

Protest Anti-Communist Exclusion!

U.S. Bars Ceylonese Trotskyist Leader

The Spartacist League/U.S. bitterly denounces the action of the United States government in refusing Edmund Samarakkody and Tulsiri Andrade, two leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon, admission to the U.S. The law under which these comrades were barred is but one of many such undemocratic measures which abound in this capitalist "democracy."

But the U.S. government does not bar all who are called communists or socialists! A key official at the U.S. embassy in Ceylon in rejecting the visa application of Comrade Samarakkody reported that one Bala Tampoe—leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) and re-elected member of the International Executive Committee of the "United Secretariat"—was permitted to enter the U.S., in 1967, because "he was sponsored by the government of the United States."

We have already exposed this trip as one of a number of unprincipled acts on the part of Bala Tampoe (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972).

Comrade Samarakkody has been an

outstanding leader for 30 years of Ceylonese Trotskyism and a leading representative in parliament; Comrade Andrade is secretary of the RWP. They were barred from entering the U.S. in an act of bureaucratic anti-communism directed against valiant fighters opposed to capitalism and imperialism.

We have dedicated ourselves to the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Reactionary legislation will not deter us from our revolutionary path. We look forward to the day when we can greet the comrades of the RWP in the Soviet United States of North America, and these reactionary laws will be remembered as part of the dark ages of bourgeois rule in its death throes.

Comrades Samarakkody and Andrade, from the small island of Ceylon, are infinitely more precious to the needs, feelings and aspirations of the American revolutionary proletariat than the gang of criminal degenerates in Washington. ■



Edmund Samarakkody speaking in Toronto.

WV PHOTO

Letters

15 October 1974

Comrades,

The article "UMW Boycott of South African Coal" printed in *WV* No. 53 raises several considerations which were not directly covered in the story. For instance, a number of non-white political and trade-union organizations have called for an international boycott of South African goods. Are the UMW bureaucrats responding to this call, even if only for their own national-chauvinist, protectionist reasons? Do South African working-class elements support the UMW boycott?

The article states, "We call upon coal miners and all members of the labor movement to oppose the UMW boycott of South Africa..." What about the attitudes of the miners in the UMW? If this boycott is seen by the miners as an act of international working-class solidarity against the reactionary Vorster regime it seems revolutionaries would have to take such attitudes into consideration before determining whether to oppose or critically support the boycott.

Comradely,
A.R.

WV replies: A boycott is a tactic in the class struggle. It can be useful and effective, or futile and diversionary. Each case must be examined on its merits and in its concrete particularities.

We repeat that the United Mine Workers' boycott of South African coal is a protectionist scheme and not an anti-racist gesture against Vorster's apartheid regime. Our position has been dramatically confirmed by the attempt of the UMW to extend the boycott to Australian coal. Confronted by this fact, a miners' union official was reported as saying: "It makes no difference. We are opposed to any foreign coal being imported" (quoted in *Workers' Power*, 17-30 September 1974).

But it was not necessary to wait for the UMW to extend the South African boycott to Australia in order to see its real purpose. Mine Workers' president Arnold Miller was clear about this from the beginning:

"It's an outrage that in a country with billions of tons of low sulfur coal under the ground that Southern Co. would go out and contract for coal from a foreign country more than 9,000 miles away."

—*UMWA Journal*, 1 June 1974

Or again:

"We have coal operators sitting down there in Alabama who would just love

to make a nice profit out of selling their available low sulfur coal to the Southern Co."

—*UMWA Journal*, 16 August 1974

Miller's additional references to slave labor conditions in South Africa are simply an attempt to mask his real aim—to "save U.S. jobs" by lining up mine workers behind coal operators "down there in Alabama" against workers way over there in that foreign country (i.e., buy profitable Dixiecrat coal instead of the racist South African brand!). This is the same protectionist routine offered by the textile and garment union bureaucrats who complain about the pennies-a-day wages of non-union Taiwanese and Korean textile workers in order to build their "Buy American" gimmicks. Of course, they do nothing to raise the wages of Asian textile workers through international strike action and the formation of a real international federation of textile and garment unions.

