



Ronald L. Haerberle



Amalgamated Meat Cutters

Marxism and the "Spirit of '76"

Why We Don't Celebrate July 4

The burned-out tenements of America's decaying slums are plastered with red, white and blue posters celebrating a 200-year-old revolution. From factory bulletin boards and the walls of unemployment offices, patriotic displays urge American working people to join with Gerald Ford and the butchers of Vietnam in commemorating the "Spirit of '76." Class-conscious workers and militant blacks, like the colonial masses ground down under the economic and military heel of arrogant American imperialism, must recoil in revulsion from the U.S. bourgeoisie's hypocritical pieties about "liberty."

The Fourth of July is not our holiday. But the chauvinist ballyhoo of the "People's Bicentennial" does not negate the need for a serious Marxist appreciation of colonial America's war of independence against monarchical/mercantilist England. Marxists have always stressed the powerful impact of the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions in breaking feudal-aristocratic barriers to historical progress.

In appealing for support for the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin in his *Letter to American Workers* (1918) wrote:

"The history of modern, civilized America opened with one of those really great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few compared to the vast number of wars of conquest which, like the present imperialist war, were caused by squabbles among kings, landowners or capitalists over the division of usurped land or ill-gotten gains. That was the war the American people waged against the British robbers who oppressed America and held her in colonial slavery...."

It is also legitimate for revolutionaries to appeal to the most radical-democratic traditions of the great

bourgeois revolutions. Yet the fact remains that the Fourth of July is a fundamentally chauvinist holiday, a celebration of national greatness. In no sense does it commemorate a popular uprising against an oppressive system, or even pay tribute to democratic principles and individual freedom. Attempts to lend the Fourth of July a populist coloration (or the Communist Party's popular-front period slogan that "Communism is 20th century Americanism") only express the capitulation of various fake-socialists to the democratic pretensions of American imperialism.

But neither can the traditions of 1776 justly be claimed by the imperialist bourgeoisie. Compared to the leadership of the colonial independence struggle, the present American capitalist class is absolutely degenerate. One has only to think of Franklin or Jefferson, among the intellectual giants of their time, and then consider Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter. The twentieth-century United States is the gendarme of world reaction, the backer of every torture-chamber regime from Santiago to Tehran.

The "founding fathers" would have been revolted by the men who today represent their class. The degeneration of the American bourgeoisie is appropriate to the passing of its progressive mission. The attitude toward religion is a good indicator. Virtually none of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were orthodox Christians; they held a rationalist attitude toward the concept of god. Jefferson would have walked out in protest at today's prayer-intoning presidential inaugurations.

The America of 1976 is the contemporary analogue of the tsarist

Russia which the "founding fathers" held in contempt as the bastion of world reaction—the tsarist Russia against whose tyranny Lenin and the Bolsheviks organized the proletariat. It is to the world working class that the liberating mission now falls.

Was the War of Independence a Social Revolution?

Like the Fourth of July, Bastille Day in France is an official, patriotic holiday, replete with military marches and chauvinist speeches. Yet the events Bastille Day commemorates retain a certain revolutionary significance to this day. The French people's understanding of 1789 is as a violent overthrow by the masses of an oppressive ruling class. The French imperialist bourgeoisie's efforts to purge the French revolution of present-day revolutionary significance have not succeeded. A Charles De Gaulle or a Valéry Giscard d'Estaing cannot embrace Robespierre or Marat, for the latter stand too close to the primitive communist Gracchus Babeuf, who considered himself a true Jacobin.

The American war of independence was also a classic bourgeois-democratic revolution, but it was not really a social revolution which overthrew the existing ruling class. The British loyalists were largely concentrated in the propertied classes and governing elite. However pro-independence forces among the planters and merchants were strong enough to prevent any significant class polarization during the war.

The English and French bourgeois-democratic revolutions had to destroy an entrenched aristocratic order. That destruction required a radical, plebeian terrorist phase associated with the figures of Cromwell and Robespierre.

For the American colonies, winning independence from England did not require a regime based on plebeian terror. The war of independence did not produce a Cromwell or a Robespierre because it did not need one. Nor did it give rise to radical egalitarian groups like the Levellers and Diggers, or the Enragés and Babouvists. It never remotely threatened the wealthiest, most conservative planters and merchants who supported secession from Britain.

The consolidation of bourgeois rule in the Puritan and French revolutions required a political counterrevolution in which the Cromwellians and Jacobins were overthrown, persecuted and vilified. The radical opposition which sprung up in resistance to this counterrevolution became part—through the Babouvists in France—of the revolutionary tradition which Marx embraced.

Because the American war of independence did not experience a plebeian terrorist phase, neither did it experience a conservative bourgeois counterrevolution. The leaders of the independence struggle went on to found and govern the republic; greatly venerated, they died of old age.

The men who met in Philadelphia's Convention Hall 200 years ago realized their aims more satisfactorily than any other similarly placed, insurrectionary group in history. This achievement does not bespeak their greatness, but the limited, essentially conservative nature of their goals. The legitimization of black chattel slavery in the Constitution, without significant opposition, demonstrates the bourgeois conservatism of the leaders of the American

continued on page 5

PSP Celebrates Yankee Imperialist Holiday9

Editorial Notes

"Buy a Calendar, Mr. Cagle!"

The Socialist League (a minuscule San Francisco-based spin-off of the Workers League) has been distinguished mainly for its hysterical and legalistic fixation on electoralism. Thus, while San Francisco was in the midst of a major class confrontation in the recent city workers strike, which posed the burning necessity for an immediate general strike, the Socialist League devoted itself to calling for new elections! (In fairness we must note that a supporter of the Socialist League did raise an amendment at a Muni drivers meeting calling for a general strike, but adding that workers should return to work—i.e., break the strike—if it didn't materialize within 72 hours!)

Having failed to win its demand for "new elections," the Socialist League, in a burst of parliamentary cretinist zeal, has taken to inventing elections in which to push its call for a reformist labor party.

Through its electoralist creature, the Labor Party Organizing Committee (LPOC), the Socialist League called a meeting June 23 to tout an LPOC slate for S.F. Board of Supervisors in November elections, while attacking the Spartacist League (SL) for "abstentionism" from its campaign. At the meeting, however, comrades of the SL were obliged to point out to Tom Cagle (a locally notorious supporter of the Socialist League) and his befuddled cohorts that, in fact, there were no elections for Board of Supervisors this fall. Should the Socialist League nevertheless manage to locate a genuine election, we would be more than happy, not to abstain, but to vigorously oppose their opportunist efforts to create a reformist social-democratic labor party, which could only be an obstacle to the fight for a revolutionary proletarian party.

In a rare moment of humility, Socialist Leaguers apologized for calling a meeting to discuss an imaginary election, but quickly perked up as an even better legalistic gimmick occurred to them. They quickly whipped up the brilliant proposal to get a proposition on the November ballot which would legalize strikes by city workers! Unlike the Socialist League, which leaves it up to the voters to determine workers rights, during the S.F. city workers strike the SL called for a citywide general strike to throw out all the anti-labor charter amendments. Even if a right-to-strike proposal managed to get on the ballot, given the frenzy of the heavily petty-bourgeois electorate in San Francisco and the bitter strike defeat, there is a strong likelihood it would lose. In that case we suppose the Socialist League would advise workers to wait until it is "legal" to strike.

Clearly what divides the Spartacist League from the Socialist League is not the question of "abstentionism" from LPOC's reformist campaigns, but our Bolshevik working-class politics versus their social-democratic parliamentary cretinism.

The United States remains the only major industrial country without a mass workers party; the working class is chained directly to the bourgeoisie through the labor bureaucrats' support for the Democrats and Republicans. This poses the need to call on organized labor to form its own party. But unlike the tailist Socialist League, we do not advocate a "lower stage" reformist labor party such as exists in Britain. Rather, the SL calls on the unions to break with the bosses' parties, dump the bureaucrats and form a workers party to fight on the Transitional Program for a workers government.

Nor do we assume a priori that creation of a workers party must go through a reformist labor bureaucracy, and certainly not the present hidebound pro-capitalist Meanyite pie-cards. But these are the very people the Socialist League looks to as leaders for its imagined reformist labor party. And should a wing of the bureaucracy actually give birth to such a creature, it will quite likely be in order to head off the formation of a genuine mass communist party.

In that case, we can be sure of finding the likes of the Socialist League lapping at their heels; unless, that is, these "Sunday socialists" have not already given up the ghost and themselves become pettifogging union bureaucrats in the meantime. The trouble is, Brother Cagle, who needs a fumbling bureaucrat who can't even read a calendar?

Cleaning Up Times Square...for Congressmen?

In this summer of a no-issue primary, the capitalist press which specializes in all the news that's not fit to print (while suppressing or distorting the struggles between labor and capital at home and abroad) need not fear a copy crisis. The capacity in Washington for banal sex scandal seems boundless and the latest episode is being predictably exploited in the media. Last year a stripper made a tidy bundle from the quick sale of her story after she went wading in the Tidal Basin with House bigwig Wilbur Mills. This year, readers of major U.S. dailies are being treated to an account of the sex life of a portly Congressman from Ohio, Wayne Hays. No doubt Elizabeth Ray's tapes recorded under the beds of various politicians will get a faster, wider public hearing than even the Watergate tapes.

The press trumpets, as if it were news, that there is considerable sexual hanky-panky on the A deck of the ship of state. But Hays is by no means the only Washington figure to have engaged a secretarial staff of "non-typists" on the government payroll. Just the other day, one of Jimmy Carter's aides expressed worry about finding a suitable vice-presidential candidate in light of the scandals:

"'Wouldn't that be a pretty picture?'... 'All of a sudden some secretary in Washington calls a press conference and says she knows whoever Jimmy picks better than anybody.'"

The media mouth surprise and indignation. Why are they so shocked? Aren't these the same politicians who are regularly involved in fund tinkering, bribery, influence peddling, expense account padding, nepotism, tax dodging, real estate scheming and a variety of dirty tricking? There is nothing much in

continued on page 10

World Press Covers

Mario Muñoz Defense

The New York Times

Terror in Argentina

To the Editor:

We are concerned for the fate of many South American politicians and labor leaders who were trapped as refugees in Argentina when the military junta of General Videla took power three months ago.

The unpunished terrorist raids by death squads against local and refugee democrats and socialists have multiplied, culminating in the public kidnapping and torture in Buenos Aires of 25 persons who were guests of a refugee agency.

The Argentine government's participation in this reliable report of Chilean minister

Muñoz Salas, has been denounced into hiding, his Buenos Aires home broken into and his family beaten by a military patrol which tried to take of the children as hostage. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz (Box Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013) has collected detailed information on this and other cases.

An international protest campaign may be the only way to save the life of Mario Muñoz and other progressive refugees in Argentina, succeed where the Human Rights Committee of the U.N. and the O.A.S. have only ineffectually. It may also put pause to the Ford Administration's course of support to the military dictatorships of Latin America.

NOAM CHOMSKY, S. E. L. Cambridge, Mass., June 14,

Le Monde

Argentine

● Nous avons reçu du Comité pour sauver Mario Muñoz (M. W. Saffores, B.P. n° 64 75924 Paris, Cedex 19) un appel demandant une « campagne internationale pour faire pression sur la junte militaire argentine et les Nations unies afin d'assurer le respect de la vie et de la liberté de ce dirigeant ouvrier chilien et de sa famille ». Dirigeant syndical, M. Muñoz a été condamné à mort par le gouvernement Pinochet. Réfugié en Argentine, il est recherché par la police du nouveau régime, qui pourrait le remettre aux autorités chiliennes. Le comité qui le soutient a recueilli l'appui du comité de défense des ouvriers et marins emprisonnés au Chili, du Partisan Defense Committee (Etats-Unis), de la Tendance spartaciste internationale, de la Ligue trotskiste de France, de MM. Noam Chomsky, Jiri Pelikan, I.-F. Stone, Stokely Carmichael, Richard Newhouse (sénateur démocrate de l'Illinois).

