

## Militant Protests in South Africa

# Anti-Apartheid Leader Murdered in Prison



Steven Biko

Burns/New York Times



Wide World

Mourners chanting at funeral service for slain South African Steven Biko in Soweto last Sunday.

### 1,200 Black Students Arrested

South Africa's racist rulers have signaled their intentions in a manner as blunt as it is unambiguous. In a single week, they murdered one of the major figures in the "black consciousness" movement, arrested the entire student body of a black university, reaffirmed their total opposition to any governmental role for blacks outside the bantustan tribal reserves and washed their hands of the Anglo-American scheme to maneuver Ian Smith from power in Rhodesia.

On September 12, Steven Biko became the twentieth anti-apartheid militant to die in South Africa's jails during the last year and a half. This obvious case of police murder set off a storm of protest among South African blacks as well as internationally. Even the U.S. State Department shot off a hypocritical statement, expressing its regret and calling the young militant "another victim of the apartheid system and the South African security legislation which supports that system."

Coming on the heels of the diplomatic flap over a planned South African

atomic bomb test, the U.S. statement is another indication of a cooling of relations between Washington and Pretoria under the impact of the Carter/Young "human rights" propaganda campaign to bolster the moral credentials of U.S. imperialism. Any illusion, however, that the butchers of Indochina will pressure the white-supremacist *Herrenvolk* ("master race") regime into alleviating racial oppression would be the most dangerous diversion for the non-white masses of South Africa and the international working class.

The sinister content of Carter's "human rights" foreign policy was underscored by his recent fete for Chile's Pinochet, Argentina's Videla and other Latin American dictators gathered in Washington to celebrate the U.S. colonialist Panama Canal swindle. For the last two years South African prime minister B. J. Vorster has been negotiating with these same mass murderers to form an anti-communist military alliance to dominate the South Atlantic.

### Apartheid Jackboot

Biko, a 30-year-old founder of the Black People's Convention and leader

of the South African Students Organization, had been arrested on August 18 under the notorious Terrorism Act, which allows the apartheid regime to detain its opponents indefinitely without trial. He was jailed by security police on allegations of fomenting unrest among blacks in the Port Elizabeth area of Natal province and of writing documents urging "violence and arson."

The initial government statement on Biko's death differed from the usual perfunctory whitewash only in its length. It maintained that he had died in a Pretoria hospital after an eight-day "hunger strike" during which he refused all food and water. Previous deaths of detainees have been officially attributed to suicide, slipping on soap in the shower, falling down stairs or choking on food. Oozing with racist arrogance, "Justice" Minister James T. Kruger told delegates at a congress of the ruling National Party: "I am not pleased, nor am I sorry. Biko's death leaves me cold."

Three days after the police murder of Biko, Kruger unleashed his stormtroopers on a memorial meeting at the all-black University of Fort Hare. Armed to the teeth and using attack dogs, the

police arrested 1,200 demonstrators, nearly the entire enrollment of the university. But even this extraordinary wholesale arrest has not stopped the black protests which have continued unabated since the June 1976 revolt which began in the huge Johannesburg suburb of Soweto. On Sunday hundreds of angry blacks crowded into a Soweto church for a ceremony mourning the death of Biko. Refusing to be intimidated by the murderous repression which has cost the lives of more than 600 blacks even by official statistics, the mourners cheered and raised clenched fists when a speaker said, "We don't care what the inquest says. Vorster and the government are responsible."

While the police tightened the steel grip of repression in anticipation of a new outburst of anti-apartheid demonstrations, even the timorous white bourgeois opposition refused to buy the official alibi. In recent months, the covert executions of black militants in police custody have been brewing into a major scandal. Last month for the first time members of the police Special Branch were tried for "culpable homi-

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# Ukrainian Dissident on North American Tour

## Plyushch Can't Duck Issue of Soviet Defensism

--From *Spartacist Canada* No. 20, October 1977

TORONTO, September 19—A year and a half ago Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch was released from imprisonment in a Soviet psychiatric hospital and allowed to emigrate from the USSR as a result of an international campaign which won broad support from the western European workers movement, especially in France where its endorsers included numerous social-democratic trade unionists and the Communist Party. Today Plyushch, now a vocal social democrat, is on tour for Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade.

Speaking in several North American cities in late August under the banner "Respect the Helsinki Human Rights Agreement," Plyushch's tour was scheduled to line up public opinion behind the Western powers at the Belgrade conference follow-up on the 1975 Helsinki agreement. Speaking on behalf of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in the USSR, Plyushch made clear its pro-imperialist position to an audience of 500 (predominantly East European emigrés) in Toronto: "The only hope now," he said, "is Carter's victory at Belgrade."

### From "Neo-Marxist" to Imperialist Apologist

In the first days after his release by the Kremlin, Plyushch had proclaimed his "neo-Marxism," and generally differentiated himself from reactionary pro-capitalist dissidents like tsar-worshiper Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. At his first news conference in Paris on 3 February 1976 he declared that "the savage persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union is a shameful taint on the great ideals of Communism" (*New York Times*, 4 February 1976).

But years of savage persecution at the hands of the Kremlin bureaucracy have destroyed any confidence Plyushch might ever have had in the "bright ideals of Communism." Already Leonid Plyushch is making his peace with imperialism. In exile he has moved steadily rightward: from despairing over the possibility of achieving socialism, to sharing a platform with cold-war senator Henry Jackson, to his present

stance as an open apologist for "democratic imperialism." And during his North American speaking tour, as he moved across the continent his talks strayed more and more from the Helsinki Accords and the repression of dissidents in the Ukraine, becoming increasingly devoted to defending Jimmy Carter's "moral" foreign policy.

In an article published shortly after Plyushch's release we wrote:

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

—"Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in the USSR!" *WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976

A consistently revolutionary proletarian, anti-bureaucratic perspective is to be found only in Trotskyism, which for more than 40 years has called for a workers political revolution to oust the Kremlin masters while unwaveringly defending the socialist property forms of the USSR.

Repeatedly confronted by presentations of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question by representatives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), as the tour went on Plyushch grew increasingly venomous and long-winded in his attempts to denigrate Trotskyism and the iSt.

In Vancouver, Plyushch lavished praise on the Carter "human rights" imperialist moral rearmament campaign, demanding only that it be applied more forcefully against the Soviet Union:

"Although one could demand consistency from him, Carter has done some good things for some Latin American countries and India. There are still no positive benefits for the Soviet Union."

In Chicago he explicitly stated that if he had to choose between Kremlin-style "socialism" and Western capitalism he would opt for the latter. When a Spartacist League supporter asked him in Detroit whether he endorsed Andrei Sakharov's appeal for U.S. government trade sanctions against the USSR, Plyushch said that he did.

By the time the Ukrainian dissident reached Toronto, his remarks were from the start a barely veiled attempt to defend his pro-imperialist position against the Spartacist tendency. Declaring that he would refute the accusation that he was helping to mobilize support for reactionary ends, he proceeded to do just the opposite, delivering a rambling anti-Soviet diatribe which was lapped up by the largely anti-Communist audience.

### "Imperialism is Using You, Comrade Plyushch"

Following Plyushch's presentation, a spokesman for the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the iSt, opened the question period by decrying the speaker's evolution into a spokesman for cold-war imperialist politics:

"I'm speaking for the international Spartacist tendency. As Spartacists we understand the nature of Stalinist persecution. Ours is the heritage of the Left Opposition wiped out by Stalin and his henchmen because we fought

Plyushch speaking in Chicago.



WV Photo

for workers democracy. "Comrade Plyushch, do you know what cause you are serving here? When you first left the Soviet Union and came to the West, we of the international Spartacist tendency said that you had a choice. If you did not systematize your socialist convictions; if you did not come to a Trotskyist understanding of the need to defend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution; if you did not come to understand the need to fight to build a new Bolshevik party to lead the working class in the Soviet degenerated workers state in successful political revolution against the bureau-

cratic usurpers in the Kremlin; if you did not come to such an understanding, you would become the witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists. The only 'democracy' the imperialists are interested in for the USSR is freedom for capitalist exploitation. The Helsinki Monitoring Group is seeking to use imperialism to gain basic democratic rights, but imperialism is using you, Comrade Plyushch. "Only the international working class led by a Leninist vanguard party can defend the gains of October and open the road to socialism by overthrowing the bureaucratic misrulers in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and the other

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deformed workers states and by carrying out social revolutions in every country."

In his reply, Plyushch, who now views the "main struggle" as one "between democracy and totalitarianism," attacked not only the Soviet Union but the perspective of proletarian revolution:

"When the Spartacists say that in the case of war the Soviet Union has to be defended militarily, I want them to study the military power of the Soviet Union and their international policies.... What weapons will they use against the thermonuclear war: pistols and hand grenades?"

"There is no prospect of world socialist revolution now. The people are being killed now."

Part of Plyushch's attempt to discredit Trotskyism was the recital of a litany of Stalinist crimes, culminating with "after all, who was it who killed Trotsky?" But the murder of Trotsky does not prove Plyushch's thesis that there is nothing worth defending in the Soviet Union; rather it raises the fundamental question of the causes of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

It was the very same imperialist countries to which Plyushch today appeals whose attempts to strangle the Bolshevik Revolution through economic boycotts and military intervention—and whose bloody suppression of communist movements in the West—caused the isolation of the Soviet state. This was the fundamental cause of the eclipse of Soviet democracy and the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class. Western imperialism and its social-democratic collaborators crushed the German Revolution and murdered its leaders in cold blood. It is this same "democratic" imperialism, led by a Woodrow Wilson of the fourth mobilization, to which Plyushch now looks for the restoration of "human rights" in the Soviet Union. Evidently World Wars I and II and the imperialist butchery in Vietnam are not enough to convince him that these "democrats" are the worst enemies of the future of humanity.

Today there is a paper Helsinki Accord and no mass international communist movement guided by Leninist principles. Therefore, according to Plyushch, one must worship the accomplished fact. This loss of faith in the possibility of world revolution is precisely what Stalin codified in his doctrine of "socialism in one country"—except Stalin ruled a country, and Plyushch doesn't. So Stalin sought to make diplomatic alliances between the imperialists and the state he ruled with autocratic brutality; Plyushch, with less to offer, can only sell his tongue and his pen.

Stalin got Yalta and Potsdam for his efforts—which meant the suppression of revolutionary struggles in West Europe and continued decades of bourgeois class rule in the imperialist centers. Plyushch's "sphere of influence" will probably extend no farther than a university department.

### Leon Trotsky and Leonid Plyushch

In a speech delivered to the American Socialist Workers Party shortly after the assassination of Trotsky in 1940, James P. Cannon noted that even Trotsky's dead body was barred from entering the United States. Despite being exiled, harassed and finally murdered by the Stalinist bureaucrats, Trotsky retained full confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the world working class. That is why Trotsky was considered too dangerous an enemy of the capitalist system to be allowed into the citadel of world imperialism.

During his speaking tour, Plyushch noted that at one point the U.S. State Department had hesitated to admit him because he had "so many Trotskyist friends in France." But he chose to embrace "democratic" imperialism and to become an unofficial spokesman for

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# More from Healy, Messenger of Qaddafi

The Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Britain has intensified its year-long pandering to the despotic regime of Colonel Muamar Qaddafi's underpopulated but oil-rich Libya to new heights of shameless glorification following last month's brief military conflict between Egypt and Libya. The border clashes between Egypt and Libya represented nothing more than a power struggle for influence in the Arab East between two comparable bourgeois-nationalist regimes, which have consistently answered the democratic aspirations of both Libyans and Egyptians with savage repression. Neither side is deserving of support by socialists.