Our article called on socialists and union militants to oppose the current boycott of South African coal and direct their efforts toward a struggle within the UMW to force the bureaucracy to drop its national-chauvinist campaign. The letter printed above raises questions about how this would be done tactically.

In the first place, militants would honor picket lines set up to enforce the boycott. Crossing the lines would be interpreted as strikebreaking by mine workers who take at face value the UMW's anti-racist cover story and believe (wrongly) that in boycotting South African coal they are defending their jobs. We seek to win over these workers, convincing them of the need to struggle for a truly internationalist policy. It is the miners who must force the union to drop this protectionist boycott.

The difference between the consciousness of the membership and the intentions of the bureaucrats is indeed an important consideration. The revolution felt for the white supremacist South African regime in many quarters of the labor movement is genuine and strong. But only if the essential protectionist character of the boycott were changed by the ranks into an anti-racist action could we support it, however critically. For now the Miller bureaucracy is calling the shots.

The UMW-initiated action could be transformed (although this is unlikely) if it were taken up by other sections of the labor movement which have no possible economic interest in boycotting South African coal. The workers of

Local 1410 of the International Longshoremen's Association, for instance, crossed the UMW picket of Australian coal while respecting the picket of South African coal. This action certainly reflects anti-racist feeling.

It is true that a number of South African non-white trade unions, black and left organizations have for years called for a boycott of everything South African. We have pointed out (see "International Labor Boycotts: When and How," *WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974) that such generalized boycotts are futile as a means of bringing down a hated but well-entrenched regime. If successful in causing widespread economic disruption, they could actually harm the working class of the boycotted country. Nonetheless, as an attempt (however ineffectual and misguided) to protest racism, we could give critical support to a move by unions to implement a boycott of South African goods.

But so far no real efforts have been made by the world labor movement to boycott South Africa. The Mine Workers' leaders are clearly acting for their own, quite different purposes. There is essentially no (or only an accidental) relationship between calls for a permanent boycott of South Africa and the current coal boycott.

A change in tactics would be necessary if the UMW boycott actually became a *cause célèbre* in South Africa, seen as a symbol of international labor solidarity against apartheid. While remaining opposed to the protectionist, national-chauvinist coal boycott we would not call on the UMW ranks directly to dump the boycott. Rather, our first duty would be to explain the protectionist character of the coal boycott to the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa. Communists and class-struggle forces in the unions must not side objectively with the racists.

Clearly, boycotts can raise numerous complicated tactical situations, but the principles guiding our intervention should be clear. In a period of worldwide economic contraction and sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry it is essential for labor militants to counterpose a policy of international labor solidarity to the divisive national-chauvinist protectionism promoted by the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. Whether the theme is "Buy American" in textiles and auto or "Boycott South African" in coal, the purpose of the labor fakers is the same: to mobilize the working class behind "its own" bourgeoisie.

Revolutionaries must be uncom-

promising in their opposition to plans which divide the proletariat along national lines. Our opposition to the coal boycott stands in contrast to the Maoist *Guardian's* mindless enthusiasm over black-white unity in the miners' union around boycotting South African coal. The reformist Communist Party has, typically, reported the UMW action uncritically, and the Workers World Party/YAWF-backed "Center for United Labor Action" actually demonstrated in favor of the chauvinist coal boycott.

The International Socialists have pointed out its protectionist character, but can only bring themselves to term the chauvinist boycott a "wrong policy" and express their "hope" that the UMW would fight U.S. support to South Africa in the future (*Workers' Power*, August 1974). Nowhere in the article do they criticize Miller directly. Why this restraint? Because in its usual tailist fashion the IS "critically" supported the aspiring bureaucrat Miller for UMW president in 1972 and will continue to support him till it's "opportune" to do otherwise.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:

Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:

West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 Telephone: (212) 966-6841

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

An Interview with Edmund Samarakkody

We print below an interview with Edmund Samarakkody, spokesman of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon. The interview took place on October 13 in Toronto, where he spoke on "The Revolutionary Struggle in Ceylon." Comrade Samarakkody was prohibited by U.S. authorities from entering the country.