Chile steht vor dem Bankrott

Nur noch US-Geld kann die Junta retten



Unabhängige Tageszeitung für Österreich

VIENNA

europäische Länder ihre Drohung wahr machen, längste fällige Kredite an Chile nicht mehr zu verlängern, muß das Land mit einem Schlag 750 Millionen aufbringen, die es nicht hat. Die USA müßten wieder einmal als Retter einspringen. Warum tun sie das überhaupt? Die offizielle Erklärung ist, daß man mit der

36jährige Führer der Bergarbeitergewerkschaft der chilenischen Provinz Aconcagua-

Mario Munoz, der seit seinem 14. Lebensjahr in Nordchile der mörderischen Minenarbeit nachging und Funktionär der Sozialistischen Partei des Landes war, flüchtete 1973 zu Fuß über die Anden nach Argentinien, nachdem sein Bruder von der Pinochet-Junta ermordet worden war.

Millionen-Scheck

Von dort aus organisierte er die Flucht von Zehntausenden chilenischen Arbeitern, die in Argentinien ein Exil gefunden hatten. Nach der Ablöse der Peron-Diktatur durch die noch brutale Videla-Diktatur ist jedoch auch dieses Exil leben

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

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

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

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

"There's A Bloodbath Going On in Argentina"

Interview with Sanford Katz

Editor's Note: *The following first-hand account of conditions inside Argentina since the Videla coup is excerpted from a WV interview with attorney Sanford Katz who returned last week from Buenos Aires. Katz made the trip in order to investigate the disappearance of the Argentine film-maker Raymundo Gleyzer, missing since May 27 and believed to be captured by the junta. An endorser of the international campaign to save the life of exiled Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz, Katz stressed the urgency of directing worldwide protest against the junta's vicious repression aimed not only at the Argentine left but also at the large exile population there composed of militants from all over Latin America.*

WV: The American press has billed the [March 23] coup as restoration of law and order, but in WV we've said from the beginning that the repression is headed in the direction of Pinochet. You've just come back from Buenos Aires and I'm interested in your impressions.

Katz: The official position is that the right-wing terrorists, the AAA [Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance] are a bunch of gangsters that they have no control over. But everyone down there is convinced that they are clearly a paralegal force. They gave the game away when they ripped off those 25 Chileans out of the hotel [the exiles kidnapped June 11, two days after a list containing the names and addresses of over 8,000 refugees was stolen from a Catholic Relief Agency operating under the auspices of the United Nations]. When the public furor internationally was so great—at that same time they had their Minister of Economy up here [in the U.S.]—suddenly they reappear. All 25, all busted up, they were going to be executed. On the one hand the government says 'we have no control,' then obviously they pull the strings and 25 Chileans are back. It's bullshit.

Officially the line is they have no control and they're trying to exterminate the terrorists of both left and right. There's a bloodbath going on. I mean there's shootouts every day. The five or six days I was down there, it was reported there were at least some 25-odd murders, including the chief of police and retaliation—11 people killed the next day.

WV: I understand that when Torres, the former president of Bolivia was killed in Argentina a few weeks ago, apparently one of the ministers of the junta said, 'well, you can't really prove it's been an assassination because nobody saw it....'

Katz: They disclaim any responsibility for people disappeared or murdered. They'll just give you the line; they'll stare you right in the face and say 'we have absolutely no knowledge'... that 'we the government have checked with all the agencies, we've checked with the armed forces, we've checked with the police and they have no knowledge.... Are you sure he didn't have a jealous wife?

Or, 'how do you know it wasn't just a plain robbery....'

People become so cynical down there, they have a person ripped off and they can't get excited, the journalists can't get excited.

WV: Of course, the press is so censored that it would never come out that they are a paramilitary force connected to the government.

Katz: Never! They wouldn't dare! And to leaflet down there is an even braver action. I heard of some people who tried to leaflet an assembly plant in Santa Fe, they were shot right there.

WV: I understand you went down to Argentina representing the family of Raymundo Gleyzer who has disappeared. I saw in the Times this morning that you had met with a civilian aid of General Videla's, Ricardo Yofre, about the case.

Katz: Yes, I went courtesy of the Committee to Defend Latin American Filmmakers. Unfortunately, the day I met with Yofre was within several hours of when Cardozo, the chief of the federal police, had been bombed. So you can imagine how it started. What really incensed them [the staff at the presidential palace] was that the bombing was the result of a young woman, a friend of Cardozo's daughter. That's what infuriated them, that these Marxist heathens would seduce this young woman who herself was from the upper classes—her mother was a psychologist and I believe her father was a doctor. I read when I got back that right-wing guerrillas had blown up the house where the family lived out of frustration.

Following the assassination there was a piece [in the papers] to the effect that they had found a body of a young woman charred, burned. She had a tag on her with the name [of the woman who allegedly planted the bomb in Cardozo's house]. It sounds preposterous. I think they were trying to show the public that they are so vigilant and so professional that they can capture someone; you know, there was nothing about an autopsy report that would identify her by marks, by her teeth, etc.—you know, the normal way you would identify a body. If it was her, why did they burn her? Why did she have a tag on her? You would think they would want to bring her head back on a stake.

WV: I'd like to know more about the case of Raymundo Gleyzer.

Katz: All right. Gleyzer is a well-known documentary filmmaker. Some of the other organizations sponsoring his case are Actors Equity and Amnesty International. But essentially it's the Film Committee and his family. His mother, an actress, brought the habeas corpus proceedings. And of course they came in and said, 'we know from nothing, we don't have his body, we don't....'

WV: Was he known as a leftist?

Katz: No. He had been in the states for a few months, in April and May, and he signed an agreement with the UN to do some films on underdeveloped countries. He arrived back in Argentina May 24 and the last time he was seen or heard from was the 26th. People went to his apartment. It had been broken into, about \$28,000 worth of film equipment sent by someone in the states was missing; typewriters, clothes, everything else.

WV: You able to find out nothing by talkin 'idela's assistant?

Katz: No. What I had wanted to do was to go to the apartment building to find out from the people who lived there... there must have been a rather large group of guys who came in to do this thing. I wanted to take someone who talked better Spanish than I, an Argentine, but everyone down there said no. It was just too dangerous.

WV: So where do you go from here?

Katz: Well, there are lawyers down there now taking up where I left off. The international filmmakers, the Italians have complained in the press in Italy, and in France.... He was very well known in Europe, he won many awards over there.

WV: I understand you were in Buenos Aires at the time the Catholic Relief Agency was raided and the names of the Chilean refugees were stolen.

Katz: That was before. And everyone believed there was no theft, it was just handed over. The list was handed over by the government to these gangsters. They knew exactly where to go, who to nail.

The government denies it of course. They are pious about their having historically been a country of refuge! It's a very important part of their political ethos, that they gave refuge to the Jews. They're very proud, they say, 'look, none of the socialist countries are knocking themselves out trying to get these Chileans. We took them in and now we're being attacked and condemned for giving them refuge.' I think they're being attacked because they're doing work for the Chilean government. It seems clear that they not only have people sitting in these refugee hotels, they have people in prison.

I know a woman whose husband had been in jail for eight or nine months, even before Videla. And for nothing. I myself said to Yofre, 'why so long?' He said, 'we have no information on them.' And I said, 'if you have no information on them, release them.' Then he said, 'the problem is who would receive them!' That was bullshit because he knew the visas were coming through, they had the letter from the British embassy. Clearly they were doing the work of the Chilean government.

WV: Yes, in our last issue we published an interview with Cristina and Richard Whitecross who were released from jail [in Argentina] about a month ago. They were arrested with 11 other people, and they said they were convinced their arrest was done by the Argentine police simply as a favor for the DINA [Chilean secret police]. They also stressed that the regime is very threatened by international protest and by news leaking out into the press because they are trying to present this image of being unlike Pinochet.

Katz: That's one of the most reprehensible things about it. They are denying what's going on, that people are getting kidnapped, denying the murders, denying that torture is going on.

WV: What else can you say about the political climate?

Katz: Well, people are terrified by the quixotic nature of who gets picked up and disappears. There's no rhyme or reason to it. Some people are picked up and released. Some people are picked up and never seen again. I met with the mother of a psychiatrist who received a phone call over the weekend that he had 24 hours to leave the country or get killed. Down there those threats if not taken seriously, you die. So he left his wife and three children and his practice and fled to Mexico. Within ten hours he was gone. He's a moderately liberal guy, but he's Jewish and he's a psychiatrist and he's one of the few group therapists in Argentina. They equated political cell activity with group therapy, I gather.

It goes on constantly. People are picked up, killed, kidnapped, disappeared. There's a tremendous strain, obviously, on people's nerves. Many people I met who are not political, or moderately political, are making plans to leave.

It is totally repressive. You see lots of soldiers in the streets. They have trucks that will close off a thoroughfare. You'll be driving along a wide boulevard and suddenly three army trucks cut in front of you. Soldiers jump out and at random, they don't hit every car. But every third car, every fourth car, they'll stop and ask you for your identification. And these kids are very trigger happy. They're nervous and if you make a furtive or fast move, they'll blow you away. There have been many deaths as a result.

Everyone I spoke to is convinced the repression is going to get more severe and that the only possibility for any change at all is through outside pressure.

WV: We feel that there must be mass protest, more than simply legal protests and appeals through the United Nations.

Katz: Sure, the courts don't exist down there. There's not a judge who values his own life who would dare do anything. The AAA would knock him off. I've heard stories of generals, some former presidents, who had a classmate whose son was a Marxist guerrilla. He heard that the boy was captured and was being tortured terribly up in that prison in the north. Together the three of them went to the corps commander who was probably a friend or a classmate (it's a small society). He welcomed them and then said, "if you're here to discuss your son, forget it." [The man who told me this story] is a very powerful man and he could not and would not do anything to help anybody where they were being held with political overtones.

And then there's the American embassy people there, who give you the façade of being concerned. They say, "well, Gleyzer's not an American," but of course since there were inquiries made in Congress they had to get off their ass. It's clear they have close connections with the Argentine police. They knew, for example, even before it hit the papers, how Cardozo was killed. They told me about it when I met with them in the morning, and they knew precisely how it was done.

The paper was filled the next day when Cardozo was killed, warning parents that they have to be ever vigilant and alert of their children's politics and what they say. If they start giving a Marxist rap, they may have been infected. You deal with that by turning them in, I guess. They have to be very concerned about their children's friends; you got to start spying.... They literally want to eliminate the left. Literally. ■

SPARTACIST édition française
pour toute commande s'adresser à:
Bruno Porquier Spartacist Publishing Co.
B.P. 57 Box 1777 GPO,
95120 Ermont New York, N.Y. 10001
FRANCE USA
3,00 F. \$7.00 US/Canada

Behind the *Guardian*-OL Feud

The preponderant component of the U.S. Maoist milieu is the product of the intersection of the policies of the Chinese regime with the student-centered radical generation of the 1960s—the New Left. The earliest expression of doctrinal convergence between Peking Stalinism and American New Leftism was “Third World” nationalism, the view that the national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples were the main force for world revolution.

Yet the “Third Worldism” of the rulers in the Forbidden City and of the American SDS had significantly different contents. For the Maoist bureaucracy, the colonial and ex-colonial nationalist bourgeoisie (e.g., Sukarno, Nkrumah) was seen as a would-be ally of China against the U.S. and USSR, the original form of the “superpower” doctrine. Peking’s espousal of the “progressive” bourgeois nationalism of the “Third World” always had a strategic as well as a cynical character.

The New Left embracing of “Third World” nationalism was conditioned by the Kremlin’s commitment to the global status quo (“peaceful coexistence”) and the apparent conservatism of the working class in the imperialist centers. Yet a world view which coupled white, European Russia with the U.S. likewise contained the rudiments of the “superpower” doctrine, even before the Soviet Union was designated “social-imperialist” by Mao. Underlying the New Left notion that the struggle for socialism was essentially between the rich, white nations and the poor, dark-skinned ones was a large element of petty-bourgeois moralism, an outlook fundamentally hostile to a scientific analysis of society. Inherent in New Leftism is an inability to recognize the class line in society, particularly when confronted by working-class institutions under bureaucratic leadership.

Guardian’s New Left Reflexes

The *Guardian* milieu represents that element of American Maoism which has broken least with its New Left origins and attitudes. A major theme of editor Irwin Silber’s recent forums has been the call for a return to the “good old days” of the antiwar movement, when the left was “united” against American imperialism. The *Guardian*’s New Leftism is immediately obvious in its very lack of an organizational embodiment. When other Maoists were busily proclaiming themselves “democratic-centralist cadre-type parties,” the *Guardian*’s nods in the direction of Lenin and “party-building” were purely platonic. At a time when it had no substantial political differences with the October League (OL), the *Guardian* chose to remain an “independent radical weekly,” acting as a unity broker within the Maoist movement and mouthpiece for assorted nationalist groups, such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Since its break with Peking-loyal Maoism, the *Guardian* has tended toward reconstructing the old New Left. Thus it is now participating in the “People’s Bicentennial” (July 4th Coalition), even while admitting that it is the worst kind of liberal/populist constituency politics, and denouncing as “ultra-left” the OL, which is abstaining from the bicentennial hi-jinks, and the Revolutionary Communist Party, which is organizing its own separate demonstration.