The WRP, now under the leadership of general secretary Michael Banda, seized on the conflict, however, to provide additional services to what it is pleased to revere as the "Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya"—the new Qaddafi-inspired name for Libya. *Workers Vanguard* first exposed the WRP's weirdly grovelling lauding of the Libyan dictator several months ago (see "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi," *WV* No. 158, 20 May 1977). Since then the WRP's grotesque and fulsome



Vanessa Redgrave and WRP general secretary Michael Banda display *News Line* headline "Hands Off Libya" in front of Egyptian embassy in London.

support to Qaddafi has provoked widespread comment in the British left press, as well as in the London/Manchester *Guardian* (16 August).

The WRP (formerly the Socialist Labour League) has a long history of political banditry and Stalin-style organizational methods. Following their hatchet job expulsion of the Spartacist tendency from the 1966 London International Committee (IC) conference, consolidating its rotten bloc of political convenience, the Healyites' cynical organizational methods found political expression a year later in cheerleading for a classless "Arab Revolution," and chronic tailing of Stalinist forces such as Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese Maoist Red Guards.

The Healyite operation during the last decade has been built on the

principles of a con game, with a central focus on milking high-income "angels" through gimmicky pretensions to mass influence. Combining internal intimidation of members with violence and slander against left opponents, including dragging them into the capitalist courts when convenient, the shrill tone of the Healyite fake "mass press" (*Workers Press, News Line*) recently reached a new height of witchhunting frenzy in filthy attempts to smear Joseph Hansen, spokesman for the reformist Socialist Workers Party, as an "accomplice of the GPU" in Trotsky's assassination. But the corrupt Healyite "method" of political banditry has reached a revolting nadir in the WRP/



Joint communiqué issued August 8 by Gerry Healy's WRP and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

delivered a letter of protest against Sadat to the ambassador. At a special meeting organized by the WRP in "support of the Palestinian and Libyan revolutions," Banda made a lengthy speech repeating almost word for word the line of the Libyan government. The crowning glory of the WRP's efforts was a "joint communiqué" put out by the WRP Central Committee and an official delegation from the "General People's Congress of the Libyan Jamahiriya"—i.e., that fake body (which meets once a year) created by Qaddafi as a facade for his dictatorship. The communiqué (published in *News Line*, 10 August) hails former Egyptian leader Nasser and his "1952 revolution"



Libyan ruler Qaddafi!

IC's current fealty to the dictator Qaddafi.

Following the Egypt-Libya clash, the WRP Central Committee issued a statement giving full support to the "Libyan Revolution," stating that "the overthrow of Colonel Gaddafi would be a major setback for Palestine and for Africa." "Unlike Sadat, the Colonel enjoys universal support amongst the Libyan workers and peasants," the WRP Central Committee asserted (*News Line*, 25 July)—and perhaps there is a grain of truth here, since any Libyan who dared oppose the dictator would be swiftly thrown in jail, or worse!

The WRP organized a picket outside the Egyptian embassy in London on July 25, during which Banda and film actress Vanessa Redgrave personally

which Qaddafi is asserted to be continuing, and praises Qaddafi and his "people's democracy" to the skies—that "people's democracy" whose slogan is "parties are treason" and is pledged to "purge all the sick people who talk of Communism, atheism..." (*New York Times*, 22 May 1973)!

This unsavory alliance is being trumpeted by the WRP press. Under the grandiose headline, "Unity of the British and Arab Revolution," the *Young Socialist* (20 August), organ of the WRP's youth affiliate, introduces the communiqué: "An anti-imperialist alliance has been established between the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya which marks a milestone in the development of the world socialist revolution."

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# Canadian Mandelites Surrender to Reformism

—reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 19, September 1977

On August 7, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) (Canadian representatives of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's [USec] centrist International Majority Tendency [IMT]) once again found themselves a home with the reformist League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO). Despite a great deal of internal resistance and opposition, the leaderships of the RMG and GMR succeeded in pushing through a fusion with the LSA/LSO at their conventions in Toronto and Montreal.

The reunification of the RMG and GMR with the organization from which they split in 1972-73 was hailed by all three groups as an "historic occasion" for Canadian Trotskyism. But far from being historic (or having anything to do with Trotskyism), the coming together of the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO into the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) is but a new page in the USec's book of unprincipled combinationism.

Five years ago, a large minority of the LSA/LSO—at that time the sole Canadian representative of the USec and the only visible Trotskyist organization in Canada—insurrected against the reformist politics of the leadership. While their fight was deformed and partial, many of the comrades who split to form the Quebec GMR and English-Canadian RMG did so out of a commitment to find the road to authentic Trotskyism.

The early GMR and RMG denounced the LSA/LSO and its American big brother the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as "reformist" and "lost to Trotskyism," and looked for leadership to the European-based IMT leadership. Their perspective was "the reconstruction of the Fourth International in North America" ("The Struggle in the Fourth International," document adopted by the North American IMT groups in July 1973). But, unable to transcend centrism, the only thing the RMG and GMR have succeeded in "reconstructing" is the LSA/LSO.

At their 1973 founding convention, the youthful impressionists of the RMG predicted that their organization would triple or quadruple in size within two years, and that the LSA/LSO would collapse like a house of cards. Now those heady, left-leaning days—when the RMG and GMR were the epitome of New Left petty-bourgeois polyvanguardism, parading under banners reading "One Solution, Revolution" and "Armed Struggle, the Only Road"—are but a fading memory. Wracked by a series of internal crises, intense factionalism and dramatic line changes, the RMG and GMR moved rightward. By earlier this year—thanks in large measure to the "unity" maneuvers of their hoped-for saviors in the IMT leadership—the leaders of the two organizations had buried their hammers and sickles in order to re-embrace the social-democratic "Trotskyism" of the LSA/LSO.

### Yet Another "New Period"

Of course, the mutual forgiving of sins and meeting of minds between former bitter factional opponents had to be accompanied by a suitable rationale.

Well-trained in the school of Pabloist objectivism, the leaderships of the RMG and GMR offered their somewhat uneasy ranks the proclamation that a "new period" of turbulent class struggle had been ushered in by the October 14 general strike and the November 15 electoral victory of the Parti Québécois. And since the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO had all managed to come out with approximately the same line on these two "historic occasions" (in itself something of an historic occasion), what better reason could there possibly be for fusion?

While in general this was accepted by the RMG and GMR ranks as good a basis as any for "unity" a dispute polarized the first day of the RMG convention over which of the two dates was the more "historic." At loggerheads over this "burning" issue were the hereditary chieftains of the RMG's two main cliques, Central Committee (CC) members Bret Smiley and Joe Flexer. In his "Political Resolution" report to the convention, Smiley—self-styled Alain Krivine "superstar" of the RMG—asserted that November 15 was far and away the more decisive blow to the Canadian state. In the ensuing discussion Flexer (the CC's resident workerist) denounced Smiley's report as "provocative"—"obviously" October 14 was the more important of the two. No consensus could be reached, so the report was tabled. (Later, however, Smiley was to emerge a clear victor, as Flexer was forced off the new organization's incoming Central Committee, much to his displeasure.) The altercation over the "Political Resolution" having been put aside, the RMG leadership temporarily united in an effort to force fusion down the throats of the membership.

In his fraternal greetings from the USec to the convention, IMT leader Charles Michaloux hailed the Canadian fusion as part of an international rapprochement between the competing wings of the USec—the IMT and the SWP/LSA/LSO's misnamed "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF). As the enormous differences between the IMT and LTF become more excruciatingly obvious every day, both sides are intent on pursuing "unity" at all costs, in the hope of somehow justifying the existence of such a grotesque parody of Trotsky's Fourth International. Fusions have already occurred or are reportedly about to occur between IMT and minority groups in Mexico, Spain and Australia—all countries where the USec groups split along factional lines in the early 1970's. Michaloux heaped scorn on those who would term the USec a rotten bloc and seek to deny its "Trotskyist" legitimacy, calling the fusions "a living denunciation of the sectarians."

In reality, the fusions are a living denunciation of Leninism. Only two years ago the IMT and LTF took positions on two central issues which put them on opposite sides of the barricades. In both cases the LTF found itself standing on the side of the U.S. State Department—professing a scandalous neutrality during the South African invasion of Angola, and shamelessly apologizing for the Portuguese social democrats' CIA-funded anti-communist mobilization against the



Alain Krivine speaking at RMG meeting in Toronto in 1974.

WV Photo

Communist Party. The RMG's international mentors, on the other hand, tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA in Angola and the Stalinist-supported Portuguese Armed Forces Movement.

Today, the two wings are moving to dismantle their factions in preparation for the USec's "Eleventh World Congress." But the opportunist appetites of the IMT and LTF leaderships remain fundamentally counterposed, and with another major escalation of class struggle the two sides will again be at war.

With the rise of popular frontism in southern Europe over the past few years, the IMT has increasingly turned away from the amorphous "student vanguard" to orient toward "broad" coalitions of organizations standing to the left of the Communist Parties. Through their participation in the popular-frontist Italian Democrazia Proletaria, the French "far-left" electoral bloc and most recently the Spanish Front for Workers Unity (FUT), IMT groups have sought to pressure the Stalinists and social democrats to the left—all the while giving "critical" support to these reformists' popular-frontist alliances.

Meanwhile Joseph Hansen's SWP seeks to cultivate an image of "respectability" in the eyes of its own bourgeoisie, with appetites to become the mass party of American social democracy. The road has already been paved with numerous SWP betrayals: from repudiation of revolution in the bourgeois courts, through braintrusting fake "oppositionist" trade union bureau-

crats, to effectively renouncing military defense of the Soviet Union.

### "Building the Fourth International" By Building the Second International

While the SWP seeks to become the American version of the Canadian New Democratic Party [NDP], the LSA has historically sought to give the NDP some of the SWP's "socialist" veneer. For many years the LSA/LSO's central political slogan was "Win the NDP to Socialism!" In recent years however the LSA/LSO has lowered its sights somewhat—now aiming simply to "Build the NDP!" This ostensibly "dramatic" line change was offered to the RMG leadership as evidence that the LSA/LSO had moved to the left since the split of its long-time leader Ross Dowson in 1974.

The early RMG adamantly rejected the LSA/LSO's pro-NDP cretinism. Its desire was to build the Fourth International, not the Second. But by late last year, as the organization met with failure after failure, the leadership had begun searching frantically for some excuse to liquidate the RMG back into the LSA/LSO. Thus the RMG's top leaders seized on a few hypocritical "self-criticisms" by the LSA/LSO leadership for its extremely right-wing NDP line under Dowson, taking them as good coin, and finding them sufficient justification for fusion.

While the RMG leadership shied away from raising the slogan "Build the NDP" at the convention, it had no qualms about supporting the content of this slogan: a call for NDP governments

throughout the country. Just how, given the extreme weakness of the NDP in much of the country, could an NDP government be elected? For the time-tested social-democratic sycophants of the LSA/LSO, the answer is obvious: by building the NDP through increasing its influence in the working class. In a pre-convention discussion bulletin, LSA/LSO Organizational Secretary Art Young noted that any remaining differences with the RMG over the NDP question were "differences not over line, but over the application of the line," and commented: "I don't see any difference of substance between this document [the RMG leadership's position paper on the NDP] and the position of the League on the so-called 'build the NDP' dispute" ("A Basic Agreement on the NDP," Joint Internal Bulletin No. 4, June 1977).