WV: On the basis of reactionary anti-communist legislation the government of the United States has barred you from entering the country. The SL and other left organizations have protested this undemocratic exclusion. Could you tell us more about this? How did the official representatives of the "free world" explain their action?

Samarakkody: Myself and Comrade Andrade of our party, the Revolutionary Workers Party, made applications for our visas to enter the U.S. on an invitation sent to us by our friends there. In regard to my application, which was considered first at the American Embassy, I was told that in view of my political background a person like me could not enter the United States.

At the Embassy they, of course, referred me to the existing law in the U.S. Because of this law the official indicated that I was not qualified to get my visa. He told me, "we ourselves do not like this law but what could we do? This is our law. We are very sorry."

He went on to give a further explanation in this regard. He said, "of course you know there have been exceptions to this rule. I am referring," he said, "to the case of Mr. Bala Tampoe of the LSSP-R [Lanka Sama Samaja Party-Revolutionary] who went to the United States some time ago." He further told me that, in his own words, "you know in this case, Mr. Tampoe's invitation was sponsored by the government of the United States."

Well, after he said this I had no comment to make. I was not at all surprised because the details of Bala Tampoe's visit were very well known to us. I was also aware that not only did the government of the United States sponsor this visit, but no less a man than Mr. McNamara was there to receive Bala Tampoe when he entered the United States.

WV: In recent months there has been reportedly a sharp rightist offensive in Ceylon. Would you describe this for us? What is Mrs. Bandaranaike doing in this context?

Samarakkody: With the worsening of conditions in Ceylon, that is to say, with the increased blows struck at the masses by the coalition government, there was serious mass dissatisfaction, especially over increased prices of consumer articles including food. These price increases were directly made by the coalition government [headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike and her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)].

At the end of last year, 1973, the United National Party (UNP)—the older bourgeois party—sought to utilize mass discontent in order to further its own aims. While raising questions like increased prices and highlighting the problems of the people, the United National Party pointed its finger at the son-in-law of Mrs. Bandaranaike, [Kumar] Rupasinghe and her daughter [Sunethra], who were running a newspaper called *Janavegaya* or "People's Power."

The UNP made allegations that a group of people around Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law and daughter was seeking to organize a coup against the government. This matter was raised by the United National Party in parliament also. At the same time, the UNP sought to link up this group with the left of the government, especially the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party]. This debate got considerable publicity in the papers.

The SLFP reacted to these allegations of the UNP by seeking to discipline the group of people around Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law. This group led by Rupasinghe was posing as the left of the SLFP, sometimes using left language, but without any clear differences with the SLFP politics. In their

Edmund Samarakkody



paper they used to criticize some of the older leaders of the SLFP. The SLFP leadership took the opportunity to discipline this group led by Rupasinghe. Thereafter—very soon thereafter—the paper of this group reflected the change, and all criticisms of the government were stopped.

Meanwhile, the UNP directed its attention more and more at the left of the coalition government. UNP papers indicated that all the trouble was due to the LSSP. With these sentiments being expressed in its paper, certain moves were going on behind the scenes. There were rumors that the UNP—persons in the UNP—were meeting with people in the SLFP and both parties were coming closer to each other in the perspective of some offensive against the left in the government and the left in the country.

It was in this context that the United National Party developed its propaganda and opportunistically sought to raise the question of rising prices and the problems of the people. But the UNP never blamed the government. They sought to plead and pray to the gods publicly to save the people. In other words, it would appear that this was careful propaganda—linking themselves up with the SLFP to direct attacks on the left.