However, the *Guardian*’s Menshevik and specifically polyvanguardist organizational attitudes did not lead to any real trouble with the more serious Maoist October League. It was, rather, the primacy of the *Guardian*’s commit-

ment to “Third World” nationalism which led it to dissociate itself from Peking’s alliance with U.S. imperialism, the conflict erupting over Angola. If the dispute between the *Guardian* and the OL were reduced to basic principles—which neither side is willing to do or even capable of doing—it could be stated as follows: for the OL’s Mike Klonsky the interests of “socialist” China, as expressed by its (none too stable) Stalinist leadership, are the



During World War II Communist Party called on American imperialism to open “second front” in Europe against Nazi Germany.

highest political value to which all other considerations will be sacrificed; for the *Guardian*’s Irwin Silber, the colonial people’s struggle for national liberation is the supreme political goal. For the latter, Maoist China is simply the most “advanced” of a series of progressive national liberation movements.

National Liberation and Workers States

The concrete and immediate counterrevolutionary politics of the Peking-loyal Maoists do not mean that the dissident *Guardian* is moving to the left. At the purely formal level, the *Guardian*’s national liberationism has, if anything, even less in common with genuine Leninism (Trotskyism) than do the doctrines of the Peking Stalinists.

For Leninists, the obligatory defense of a workers state stands higher than the principle of national self-determination, a bourgeois-democratic right. On a world-historic scale, to be sure, the equality of nations can be realized only through the victory of the communist movement—the creation of revolutionary workers states. In particular conjunctures, the military defense of a workers state may require violating the sovereignty of a smaller capitalist nation.

For example, in 1921, Bolshevik Russia conquered and annexed

“The Soviet Union in 1921 forcefully sovietized Georgia which constituted an open gateway for imperialist assault in the Caucasus. From the standpoint of the principles of national self-determination, a good deal might have been said in objection to such sovietization. From the standpoint of extending the arena of the socialist revolution, military intervention in a peasant country was more than a dubious act. From the standpoint of the self-defense of the workers’ state surrounded by enemies, forceful sovietization was justified: the safeguarding of the socialist revolution comes before formal democratic principles.”

—L.D. Trotsky, “Balance Sheet on the Finnish Events,” 25 April, 1940

Menshevik-governed Georgia in the Caucasus, although the majority of its largely peasant population undoubtedly opposed this action. This violation of

national independence was justified because Georgia had become a base for British incursions dangerous to the embryonic Soviet state. Anticipating Mao by half a century, liberals and social democrats in the West denounced the conquest of Georgia as “red imperialism,” as the expansion of the “new tsars.” The Bolshevik conquest of Georgia was an unfortunately necessary violation of national self-determination for the sake of higher principle, the



U.S. hegemony led not to “international New Deal” as Stalinists hoped, but new imperialist atrocities as in Vietnam.



Cartoon in CAP’s newspaper, *Unity and Struggle*.

defense of a workers state.

The narrow nationalist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies sometimes lead to unnecessary wars against smaller capitalist nations, however. Thus, in 1939-40 Stalin needlessly invaded Finland without adequate military preparation or any attempt to win over the Finnish working masses. Liberals, social democrats and erstwhile fellow travelers sympathized with “little, democratic” Finland (loosely tied at the time to Britain) and denounced Soviet “imperialism.” The Trotskyist movement did not. While condemning Stalin’s megalomaniacal adventurism and bureaucratic highhandedness, Trotsky unconditionally defended the military victory of the USSR, a bureaucratically ruled workers state, against Baron Mannerheim’s Finland.

Stalin’s Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

Since the *Guardian* adheres to the “superpower” doctrine, its position that

U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the world’s peoples is essentially empirical: it is American capital which economically exploits the “Third World” and virtually all popular struggles in these countries are directed against U.S. imperialism and its client regimes.

To this empirical argument, the hard-line Maoists have a counter-argument based on orthodox Stalinist precedent. It is a fairly effective counter-argument, moreover, because the *Guardian* accepts the precedent: namely, Stalin’s alliance with Britain, France and the U.S. against Nazi Germany. Before World War II, argue the Peking loyalists, wasn’t Britain the global power exploiting millions of colonial slaves? But, they continue, wasn’t it Nazi Germany, the aggressive have-not imperialism, which was the more dangerous?

Analogies between Hitler’s Germany and its role in world politics and

Brezhnev’s Russia now pervade Maoist literature. To quote Mike Klonsky:

“The Soviet Union can be compared to Hitler Germany during the period of the ‘30s. At that time, the British, French and U.S. imperialists were in the most dominant position in the capitalist world. But Germany’s imperialists were the most dangerous precisely because they were trying to seek hegemony and replace the other imperialist powers as top dog. This is the goal of Soviet social-imperialism today.”

—Call, 31 May 1976

The message is clear: if it was correct for Stalin’s Russia to ally with American imperialism against fascist Germany, then it is correct for Mao’s China to ally with American imperialism against “social-fascist” Russia.

At the level of ideology, the equation of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state, with fascist Germany, the most barbaric expression of capitalist rule, is the greatest crime Maoism has committed. However, the reactionary import of Klonsky/Mao’s position is not limited to the equation of the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany. To further his military bloc with the Allies against fascist Germany, Stalin endorsed the war aims of the “democratic” imperialists and forced the Communist Parties of the West into the most shameful betrayal of proletarian class interests, in direct subservience to the Roosevelts and Churchills. This was a counterrevolutionary act of monumental historic consequences.

The enormous moral revulsion at the atrocities committed by the Nazi psychopaths should not obscure which contending imperialism was the greater force for global counterrevolution. Nazi Germany was a local power whose demented dictators were capable of great destruction, but not of being the guardian of world capitalism for a

continued on page 10

Workers Strikes Roll Back Price Hike in Poland

JUNE 28—Last week the Polish government suddenly withdrew its plans to institute massive price increases only one day after the decree had been announced. The hasty retreat was in direct response to a wave of strikes that followed the publicizing of hikes in food prices ranging from 30 to 69 percent.

On June 25 at the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, workers tore up railroad tracks, built barricades and disrupted rail traffic. Strikes were reported at other plants in the capital area, including the Zeran auto plant producing Polish Fiats. At the shipyards of Gdansk and Szczecin, the scene of mass worker protests in 1970 that toppled the Gomulka government, peaceful sit-ins were staged. In Radom, a leather tanning center 60 miles south of Warsaw, the headquarters of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) was reportedly set on fire.

The announcement retracting the price increases was made by the Polish government after a day of "consulting" with workers in key factories throughout the country. (In the Stalinist deformed workers states, the proletariat is always "consulted" after the fact!) The regime vainly attempted to belittle the scale of the protests ("Only in a couple of dozen [!] isolated cases was the course of the discussion connected with temporary stoppage of work. Only in two cases, at Radom and Ursus, did the emotions spill out into the street").

At the same time, in a statement worthy of any bourgeois reactionary, it slandered the protesters as rabble: "No civilized country, no civilized society irrespective of its political system, can stand idly by while attempts are made at looting and inciting the lowest instincts of the mob, threatening both social order and individual citizens" (UPI dispatch quoting the 28 June *Cybie Warszawy*, our emphasis). Official rallies supporting Premier Edward Gierek were also held, hoping to bolster the stature of the blemished Polish Stalinist leader.

The hasty government retreat was obviously due to fear that there would be a repetition of the explosive 1970 events. In that year the announcement of price increases, coupled with the imposition of a program of wage and pension freezes and speed-up of the workforce led to mass marches by Polish workers on PUWP headquarters in several cities, centered on the Baltic seaports. When police and troops opened fire on marchers in Szczecin (the toll of killings in the 1970 events numbered at least 56), angry protesters burned down party headquarters while singing the "Internationale." In the face

of this mass upsurge, the local PUWP organizations collapsed with many of their activists going over to the workers' side. Amid rumors of Soviet intervention, the Polish army then occupied the Baltic ports. As the rebellion spread to Warsaw, Poznan and other industrial centers, the government temporized. Wladyslaw Gomulka resigned as head of the PUWP and his place was taken by Gierek.

Under Gierek the government made a number of concessions to the working masses, the chief one being a freeze on food prices which has been in effect for five and a half years. Gierek's promises to focus on raising the notoriously low living standards of Polish workers did bear some fruit: real wages rose an estimated 30 percent over five years.

However, this was achieved only at the cost of substantial deformation of the Polish economy. Increased imports of consumer goods from the West led to a massive trade deficit (over 50 percent of Poland's foreign trade is with capitalist countries, an unprecedentedly high figure for an East European nation). While retail prices were frozen, farmers were receiving higher prices for their products. This government subsidy to the peasantry assumed enormous proportions, amounting to \$5 billion a year.

The situation has become even more aggravated recently as farmers demand further increases. With open market prices 50 percent above prices offered by the state, farmers have been holding back sales of grain and other produce to government procurement agencies. Since the vast bulk of Polish agricultural production is carried out on private farms and because Gierek had previously eliminated compulsory procurement, the government found itself at the mercy of farmers and attempted to finance increased prices for farmers by driving down the living standards of workers.

The huge hikes in food prices were preceded by other austerity measures such as reductions in the rate of annual wage increases and raising labor productivity by tightening up on "abuses" of sick leave. However, the Polish working class was in no mood to tighten its belts. The modest reforms under Gierek notwithstanding, the living standards of Polish workers remained substantially inferior to those of workers in neighboring East Germany and Czechoslovakia, while their hours and working conditions were far more arduous.

The recent strikes in Poland underline the definitive failure of the Gierek reforms—a failure that is no less than that of his predecessor, Gomulka.



Party headquarters in Szczecin burned during 1970 Polish workers revolt.

Gomulka consolidated his power after the Polish regime was shaken in 1956 by massive food riots centered in Poznan. Gomulka, who promised numerous economic concessions to the masses, was also touted as a "reformer" at that time. However, the 1970 events smashed that illusion, and now Gierek has run afoul of the same obstacles that derailed Gomulka.

Of immediate importance is a solution to the conflicting demands of the Polish working class and a large section of the peasantry. A carefully modulated program of agricultural collectivization is a necessary step toward achieving this goal. However, a solution to these economic woes cannot be achieved through "self-reform" of the parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy which maintains a polit-

ical stranglehold over the proletariat of the Polish deformed workers state. Stalinist "reformers" like Gomulka and Gierek are incapable of more than zig-zagging blindly between enforced austerity for the working class, indiscriminate crackdowns on the peasantry or increased dependence on the capitalist nations.

Escaping from material poverty requires transcending the limited confines of the relatively economically backward Polish state. This poses the need for a workers political revolution to oust the present Stalinist apparatus wedded to the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" and replacing it with a Trotskyist leadership dedicated to international proletarian revolution. ■

July 4 ...

(continued from page 1)

Revolution. The "founding fathers" had no children who could claim that the principles of 1776 had been betrayed in the interests of the rich and powerful. The era of the war of independence did not give rise to a living revolutionary tradition.

John Brown's Body

There is a social revolution in American history which troubles the imperialist bourgeoisie to this day. It did not begin in 1776, but in the anti-slavery confrontations. The issue raised by the civil war and particularly the period of Radical Reconstruction—the intimate relationship between capitalism in America and racial oppression—awaits its fundamental resolution in future revolutionary struggle. The wasn't-it-tragic attitude of the bourgeoisie to the civil war era contrasts sharply with their celebratory attitude toward the war of independence. The signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, unlike the Declaration of Independence, will never be a holiday in racist, imperialist America.