The extent of agreement between the leaderships on this question was underlined by RMG National Secretary Bob Mills in his convention report on "Social Democracy and the English-Canadian Workers Movement." To the delight of the assembled LSA/LSOers, Mills stated that, in the RMG Political Committee's opinion, the Canadian working class will not go forward to socialist revolution until it has become "completely disillusioned" with the NDP in power. Therefore, according to Mills, the central demand of revolutionaries must be for an NDP government.

Mills's report, which incorporated some of the worst rationalizations used by the LSA/LSO to justify liquidation into the NDP, provoked the most heated and confused debate of the entire RMG convention. Liquidating one's organization is, after all, as we have noted before, not without its hesitations and agonies; and not all RMGers were as willing as their National Secretary to swallow in one gulp the LSA/LSO's NDP line. In a last-ditch effort to hold on to some of the RMG's threadbare leftism, two opposition tendencies gave counterreports following Mills's presentation.

Choking on the thought of calling for NDP governments everywhere and always, one oppositional clot sought to sweeten the pill by suggesting that the NDP government slogan be raised in only four provinces (B.C., Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario), but not federally! The other report correctly opposed the NDP government slogan, offering in its stead, however, a call for critical electoral support to the NDP under most circumstances (implicitly including periods, like today, when NDP coalitionism with bourgeois parties should preclude even the most critical support from Leninists).

During the discussion many delegates grudgingly supported the leadership's position ("I support the document but..."), while complaining that Mills was beginning to sound like a typical LSA/LSO hack. After various counterpositions and amendments were withdrawn by their movers, resubmitted by other delegates and then withdrawn again, most of the opposition had worn itself out, and the Mills position was carried by 26 votes to 2, with 4 abstentions.

### Opposition to "Fast Fusion"

Like the vote against the NDP line change, the actual vote against fusion was quite small (only two delegates to the RMG convention voted against, while one other RMG delegate and two from the GMR abstained). Nevertheless, this did not reflect the depth of rank-and-file discontent over what was widely recognized as a shotgun wedding with the LSA/LSO. Without a large turnout of international USec honchos to ram through the "unity" offensive, the opposition would likely have been larger.

The RMG and GMR leaderships decided quite early on that they had "no principled political differences" with the LSA/LSO—after all, both agreed that the USec was the continuity of the

Fourth International, and what more could possibly be required! But a large reservoir of resentment against the leaderships of both organizations was created, due mainly to the rapid-fire pace at which the fusion was forced through.

Less than two months before the convention date, the RMG and GMR leaderships announced to the ranks that the fusions—originally scheduled to occur only pending the success of a long period of joint work—would instead come immediately after the August conventions. Clearly the need for a shotgun fusion was motivated by growing discontent with the idea of fusion in sections of the ranks, and by recognition by the RMG/GMR/LSA/LSO leaderships that a lengthy period of "joint work" would only widen the groups' differences.

Right away, oppositional clots sprung up across the country against the leadership's "fast fusion" proposal. Doubtless desiring more time to mull over their organization's failures before actually committing political suicide, disgruntled elements grouped around various tendencies arguing for fusion at Thanksgiving, at Christmas, or—for the more "militant"—Easter weekend.

By convention time, all oppositions had been predictably whipped into line, save two: the small "Principled Fusion Tendency" (PFT) of the RMG, which opposed the fusion as unprincipled; and a rank-and-file "Working Group" of the GMR, centered on its trade unionists and its CEGEP (community college) students. The Working Group was a hodgepodge of disaffected and unhappy elements—ranging from left-wingers repelled by the LSA/LSO and by the GMR leadership's rightward motion, to feminist and gay-liberation lifestylists, to extreme Quebec nationalists upset that the group was abandoning its Bundist position for a separate Quebec section of the USec.

The only unifying factor in this melange (which by convention time included forty percent of the GMR membership) was its opposition to the leadership's bureaucratic "fast fusion" tactics. Yet not a single member of the Working Group could muster a "no" vote when the hands were raised for fusion—let alone present anything remotely resembling a *programmatic* critique of the GMR and LSA/LSO leaderships.

### "Principled Fusion Tendency"

Thus the delegates of the RMG's Winnipeg-based PFT were the only ones to vote against the fusion. Substantially smaller than the Working Group, the PFT was however almost as confused and eclectic. Among its supporters were hardened feminists and anti-feminists; "native nationalists" and anti-nationalists; some who supported the IMT, others who rejected it as opportunist. The only thing holding the PFT together was a well-placed revulsion for the LSA/LSO.

Yet even on this question the position of the PFT was extraordinarily muddled. In its original founding declaration the tendency came up with a rather novel characterization of the LSA/LSO as "revolutionary centrist." When this was withdrawn, PFTers split on the issue—some condemning the LSA/LSO as reformist; others characterizing it as centrist.

In the PFT's anti-fusion report to the convention, the RMG leadership was attacked for capitulating to the LSA/LSO on a series of questions—the most notable being the NDP and international democratic centralism. The report challenged the RMG's "closet leftists" to "come out," warning them that after the fusion they would face a "block of three" against left oppositionists: the RMG leadership, the LSA/LSO leadership and the LSA/LSO's hand-raising ranks. However the triumvirate did not wait until after the convention to con-

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## Fremont UAW

# "Brotherhood" Bureaucrats Collect on Sellout

### Class-Struggle Candidates Gain in Elections

FREMONT, California—On September 15 United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 held special elections to fill the post of departing shop chairman Earlie Mays and five other top plant-wide offices in a scramble for a new power alignment among the bureaucratic factions of the Local. After four years of "people's power" from Mays' Brotherhood Caucus, this gang has proved in the end to be nothing but a ready-made instrument for bringing new blood into the International bureaucracy. At least four Brotherhood leaders have taken jobs with the UAW International bureaucracy since they entered local office in 1973.

Earlie Mays won the highest appointment as International staff representative as a reward for calling off the Local's strike last April on the International's orders and the company's terms (nothing won and severe disciplines meted out to the shop committee). During that strike, precipitated by a foreman's assault on a committeeman, a puffed-up Mays likened himself to "great labor leaders" such as Walter Reuther, John L. Lewis and Cesar Chavez, whose supposed mark of leadership was the ability to "turn it on and turn it off." No doubt Solidarity House was especially impressed with the latter.

Mays' Brotherhood Caucus captured the top Local 1364 offices from the Unity Team in 1973. We noted then: "...despite vague talk of 'people's power,' the Brotherhood victory was simply the exchange of one bureaucratic clique for another in a game of musical chairs in which the membership always loses" (WV No. 25, 20 July 1973).



Earlie Mays (right).

However, most of the self-proclaimed radicals in the Fremont plant supported and participated in the Brotherhood Caucus campaign.

The Brotherhood ran on a familiar, thoroughly reformist platform (for "union democracy," against "financial corruption," etc.) and incorporated numerous discredited out-bureaucrats. Nevertheless, such fake-lefts in the Local as the *On the Line* and *Call* groups, politically supported by the Revolutionary Union (now Revolutionary Communist Party) and the October League (now Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist]) respectively, hailed the Brotherhood and were instrumental in selling Mays' demagogic rhetoric as a break from mainstream labor officialdom.

But despite the Maoists' praises, over the last four years the Brotherhood Caucus proved itself to be nothing but a vehicle for advancement within the UAW bureaucracy. In fact, the International apparently recruited so much of the Brotherhood leadership that the Caucus was unable to put up any candidate at all to succeed Mays as shop chairman. George Nano, formerly of the Unity Team, won the post easily.

With the discrediting of the Brotherhood Caucus as a militant alternative, the Maoists are totally disoriented. Veering away from Mays, Resistance, a caucus politically supported by the Maoist grouplet ATM (August Twenty-ninth Movement [M-L]), gave backhanded support to Nano! Aping the Communist Party's 1972 "vote against Nixon" campaign—a cover for voting the Democratic Party ticket—Resistance said:

"Build a united effort against the Brotherhood's attempt to take power and smash democracy... Since the Brotherhood has served GM so well, they'd like to see them in power once again."

Resistance leaders even admitted voting for Nano at the same time as running two of their own candidates for other posts. Their vague program called for "union democracy" and "supporting other people's struggles"—a rehash of Mays' 1973 populism.

The RCP-supported *On the Line* group demonstrated that it had learned nothing from the Brotherhood experience by supporting one of the candidates touted by Resistance. That the ATM(M-L) and RCP can back the same reformist candidates while accusing each other of being "capitalist roaders" is a fresh affirmation of Maoist idiocy.

The CP(M-L)-backed *Call* grouping, whose supporters numbered among Mays' bloc partners in 1973, endorsed none of the candidates this time around. In recent months these deeply cynical toadies of Peking have tried to distinguish themselves from their Stalinist competitors by not endorsing "progressive" bureaucrats. This is nothing but a maneuver, however, for they have never repudiated their past support for Mays or other exploits, such as taking the union to court to break the seniority system. Lacking a program, strategy or examples of principled class-struggle trade-union work to point to, the pages of the *Call* had little to offer auto workers except tidings that CP(M-L)

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Framed-Up, Purged, Jailed on Eve of World War II

# Trotskyism and the Minneapolis Teamsters: They Refused to Bow

**T**eamster *Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs is the fourth and concluding volume in a series on Trotskyist work in the Teamsters union, written by one of the key participants. The years leading up to World War II saw an increasing polarization between the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters and the Teamster International headed by Daniel Tobin. *Teamster Bureaucracy* is the history of those years, which culminated in the purge of the Trotskyists from the union and in the sedition trial of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) by the Roosevelt government.

Dobbs' review of the years that preceded the showdown in 1941 makes crystal clear the unceasing hatred borne toward the revolutionary leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters by the trucking bosses, the Teamsters bureaucracy and the capitalist politicians. From the time of the victory of the Minneapolis strikes in 1934, for seven years Teamster Local 544 faced one attempt after another to decapitate its militant leadership. With only brief interludes of uneasy truces, there followed Tobin's 1934-36 attempt to revoke the charter of the Minneapolis Teamsters; the "fink

## A review of *Teamster Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs

suit" of 1938, in which a small number of dissidents tried to put the Local into receivership to the courts; the FBI-instigated arrest and conviction of several leaders active in the over-the-road organizing campaign initiated by the Minneapolis Teamsters; and the conviction of several leaders of the Federal Workers section of Local 544, representing the unemployed, for their role in the 1939 strike against the Works Progress Administration.

By 1941 the relationship of forces had altered to the serious disadvantage of the Trotskyist militants. The earlier wave of trade-union militancy had receded noticeably in the face of Roosevelt's war preparations. The key issue had become the imperialist war, opposed resolutely within the labor movement only by the Trotskyists. The removal of the Trotskyists, who were an obstacle to the institution of wartime

compulsory arbitration, wage controls and the no-strike clause, was desired not only by Tobin and Co. but also by the Roosevelt government which Tobin served faithfully.