When this situation was developing and when the UNP organized a sort of extra-parliamentary action in what is called a civil disobedience movement—sitting down on the roads and public parks—the government decided to take action against it. The police were sent against them and the meetings were dispersed. When the United National Party was preparing for the public meetings, the government in fact banned all meetings of the UNP. And furthermore the government banned a newspaper—a well-known newspaper belonging to the rightists.

Thereafter a new development took place. The government parties thought it was a good opportunity to get the people closer to them by indicating the danger from the UNP—that "the reactionaries are seeking to overthrow the government." And, in fact, very soon they were saying, "the fascists are coming." The LSSP, CP, SLFP, Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law and his group all were shouting, "Fascists are coming, we have to fight the fascists." In this context the LSSP was shouting

Nevertheless, Mrs. Bandaranaike herself had apparently intervened and seen to it that the speech got more publicity. The government newspapers—both English and Sinhalese—carried it in full several days thereafter.

Thus it would appear that this was something that Mrs. Bandaranaike wanted, and this speech was a virtual declaration against Marxism and the left. This is precisely what was the reality. The speech was the talk everywhere, but this was not the end of it: it was only the beginning. Very soon after there were several other such meetings at which Mrs. Bandaranaike kept on repeating that she is not going to be led by Castro, Lenin, Trotsky or N.M. Perera. Similar speeches were made thereafter by members of the SLFP, directing their attacks on LSSP ministers. A minister of the SLFP government attacked L.S. Goonewardene, the Minister of Communications, and this was repeated by other SLFP members.

Now this is the situation in Ceylon. It is very clear that the SLFP and the UNP, in the process of their coming together, have taken the first step to strike at the left. This was the anti-Marxist anti-left declaration of Mrs. Bandaranaike. It is difficult to say how fast this development will grow, but it is inevitable. This can't end. The perspective of the right is not just to pressure the LSSP and the CP too. This is linked with the perspective of smashing the entire left and the trade-union movement.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that we are not too far away from a Chilean situation in Ceylon. In this situation the LSSP and the CP—far from taking steps in their own defense against the gathering forces of the right—have adopted a policy at first of saying nothing, being silent. The Communist Party started blaming the LSSP for getting irresponsible people to raise irresponsible and adventurist slogans.

As for the LSSP, it failed to report any of these speeches or meetings. In their private gatherings their advice to the working class and their supporters is to say nothing, that whatever the government was doing was in accordance with the policies of the LSSP also, and it does not matter what Mrs. Bandaranaike says. Thus it would appear that the LSSP—not only that they have betrayed the masses, not only that they have disarmed the masses—but they are continuing to disarm the masses in the face of a growing threat against them from the right.

The question is what the working class should do in this situation. This brings us to the other left groups. The other left groups—small groups—and the movement of the independent trade unions are completely silent. So is the isolated trade union of Bala Tampoe [the Ceylon Mercantile Union]. Neither the CMU nor Bala Tampoe has said anything. He is completely silent about it. The so-called LSSP-R [led by Tampoe], Ceylon section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," is also completely silent. As for the Healy group, a very small group, it has been for a long time calling upon the LSSP and CP to take power. Now in the present situation it has called upon the LSSP and the CP to get out of the government.

As for the RWP, Revolutionary Workers Party, we have from 1970 onwards indicated to the working class that the urgent need of the working class is to break from bourgeois coalition politics and take the road of independent organization of the working

continued on page 10



Above: Miguel Enríquez (center), Bautista Van Schouwen (right).
Below: Carmen Castillo.

Miguel Enríquez Killed in Gun Battle

Free the MIRistas!



On October 5 Miguel Enríquez, secretary-general of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was killed in a two-hour gun battle with units of the Chilean police and army. Seriously wounded during the fight were two other leading members of the MIR—Carmen Castillo (who was Enríquez' companion) and Pascal Allende (nephew of the murdered Chilean president Salvador Allende). Their lives are in immediate danger! *It is the urgent duty of all socialists and labor militants to demand freedom, immediate and unconditional, for Castillo and Allende!*

With this murderous assault the reactionary generals have struck another serious blow against the largest organization to the left of the reformist Communist and Socialist Parties. Also rotting in the junta's jails and detention camps are MIR leaders Arturo Villavola, Roberto Moreno, Victor Toro, Ricardo Ruz and Bautista Van Schouwen. Van Schouwen has been mutilated and made an invalid by repeated torture.