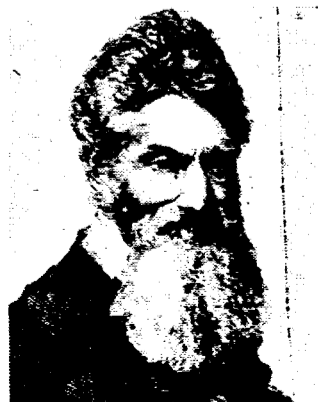
It is in the civil war era that there are parallels with the plebeian component of the French Revolution. The contemporary bourgeois treatment of John Brown resembles the French ruling class attitude toward Robespierre. They cannot disown the anti-slavery cause

outright, but they condemn John Brown for his fanatical commitment and violent methods. The Reconstruction era of 1867-1877 is the only period in U.S. history which the present ruling class rejects an un-American extremism. Two important films, D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* and the later *Gone With the Wind*, are outright apologies for white supremacist terror against the only radical-democratic governments this country has ever experienced. The Compromise of 1877, when the black freedmen were abandoned to the merciless regimes of the ex-slaveholders, was the American bourgeois-democratic revolution betrayed. And the reversal of that historic betrayal awaits the victory of American communism.

Because of the American revolution's limited social mobilization, those whose principles ultimately clashed with bourgeois rule—the likes of Tom Paine and Sam Adams—were easily disposed of. The radical abolitionists—John Brown, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass—are the only figures in American history before the emergence of the workers movement whose commitment to democratic principles actually threatened bourgeois rule. For the same reason that the present-day bourgeoisie denounces John Brown as a dangerous extremist, we communists can claim the radical abolitionists as ours. Only a victorious American socialist revolution can give to the heroes and martyrs of Harper's Ferry and the "underground railway" the honor that is their historic right. ■



Sojourner Truth



John Brown



Frederick Douglass

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

116

includes SPARTACIST

- Enclosed is \$5 for 48 issues (1 year)
- Enclosed is \$2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

"Law and Order" General Elected President

CP in Deep Trouble in Portuguese Elections

Editor's Note: The following article was written before the June 27 presidential elections in Portugal. In the voting, army chief of staff General Eanes was elected, with 61 percent of the vote. Of the remaining candidates, Major Carvalho received 17 percent, Admiral Azevedo was next with 14 percent and the Communist Party candidate, Octávio Pato, finished last with less than 8 percent.

JUNE 25—Although the approaching presidential elections in Portugal have failed to awaken much interest from the bulk of the population, they have considerably shaken up the left. In particular, the Communist Party (PCP) is panicked by the almost total lack of response (even from the party ranks) to its candidate, who is trailing miserably in the opinion polls. Meanwhile, most of the groups that place themselves to the left of the PCP have abandoned all pretense of working-class independence and are slavishly campaigning for Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, former head of the COPCON security forces.

By all accounts, the candidate that has provoked the least enthusiasm is army chief of staff General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, universally regarded as the shoe-in favorite to win. Although backed by the Socialist Party (PS), Popular Democrats (PPD), Social Democratic Center (CDS) and several smaller parties (including the Maoist MRPP and PCP-ML)—forces which between them won 77 percent of the vote in the April legislative elections—Eanes' campaign rallies have been virtually unattended, with both the PS and PPD drawing less than 10,000 to Lisbon's Campo Pequeno stadium. Moreover, at least one important PS local organization (Aveiro) has refused to support the mastermind of the successful power grab by rightist officers last November 25.

The reasons for leftist unease over Eanes' candidacy are not hard to fathom. Selected by the top military command as the most viable strongman to "stabilize democracy," i.e., rebuild the army and straitjacket the workers movement, his ties to the violently anti-communist General António de Spínola are well-known. In fact, it is widely rumored that the be-monocled former president—the leader of the ultra-rightist Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP), which is in turn linked to the fascist Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP)—will be allowed to return to the country following an Eanes victory. Furthermore, it was recently revealed that Eanes' brother-in-law was one of the pilots who bombed the left-wing RAL-1 barracks during the March 1975 Spínolaist putsch (*Times* [London], 28 May).

With the workers parties (primarily PCP and PS) receiving over 50 percent of the vote in April, Eanes has refrained from whipping up an anti-communist frenzy since this could cost him many

Socialist votes. But his bourgeois backers have been accommodating, and the U.S. has given its stamp of approval in the form of a recent shipment of advanced military equipment (armored personnel carriers and M-48 tanks) to equip an elite "intervention brigade." While the army commander's election manifesto uses vaguely "progressive" language, his campaign slogan, "liberty in security," is an unmistakable call for capitalist "law and order." Ominously, Eanes has threatened that the left that "doesn't manage to collaborate in the transformation process in the manner that it should... will have to be repressed" (quoted in *Expresso*, 2 June).

Another indication of the "interest" of the leading imperialist powers in Portugal's presidential elections came in the candid remarks of the second-place candidate and current prime minister, Admiral José Pinheiro de Azevedo. When asked by Associated Press whether the Communist Party might participate in a future government (the PCP has one minister in the present cabinet, but Eanes has said he would call on the Socialists to form a minority government by themselves), the "admiral without fear" replied meekly:

"that depends on American policy. It's up to America... it doesn't depend on me at all... I've got my feet on the ground, and today there is no total independence, but alliances with compromises."

Pinheiro de Azevedo is not only frank about his orders from Washington, he also clearly expresses his hostility to the working class. When construction workers struck for higher wages last fall, at one point surrounding the presidential palace for two days, he told them to "go to hell." Although currently posing as a "progressive" alternative to the army commander, Azevedo's "Sixth Government" repeatedly sought just the confrontation with the "military left" that occurred on November 25 and brought with it the rise of Eanes.

"A Guide and a Friend to All Portuguese"

The joker in the Portuguese presidential elections has been Carvalho, who is campaigning as the "candidate of April 25" (he was in charge of executing the coup which brought down the Caetano dictatorship two years ago). Back in the limelight after being imprisoned (and

Lisnave shipyard workers in 1974. Recently Communist Party influence has eroded in key industrial centers.



Informations Ouvrières

demoted from general) following the November 25 events, the major proclaimed himself a Robin Hood—last year it was "the Fidel Castro of Europe"—and has attracted huge crowds with a flamboyant, whistle-stopping campaign.

When he set off to the north the day after announcing his candidacy, a special train bedecked with red flags was greeted at the station in Porto by a crowd estimated at between 70,000 and 100,000 people, the largest ever for a leftist demonstration in the north. And in the militant industrial belt on the south side of the Tagus River opposite Lisbon, workers at the Setenave and Lisnave shipyards massively voted endorsement of Carvalho for president, despite opposition from PCP-dominated workers commissions.

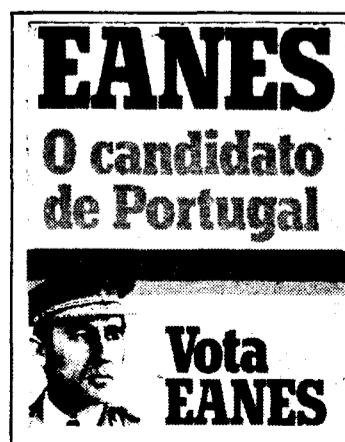
But there is a wide gulf between the appearance and the reality of the Carvalho campaign. The arch-proponent of an "MFA [Armed Forces Movement]-People Alliance" uses leftist verbiage only to tie the combative workers to their class enemy, and in particular the bourgeois officer corps. The former COPCON chief labels his candidacy "non-party" and reiterates his commitment to preserve the discipline and unity of the capitalist army ("in the service of the people," of course).

Carvalho's program (*Revolução*, 10 June) defends "the right to strike, a sacred right of the workers" and promises "never to permit repression against the working people"; it doesn't mention, however, that it was COPCON troops who broke the TAP airline mechanics' strike in September 1974. Likewise it defends "freedom of expres-

sion," but conveniently passes over the fact that COPCON troops seized radio and television stations on behalf of the Sixth Government last September, in a move to purge leftists from the mass media.

The list of contradictions is endless: Carvalho's program says he is committed to guaranteeing trade-union organization "independent from the state," conveniently "forgetting" that his security forces ousted leaders of the Maoist-dominated Chemical Workers Union in April 1975. As for the claim that if elected he would "not permit any attempts to make the working classes pay for the capitalist economic crisis," this not only flies in the face of Carvalho's actions last summer when he was calling on the workers to "win the battle of production" and the famous COPCON document supported Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves' austerity program; it also flatly contradicts his own words during the campaign. In an interview published in *Expresso* (25 June) the "people's power" major talks of "inevitably unpopular" economic measures of the next government.

The Carvalho campaign is full of the absurdities which are the trademark of this two-faced demagogue. At one point he announced that he would be a "guide and a friend to all Portuguese," and later observed (apparently with a straight face) that, "I think I'm starting to become intransigent in the defense of social justice"! His economic program is to "give priority to agriculture" in this already partially industrialized country. But while gullible leftists were cheering the "candidate of April 25," Carvalho refused to frontally attack Spínolaist army commander Eanes ("a military



man of valor") and declared he would appoint Socialist leader Mario Soares ("a Portuguese patriot") to form a government. Soares just happens to be the choice for prime minister of both Eanes and Azevedo!

Communist Party in Deep Trouble

While a vote for the general, the admiral or the major is clearly a vote for the bourgeoisie, we explained in our last article ("Army Strongman Candidate Threatens Portuguese Workers," *WV* No. 112, 4 June) that even the Communist Party candidacy did not represent a break with the capitalists. Rather, it is an attempt by the PCP to avoid antagonizing Eanes in a situation where it could not openly back the rightist bonaparte for fear of losing control of its working-class base. But even a party candidate has not awakened the enthusiasm of Communist supporters, and PCP leaders fear a vote less than half the size of its showing in the April legislative elections (when it received 14 percent).

Despite their protestations that they (unlike Soares) are not electoralists, PCP tops have been thrown into a cold sweat by the impending defeat at the polls. The party's chance of gaining ministerial portfolios is nil and its ranks are in disarray. A graphic demonstration of this panic was the front page of the 9 June issue of *Avante*, the PCP newspaper. A communiqué announces imperiously:

"The complex situation surrounding the elections for the presidency of the republic requires from all party members and sympathizers a vigorous effort to get out the view of the PCP....

"Study and discussion of party materials is an urgent task! Every member must become informed—through party documents and proclamations, from speeches by comrades of the leadership—so that at their workplaces and in everyday conversation they can clear up doubts that may arise...."

And then the marching orders: "We must vote massively for Comrade Octávio Pato!" When a Stalinist party is reduced to publicly exhorting its own members to vote for the party candidate, one can be sure it is in real trouble!

The Arlete Affair

What could sharply alter the course of political events in Portugal is the building of a Trotskyist party based on a clear program of class independence, breaking with all wings of the bourgeois



Election pamphlet for LCI/PRT candidate Arlete Vieira da Silva.

sie, including the demagogic left-talking officers. A large part of the support for Carvalho comes from workers disillusioned with the Socialist Party's open support for and the Communist Party's cowardly capitulation to Eanes, behind whose dark glasses there lurks a monocle. A candidate calling for a break with PS/PCP class collaboration, for no confidence in the capitalist army, for the unification of the workers commissions in a national workers assembly, could point the way toward breaking through the vicious circle of "stabilizing parliamentary democracy" vs. military-dominated "people's power."

In Portugal over the last year the two main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, both allied with the misnamed "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (Usec), have tailed after the CP and SP. During last fall, the LCI (Internationalist Communist League, allied with the centrist Usec majority led by Ernest Mandel) was part of the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) that supported the popular-front Fifth Government of Vasco Gonçalves and initially included the Communist Party. At the same time, as the Socialist Party was spearheading a reactionary anti-Communist mobilization, the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party, allied with the reformist Usec minority, and in recent months specifically with the Argentine PST) incredibly called for a Soares government.

However, in the presidential elections, initially neither the Communists nor the Socialists were running a candidate (the Pato candidacy was the result of the PCP's inability to find a general it could support), so with no one to tail after the LCI and PRT decided to launch a joint presidential candidate. This was also part of on-again, off-again "unity" discussions between the two Usec sympathizing groups.

Their choice as standard bearer was one Arlete Vieira da Silva, whose picture was published on flyers above the headline: "Arlete, A Woman, A Worker, A Revolutionary." A biographical sketch proclaimed that she had been a member of the PCP for 16 years and was arrested five times, once imprisoned for more than three years. A note in the Usec international organ, *Imprecor* (27 May), went into the details of torture ("the traces can still be seen on her broken wrists"). Following the overthrow of Caetano, it said, she resigned from the PCP in opposition to the Stalinists' strikebreaking and class collaboration.