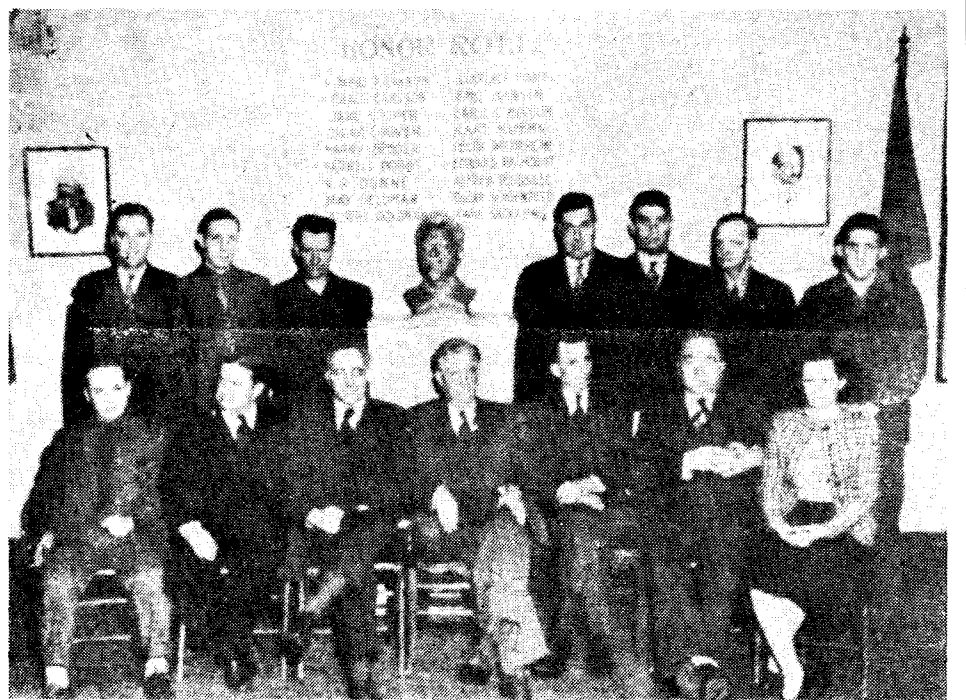
In June 1941 Tobin ordered the executive board of Local 544 to "request" him to appoint a receiver for the Local. In particular, Tobin wanted a veto over what was printed in the *Northwest Organizer*, the organ of the Minneapolis Joint Council, which had in the past carried statements critical of the war.

Tobin's action was tantamount to a declaration of war. Had the Local 544 leadership accepted these conditions, it would have been quickly reduced to being accomplices of the Roosevelt-loyal Teamster hacks. Their refusal was the signal for the massive strife that erupted between Local 544 and a united front of Roosevelt, Tobin, the trucking bosses and the courts.

The trucking bosses took the occasion of the intra-union fight to refuse to renew their contracts with Local 544. The Trotskyists were at a severe disadvantage. In the estimation of the Local 544 leadership, mass strike action in the face of Tobin's goons, court injunctions and the uncertain loyalty of other Teamster locals would have led only to the victimization of a wide layer of militants. And in the midst of the conflict, Roosevelt stepped in with his indictment of the SWP and Local 544 leadership.

Local 544's tactic of disaffiliating with the AFL Teamsters and getting a CIO charter did not prove particularly effective. Tobin was able to depict Local 544 as the "splitters"; at the same time the CIO, whose own leadership was pro-war, was not eager to launch an aggressive defense of the Trotskyist-led local. In any event, however, it is doubtful that another set of tactics would have made any real difference. 1941 was not 1934, and the battle was decidedly an unequal one, despite the great loyalty shown by the rank and file to the Trotskyist leaders.

What was important, however, about the 1941 fight was the firm example set by the SWP, which fulfilled with honor its revolutionary duty to oppose the imperialist butchery in the face of widespread war fever among the American workers. The battle against Tobin



**SWP and Local 544 leaders imprisoned in 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act trial.**

and Roosevelt was a ringing statement that the Trotskyists were prepared to "swim against the stream"—they upheld Marxist principle, telling the truth to the masses, even at the cost of unpopularity and losing official posts in the trade-union movement. Their courageous battle stands out in sharp contrast to their treacherous opponents on the left, who willingly became accomplices in Wall Street's war machine. Even after the war, when the Stalinists came directly under the guns of the reactionaries, they quickly capitulated in a futile effort to save their own skins. At the 1946 CIO convention, Communist Party delegates co-authored and voted for a resolution that condemned efforts of the CP to "interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

## Trotsky's Debate with the SWP

A year before the showdown in 1941, Trotsky had engaged the SWP leadership in a discussion over the party's Minneapolis trade-union work. Trotsky was critical of the party's failure to sufficiently distinguish itself politically from the Roosevelt "progressives" in the unions. While noting the correctness of blocs with the "progressive" bureaucrats around simple trade-union issues, Trotsky stressed the danger of generalizing

such temporary united fronts into ongoing political alliances. He was particularly critical of the *Northwest Organizer*, which he termed a "photograph of our adaptation to the Rooseveltians" and about which he noted, "I have observed not the slightest change during a whole period. It remains apolitical."

In 1940 the SWP did not have its own candidate for the presidential elections. The "progressive" bureaucrats, of course, were backing Roosevelt, who was preparing to lead the country into World War II. The Communist Party, as a result of the Stalin-Hitler pact, had made a left turn and was denouncing Roosevelt and the imperialist war. Thus the Stalinists were conjuncturally to the left of the "progressives"; under these circumstances Trotsky recommended critical support to the CP candidate Browder. The SWP, which had for some time been blocking with the Rooseveltian "progressives" against the Stalinists in the unions, balked.

The passive policy of the SWP leadership in not aggressively seeking a class alternative to Roosevelt in the 1940 elections was a continuation, in another form, of its earlier adaptation to the "progressives" in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (F-LP). The F-LP was not a workers party, even in a deformed way. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, the trade unions had direct representation, but even in these urban areas the party was dominated by the community ward clubs, totally outside the labor movement. The F-LP was in reality a multi-class party, indirectly subordinate to capitalist interests. This was confirmed by its support to Roosevelt. A break with Roosevelt, a split with the bourgeois leadership of the F-LP and the construction of a party based on the unions should have been made the precondition to any electoral support.

However, the policy of the Minneapolis Trotskyists was to bloc with the "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats against the Stalinists in the F-LP. The



**Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 organized Union Defense Guards in August 1938 to meet threat of Silver Shirt fascists.**

political distinctions between these two factions were not qualitative—both supported Roosevelt—and as such the work in the F-LP was never very rewarding for the SWP. A classic example was the Minneapolis city elections of 1937. The two rival wings of the F-LP each nominated a proved strikebreaker for mayor. The trade-union bloc nominated the incumbent mayor, Thomas Latimer, who had been notorious for calling out the cops against strikers; the Stalinist-dominated camp endorsed Kenneth Haycraft, the officer in the National Guard during the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike who had arrested several leading union members!

This would have been an excellent opportunity to launch an independent labor campaign, given the widespread disgust among militants with both nominees. But this was not done. The Socialist Party, to which the Trotskyists then belonged, ran Local 544 leader Ray Dunne for mayor, but within the trade-union movement itself, where it really counted, the Trotskyists did not counterpose Dunne's candidacy to that of the F-LP. Instead they gave backhanded support first to Latimer and then, after he was defeated in the F-LP primary, to Haycraft.

*Teamster Bureaucracy* is the only volume which refers to Trotsky's criticisms of SWP trade-union work. In retrospect, says Dobbs, the SWP made a mistake in not offering to support Browder in 1940. This statement is not very remarkable today; motivated by popular-frontist appetites, the now-reformist SWP from time to time gives support to the Communist Party, as well as to bourgeois nationalist political formations (like the Raza Unida Party). Dobbs' treatment is extremely narrow, restricted to the election issue. In the entire series, which is intended as the definitive statement on the most important experience of Trotskyist trade-union work in the U.S., he does not once mention Trotsky's criticisms of the *Northwest Organizer*, nor his broader critique of SWP trade-union work. To do so would be impossible, given the SWP's current prostration before the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy.

### Minneapolis 1941 Confirms Trotsky

Minneapolis 1941—just as much as Minneapolis 1934—is claimed by Trotskyists today as part of our revolutionary heritage. For whatever the flaws of the SWP work in the Teamsters, when the party was called upon to respond to great events, it carried out its duty. The events of '41, in which the Trotskyists stood alone against Roosevelt, the bosses and the labor bureaucracy, are as powerful a testimony to their revolutionary mettle as their leadership of the victorious strikes of '34.

The 1941 events also cast a revealing light on the discussion between Trotsky and the SWP leadership that took place the year before. It is instructive to examine the role of the Roosevelt "progressives" in the Teamster bureaucracy. The Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, which was the body that published the *Northwest Organizer*, voted to support Tobin against Local 544-CIO. And as Dobbs himself observes, "We had many sympathizers with the AFL movement, but very few of them who held leadership posts could be expected to stick their necks out once the serious infighting started."

The "progressive" bureaucrats proved unreliable allies, precisely because on the war issue they stood with Roosevelt and against proletarian internationalism. This was driven home by SWP leader Jim Cannon. As the struggle with Tobin was proceeding in Minneapolis, Cannon, in an address to a party plenum, noted:

"Your strength in the unions is the strength of your party. Don't forget it.

All these collaborators of the day; all these trade union militants who look so good in normal, peaceful times, who are good enough for a local strike but have no general concepts—how quickly these people can be transformed under the pressure of the social crisis. Only those will be able to stand up in the coming period who are fortified by great general ideas—not otherwise. You will have some bad disappointments if you believe for one moment that a man who has not yet broken his allegiance to capitalism in general, will be able to stand up under the pressure of war."

In criticizing the SWP's tendency to be too closely associated with the Rooseveltians, Trotsky had pointed out, "Our real role is that of third competitor," distinct from both Stalinists and "progressives." Minneapolis in 1941 was a striking confirmation of Trotsky's arguments: under the pressure of the war the reformists deserted, leaving only the revolutionaries and that section of the working class which they led to fend off the blows of the class enemy.



Monad

"progressive" bureaucrats who vacillated between them and Tobin. This is not to say that the Trotskyists avoided all conflict with Tobin nationally; at the 1940 Teamsters convention, for example, they led a fight against an attempt by Tobin to arrogate to himself the power to order any local to submit industrial disputes to compulsory arbitration. However, such struggles were conducted on an ad hoc basis and were not organically part of consistent class-struggle oppositional activity.

It would be absurd to claim that had the Trotskyists acted otherwise, they could have staved off the purge by Tobin & Co. Nonetheless, if the fundamental issues between the militant Local 544 leadership and Tobin had been carefully laid out, and a genuine union-wide opposition been built beforehand, the membership would have been much better prepared for Tobin's bureaucratic attack. Furthermore, the establishment of a caucus in the Teamsters, where the

**T**eamster boss Dan Tobin, left, collaborated with Roosevelt to get Minneapolis Trotskyists as U.S. entered World War II. Below: Farrell Dobbs meets with Leon Trotsky in Mexico. Trotsky warned against relying on "progressive" Rooseveltian bureaucrats.



Pathfinder

The SWP of this period was a revolutionary party. When important issues of principle were posed, such as the imperialist war, they were able to break their trade-union blocs and stand alone if necessary. "Trade Union Problems," a widely distributed SWP pamphlet written by Farrell Dobbs, explicitly called for building a left wing in the unions around such programmatic points as opposition to imperialist war, for a labor party, defense of militant strike action, including the sit-down, no government intervention in the unions, etc. But for the most part the building of class-struggle caucuses remained a dead letter, and day-to-day trade-union work revolved all too much around maneuvering with one or another trade-union bloc.

In the Teamsters also the Trotskyists failed to build a programatically based opposition, which at least in part reflected a desire not to pressure

SWP had real authority, would have provided an exemplary model for Trotskyist militants in the CIO to point to. The SWP factions in this crucial arena were much weaker, and the example of a powerful left-wing caucus in the Teamsters would have served as an invaluable aid in building class-struggle oppositions in the CIO.