General Pinochet's blood-stained regime has not retreated from its massive terror campaign aimed at destroying all socialist and workers organizations in Chile. Nearly 24,000 victims have been arrested since July alone! Among the prominent leaders of other left groups still under arrest are Communist Party head Luis Corvalán and Luis Vitale, a supporter of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International."

The use of Brazilian-style torture has been repeatedly documented in recent months. A report compiled last May by the Committee of Cooperation for Peace—an interchurch group which includes the leaders of the Chilean Catholic hierarchy and prominent Protestant and Jewish clergymen—cited literally hundreds of cases of torture including burns, beatings, sexual abuse, electric shock, immersion in water and simulated executions. Many have perished as a result of these brutal practices: recently, as one more example, the mutilated corpses of Alfonso Carreño (central committee member of the CP), Cortez Munro (a leader of the Radical Party) and an unidentified Socialist leader, were discovered in the basement of the Santiago arsenal in early August. Medical examination revealed Carreño was shot in the neck.

We vehemently protest these savage murders, arrests, torture and executions of labor and left militants! The international workers movement must demonstrate its support for the victims of the repression by concrete acts of proletarian solidarity. One effective means would be a labor boycott of all military goods to Chile, demanding the release of all prisoners of the reactionary junta.

Another important step would be for labor militants to demand that their unions break all ties with George Meany's American Institute of Free Labor Development. While Meany is currently making hypocritical noises "deploring" CIA intervention in the 1973 Chile coup, the CIA-backed AIFLD is busily setting up pro-junta scab "unions!"

—Free the MIR Leaders Castillo, Allende, Villavola, Moreno, Toro, Ruz and Van Schouwen! Free Corvalán and Vitale! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

—Labor Boycott of Military Goods to Chile! Labor Out of the CIA-Backed AIFLD!

—Smash the Junta—For Workers Revolution in Chile!

Marxism in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay



Speaker: ED CLARKSON
Spartacist League

WASHINGTON, D.C.

American University
Ward Building Basement Room 2

Thursday, October 24 8:00 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA

U. of Penn, Houston Hall, Franklin Rm.
Friday, October 25 7:30 p.m.

For information call: (215) MO7-5695

1974 Elections

A Socialist Choice?

American workers face the 1974 elections with no alternative to the twin Democratic and Republican parties of U.S. imperialism. The deepening international economic crisis marked by rising unemployment, record inflation and a generalized capitalist onslaught against the workers only underlines the need for an independent, class-struggle party of the working class.

Yet in the face of this deteriorating situation—and accompanied by the continuing Watergate scandals, Ford's pardon of Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller's shameless political bribery and cynical defense of the Attica butchery—the misleaders of the labor movement continue to support the capitalist parties. They do nothing to mobilize the enormous power of the trade unions to defend the living conditions of the working masses.

By their policies of class collaboration these labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie lay the basis for widespread moods of apathy, cynicism and despair afflicting the working class. These moods were accurately caught in a recent *New York Times* interview of a Detroit auto worker, a disillusioned former supporter of George Wallace: "You can't blame it all on the politicians," he said, "but I wish just for once that one of them would say, 'now folks, I swear to God, if you'll elect me I won't do a damn thing.' That's the fellow I'd vote for. Somebody who'd just let us alone!" (*New York Times*, 17 October). This "pessimistic" attitude toward "the politicians" noted by the *New York Times* is the perfectly logical outcome of the trade-union bureaucrats' do-nothing policies and decades of bootlicking support to bourgeois "friends of labor."