However, three weeks after the PRT/LCI candidate was launched, after the necessary 7,500 signatures had been gathered to put her on the ballot and on the eve of the deadline for registration, both groups suddenly withdrew their support. What happened? Readers of the PRT's *Combate Socialista* (2 June) were given nothing by way of explanation but an inside story with the laconic title, "The Only Candidacy of Class Independence Ceased to Exist!" This item's only answer to the "many questions which have been asked" about the sudden withdrawal was to refer to "our communiqués" on the subject, which are not printed. "Arlete Vieira da Silva gave us data about her political past which were not true," it says, "thereby not guaranteeing the political and moral fitness which a revolutionary party must demand in order to support a class candidacy...."

A few days earlier, the LCI had withdrawn its support from "Arlete," declaring that she did "not have the past nor the minimum conditions which would permit her to be an intransigent defender of a program of unity and independence of the workers movement." Placing the main blame on the PRT (which had nominated her also in the April parliamentary elections), the LCI shamefacedly admitted that it only belatedly investigated the background of its "revolutionary candidate." And it also said nothing about what it had discovered (*Luta Proletária*, 2 June).

The bourgeois press was more revealing. *Expresso* (29 May) reported that it had learned from the PRT that inquiries produced no evidence that its candidate had ever been imprisoned on political charges. In fact, the only court trial of Arlete Vieira da Silva concerned "failure to pay and embezzlement of various household electrical appliances"! In France, the daily *Rouge* (30 May), newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), asked in a headline whether "Arlete" was a "Provocateur or Provocateur?"

With the information at our disposal it is impossible to say whether the "Arlete affair" was, as the LCI and PRT suggest, a Stalinist provocation. Certainly the PCP did not come forward until quite late with whatever information it had concerning the dubious character of a former member (whose husband is reportedly a Communist Party militant), while at the same time



Mário Soares

PSP leader Mário Soares

spreading rumors. Moreover, Cunhal & Co. are no doubt already trying to use this incident in order to spread their usual slander that Trotskyists are provocateurs. What the affair definitely shows, however, is that in their congenital tailing after the reformists, the Pabloist liquidators demonstrate a fundamental lack of political seriousness which leads them to grab for an unknown quantity as a presidential candidate simply because she could serve as an advertising gimmick to rip off Communist votes. Their salivary glands are stronger than their brains, and it is clear that in presenting Arlete Vieira da Silva in the elections, the PRT and LCI gave no thought to providing serious leadership to the working masses.

No Support to the Portuguese Scheidemann!

But the failure of the Usec fake-Trotskyists to provide political leadership extends well beyond the personality of their ex-presidential candidate. Even if the LCI and PRT had presented a credible personality on the same political program as Vieira da Silva, it would not have represented a candidacy of working-class independence. Trotskyists could not have called for votes for the LCI/PRT candidate.

Formally the Vieira da Silva campaign was opposed to popular frontism, calling on the PCP and PS to break the anti-working-class pact guaranteeing military overlordship of Portuguese political life. An important ambiguity was introduced by the call, in the LCI/PRT agreement, on "all the organizations of the workers movement, particularly the PS and PCP, to present a single workers candidacy for the presidential elections," and the offer to withdraw the "Trotskyist candidate" in favor of a PS/PCP candidate. Since both Socialists and Communists are part of the popular-front Sixth Government, support the party/armed forces pact and subordinate themselves to the bourgeois military, this offer to withdraw could mean building support for a "workers candidate" of a popular front.

However, when the PCP launched the candidacy of Octávio Pato, the LCI and PRT maintained their candidate. The latter wrote:

"That the two large workers parties present a civilian Socialist or Communist candidate is a necessary but not a sufficient condition.... solid guarantees are necessary of complete independence toward the generals and capitalists in

order for the workers to be able to support such a candidate. But the only guarantees given by the candidacy of Octávio Pato are precisely the opposite: to collaborate with the generals and support the military president that is elected."

—*Combate Socialista*, 21 May

But there was another factor that was decisive in ruling out critical support to a PRT/LCI candidacy: the statement that "if elected, the candidate would be committed to call on the secretary general of the PS, Mario Soares..., to constitute a government... based on the left majority in parliament...." How can these supposed Trotskyists propose the same government as Carvalho, Azevedo or Eanes?

The PRT during the parliamentary elections issued a number of statements arguing that Soares' propaganda for a "governo sozinho do PS" (Socialist Party minority government) was a concession to the working-class ranks, who wished to see their party alone in power, not tied to the class enemy. Nothing could be further from the truth. What Soares argued in presenting the demand for a minority PS regime was that the six coalition governments were all unstable and incapable of taking decisive action to "stabilize democracy." A PS government with a strong military president (Eanes), he said, could accomplish this task.

But what does it mean to "stabilize" bourgeois democracy in Portugal, where there is no tradition of parliamentary democracy? It does not mean defending an elected parliament against military bonapartism. On the contrary, it means defending a phantom "legislative assembly" whose only base of power is the officer corps against "parallel powers" such as the workers commissions. And this means, as Soares clearly stated at the inauguration of the Sixth Government last September, crushing any germs of dual power, disbanding the workers and neighborhood commissions, eliminating all attempts at workers control, disarming workers militias and mopping up the remainders of the "military left." That is what the PRT/LCI call for a "Soares government" means!

Mário Soares quite consciously wishes to play the role of Scheidemann in smashing the German revolution during 1918-19. In his interviews with Dominique Pouchin (*Portugal: Quelle Révolution?*), the PS leader suggests that Germany after World War I is a more appropriate analogy to Portugal today than Spain in the 1930's or Chile in the 1970's. This is why the Socialist Party is willing to support a bona fide Spinolaist such as Eanes for president. Soares' comment that he would fight together with the ELP against "Communist dictatorship" (*ibid.*) is also indicative.

The LCI and especially the PRT make a fetish out of the "workers united front," much in the manner of the French OCI and its anti-Leninist conception of a "strategic united front." (The Portuguese supporters of the OCI, moreover, were the first to call for a Soares government.) But the present situation in Portugal is quite different from Germany in 1931-33, when the Social Democrats and Communists (in different fashions) capitulated to the fascists. When a "Socialist" party is leading a counterrevolutionary mobilization, Marxists must call for intransigent opposition to its candidates.

One might ask, if Rosa Luxemburg had run for president of Germany in late 1918, would she have offered to call upon Scheidemann (the SPD prime minister who sought, successfully, to subordinate the nascent workers councils to the military general staff through appeals for parliamentary democracy) to form a government if she were elected? As history showed, through the assassination of Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht with the connivance of the Scheidemann regime, such an offer

continued on page 11

ILWU Local 6 Votes to End Strike

Bureaucratic Defeatism Sabotages Warehouse Strike

OAKLAND, June 28—The northern California warehouse strike moved toward an end today as members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 ratified a proposed agreement. The contract has yet to be approved by striking Teamster (IBT) locals, but the ILWU vote will doubtless be used to pressure Teamster ranks into returning as well. After three weeks of a strike during which their lines were subjected to numerous vicious police attacks, many workers expressed the opinion that the settlement was the best that could be won. Doubtless they were discouraged by the criminal disorganization of the strike, particularly given the recent string of defeats suffered by Bay Area labor. The ILWU bureaucracy refused to take even the most elementary steps to put the strike on a solid footing. Old-timers on the lines interviewed by *WV* said it was the worst run strike they had ever seen the union conduct.

The settlement generally follows the recently concluded Teamster Master Freight Agreement, except that it is even worse. It provides for a \$1.60 wage increase over three years but with no cost-of-living (c-o-l) payment in the first year and a 25-cent cap in each of the last two. The miserable c-o-l formula guarantees that ILWU and Teamster members who lost at least \$1.50 to inflation and taxes over the life of the last contract will fall even further behind. Employers' pension contributions were increased by a token 25 cents, insufficient to keep up with the ravages of inflation. Although retirement age was lowered to 63 there is some question whether this section of the contract will ever be enforced. In 1973 the companies unilaterally cancelled an agreement to reduce retirement to 62, claiming poverty: the McClain leadership capitulated, returning the retirement age to 65!

Perhaps the most ominous section of the settlement was a little-noticed clause which provides for differing wage rates depending on "experience...in the industry." Under the complex membership structure within ILWU Local 6 according to which new members are relegated to second-class citizenship for a minimum of one year, this provision could establish a permanent pool of lower-paid labor. The Bridges regime long ago cooperated with the employers in introducing the infamous "B-man" system on the docks. This provides the employers with just such a pool of lower-paid workers without union protection, who could be speeded up in order to whiplash veteran longshoremen into jacking up output to a murderous pace.

At a time when the drive for profits is leading to speed-up throughout U.S. industry, this newest concession by the McClain bureaucracy is particularly treacherous. Evidently many union members felt disgusted by the settlement. While the contract passed by 1,408 to 290, several hundred ILWU warehousemen in the crowd of well over 2,000 simply refused to vote.

The warehouse settlement is the latest in the series of defeats inflicted on Bay

Area labor. While Local 6 members escaped the fate of San Francisco city craft workers who took substantial cuts in pay, and of the Golden Gate bus drivers who were forced to settle for less than the transit district's first offer, the settlement will undoubtedly mean an absolute decline in the warehousemen's standard of living. Given the enormous potential power of the transport alliance, involving the ILWU and IBT, such a settlement is a glaring setback. The capitalists have now been able to establish to their own satisfaction that even these two key unions can be brought to heel. Given the central role that the ILWU has played in the Bay Area labor movement for decades, this can only pave the way to an even more extensive anti-labor drive.

Union-Busting Continues

Open union-busting is on the order of the day in the S.F. Bay Area. The strike continues at Associated Trucking against the company's attempt to circumvent the Master Freight Agree-



ILWU Local 6 president Curtis McClain.

ment. Now, emboldened by the total passivity of the warehouse union's leadership, management at Folger's Coffee in South San Francisco seems determined to follow in Associated's track. Although it is a member of the Distributors' Association, bargaining agent for Bay Area Warehouse employers, as of press time Folger's had refused to sign the warehouse agreement. Folger's was the scene of a violent confrontation during the first week of the strike, when over 80 police representing eight different police jurisdictions attacked an undermanned ILWU picket line. Some 29 pickets were arrested at that time, including President McClain, who sat down in the driveway.

But McClain's token heroics were not enough to stop this union-busting outfit. Guarded by private armed security police, almost daily small convoys of scab trucks have passed through the lines, while token pickets stood helplessly by. The latest issue of the "Warehouse Militant," which urged the membership to reject the contract, warned that a capitulation to the Distributors could easily encourage



Cops "monitor" pickets at Automated Plastics Molding June 15. Later, 11 were arrested when police charged picket line.

some of the independent warehouses, which had earlier agreed to an uncapped cost-of-living escalator for two of the three years, to demand that their contracts be re-written now. Folger's seems to be the first step in that direction.

Responsibility for the rotten settlement must be placed squarely at the feet of the Bridges/Goldblatt/McClain machine and with supporters of the reformist Community Party in Local 6. Preaching a strategy of compromise with the employers, the leadership continually slashed the bargaining demands without membership consent. To prevent any opposition to their class-collaborationist schemes, once the strike got underway, the bureaucracy simply cancelled all membership meetings and the joint stewards' council with the Teamsters.

Yesterday's mass rally called to force through a settlement was the first membership meeting in over a month and the first local-wide meeting during the entire contract negotiations. When at a Local 6 stewards meeting, a gangster-style assault was launched against Bob Mandel, a member of the Local's executive board and spokesman for the Militant Caucus, the leadership turned a blind eye. Evidently they found it convenient to have goon attacks in order to silence critics who advanced an alternative to their sellout strategy.

Following their line of compromise to its logical extreme, the Goldblatt/McClain forces refused to make even the simplest strike preparations, on the ground that this might provoke the employers! Thus during small strikes at Victor California and Automatic Plastic Molding which preceded the master contract battle, McClain & Co. outright refused to mobilize the membership in mass pickets against company strikebreaking.

It was no surprise, then, that the Distributors' Association felt it could launch a wave of police violence against the master contract strikers and get away with it. Doing its best to cover for the leadership, time and again supporters of the Communist Party (CP) urged union members to call on local city governments to pass toothless "anti-scabbing ordinances." At the same time, the pro-CP hacks issued leaflets calling for "Unity, Unity, Unity," labeling any who proposed militant tactics to resist the employer attacks as "ultra-lefts."