### From the Dunne Brothers to Sadlowski

The *Militant* is undertaking a series of reviews of Dobbs' works on the Teamsters, seeking to pass off the SWP of today as the continuator of the traditions of 40 years ago. But even a cursory comparison of its conduct in the 1941 trials with its "socialist Watersuit" today against government spying is sufficient to reveal the qualitative degeneration of the party into reformism.

In the 1941 trial the Trotskyists outlined the role of the capitalist state

and drew the Marxist conclusions. Cannon, while carefully explaining that it is the bourgeoisie that daily foments violence, forthrightly stated that "It is the opinion of all Marxists that it [change in the social order] will be accompanied by violence." In its current suit the SWP has disclaimed violence in terms which preclude the right to self-defense and, in a further effort to curry bourgeois respectability, has even provided the government with evidence of the expulsion of its left-wing minority faction.

In his "afterword" to *Teamster Bureaucracy*, Dobbs takes the same tack. He exploits the weakest aspect of the Teamster work—the failure to forcefully pursue the building of a class-struggle wing—to justify the SWP's present course. But even so, he must torture reality in order to place the SWP's current social-democratic legalism and gushing support for Ed Sadlowski & Co. in the same tradition as the Dunne brothers and his own earlier years as a communist trade-union leader.

As just one example, speaking of attacks by fascists, Dobbs notes, "In looking for means of defense against such assaults, it would be fatal to rely on the bosses' government, no matter how liberal its face." This is a fine statement, entirely in accord with the establishment of a workers defense guard by Local 544 to combat the fascist Silver Shirts. But it has nothing in common with SWP policy today and its cowardly demand for "federal troops to Boston" to stop the racists. The contradiction is too obvious, and therefore Dobbs simply does not mention Boston.

Dobbs' major thesis in the "afterword" is that the working class will pass through various stages on the path to communist consciousness. At each stage, militants must make sure to attune their fight "to the existing levels of consciousness in the union membership." Then, "as the transitional process ... continues, the workers' attention can be focused on broad questions which go far beyond the day-to-day issues on the job." This, of course, is only another version of the familiar reformist recipe for doing union work. Drop the full Transitional Program, limit your demands to the present consciousness of the workers and "wait for the future"—the indefinite future—to talk about revolutionary politics.

That the development of the class will be uneven is a truism. But that does not mean that communists raise a different program at different times. Thus, even struggles which are fought around reform demands—that is, do not fundamentally challenge the existence of the capitalist system—can be carried through consistently only by a leadership that understands the historic interests of the working class and transcends the limited framework of simple trade unionism.

An excellent example is the Minneapolis strike of 1934, fought around the limited issue of union recognition on an industrial basis. This strike could not have been won without a leadership that understood the need for and implemented mass picket lines, flying picket squads and democratically elected strike committees, while rejecting reliance on the bourgeois state, particularly the treacherous Farmer-Labor Party government. These concepts were essentially alien to the experience of American workers in 1934 and certainly to the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Dobbs' few attempts to draw lessons for today from the Minneapolis experience are rather limp. The urgent task for militants in the unions today, he tells us, is to build a movement such that "the workers will be able to split the bureaucracy in their fight for rank-and-file control over the unions." Dobbs

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# Canadian Mandelites...

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the PFT was attacked heavily, and the "closet leftists" stayed in the closet.

The PFT's reports and documents were a potpourri of confused and contradictory left-Pabloism, harkening back to the "good old days" of the early RMG. Yet, as the tendency was quick to discover, such positions had become anathema to the RMG in its death throes—another uncomfortable reminder of its "ultraleft" youth.

When a PFT document attempted to point to the international differences in the USec and the unprincipled maneuvers of the international faction leaders, the RMG Political Committee's response was to mock the document's author, who "obviously pours [sic] over the fine print of all manner of relatively unimportant bulletins of the International with a magnifying glass" (Matlowe, "In Reponse to Eugene and the PFT," Joint Internal Information Bulletin No. 10, July 1977). For the consummate cynics in the RMG leadership, "pouring over" the voluminous pages of prose turned out by its own international leaders is obviously irrelevant.

## "Flexible" Federalism

The concern with international democratic centralism during the pre-convention discussion and at the convention was not limited to the PFT. As befits such latter-day Kautskyites, the SWP and other LTF sections openly demanded a federated "International," in which they are allowed to control all aspects of political work in the countries where they have a majority. Obviously, this demand does not sit too well with the ex-members of the RMG and GMR—now a minority in the fused organization.

In his greetings to the GMR convention, the USec's Michaloux stated that the IMT could not accept in theory, *even if it had to in practice*, a breakdown in democratic centralism to the level of federalism. He went on to argue that international democratic centralism could not be viewed in the same way as national democratic centralism—one must be "flexible" internationally, and each national section could not be expected to apply "to the letter" every decision of the International leadership. As members of the RMG and GMR paled before Michaloux's scarcely-veiled defense of the federalist status quo, the LSA/LSO and SWP leaders in attendance glowed in approval.

The dispute over international democratic centralism also produced a revealing insight into some of the problems facing the new organization. The RMG leadership, attempting to explain to the ranks why all the many IMT-LTF differences were being swept under the rug in the rush for fusion, wrote in a pre-conference bulletin:

"RMG members have been quite concerned about how the disagreement between the LTF and the IMT on the application of international democratic centralism would affect the functioning of the new organization. What will we do, for example, if the new organization is divided roughly equally on a key international issue? The Political Committees do not think that it is useful to try to establish some abstract formula to deal with such possible future controversies.... We will deal with such problems if and when they arise."

—RMG National Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 21, 8 June 1977

And, beyond the manifold differences over international questions, despite the RMG and GMR's rightward motion enough differences persist on domestic questions to ensure that the new RWL will have its hands full. Already, unable to resolve their differences over interventions into the pro-abortion movement (the RMG called for "free abortion on demand," while the LSA/LSO

deemed this "sectarian"), the new organization has simply resolved, for the time being, to carry *two* banners on abortion demonstrations.

## Capitulate...or Leave

Given time, the RWL will come to possess a clear and consistent political line—that of the ex-LSA/LSO. But in its early period, before the heterogeneous ranks of the RMG and GMR have been sorted out, the new organization promises to be rather spectacularly unstable and subject to internal rebellion. Particularly in Quebec, where disgruntlement about the fusion and distrust toward the right-wing LSA/LSO leadership is widespread among former GMR members, the new group is in for a great deal of immediate internal difficulty.

As the LTF regains control over the USec's work in Canada, it will doubtless move to pack potential factional allies into the new organization. Thus leading representatives of the social-democratic Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ), affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI), attended the fusion conferences as fraternal observers.

In recent years, the SWP and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (the OCRFI's leading section) have found an increasing degree of programmatic agreement, and the LTF has been pushing for the OCRFI's admission to the USec. Here in Canada, the GSTQ—a group which has stood to the *right* of the LSA/LSO on the NDP question—would be of great service to the ex-LSA/LSO leaders of the RWL in their drive to purge the new organization of alien left-wing elements.

The PFT's summary report to the RMG convention warned the membership to make sure that they would have tendency rights inside the fused organization. Denouncing the SWP as an undemocratic organization, the PFT demanded an accounting for the bureaucratic expulsion of the pro-IMT Internationalist Tendency (IT) in 1974. This challenge drew a large round of applause from the convention—with the exception of the LSA/LSO, of course.

But there will be no accounting, for the SWP has no retrospective qualms about the IT affair. Shortly after the expulsions were carried out, the SWP put them to good use—citing them in a bourgeois courtroom as evidence that it harbored no violent, terroristic or revolutionary aims. The ITers were eventually allowed to crawl back into the SWP on their bellies—political cripples destroyed by the USec's revisionist *modus vivendi*. Would-be left oppositionists in the RWL can expect no better treatment than that meted out to the IT.

## Leninist Fusions vs. Unprincipled Combinationism

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has been built largely through fusions, many of them with left-oppositional currents in the USec who found their way to Trotskyist politics—like the RMG's Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled at its March 1975 second national convention. More recently the iSt has consolidated principled fusions with the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria and with a Los Angeles-based group of comrades from the gay left, the Red Flag Union.

These fusions, unlike the unholy marriage of the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO, came as a culmination of a period of hard programmatic struggle for the principles of Trotskyism. Thus, rather than paralyzing the new organization by presenting it with a swamp of permanent factions, tendencies and cliques, while political differences are either buried or "sorted out over time," these fusions have driven the iSt forward in its

struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

As Lenin wrote:

"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism."

—"Unity," April 1914 (emphasis in original)

The RMG and GMR were of course no more Marxist than their reformist USec partners. But by junking their past opposition to reformism, these opportunists and renegades are only assisting in the creation of a larger obstacle to the building of a genuine Trotskyist party. The one-time centrists and New Leftists of the RMG and GMR will either be swallowed by the more experienced and effective reformists from the LSA/LSO, or they will (in one way or another) find themselves exited from the RWL.

In a leaflet distributed at the RMG's second national convention in 1975, the Spartacist tendency noted that the group's future prospects were not bright: it was "genuinely an organization without a future." The comrades of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency showed the way out of the revisionist swamp to Trotskyism—others, repelled by the USec's maneuvers and unprincipled politics, will follow. Unable to come to the revolutionary program, the RMG and GMR have surrendered themselves to reformism. We shed no tears for their passing. ■

## They Refused to Bow...

(continued from page 7)

cites as an example the winning over of such Teamster officials as William Brown, Pat Corcoran and John O'Brien. A current "positive" analogy, according to Dobbs, is the campaign of Ed Sadlowski against the Abel/McBride leadership of the Steelworkers.

The labor bureaucracy is a privileged, parasitic stratum resting on the working masses themselves, what Daniel DeLeon called the "labor lieutenants" of capital. It is not a homogeneous body and contains many former militants in various stages of decomposition and corruption. Under certain situations, where it has no choice but to side with the revolutionaries or to decisively desert the rank and file and act as open confederates of the capitalists, a section of the bureaucracy can even be torn away. But this requires a polarization in the labor movement, brought about by a widely felt perception that compromise is no longer possible, as well as the presence of an independent class-struggle left wing. This was true of the winning of Bill Brown, who came over in the heat of the organizing drive.

With the exception of Bill Brown, the several other Teamster leaders who collaborated more or less closely with the Trotskyists came over *after* the decisive strike battles of 1934, a fact which Dobbs ignores. Most were Tobinites sent in by the Teamster president after a compromise agreement—with what was then Local 574—to reorganize the Minneapolis Teamsters. Tobin hoped to gain control by getting a majority of the executive board in the reorganized Local 544. But the Tobin-loyal Teamsters officials who entered the Local had no base in the ranks, who were overwhelmingly loyal to the Trotskyists, and therefore had no future *in the Local* unless they supported the class-struggle policies of the Trotskyists. So, Tobin ended up by outmaneuvering himself. One of the ex-Tobinites, Nick Wagner, was even among the 28 originally indicted in the Minneapolis sedition trial.

Dobbs also omits mentioning in the "afterword" that the Minneapolis victories attracted a much less savory grouping as well. There were a few Teamsters who joined the SWP simply because they expected that a party

connection would help them get posts as union officials. Although they did not remain long in the party, they were among the key prosecution witnesses in the Minneapolis trial. Revolutionary victories, whether in a trade union in Minneapolis or in Bolshevik Russia, have always attracted a wide assortment of camp followers.