Yet the American working class, misled as it is, has demonstrated great capacity to fight back if only it is given the opportunity to do so. Last spring's near-general strike in San Francisco and the wildcat of West Virginia's coal miners protesting the "gasoline shortage" show the class-struggle capacity of U.S. workers. The fact that these sharp struggles produced little because of bureaucratic sabotage reveals the treacherous potential of the American labor bureaucracy.

In this year of governmental and economic crisis the usual array of bourgeois swindlers, buffoons and charlatans fills the tickets of the Republicans and Democrats. The Democrats, with the aid of the Meanyite labor bureaucrats, hope to capitalize on the Watergate scandal and the current economic crisis. But as these bureaucrats know full well and as the workers will soon discover, this party of American imperialism will have precious few crumbs and plenty of hard knocks to dole out to working people in the next period.

Eager to leap into the fray and get a piece of the action, several fake-left organizations have decided to field candidates. Most important among these, in terms of size and influence, is the Communist Party USA (CP). Throughout the whole Watergate scandal the CP was chronically ambivalent about the question of Nixon's impeachment. Why? Because the Soviet bureaucracy had decided this professional anti-communist had over the years become transformed into a "progressive," a friend of "peaceful coexistence" and "détente."

The CP claims to stand for independent labor political action and, indeed, some of its friends in the trade-union movement (e.g., Albert Fitz-

gerald of the United Electrical Workers) occasionally test the waters by issuing sporadic calls for a labor party.

But the Stalinists are reluctant to go whole hog on the labor party due to their reformist conception of an "anti-monopoly people's" government as a stage on the road to a workers government. Hence, "Communists stand for a new political formation around a program against the monopolies... Communists encourage and want to work with all movements and candidates independent of the big money machines of the old parties, who are committed to the people and not monopoly profits" (*Daily World*, 16 October).

Evidently Ramsey Clark, the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate in New York, is independent of "the big money machines," since the *Daily World* continues to lavish its attention on this pro-Israel hawk. Class-conscious workers must reject out of hand such disgusting capitulation to the liberals. They should also know that this policy of "fight the right" has been the line of the Stalinists for decades—support for Roosevelt, World War II, Humphrey, Johnson, McGovern, etc. While the puny efforts of the CP at class collaboration are simply farcical here, Chile reveals the full implications of this "strategy" for the working class.

Another "socialist" contender in the elections, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, is currently rediscovering the working class. SWP electoral campaigns since its deterioration in the early 1960's have tailed after every variety of petty-bourgeois radicalism (youth vanguardists, black nationalists, gay liberationists, feminists). Now, if the audience is right, the SWP will even occasionally allude to the need for a labor party. But these fakers do everything in their power to give this demand a purely reformist character. Readers of the *Militant* (12 April) are instructed to look at the British Labor Party, headed by Harold Wilson, as an example of what a labor party can do for workers.

But once the SWP hits the campaign trail the working class is quickly forgotten. Its candidates push for community control of everything including the labor movement; in Los Angeles the SWP urges a vote for the candidates of the "classless" La Raza Unida Party; and in Boston it urges the bourgeoisie to send in Federal troops to quell the racist mobilization, troops commanded by Gerald Ford and dedicated to defending the bourgeois order. In short, the SWP stands on a program directly counterposed to independent class-struggle politics. To nurture illusions in this petty-bourgeois swamp by urging workers to vote for SWP candidates would be the height of folly.