Whenever the combative membership moved to defend their strikes, the leadership and the Stalinists moved in to smash the efforts. At Thrifty, where workers had refused to handle scab Nestlé cargo, Abba Ramos, a prominent CP supporter, ordered the workers to handle the goods. While the Local 6 leadership was forced to temporarily backtrack on this betrayal because of action taken by ILWU Local 34 clerks to stop a mass shipment of Nestlé containers, no effective defense was ever built for the Nestlé strike. After 13 weeks on the bricks, Nestlé workers

were forced to return to work under the company's original offer.

The CP's role as hatchetman for the bureaucracy was most fully revealed by attempts of CP supporters to file bogus union charges against Stan Gow, a Local 10 executive board member. Gow was charged with "provocative actions" for objecting to a deal made by Ramos and Joe Lindsay to let management and office workers work behind Local 6 lines at Golden Grain. Gow had offered a motion adopted by Local 10 to give full support to the warehouse strike, including hot-cargoing scab products, yet not once did the leaderships of Locals 6, 10 or the International try to implement these statements of support with concrete actions of solidarity. The CP supporters were finally forced to withdraw the charges against Gow out of embarrassment when this exemplary militant was arrested and beaten during a police assault on the Automatic Plastic Molding picket line.

The absolute cynicism of the ILWU leadership is perhaps most starkly revealed in its dealings with Automatic Plastic Molding. While supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party and Progressive Labor in the ILWU screamed about great victories at Automatic due to the "fightback," outnumbered pickets had been continually harassed and arrested. Now, even though the Distributors' Association has been managing the fight against union recognition at APM all along, the union bureaucracy has decided to call the master contract strikers back to work without forcing the Distributors to recognize the union at APM.

This treachery may very well lead to an open-shop settlement of the type reached at Victor or even the complete destruction of the union at APM. Similarly, the leadership has made no provision for forcing the Distributors to have all charges dropped against the more than 50 pickets arrested since the strike began. This leaves the very real danger that the most militant union members will be left isolated at the mercy of the capitalist state at the very time that the bourgeoisie is intensifying.

continued on page 10

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph (3rd floor)
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone 835-1535

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
650 South Clark (2nd floor)
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway/Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

"People's Bicentennial": Yankee Doodle Populism

The year's barrage of nauseatingly star-spangled hard-sell propaganda for America's "200th birthday" will culminate July 4th in Philadelphia, in a chauvinist extravaganza of bourgeois self-congratulation. Philadelphia's Mayor Rizzo called for (but did not get) 15,000 combat troops to protect the celebrants against potential "terrorism," suggesting they could be "deployed...ostensibly as part of the pageantry." Meanwhile the city's transit workers threatened to shut down the public transit system on the 4th unless 345 laid-off workers were rehired. The city acquiesced and the bourgeoisie can look forward to an unimpeded orgy of patriotic hoopla.

Various assortments of liberals and radicals are organizing possibly sizable but politically limp counter-demonstrations. In Washington, a star-studded array of liberals which includes Rev. Jesse Jackson, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Tom Hayden and "oppositional" Steelworkers bureaucrat Ed Sadowski has banded together for the "Peoples Bicentennial" whose social-patriotic populism culminates in the call for "economic democracy."

In Philadelphia, a more mainstream radical crew known as the "July 4 Coalition" has assembled a hodge-podge of New Leftists, fake-Leninists and "constituency" groupings. This is the result of months of intensive maneuvering dominated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) along with Youth Against War and Fascism, the Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement and a host of soft-core Maoist formations, Communist Party front groups, guilty liberals, aging antiwar activists and other now homeless flotsam and jetsam tossed up by the radical movements of the 1960's.

The main thrust of this demonstration—a "Bicentennial Without Colonies" pushed by the PSP—is simply an adaptation to reformist liberalism, implying that socialists could legitimately celebrate racist, capitalist America's bicentennial if only its foreign policy were more humane. The hundred or so participating groups are raising slogans ranging from the sub-reformist to the ridiculous, most of which boil down to "self-determination for everybody."

The "independent radical newsweekly" *Guardian*, a member of the Coalition's national commission, has felt itself obliged to point out that the Coalition has no "clear-cut political focus" and chastises the Coalition for its "undemocratic and unscientific" constituency approach, its "rank political opportunism," "political immaturity," "paternalistic tone" and "mechanical" selection of speakers—all under the headline "Support the July 4th Action" (*Guardian*, 23 June 1976).

Somewhat irritated by this stab in the back, the PSP's Alfredo Lopez, national coordinator of the Coalition, blasts back in the next week's *Guardian*: "It is simply not correct to publish such a negative article two weeks before an action, without informing anyone of its scheduled appearance and without discussing it with the coalition first" and "the role of communists is to direct their



Bicentennial baloney, left and right.

work towards building things they support" (while keeping their mouths shut).

The hard Maoists, meanwhile, have been denounced by the *Guardian* as "sectarian" for not joining in this acrimonious incarnation of "unity." The October League has refused to participate, while the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) is staging a separate series of activities under the slogan "Get the Rich Off Our Backs." Though its propaganda points out that the working class and the capitalists are enemies, the RCP's slogans—"Jobs or Income Now" and "We won't fight another rich man's war"—dredged up from the pre-1966 social-democratic SDS, amount to utopian reformism.

Despite its tame "program," the RCP has been refused a parade permit and its attempt to exercise its right to demonstrate may well bring down the savage fury of Rizzo's infamous cops upon its supporters. Rizzo has set the stage for police terror against the RCP by scare-mongering statements about "disruptions, confrontations and possible violence" by radicals (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 June 1976).

None of the assorted liberals and radicals in their competing "coalitions" has the capacity and program to lead what will be America's next revolution—the proletarian socialist revolution. Pandering to the bicentennial patriotism of the bourgeoisie with their utopian reformist schemes, they can offer no way forward for the working class. To the populist social-chauvinism and programless sloganeering of the liberals and their radical tail, the Spartacist League counterposes the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. Workers of the World Unite! ■

PSP Celebrates Yankee Imperialist Holiday

Independence Now! For a Puerto Rican Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!

On July 4 various reformist/nationalist/liberal lash-ups will sponsor competing bicentennial celebrations in conjunction with the U.S. bourgeoisie's raucous patriotic hoopla. From the macho confrontationism of the Revolutionary Communist Party's "Get the Bosses Off Our Backs" bicentennial to the moldy Vietnam-era reformism of the July 4 Coalition and the liberal jet-set trust busting of the People's Bicentennial Commission, all these political conglomerates attempt to drape themselves in the blood-soaked flag of the American bourgeoisie.

Most anomalous is the role of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in the July 4 Coalition. From its origins in the petty-bourgeois Movimiento Pro-Independencia, this reformist workers party has consistently drenched itself in bourgeois Puerto Rican nationalism; now, in order to achieve respectability with U.S. liberals, the PSP has taken to parroting the language of "Americanism," the nationalism of the Yankee imperialists. Its slogan, "A Bicentennial Without Colonies," is intended to gain the support of guilt-ridden liberals just as the U.S. ruling class pauses from its murderous labors to brazenly gloat over its "noble" traditions. Instead of fostering the proletarian internationalism needed to wrest Puerto Rican independence through struggle against the American bourgeoisie, the PSP and its coalition partners appeal to a supposed "American heritage" of anti-colonialism in order to prick the oppressors' conscience.

Explaining the political rationale for intervention of the party's U.S. branch into the bicentennial activities, PSP secretary general Juan Mari Bras oozes with populist acclaim of the "Spirit of '76":

"The celebration of the bicentennial of independence of this country provides a propitious setting to sensitize the large North American masses to a fundamental problem of humankind which is directly connected to the most positive aspects of the historical significance of the revolution for independence.

"... In the ideological substratum of the large North American masses—hidden in the confusion of prejudices and chauvinist arrogance fomented by the imperialist sector of the yankee bourgeoisie—there still exists a solid consensus of respect for the right of all peoples to their national independence."

—Claridad (bilingual supplement), 18 April

Implicit in the "Bicentennial Without Colonies" slogan as in the conception of an "imperialist sector of the yankee bourgeoisie" is the old social-democratic/Stalinist fable that imperialism is merely a form of foreign policy preferred by part of the ruling class and not, as Lenin explained, "the highest stage of capitalism." In its call for the July 4 rally, the PSP-led coalition raises as one of its three key "areas of concern":

"An end to the current foreign policy of the U.S. government, to its colonial domination over Puerto Rico and the Native American nations, to...its subversive 'intelligence' activities in virtually every country of the world, to

its support—political, economic and military—of fascist regimes like those of Brazil and the Philippines or racist regimes like that of South Africa, to the constant intervention which has prevented stability and peace in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East."

In so many words, this puts forward the idea of ending imperialism not through a proletarian overturn of the capitalist system but through a grand alliance of all those ostensibly opposed to "the current foreign policy," including the liberal bourgeoisie. Although the specific contours of U.S. foreign policy can and do change, the constant features of that policy—defense of U.S. corporations' international investments, bolstering of bourgeois regimes against mass insurgencies, an autonomous foreign intelligence apparatus of spies and hit-men, etc.—are inherent political and military aspects of the imperialist stage of U.S. capitalist development.

But the July 4 Coalition chooses to ignore the organic link between colonial oppression and capitalism and hence the question of workers' revolution. Partly the reason is simple organizational appetites. The PSP has thrown major organizational resources into building the coalition hoping to grab the limelight as the "Third World" darlings of the U.S. left, a niche vacant since the collapse of the Black Panther Party. Like the reformist anti-Vietnam war coalitions on which it is modeled, the July 4 Coalition is a motley political bloc of phony revolutionaries, petty-bourgeois pacifists, liberal clergymen, ethnic community groups and a handful of bourgeois politicians like California Congressman Ron Dellums and Massachusetts state assemblyman Mel King. They are held together by the glue of red, white and blue social patriotism and an opportunist willingness to submerge their many fundamental differences.

There is a more fundamental reason why the PSP appeals to the nationalism of the oppressor and to the imperialist liberals to find aid for its cause. Like all reformists, they fear proletarian revolution, and so instinctively grasp for support from the (non-existent) "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie. Hence the PSP's repeated calls for an "independent united front" with the bourgeois-nationalist Puerto Rican Independence Party. Hence its illusory program for "two-stage" revolution (independence now, socialism later).

It should not be surprising, therefore, that Mari Bras and his associates have pinned their hopes on action by the United Nations. Year in and year out, the PSP crawls to the UN Decolonization Committee, begging it to declare Puerto Rican independence. In so doing, they only strengthen the claims of this imperialist den of thieves to be an effective force for "world peace and justice." Their hopes had been heightened by the appearance of an illusory "Third World majority" in the UN during recent years. But for all their petitions and rallies and appeals to the "prestige" of "Third World" despots the PSP has gotten nothing more than a slap in the face. After years of simply ruling the Puerto Rican question out of order, last August the Decolonization Committee took a new tack...it postponed consideration of the question for

continued on page 11

(continued from page 4)

significant period. The qualitatively greater material base of American capitalism, compared to its German and Japanese opponents, made U.S. imperialism the last secure bastion of the world capitalist order. In some ways, the very "liberalism" of U.S. imperialism contributed to its overwhelming military superiority. The U.S. development of the A-bomb was dependent on emigré, Jewish and leftist scientists.

The military power of the Soviet Union combined with the mass resistance movements in Nazi-occupied Europe would have been fully adequate to overthrow fascism and shatter the capitalist order. When the most popular leader of the French Communist Party, André Marty, broke with Stalinism in

the early 1950's, he truthfully declared that the Communist-dominated resistance could have easily taken power in 1944, but Moscow ordered it to accept Gaullist/ Allied rule.

A United Socialist States of Europe in 1944-45 would have isolated American imperialism in the Western hemisphere, enormously accelerating proletarian class struggle in the last bastion of capitalism. Instead the U.S. was permitted to strangle the West European proletariat and, from its newly acquired industrial bases in West Europe and Japan, to isolate the Soviet bloc and (except for China) to secure domination over Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus the effect of Stalin's policy of "anti-fascist unity" with Wall Street was to prolong the capitalist system for a significant historical period. This was the reward for the Communist Party supporters who demonstrated throughout the early war years for Washington to open a "second front" in Europe,

appealing to U.S. imperialism to stop German imperialism.