The attempt to extend the Minneapolis Teamsters analogy to Sadlowski simply reflects the SWP's present orientation to the bureaucracy, as opposed to the rank and file. In fact the SWP is absolutely shameless in labeling Sadlowski a class-struggle militant. Even most of the reformist fake left, such as the International Socialists and the Revolutionary Communist Party, consider this far-fetched and acknowledge that Sadlowski is a sellout, justifying their support for him on the grounds that he is popular among younger, more militant workers. The SWP's assertion that Sadlowski has suddenly renounced his 15 years of bureaucratic reformism is simply hoodwinking the workers in the hopes of gaining positions of influence in the entourage of this phony reformer. Thus one of the main services the SWP rendered to Sadlowski was to dress up his program for left-wing audiences, omitting some parts and distorting others. But in the absence of any major struggles in the industry or a visible class-struggle opposition, Sadlowski saw no need for further services from his would-be SWP advisers.

Finally, Dobbs counsels militants that they should not waste their time running for office: "The bureaucrats could normally counter such a move rather easily at the present juncture. They would need only to direct an appeal to the more backward sections of the union membership, claiming no more was involved than the 'outs' trying to dump the 'ins'."

What hypocrisy! What does the SWP in the unions do but liquidate into reformist electoral campaigns? What better examples of the out-bureaucrats trying to displace the "ins" than the Miller and Sadlowski campaigns in the Mine Workers and Steelworkers. Neither campaign had the slightest thing to do with building a class-struggle movement; they were simply electoral vehicles for bureaucrats on the make. Immediately after Miller's election, his Miners for Democracy was dissolved; similarly, Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back has already ceased to function.

Electoral participation in the unions is a legitimate part in building a class-struggle opposition. The key question is what program militants run on. (Needless to say, those that run on a transitional program will not be mistaken for mere office-seekers.) Dobbs has no objection to electoral activity, except where it is conducted on a principled class-struggle basis.

The SWP has traveled a long way since the Minneapolis of the Dunne brothers and the younger Dobbs. Today it is a shameless exponent of reformist politics, an obstacle to the building of a communist movement. It is the Spartacist League, not the SWP, that stands in the tradition of revolutionary intransigency, the tradition of Minneapolis 1934 and 1941. The SL is unique in its determination to build principled class-struggle caucuses in the unions based on the Transitional Program. This policy is merely the conclusion of what Trotsky stressed so forcefully to the SWP leadership in 1940 and what was proven once again a year later in Minneapolis: that when faced with imperialist war, the popular front and all the major questions of our epoch, every stripe of reformist will betray—a point which underscores the crucial necessity of the Leninists to maintain their own program and banners clearly distinct from those of the trade-union bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the social democrats. ■



# Plyushch...

(continued from page 3)

Carter-style "human rights," appearing on the same platforms as imperialist sabre-rattler Senator Henry Jackson. It is for this reason that he has been allowed to join the Solzhenitsyns and Bukovskys.

A victim of Stalinist repression, Leonid Plyushch has become an apologist for imperialism. Jimmy Carter has won a valuable associate in his crusade to restore Chile-style "democracy" and "freedom" for capitalist exploitation in the Soviet bloc. Evidently the vile crimes of Stalinism and the absence of a perceived mass revolutionary alternative led Plyushch to lose hope in the possibility of proletarian revolution and definitively cross over to the camp of the class enemy. As we noted last year ("Which Way for Comrade Plyushch?" *WV* No. 104, 9 April 1976), "consciously or unconsciously, the prophets of despair become the allies of reaction."

## For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

In his lengthy attack on the Spartacist tendency at the Toronto meeting, Plyushch tried the standard "go back to Russia" gambit:

"I will now make an immoral proposition—it's a bit malicious. I propose that the comrade Spartacists go to the Soviet Union."

In spite of the crimes of the Stalinist regime, the Trotskyists have held fast in the face of such taunts, defending the legacy of October and calling for the revolutionary overthrow of those who defile its name.

Repeatedly during the Plyushch tour, representatives of the Spartacist League and the Trotskyist League of Canada denounced Carter's anti-Soviet offensive and called for unconditional defense of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. Although several members of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spoke from the floor at the Chicago meeting, not one raised any criticism of Plyushch's anti-Soviet speech. In Detroit, SWPer Mack Warren gave greetings to the meeting, calling for the building of a campaign to enforce the Helsinki Accords.

However, Plyushch's crude cold war harangue embarrassed even the shameless reformists of the SWP. In Detroit an SWP speaker was forced to rise during the discussion period to give a fraternal forewarning to Plyushch "not

to step over the class line"—a line on which the SWP seldom needs to tread nowadays, since it so often starts out on the wrong side.

In Toronto, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (newly "united" Canadian section of the "United" Secretariat) limited their intervention to acting as sound technicians and ushers. Plyushch's challenge to "comrade Spartacists" to go to the USSR was doubtless intended to be simply malicious, but the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in the Soviet Union is, in fact, a crucial task in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, the world party which will lead the world proletariat in the destruction of both capitalism and Stalinist bureaucratic rule, through social revolution in the west and political revolution in the deformed workers states. ■

# Healy, Messenger of Qaddafi...

(continued from page 3)

It is indeed a milestone of sorts—but rather of the sordid and corrupt nature of the WRP, whose only hint of distance from strongman Qaddafi is a brief statement in their Central Committee statement of July 25 that,

"Colonel Qaddafi is not a communist and certainly not a 'puppet of the Soviet bureaucracy' as Sadat alleges, but he believes passionately in the struggle to liberate Arab and colonial people from imperialism. The Workers Revolutionary Party, despite ideological and political differences with Colonel Qaddafi [these are never specified—*WV*], unconditionally endorses his anti-imperialist views and pledges to defend his leadership against imperialism and its agents."

Do these "differences" include the recent statement of the Libyan ambassador to Britain that, "If anyone can help find a solution to the Middle East problems, it is Britain" (*Arab Dawn*, March 1977)? Or does it include a "difference" over the imprisonment of suspected Trotskyists in Libya? We doubt that the readers of *News Line* will ever know.

The WRP is quite explicit in its allegiance. Its bookshop pushes copies of the Libyan embassy's propaganda brochure on Egypt entitled "The Truth," which praises Libya's "self-restraint and concern for Arab blood in the war." The printer of this little brochure, interestingly, is the same obscure printer in Runcorn (rather far from London) used by many Healyite publications, including *News Line*.

While the WRP is wholeheartedly committed to Qaddafi, it is unlikely that the Libyan government's tolerance for even that most loathsome caricature of Trotskyism will be very long-lasting. There may be a certain limited welcome for such prominent personalities as Vanessa Redgrave in the mod, if slightly seedy, Libyan embassy today, which prominently displays a poster advertis-

ing Redgrave speaking on Qaddafiism in its press suite foyer. But the heart of the "anti-imperialist" colonel's current desires are revealed by the March issue of the Libyan embassy magazine, *Arab Dawn*, which calls on the front cover for "Rapprochement with Britain." In the interests of this "rapprochement," Qaddafi has already ditched the Irish Republican Army. *Arab Dawn* (October 1976) published an interview with Qaddafi by Arnaud de Borchgrave of *Newsweek*, who asked, "What about your material support for the Irish Republican Army?" To this Qaddafi replied: "Our relations with London and Dublin are improving rapidly, and we will soon be exchanging ambassadors with Ireland. The IRA chapter is behind us."

When the WRP relationship becomes embarrassing to him, Qaddafi will inevitably also put the "WRP chapter" behind him as well. But the WRP will not be able to put behind it this record of crass corruption of revolutionary morality, its utterly revolting glorification of one of the more eccentric, megalomaniacal dictators of the 20th century. The real betrayal, if we can use a word implying a residue of integrity, is that of the Libyan foreign ministry, because the Tripoli government undoubtedly believes it has an important British daily presenting its views, just as in the period before World War II every second-rate power had their press organ in Paris. The venal Banda-led WRP has gotten itself a "good deal"—but not for long.

The WRP's fundamental character as political bandits and con men is well known. However, the WRP's unadorned press pimping for Qaddafi falls well outside the bounds of the working-class movement. It is a shameless and shameful act, a truly terrible betrayal of the most elementary class principles. If the WRP can swallow Qaddafi, what other anti-working class forces within Britain itself might they not find it to their advantage to do a deal with? ■

# "Brotherhood" Bureaucrats Collect...

(continued from page 5)

honcho Mike Klonsky had been received by Chairman Hua in Peking.

Fremont workers remember that these same *Call* supporters who worked for Mays' election in 1973 refused to defend their former ally and the entire shop committee when they were fired by General Motors for taking the Local out on strike last April. Only the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) was a consistent pole of opposition to the policies of the International and the Local 1364 leadership, while defending the shop committee against the company attack.

None of the bureaucratic factions won control in these elections. There will be run-off elections for the posts of first vice president, second vice president and trustee. The CMUAW, which has been the only opposition group consistently refusing to support the Brotherhood, Nano or any other bureaucrat, made small but steady gains. Two CMUAW candidates ran, standing on a firm class-struggle program including demands for unlimited right to strike, industry-wide strikes against layoffs, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay and "complete independence from the company, the government and the bosses' political parties." Lisa Gruber won 119 votes for executive board and Darlene Fujino won 174 votes (11 percent) for second vice president, an increase over the CMUAW's showing in the last Local elections.

The evolution of the Brotherhood Caucus offers a classic example of the bitter fruits of the Stalinist "strategy" of "left-center coalitionism." The fake-leftists who help put the Arnold Millers, Ed Sadlowskis and Earlie Mays into office are discarded the instant they can no longer further the careers of their mentors and are in addition subjected to red-baiting and bureaucratic throttling by their former allies.

Of all those who claimed to offer a militant program for leadership, only the CMUAW passed this test. Local 1364 members who draw a balance sheet of the demise of the Brotherhood Caucus, seeing its capitulation before the International in the April strike and the subsequent payoff, must reject the reformist policy of backing phony "lesser evils." Only by joining and building the Committee for a Militant UAW can they turn the combative Fremont plant into a model of militant struggle for the entire union. ■

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Spartacist League Central Committee

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# Anti-Apartheid Leader...

(continued from page 1)

side" in the death of a political prisoner, an African National Congress (ANC) activist named Joseph Mdluli. After four days of testimony, the judge ordered their acquittal although the police account of Mdluli's death—they claim he suffered fatal neck injuries falling back on a chair in a dizzy spell—was totally discredited.

The murder of so prominent an individual as Biko produced a greater furor in the press, and even the South Africa Foundation, a semi-official international public relations operation, criticized the police. Biko was not only well-known among young South African militants but, through interviews with foreign journalists and U.S. liberals like senator Dick Clark, had gained an international reputation as one of the spokesmen for petty-bourgeois black nationalism with whom the U.S. might eventually have to deal. Along with an



Reininger/Contact

**Black youth arrested by South African security police.**

account of his murder, the *New York Times* (18 September) published a statement by Biko last December appealing to Carter to lend "... full-scale support of the struggle for the black man's liberation."

Under pressure, Kruger backtracked slightly from his initial endorsement of the police report, promising an investigation and suggesting that "heads may roll." Even as it contemplated a token scapegoat, the government was unequivocal in its hardline defense of the apartheid system. In an interview with the *New York Times* (17 September), Vorster reaffirmed that the National Party totally opposes electoral rights for blacks and is mobilizing the country's resources against any possibility of international economic pressure. The interview ended with this exchange:

"Q. Could you tell us what you would regard as the consequences for the relations between the United States and South Africa of persistence by the Carter Administration in this policy?"  
 "A. Of one man, one vote? It can only lead to a worsening of relations because that will be blatant meddling in South African affairs."