Some Odds and Ends

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), after years of denouncing all electoral activity as a bourgeois snare, recently fielded a candidate in the Democratic Party primary elections in Washington, D.C. As one PLer explains it: "The only way that tendency [of electoral activity] to create illusions can be minimized is if electoral activity has the same level of militancy and boldness that we strive for in the rest of our struggles" (*Challenge*, 10 October). We can only look forward to following more of PL's militant and bold adventures in the capitalist

continued on page 11

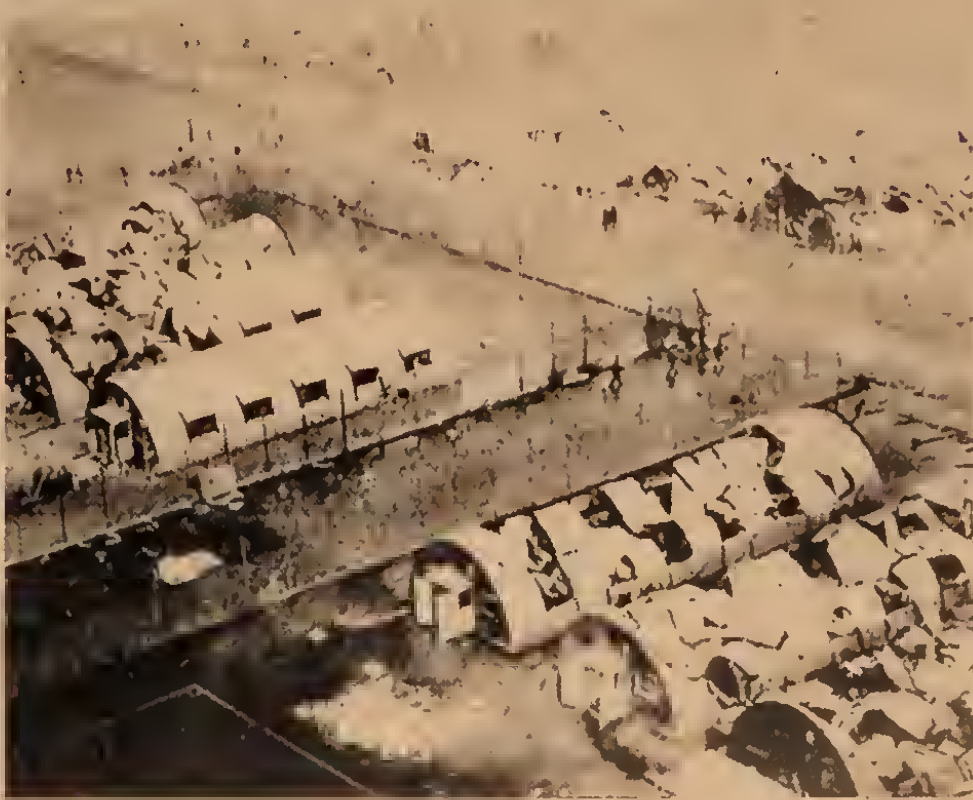
Protestant, Catholic Political Prisoners Revolt in Northern Ireland

The Long Kesh concentration camp in Northern Ireland was virtually burned to the ground on October 15. In an unusual display of non-sectarian unity, Loyalist and Republican prisoners collaborated in the revolt against conditions at the jail complex. The next day demonstrations in support of the prisoners' demands swept through Ulster including some rioting in Protestant areas of Belfast.

During recent months opposition has mounted among both Catholics and Protestants in Ulster against the British policy of "internment" (arrest and confinement with neither charges nor the right to *habeas corpus* and a trial). Protests at the Long Kesh camp (also known as "the Maze") began in September, focusing on living conditions and the prison food. On September 14, Republicans and Loyalists cooperated in a mass demonstration against internment, reportedly the first joint Catholic-Protestant action in the last 40 years. Plans to burn the camp had been openly discussed by both Orange (Protestant Loyalist) and Green (Catholic Republican) nationalist groups.

Internment is only one aspect of the Special Measures Act, a dictatorial ukase which grants British authorities the power to cancel the democratic rights of anyone suspected of being a political militant. Revolutionary socialists oppose such repressive regulations. Although the burning of Long Kesh prison camp can hardly lead to fundamental changes in Ulster, it is an understandable and thoroughly defensible action.