The continuing sentiment that Roosevelt's America was the more humane, civilized imperialism in World War II expresses Euro-centric white prejudice. It is against the dark-skinned, colonial peoples that American imperialism has committed atrocities comparable to those of the Nazis. A Vietnamese villager who has survived the napalm and flame-throwers of the U.S. expeditionary force might well dissent from the view that American imperialism was the lesser evil compared to Japan. And to the direct crimes of U.S. armies must be added those of America's "Third World" bourgeois puppets, front-men and allies. The thousands of leftists and workers tortured to death in Pinochet's Chile—these too are the victims of the "American century."

The United States of America is the greatest military force upholding international capitalism—it is truly the most monstrous enemy of the world's working masses. The oppressed throughout the world must know that Stalin played a decisive role in creating the "American century." The second imperialist world conflagration should have been the convulsive death agony of capitalism. The exploited masses struggling to throw off the yoke of U.S. imperialism are fighting against division of the world carried out by the "democratic" bourgeoisie in and following World War II.

The Maoist sycophants who base their "strategy" on the precedent of Stalin's subordination of the revolution to U.S. imperialist war aims can offer the working people of the "Third World" nothing but defeats. Only the Trotskyist perspective of working-class independence under the banner of the permanent revolution shows the way to victory. ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 8)

its anti-union drive. All union militants must demand that these charges be dropped immediately.

Undoubtedly, the defeat will leave a section of the ILWU demoralized and discouraged. However, drawing a balance sheet of the events will enable class-struggle militants to prepare a successful struggle in the future. By no means was defeat foreordained. The weak defense of the picket lines, combined with impotent appeals to city governments to halt police scabherding, was an act of conscious bureaucratic sabotage. A militant union leadership would have countered scabbing with mass picketing.

Instead of leaving decisions in the hands of the treacherous labor fakers of the ILWU and the IBT, a joint strike committee elected by the membership of both unions should have been set up. And instead of minimizing the impact of the strike—even allowing some companies belonging to the Distributors' Association to continue operations—the struggle should have been broadened into a West Coast transport strike, encompassing longshoremen and truck drivers as well as warehousemen.

The warehouse strike has confirmed what has been clear in the ILWU for many years: the encrusted regime of Harry Bridges is rotten to the core. With the threat of deregistration on the docks clearly posed and the prospect of renewed employer attacks under the warehouse contract, the urgent necessity of a militant leadership is posed. Only the supporters of the Militant Caucus of Local 6 and of "Longshore Militant" in Local 10 presented a strategy of militant solidarity between longshore, warehouse and the Teamsters that was capable of leading to victory against the companies in this strike. ■

(continued from page 2)

the Hays case to make it "news," except that sex is involved. The Washington scandals have about as much to do with sex as the ancient Roman banquets had to do with hunger. But they do sell papers.

On the subjective level, there is something exquisite about watching Hays' career being ripped up in an orgy of self-righteousness. Hays, currently being dumped from his post as head of the House administration committee, led the crusade against Adam Clayton Powell for misuse of funds in 1967. A powerful and popular Harlem Democrat, Powell was barred from the House for having put his ex-wife on the government payroll. His ouster, preceded by a puritanical campaign of character assassination, was alleged to have nothing to do with the fact that he was the first black to head a House committee. No, it was simply a matter of the "dignity" of the House and the "ethics" that politicians prattle about. And Wayne Hays prattled the loudest.

Now Gerald Ford is taking the opportunity to register his moral outrage at Hays' pécadillos. He is not interested, he says, in Hays' private life; rather, he assures us, his concern is that public funds have been used for purposes not intended!

But it is not just Hays who deserves to be exposed and driven out! So do the hypocritical moralizers who repaid Hays for years of high-handed lording over junior Congressmen by stripping him of his powerful committee chairmanship. All their small-time embezzlements pale in comparison to their truly monstrous crimes against the working people of the world.

"Misuse of public funds?" It was Ford and his henchman Henry Kissinger who arranged for funds to be used for white mercenaries in Africa. The entire CIA budget is secret. But from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, there is no "misuse" involved in the CIA's spending money to install regimes of savage torture throughout the world, or in the FBI's using its budget to burgle the offices of left-wing organizations, harass labor militants and infiltrate provocateurs into militant black groups. Gerald Ford has vented his spleen about Hays' "misuse of public funds"; he has nothing to say about the use of those funds to murder Black Panthers in their beds.

Russell Baker caught the irony of the moralizing recently in his syndicated humor column. He noted that New York City politicians have passed an unconstitutional law to sweep the midtown streets of pimps and prostitutes so that the city will be morally "clean" for the week of the Democratic convention. He then made the modest proposal that the pimps and prostitutes might consider holding their own convention in Washington. But in an imaginary interview with a Times Square streetwalker, she refuses, saying: "The streets are crawling with Congressmen and predatory female clerks. The whole scene is sick." She will consider a convention in Washington only when they "sweep the streets of Congressmen."

The air of New York may indeed be unwholesome and the seedy exploitation of 42nd Street unappealing. But it is far too good for the Democratic convention! The corrupt servants of the twin parties of racism and imperialism pollute the world with their wars in Vietnam and their coups in Chile. The revolutionary proletariat, to which falls the task of "sweeping the streets of Congressmen," will not be sidetracked by the bedroom venality of Wayne Hays and his ilk from dealing with the real crimes of the imperialist rulers! ■

PL Sectarianism Mars Guyton Campaign



WV Photo

SACRAMENTO—The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton stands at a crossroads and must now take a clear stand against political censorship and exclusion. Recent sectarian incidents endanger the widespread public sympathy that has been developed through united-front action for the cause of Tyrone Guyton, the murdered black youth shot in the back by Emeryville cops in November 1973.

At a June 19 demonstration called by the Guyton Committee, 135 protesters marched to the California state capitol building demanding that the killer cops be indicted. However, a couple of weeks prior to the demonstration, a leaflet was issued over the signatures of the sponsoring organizations of the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton (using their names without consultation) reflecting Progressive Labor Party (PL) positions that had never even been discussed in the Committee. Despite protests by the Spartacist League (SL), the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and several union caucuses, the leaflet was distributed before and at the Sacramento demonstration.

The worst episode of sectarianism occurred at the rally when PL "monitors" prevented Martha Phillips of the Partisan Defense Committee from addressing the crowd, even though the PDC had been assured beforehand that it could have a speaker. Further, PL tried to enforce its own chants, objecting to the SL contingent's chant which drew the class line: "Don't Trust the Democrats! For a Labor/Black Defense!" Such anti-democratic attempts to suppress class-struggle politics will only backfire against the Guyton Committee's cause, driving out all groups that disagree with PL's particular brand of reformist politics.

This is not the first time that a Stalinist group has attempted to capture the Committee and turn it into a bureaucratically manipulated front group. From May through August 1974 the SL participated in the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, until at a demonstration Spartacist supporters were excluded by Revolutionary Union (RU) goons for carrying signs demanding labor/black defense. Within a matter of weeks, all other groups participating either quit or were thrown out by the RU and the Committee was driven into the ground, eventually lapsing into inactivity.

The SL and PDC helped spark the revitalization of the Guyton Committee in recent months. In December the PDC organized a forum with speakers from the Guyton Committee, the Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family and the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee. In February and again in April, the PDC and SL played an instrumental role in organizing demonstrations called by the Committee and publicizing the case. Moreover, the Committee for a Militant UAW and supporters of "Warehouse Militant" and "Longshore Militant" obtained support of their union locals for these united-front demonstrations, as well as financial contributions totaling several hundred dollars.

The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton must now decide if it will build a broad campaign open to all those who support the cause of fighting cop terror, or whether it is to become a docile instrument for PL reformism, censorship and exclusion.

Esmeralda...

(continued from page 12)

the Chile Solidarity Committee, complains that the torture ship's visit violates "the very principles of freedom and independence upon which this nation was founded." The Campaign has made its major focus an appeal to the New York City Council.

We think the visit of the junta butchers' death ship is a fitting symbol of the bicentennial. What could be more appropriate than the Esmeralda—with its Chilean, South African, Argentinian and Paraguayan officers—wishing American imperialism a happy birthday? It is the economic and military might of U.S. imperialism which holds up international reaction from Santiago to Johannesburg and throughout the world. The liberals' and Stalinists' touching faith in patriotic appeals to the "progressive" bourgeoisie mirrors their earlier confidence in the popular-front Allende government, whose class collaborationism paved the way for the bloody coup in Chile.

The interests of the international working class demand that the terror regime in Chile be crushed and its symbols of reaction isolated and protested wherever they appear. We call on all those who oppose the blood-drenched Chilean junta to protest the Esmeralda. Join the pickets at the pier at 50th Street and Hudson Street at 1 p.m. on July 5. In particular, the labor movement must boycott this floating death ship. Tugboat workers must refuse to escort the Esmeralda up the Hudson. Longshoremen must not allow the torture ship to dock. Maritime workers must refuse to service the Esmeralda. Its officers must not be permitted to disembark. Stop the Esmeralda! ■

PSP...

(continued from page 9)

a year! Even if the U.N. voted to affirm Puerto Rico's right to self-determination, the resolution wouldn't be worth the paper on which it was written. Ten years ago for example the General Assembly voted that racist South Africa had no rights over Southwest Africa, a vote which remains a dead letter to this day.

Earlier this year, the U.S. Congress drafted a "Compact of Permanent Union" which reaffirms the colonial status of Puerto Rico while providing a linguistic face-lift by changing its English designation from "commonwealth" to "free associated state" (which was always the obfuscating Spanish designation). In opposing this arrogant bill (now temporarily shelved), the PSP and its supporters waved the stars and stripes in the face of unimpressed Congressmen. Rosa Borenstein, executive secretary of the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, told the House Committee on Territorial and Insular Affairs that "To approve this bill would mean treason to those who fought in a bloody war to gain U.S. independence from England" (*Claridad*, bilingual supplement, 23 May). In this scene it is hard to decide who are the crasser hypocrites: the U.S. Congressmen who don't believe a word of the Declaration of Independence, or the PSP spokesmen who know this but pretend not to. The PSP's effort to sucker the American ruling class is as futile as it is pitiful.

But even more indicative of the PSP's constant willingness to water down its demands to attract a few liberal benefactors is that it now focuses on calling simply for "discussion" of Puerto Rico's status by the Decolonization Committee and "discussion" of the compact in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. Not to be outdone, the lead-off rallies by the July 4th Coalition have tacitly

dropped the demand for Puerto Rican independence, limiting themselves to opposition to the "Compact of Permanent Union."

Even formal political independence for Puerto Rico cannot now be won by striking a deal with U.S. liberals or through hobnobbing with UN notables. The PSP will not bring it a step closer by demonstrating their political respectability. It will be won only through the determined struggle of the Puerto Rican masses and the solidarity of the American workers movement with that struggle.

The fight for an independent Puerto Rico must be led by a revolutionary workers party, a Trotskyist party, which employs the methods of the class struggle and calls upon international proletarian solidarity to win genuine national liberation, going beyond formal political independence to the revolutionary expropriation of imperialist and native capital. ■

Portuguese Elections...

(continued from page 7)

would have been fatal, not only to the working class but particularly to these ostensible revolutionaries who claim to oppose the reformists' class collaboration.

And what *did* Rosa Luxemburg say? In the programmatic statement of the Communist Party of Germany, "What Does the Spartakusbund Want?" she writes: "The Spartakusbund refuses to share government power with the bourgeoisie, with the Eberts and Scheidemanns, because it views such cooperation as a betrayal of the principles of socialism, a strengthening of counterrevolution and a laming of the revolution." The call today for a Soares (Scheidemann) government does not aid the workers in breaking from the bourgeoisie; rather, it paves the way for bloody termination of the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in Portugal since May 1974.

Lame Ducks in Troubled Waters

The election campaign period in June has amply confirmed the fact that the PRT/LCI candidacy was not a firm opposition to "the capitalists and generals." In the very next issue of *Combate Socialista* (2 June) after declaring that the only guarantees given by the PCP candidate are those of collaborating with the generals, the PRT announces that worker militants should cast their votes for Octávio Pato. It goes so far as to admit that "now it is impossible to vote for any candidate who is running against the generals, because...that candidate does not exist." Perhaps the best expression of this bankrupt policy is a subtitle in the same article: "A Game With an Empty Hand." The PRT certainly has an empty hand politically, and its call for "expressing your repudiation of the principal military candidate," Eanes, by a vote for Pato opens the door to all kinds of "lesser evil" policies including voting for a popular front (such as the Allende coalition in Chile) against the reactionary right.