## The Bonn Connection

While Vorster feigns ignorance of the real thrust of Carter's South African policy (which only serves as liberal window-dressing for the fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade), his bristling vehemence against U.S. "meddling" is backed up by more than the *laager* mentality of the Afrikaners. He emphasized South Africa's role as a

regional imperialist power, armed with the most modern weapons and generating 40 percent of the total industrial production of Africa. Recent sensational revelations about West German-South African nuclear research provide a further backdrop to Vorster's cockiness.

In "West Germany Gets the Bomb" (*WV* No. 170, 26 August), we explained the real story behind the U.S./Soviet uproar over South Africa's apparent readiness to test an A-bomb—Vorster's bomb is a West German bomb whose key component is the Becker process for producing weapons-grade uranium. In the *Times* interview Vorster failed to rule out military uses of South Africa's nuclear potential but noted that "we can deal with everything that comes out of Africa to the north of us in a conventional way." Subsequently a number of sources have added information confirming our analysis, among them the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, which reported in its 29 August issue:

"...a release by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic asserted that the state-controlled company STEAG undertook construction of a uranium-enrichment plant in Valindaba, South Africa between 1 April 1974 and 31 March 1976. Bonn has not been able to produce anything to deny this. The Nuremberg firm MAN is supposed to have delivered the most important compressors for the project."

The initial American reaction was reserved, but in an August 23 press conference Carter's scepticism over Pretoria's denials was unmistakable. "We appreciate this commitment from South Africa and its information," said the chief of U.S. imperialism, hastily adding that he would "continue to monitor the situation very closely." A week later an obviously "authorized" front-page dispatch from the *New York Times* State Department correspondent praised on the government's behalf the "cooperation... between the Soviet Union and the United States in dissuading South Africa from proceeding with a nuclear bomb test.... American reconnaissance photography established a few days after the Brezhnev message of Aug. 6 that South Africa had built a testing tower and other structures required for a nuclear detonation in the Kalahari Desert."

From yet another source, S. Borissov of the Soviet press agency Novosti reiterates in *Jeune Afrique* (9 September) that:

"The revelations by the African National Congress concerning the close and longstanding cooperation between Bonn and Pretoria in the military, and particularly in the nuclear, domain came in the wake of the announcement published by the Soviet news agency Tass, according to which the work aiming to create a nuclear weapon in South Africa was nearing its end and preparations for testing were underway."

Among the documents released by the ANC was a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Köln announcing a 1974 visit to South African nuclear facilities by Professor Becker who developed the exclusive West German process for uranium enrichment.

Another coded dispatch referred to a visit to South Africa a few months later by the German representative on NATO's military committee, Lt. General Günther Rall, who would appear "publicly... as the guests of Mr. Kurt Dahmann, publisher of the *Windhoek Allgemeine Zeitung*" in Southwest Africa. A press statement by the East German magazine *Panorama* reveals that Dahmann is a confidante of Vorster and a founder of the League of Nationalist Germans in the colony of ex-Nazis in Windhoek. Both Rall and Dahmann are connected with a World War II veterans group, the German Fighter Pilots Association, noted for its nostalgia for the Third Reich. Rall, like Becker, visited the Valindaba nuclear facility. Thus the Bonn-Pretoria nuclear connection is cemented by neo-Nazis and Bundeswehr generals.

Evading post-World War II limitations on its armed forces, West Germany, through the state-controlled firm of Otrag, has leased 60,000 square miles of Zaire (an area larger than West Germany itself!) to test rockets and satellite launchers! According to an account in the Paris magazine *Afrique-Asie*, the secret Otrag-Zaire contract specifies that the company "requires a vast area of operations suitable for launching of rockets into the atmosphere and into space and for all activities directly or indirectly concerned." The contract also stipulates that "only those people expressly authorized by Otrag may remain in the territory" and the Zaire government must expel anyone from the area. There is to be no inspection of the site by anyone without company permission.

## Imperialist Hypocrisy...

When Vorster blusters at the U.S., he does it secure in the knowledge that he has other powerful imperialist friends (not only West Germany but also Pretoria's main arms merchant, France) to fall back on. As ominous as is the developing Bonn-Pretoria axis, Carter's liberal refurbishing of U.S. imperialism presents a more immediate political



UPI

**Biko's widow and sons give clenched-fist salute.**

danger to the world proletariat.

Imperialist ideologues would have us believe that Carter's pique over the South African atomic adventure is motivated by revulsion against apartheid barbarism. In reality, the Americans (and the French) are fuming over the fact that they have been outfoxed by Bonn, which is leaping into the nuclear club with the aid of U.S.-supplied reactors, U.S.-trained physicists and French plutonium-generating reactors in South Africa. The cheap anti-apartheid rhetoric serves Washington both as a temporary lever against its imperialist rivals and as a smokescreen for gearing up a renewed political and military capacity to threaten the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states.

With the Portuguese withdrawal from Africa, the ignominious South African defeat in Angola and the escalating guerrilla incursions in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the U.S.' strategic aims in Africa have shifted from reliance on the white-settler colonies in the south to wooing the bourgeois nationalist Arab and black regimes. Central to winning favor with the latter are the interminable Anglo-American attempts to pressure Ian Smith into turning power over to the aspiring Kenyattas and Kaundas of Rhodesia.

The latest settlement proposals, unveiled early this month, are no surprise to anyone. In essence, they stipulate a transition from white settler rule to black bourgeois rule through an interim return to British colonial control. A Blimpish resident commissioner,

Field Marshal Lord Carver, would take up residence in the governor's mansion vacated following the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence. A Zimbabwe Development Fund of \$1 to \$1.5 billion would be raised by the imperialists to buy off both propertied whites and the urban black petty bourgeoisie. A United Nations military force would oversee and discipline both the nationalist guerrillas and Smith's army.

Africans have some experience with UN "peace-keeping forces," notably in the ex-Belgian Congo in the early 1960's. Nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba went to his death cursing the day he appealed to the UN for "military assistance" against the colon-dominated Katangan secessionists led by Moise Tshombé. While placating the virulently anti-communist Tshombé, the UN command maneuvered to isolate the militant-talking prime minister, Lumumba, paving the way for his assassination and the eventual military takeover by the present dictator Mobutu.

## ...And Nationalist/Reformist Treachery

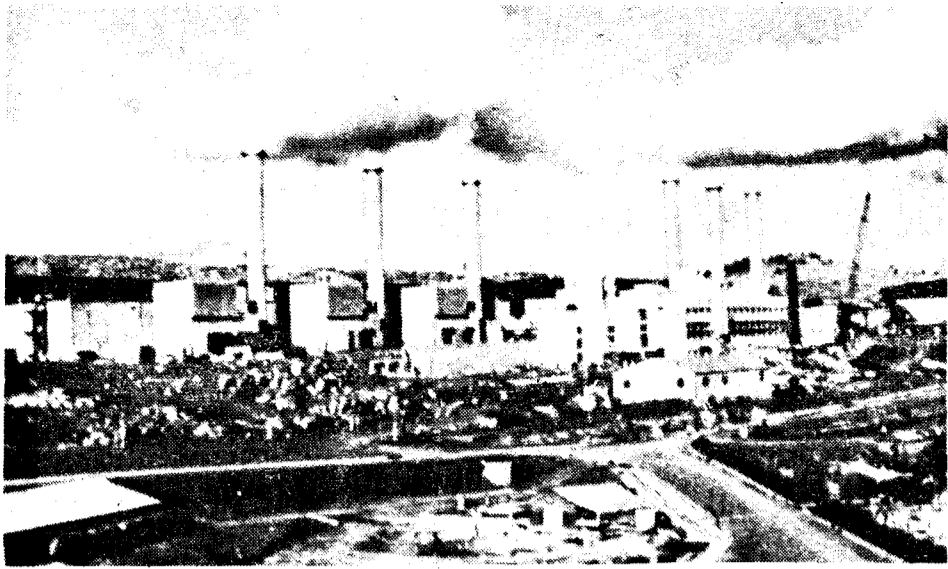
The U.S. and Britain hope to replay the Congo script in key aspects, mediating between contending forces while attempting to install a black regime totally subservient to imperialist interests. This scheme is doubly obscene insofar as Carter expects to chalk up another self-proclaimed victory for "human rights" through the imposition of a neo-colonial settlement in Rhodesia. He is aided in this by the feuding, servilely pro-imperialist black nationalist cliques and, above all, by the grand old man of left-talking, pseudo-socialist African rulers, Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere.

Nyerere was given substantial space in the July issue of the prestigious imperialist journal, *Foreign Affairs*, to make a direct and public appeal to Carter to forge an alliance to pressure the racist regimes while edging Soviet influence out of southern Africa:

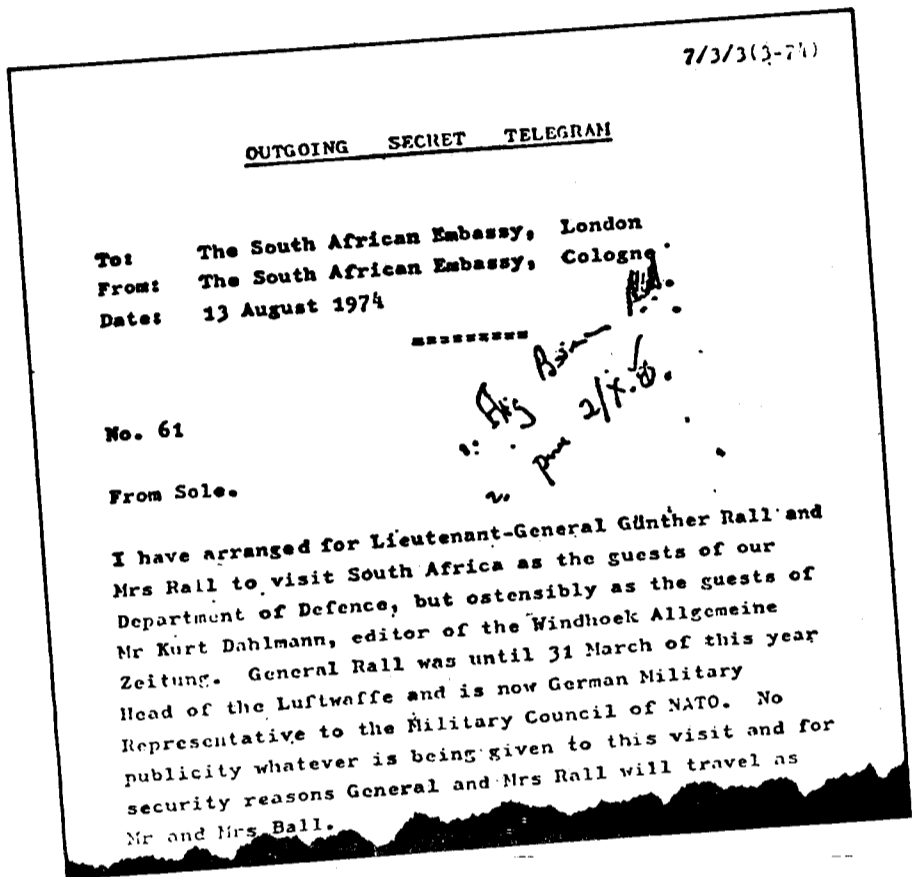
"Africa is therefore asking that America should recognize the conflict in southern Africa as the nationalist struggle which it is, and that it should refuse to be taken in by the communist bogey paraded by the racialists. It is asking that America should refrain from profit-making out of apartheid.... Africa is asking that America should carry its declared support for human equality and dignity into policies which will weaken the forces of racialism and colonialism in southern Africa, so that the peoples of those areas can triumph more quickly and with less bloodshed. "... We in Africa hope that the new Administration of the United States will fulfill its early promise, and help the peoples of southern Africa to get to the position where they can make a beginning."

