismay among stuffy, tight-lipped State Department officials at Foggy Bottom over the penchant of the charismatic, Hollywood-handsome glamour boy to "shoot his mouth off." Conservative Dixiecrat senators gasped at Young's reference to Cuban troops in Angola as a "stabilizing influence." And when General Singlaub lost his job last week for publicly disagreeing with Carter's Korea policy, influential liberal *New York Times* columnist and editor James Reston asked why Andy Young

still had his.

But "Third World" diplomats at the UN were flattered by the unaccustomed attentions Young showered on them, and the African bourgeois press fell in love with the U.S. envoy. The anti-Soviet *Jeune Afrique* (8 April) wrote in a feature story:

"The Africans were clearly supposed to be seduced. And in fact, when their UN missions learned of the nomination of Young they did not fail to react with enthusiasm. His past as a civil rights militant at the side of Martin Luther King is a respectable calling card. The

continued on page 9