The LCI has also called for a vote for Pato, as has every other ostensibly Trotskyist organization in Portugal, including the OCI supporters (CLMRP), the Healyites (LCPR) and a group of supporters of the American Socialist Workers Party expelled from the PRT earlier this year. It is only the Spartacist tendency that warned that neither the general "with the dark glasses," the admiral "without fear," the "Robin Hood" major nor their Stalinist lap dog offers an opportunity to cast a vote for working-class independence. ■

Sergeant Cardenas...

(continued from page 12)

the departure of the fleet was the signal for the coup (as later occurred, on September 10), so they immediately rushed to their units in order to prevent the ships from sailing. But when they arrived they were arrested by the cossacks of the naval infantry (marines) and the military intelligence service.

The torture suffered by the sailors was ferocious. After being repeatedly kicked and beaten they were thrown into "the pool"—a tank full of mud, excrement, gravel and all kinds of garbage—and then forced to lie down so that their bodies were cut open by the gravel. A second form of torture consisted of submerging the victim in an oil drum filled with excrement and urine. During the questioning, the sailors were repeatedly ordered to admit that Altamirano, Enriquez and Garretón were their leaders, and when they refused they were strapped to the "cross," a medieval torture device, where they were left expecting to be "quartered" at any time. In the case of Cárdenas, simulated executions were also used in an attempt to force a "confession." Other prisoners who saw him some days after the arrests noted many head injuries.

During this entire time, the naval prosecutor refused to let anyone see the accused. Neither lawyers nor senators were permitted to enter the naval bases, much less speak with the prisoners. Meanwhile, the naval high command was demanding the removal of parliamentary immunity for Altamirano and Garretón, so that they could be tried for encouraging a mutiny. Simultaneously, the air force was brazenly carrying out searches for arms in factories around the country, and the truck owners' "strike" reduced food supplies and sent the petty bourgeoisie into a panic. "Destabilization" was going full blast; the coup was under way.

The UP Responds

Despite the tortures, the sailors were not broken. They managed to smuggle out a letter, signed by 29 of the arrested, which denounced the lie that they had conspired with left-wing political leaders. On the contrary, they said, "We, sailors who oppose a coup d'état, have attempted by every means to inform the people and the government of the coup being prepared by the officers of the Navy." After describing the incredible brutalities inflicted upon them, the signatories concluded:

"Is it a crime to defend the government, the Constitution, legality and the people? Or, on the other hand, is it legal not to respect the law, to overthrow the government and wipe out the lives of thousands of people?
"WE WILL LET THE WORKERS ANSWER THAT."

This letter was read by Carlos Altamirano at a mass rally in the

National Stadium (soon to be used as a torture center on September 9). But what did this "socialist," who led the left wing of Allende's party, do during the preceding month? His only action was to issue an equivocating statement calling for "agreement between the people and the armed forces in a noble and patriotic mission" and stating, "we don't want to suggest that our armed forces... could choose the way of armed *pronunciamientos* which would lead them to lead reactionary dictatorships such as in countries like Brazil..." (*Punto Final*, 11 September 1973).

And Allende? On August 9, two days after the announcement of the mass arrests by naval authorities, he swore in a new cabinet, including the heads of the three armed forces and the national police, denouncing "ultra-leftists" who would create a "parallel army" and stating: "The mission of this Cabinet is to restore political order and to put an end to fascist or left-wing groups that try to subvert that order" (*New York Times*, 10 August 1973, our emphasis). As part of the tacit "deal" which laid the basis for the short-lived UP-military coalition, Allende kept hands off the armed forces during his last month of office. This permitted the generals to organize their coup without interference from outside, and to continue the reign of terror against "unreliable elements" within the military.

The popular front failed to defend those courageous sailors who risked their lives to defend it. This is not because of any "right turn" by the UP in its last months, but is inherent in the nature of the popular front. From the very beginning, with the inclusion of the Radicals and other small bourgeois parties in the Popular Unity coalition, the reformist Socialist and Communist parties gave guarantees of their commitment to remain within the bounds of the capitalist system. In the end this meant surrendering meekly, without resistance, to a horrendous bloodbath that cost the lives of thousands of the most militant workers and leftists, and of Allende himself.

—Smash the junta through workers revolution! No popular front illusions!

—Free Juan Cárdenas and his comrades! Free all class-war prisoners in Chile!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR	(313) 665-6070
c/o SYL, Room 4316 Michigan Union, U. of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109	
BERKELEY/OAKLAND	(415) 835-1535
Box 23372 Oakland, CA 94623	
BOSTON	(617) 492-3928 (617) 436-1497
Box 188 M.I.T. Station Cambridge, MA 02139	
CHICAGO	(312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O. Chicago, IL 60680	
CLEVELAND	(216) 371-3643
Box 6765 Cleveland, OH 44101	
DETROIT	(313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O. Detroit, MI 48232	
HOUSTON	
Box 26474 Houston, TX 77207	
LOS ANGELES	(213) 663-9674
Box 26282, Edendale Station Los Angeles, CA 90026	
MADISON	(608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334 Madison, WI 53704	
NEW YORK	(212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O. New York, NY 10001	
PHILADELPHIA	(215) 848-9816
Box 25601 Philadelphia, PA 19144	
SAN DIEGO	
P.O. Box 2034 Chula Vista, CA 92012	
SAN FRANCISCO	(415) 564-2845
Box 5712 San Francisco, CA 94101	
TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA	
TORONTO	(416) 366-4107
Box 222, Station B Toronto, Ontario	
VANCOUVER	(604) 291-8993
Box 26, Station A Vancouver, B.C.	

STOP THE RIGHTIST TERROR IN ARGENTINA!

Hands Off Mario Munoz!

Public Meeting Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mario Munoz

Friday, July 9 at 8 p.m.

Speakers:
Andrew Brewin, NDP, MP for Greenwood
David Archer, President, Ontario Federation of Labour
plus speakers from the Group for Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina, international Spartacist tendency, Socialist League, and others

Chair:
Paul Copeland, Attorney

Innis College Town Hall
2 Suffex
TORONTO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Chilean Torture Ship Invited for July 4

Stop the Esmeralda!

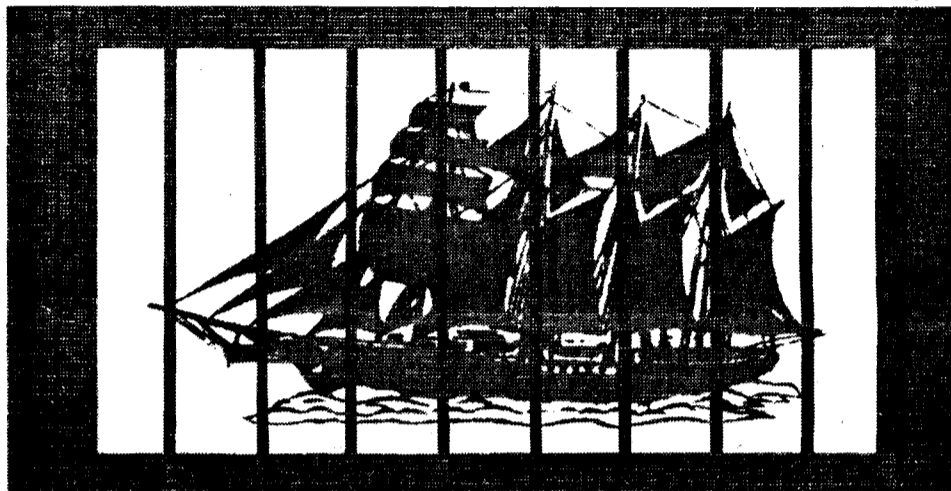
The Chilean prison ship Esmeralda will sail into New York harbor July 4 as part of U.S. imperialism's bicentennial festivities. This floating torture chamber symbolizes the Pinochet junta's reign of terror against the working people of Chile. For many of the countless victims of the repression, the Esmeralda is more than a symbol—it is the incarnation of pain, fear and death for themselves, their families, their comrades.

The Esmeralda must be stopped! Its welcome by the American rulers is an arrogant insult to the international working class. Elementary solidarity with the persecuted victims of reactionary repression demands that left and labor militants prepare a more suitable "welcome" for the blood-drenched Esmeralda: a massive protest to block the torture ship. Down with the junta—Stop the Esmeralda!

The Pinochet junta has tried to deny that the Esmeralda is, in the words of one Chilean lawyer, "a torture chamber, a flagellation chamber, a floating jail of horror, death and fear to Chilean men

and women." But the voices of its victims cannot be silenced. "Everyone was stripped naked and placed under a jet of seawater... the screams and the crying of the women who were detained next to us cannot be expressed in this declaration," one former prisoner of the Esmeralda's sadistic torturers told Amnesty International. Another told an Organization of American States commission: "The seven of us were tortured on the Esmeralda for nine days. They applied electric shock on my skin, on my testicles, on my chest and back..."

The five-nation investigating team reported that the Esmeralda was cited "with significant unanimity" as a place of torture by inmates of 12 different Chilean prisons. In 1974 the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights was prevented from inspecting the ship on the grounds it was designated as a "military area." The Commission's report cited testimony from prisoners who were held on the Esmeralda and "beaten so badly that they had urinated blood and from other prisoners



who said their tongues had been burned."

Frank Braynard, head of "Operation Sail" which has organized the 228-ship bicentennial flotilla, answered the charges against the Esmeralda with the remark, "it's too bad to hamper a good ceremony by bringing politics into the picture." William Whipfler of the National Council of Churches appropri-

ately replied that the invitation of the Esmeralda is analogous to "having the Germans bring mobile gas units here for an automobile show in the 1940's."

The liberals and Stalinists are moaning that the Esmeralda's participation in the celebration mars the meaning of the bicentennial. A leaflet of the Campaign to Stop the Esmeralda, coordinated by

continued on page 11

Victim of Allende's Popular Front and the Pinochet Junta

Free Sergeant Cárdenas!



Beginning on 5 August 1973, a wave of arrests swept through Chilean naval installations in the ports of Valparaíso and Talcahuano. In all, more than 100 people were detained on charges of seditious activity. They were brutally tortured and held incommunicado until, on September 11, the Popular Unity (UP) regime was overthrown by a military conspiracy.

But the "plotters" were not released by the new regime, for the "crime" of the non-commissioned officers and sailors arrested in early August had been to oppose an attempted coup against the elected government of Salvador Allende. For this they were imprisoned for more than 30 days under the UP without the government lifting a finger to defend them, and have sat in jail for more than 33 months since then.

Last month, 57 of the accused were finally sentenced on charges of mutiny and subversion. Most received three-year terms, others got eight years. Two civilians from the MAPU party, Hernán Pacheco and Leopoldo Luna, were given 11 and 10 years respectively, and Juan Cárdenas, the sailor identified by the naval prosecutor as leader of the "conspiracy," was sentenced to 13 years at hard labor.

These men are among the most viciously persecuted victims of the barbarous Pinochet junta. They are also forgotten men. Their names are not included in the lists of prisoners highlighted by the various "Democratic Chile" committees internationally for a simple reason: to raise their case is to indict the criminal passivity of the Socialist and Communist leaders in the face of the real conspirators; it is to call into question the popular front that

bound the workers to the "constitutional" military officers.

Defend Juan Cárdenas and his comrades, victims of the junta, pariahs of the popular front! Their crime? They sought to prevent the mass butchery that has already cost over 30,000 lives.

The "Conspiracy"

The 62 naval personnel against whom charges were filed were of modest origins. Sergeant Cárdenas was the highest ranking non-com and a majority of the naval personnel were enlisted men; 17 were employees of the government shipyards. None were affiliated with left-wing political groups.

After the *tancazo*, the attempted putsch by an armored regiment in Santiago on 29 June 1973, Socialist Party general secretary Carlos Altamirano and MIR leader Miguel Enriquez called on soldiers and sailors to disobey orders for a coup. In response, a group of naval personnel arranged a meeting with Altamirano, Enriquez and MAPU chief Oscar Garretón. At this meeting, they informed the political leaders of preparations for a putsch taking place in the navy, and swore to defend the legal government.

The naval commanders evidently found out about this meeting, and decided to smoke out the "unreliable elements." On the eve of August 5, the crews of the cruisers Blanco Encalada and Almirante Latorre were informed that the high command had resolved to take power; they were given two hours to settle personal affairs and present themselves in formation. The non-coms and enlisted men who had pledged to defend the UP government knew that

continued on page 11