Nyerere's self-serving vote of confidence in U.S. liberal imperialism is mirrored by the campaigns of left-liberals and fake socialists in the U.S.—most prominently the Socialist Workers Party and Revolutionary Communist Party—to cleanse the American bourgeoisie of the polluting taint of economic relations with Pretoria. Attempts to persuade universities, churches, banks and industrial corporations to divest themselves of all their investments in South Africa are, at best, impotent moral idealism and, at worst, a call for imperialist blackmail which to be effective would risk the threat of inter-imperialist war (see "What Strategy to Fight Apartheid?" *Young Spartacus* No. 57, September 1977).

The Leninist party is both the tribune of all the oppressed and the vanguard of the proletariat. The international Spartacist tendency addresses this historic task, sharply attacking the "democratic" pretensions of the Carter White House. We will not allow the leader of the world's most voracious and dangerous capitalist power to pose as a champion of progress and humanity. If the racist butchers in Pretoria have killed a thousand black militants in the last year, the U.S. war machine destroyed a thousand innocent *a day* at the



South African uranium enrichment plant at Valindaba produces weapons-grade uranium. Der Spiegel



Panorama/D.D.R.

Günther Rall, left, and Kurt Dahlmann in Nazi uniform during World War II. Above, telegram revealing Dahlmann's role as liaison between West German military and South Africa.

height of the Indochinese war! And Carter, the defender of My Lai mass murderer William Calley, was cheering on the slaughter.

Sanctimonious imperialist Carter will no more bring "human rights" to the world than Woodrow Wilson made "the world safe for democracy" or Franklin Roosevelt delivered "the four freedoms" or met "the challenge to life, liberty and civilization" through the ghastly slaughterhouse of World War II. The liberation of the non-white masses of South Africa requires a struggle by the proletariat for full democratic rights to smash apartheid and open the road to

the goal of a black-centered workers and peasants government. This, in turn, requires the most powerful international labor solidarity, not neo-colonialist schemes or economic sanctions, which only mark the sharpening of imperialist rivalries. The capitalist world is fundamentally divided not between "democratic" imperialist regimes and "reactionary" imperialist regimes but between murderous bourgeoisies, in the first instance the piously "democratic" American bourgeoisie, and the international proletariat, which alone can lead the oppressed masses of South Africa and the world to victory over imperialist barbarism. ■

## Foreign Workers...

(continued from page 12)

assembling tape cassettes in ramshackle corrugated-steel warehouses near the border who are interested in maintaining the flow of cheap labor. From Wall Street to California agribusiness, the importance of maintaining a sufficient reservoir of unorganized labor without legal rights is recognized by big capital. The large-scale corporation farms of the Southwest have always relied on such pools of desperate workers—first American Indians, then Chinese, then Japanese, then in the 1930's the "Okie" migrants from the dustbowl, and from the 1940's on several million Mexicans annually—to do the miserably paid, backbreaking labor of harvesting.

This was formalized in the Bracero program initiated during World War II when a domestic labor shortage starved agribusiness of workers and the supply of prison work gangs and Japanese-Americans bused out of their wartime concentration camps wasn't enough. Under this highly profitable deal, the Mexican government agreed to supply U.S. growers with cheap and reliable contract-laborers who could be brought across the border when needed and dumped back when the economy contracted. While the Bracero program was in force, in 1954 "Operation Wetback" was launched, a massive INS dragnet and deportation of more than one million undocumented Mexican immigrant workers, in response to the economic recession following the Korean War.

The cynical brutality and open contempt for their desperate employees displayed by these capitalists and their political representatives reeks of the Victorian sweatshop era. The grinding exploitation, blatant cheating and open robbery of the workers is combined with the moral outlook of an African slave trader, revealing the barbarism of capitalism in stark relief. Many employers telephone orders to middlemen at border cities near Mexico for a certain number of live bodies, to be delivered on a set date. They work the unfortunate "illegals" mercilessly for a week or two, then call up the authorities to stage a raid just before payday, knowing that another shipment of human cargo is on its way.

Others employ the more up-to-date technique of paying by check and then having their workers deported, stopping payment long before the victims can reach a Mexican bank and cash the now-worthless piece of paper.

Where such desperate need exists, there are plenty willing to exploit it. The life of an "illegal alien" is indeed likely to be poor, nasty, brutish and short. Simply getting into the country costs all their meagre savings and sometimes their lives. Many die in "accidents" as coyotes (professional smugglers) send their trucks careening down embankments if they are afraid of being caught by the police. Once in the U.S., often deeply in debt to the smugglers who may

hold the lives of their wives and children in Mexico as collateral on loans, the "illegals" are at the mercy of employers, landlords and a host of swindlers, blackmailers and petty criminals who can terrorize them at will without fear of complaint to the authorities.

### INS Corruption

*La migra*, which is supposedly policing the borders, gets a sizable piece of the action itself. Although today the widespread corruption of INS officials is pushed up in the interests of presenting these armed hoodlums in uniform as the best defense against an "alien horde," several years ago reports of official corruption surfaced in the media. In 1972, charges that Immigration officials were involved in narcotics trafficking, smuggling of guns and "aliens," sexual abuse of women prisoners, theft and misuse of government property forced the Nixon administration to initiate a halfhearted "Operation Cleansweep" investigating the Southwestern region of the INS.

Lurid tales of Immigration officials providing "illegals" as household servants, setting up special parties for high-ranking officials with prostitutes from across the border and a rash of compromising testimony from nervous INS officials hoping to get off the hook by telling all began to leak out and the Justice Department feared the investigation was getting out of hand. The operation was then quietly shut down. After the FBI had opened 321 case files, only nine government employees were ever prosecuted and only seven (all low-level) were convicted as a result of the investigation.

### Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

The response of American labor officialdom to this pattern of brutal oppression and superexploitation has been nothing short of criminal. Reflecting the job-trusting mentality of the labor aristocracy, the AFL-CIO was the prime backer of the notorious Rodino bill. Even such "progressive" bureaucrats as the United Farm Workers (UFW) leader Cesar Chavez at one time supported this legislation aimed at driving out undocumented workers, and a couple of years ago the UFW launched a big campaign finking on "illegals" at particular ranches to the Border Patrol. But in spite of this treachery, no amount of cajoling the bourgeois state can overcome the pressure of hundreds of thousands of desperate workers without legal rights. It is this fact that has kept Los Angeles the principal open-shop metropolis in the U.S.

The only real, practical solution to the capitalists' use of undocumented foreign workers to break strikes, keep out unions and hold down wages is for the labor movement to demand that all foreign workers in the U.S. be accorded full citizenship rights. By demanding that the racist deportations be stopped and moving to organize these viciously exploited workers, the unions can make a vivid demonstration of internationalist labor solidarity which could win the trust of the millions-strong force of foreign workers presently totally alienated from the organized workers movement. Unless this is done, unions such as the UFW will continue to be unable to organize the vast bulk of a labor force based on the availability of millions of hungry workers without legal rights.

Down with Carter's "amnesty" fraud! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

**Carter's  
"Amnesty"  
Fraud:**

## Foreign Workers Face Mass Deportations

### Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

A sizable segment of the American population—estimated at 6 to 12 million in number, the vast majority of them workers—lives in daily fear that they may at any instant lose their jobs and homes and be whisked out of the country, without trial, by a special police force which is aimed specially at them. These are the so-called "illegal aliens," foreign-born workers who cannot obtain legal status in this country because of racist U.S. immigration laws. In periods of high joblessness such as at present the daily threat escalates into calls for mass deportations as the bourgeoisie seeks to export unemployment, reduce expenditures for social services and direct the workers' anger against their "alien" class brothers and sisters.

This is precisely the purpose of the Labor Department's bill on undocumented non-citizen residents which was unveiled last month. But, as is to be expected from an administration which presents its every move, from inter-imperialist economic rivalries to an arms buildup, as an act of moral righteousness, the Carter plan for "illegal aliens" is presented as an "amnesty"! As the draconian U.S. Border Patrol steps up its sweeps through the Mexican ghettos of the Southwest, this plan for mass deportations will undoubtedly be presented as part of Carter's "human rights" crusade and an act of "Good Neighborliness" toward Latin America.

While starvation conditions in their native countries drive millions of workers from the Caribbean and Mexico to seek jobs in the U.S., their ability to enter and remain in the country illegally is made possible by the fact that a significant sector of American capitalists owe their super-profits to the availability of defenseless, and therefore cheap, undocumented foreign labor.



Webb/Magnum

INS cops round up Mexicans near the border.

Behind all the racist scapegoating of these workers as the cause of all of America's economic ills lies the truth that they are here because U.S. capitalism *needs* them.

Thus the response of the labor movement to the problem of mass unemployment must not be to join the chauvinist hue-and-cry for deportations but to demand full legal rights for foreign workers so they can join in militant class struggles for jobs for all, to force the bosses to bear the costs of the capitalist economic crisis.

### "Amnesty" and Deportations

The Carter administration's proposals on "illegal aliens" are simply an attempt to ensure the continued availability of cheap labor for American employers, while simultaneously preventing these workers from enjoying the legal rights and social benefits of U.S.

citizens. Thereby they intend to take financial pressure off heavily indebted state and local governments, unable to provide any longer basic social services to an increasingly economically hard-pressed population. Playing to racist reaction, the plans call for stepped-up state repression at several levels.

The bill put before Congress by the Labor Department includes provisions for an "amnesty" for those "aliens" who have been in the U.S. since 1970 (estimated at 5 percent of the total number of undocumented workers in the country), in the form of permanent resident status (but not citizenship). For those who can prove they arrived between January 1970 and January 1977, temporary residence status for five years is proposed. However, individuals in this category would be denied most social services (welfare, food stamps) even though they pay taxes; they would not be allowed to bring their families, could not become citizens, and there is no provision for them to remain after the five-year period.

A fine for employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers, of up to \$1,000 per violation, was also proposed. Most important, however, was the Carter plan's proposal to *double* the present size of the vicious and notoriously corrupt Border Patrol along the Mexican border.

It never has been and is not now the intention of U.S. rulers to *halt* illegal immigration; they merely want to control it better. Carter's latest "solution"—to impose civil sanctions against employers of "illegals"—has met with widespread opposition among influential sectors of the bourgeoisie. The *Wall Street Journal*, for instance, has called on the administration to drop this aspect of its program.

The capitalists who employ them *like* undocumented workers—and want to keep them that way. As long as the government, through the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), fearfully known as *la migra* in Spanish-speaking communities, continues its frequent mass round-ups and strong-arm tactics, these exploiters can continue to extract fabulous profits without fear of labor problems. As Harold M. Scherr, president of Santone Industries, Inc., a San Antonio men's wear manufacturer, cheerfully told *Business Week* (13 June): "I'm very fond of wetbacks and all illegal aliens. The illegals will do the unpleasant work, the dull work."

Although the U.S. House of Representatives has twice passed a bill imposing penalties on employers of undocumented workers, the so-called Rodino Bill, the Senate has refused to act on it. Significantly, James Eastland, Mississippi Democrat kingpin and chairman of the Senate subcommittee reviewing the bills, has a constituency whose influential large farmers rely heavily on foreign agricultural workers, particularly during cotton-ginning season.

### The Bracero Program and Labor Contractors

It is not just a few "cockroach" capitalists packing contaminated shrimp or

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Racist media campaign blames foreign-born workers for mass unemployment in U.S.