Recent events in Ulster point to the need for common cause between Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster. However, the policies of the nationalists are directly counterposed to such proletarian unity. A Loyalist spokesman for the Protestant political prisoners at the Maze made it clear that



Long Kesh prison comp in Ulster following fire.

cooperation between the warring nationalists would not extend beyond the perimeter of Long Kesh or include "political" matters (*Irish People*, 19 October). The interests of the working class—both Protestant and Catholic—do, however, extend beyond the perimeter of Long Kesh.

The need for a revolutionary, communist party and policy in Ulster was underlined by the recent British elections. Notable was the absence of the "Irish question" from the political campaigns of all parties. This has been widely interpreted as a sign of the willingness of the major British parties to "abandon" Ulster. The threat of a

Protestant-dominated Ulster state has produced some interesting reactions. The "Provisional" wing of the Sinn Féin (political arm of the Irish Republican Army) recently issued a statement declaring that it feared a "secret or sudden withdrawal (by Britain from Northern Ireland) without proper preparations" (*Irish People*, 5 October).

Thus the Provo nationalists find themselves forced to call on imperialist Britain to solve the Irish question! The reformist Republican Social Democratic Labour Party has exactly the same position. It calls on Britain to overturn the results of a proposed Convention in Ulster if the latter has

a Loyalist majority against power-sharing with the Catholic minority (which it almost assuredly would).

The Loyalists, for their part, seem to be planning a repeat of the reactionary general strike in May, in order to overturn direct British rule and install a right-wing Protestant regime. There are some indications that Britain may passively support such a development. A new British security plan calls for phasing out British troops, replacing them by expanded part-time police forces in Northern Ireland. Since these forces are currently 95 percent Protestant, this plan bodes ill for the Irish Catholic minority.

It seems clear that events in Ulster are rapidly developing toward a new political crisis. It becomes dramatically clear that neither the Provo and Official Republicans nor their Loyalist opponents have any democratic answer to the sectarian strife in Ulster. At best they can offer only the continuation of the status quo—at worst, civil war. Nor does the dead-end reformism of the Stalinists and assorted Labourites provide any solution.

Trotskyists do not, however, simply ignore the present sectarian struggles. It is necessary to organize opposition to internment and the Special Measures Act. Republican militants must be defended against the British authorities; demands for democratic rights for the oppressed Catholic minority must be supported. Instead of capitulating to the nationalism of the IRA, revolutionary socialists must reject a forced reunification of Ulster with the Irish Free State; all acts of indiscriminate mass terrorism must be opposed. It is necessary to go beyond reformism and nationalism to pose a revolutionary, communist program of united struggle against capitalism—the only real basis for unity of the working class and a truly democratic solution to the Irish question. ■

How the RSL "Defends" Workers Democracy

The October issue of the *Torch*, monthly (formerly bi-weekly) newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, includes an account of recent activities in "defense" of workers democracy in Los Angeles. For the benefit of those unfamiliar with the RSL's shameful record on this question, and its proclivities to dishonest self-serving journalism, we would like to set the record straight.

The article in question purports to show that of all the organizations present at recent L.A. meetings to discuss the problem of violence within the left, only the RSL emerged as unblemished supporters of workers democracy. In opposition to the violence of the capitalist state, and of Stalinist goons against their left opponents, the RSL argued for a "permanent United Defense Committee" and commitment to the "united front... as the only way to unite the working class movement around concrete issues while at the same time ensuring a forum for the most open political debate."

The RSL falsely claims the meetings were called "in response to a CP-inspired attack on the Socialist Collective." In point of fact, the original meeting was called by the Socialist Union to discuss the question of workers democracy in general, presumably in response to recent attacks on its members by the Maoist Revolutionary Union. The SU was actually quite uninterested in discussing the vicious, brutal Communist Party-engineered attack on the Socialist Collective.

More curious is the RSL's sudden concern for "ensuring a forum for the most open political debate." At its own public forums the RSL has consistently limited the number of oppositional

speakers during discussion periods. Asserting its supposed right to run a meeting in any undemocratic way it wishes, the RSL has engaged in acts of gross physical provocation against Spartacist League supporters.

An example of this odd notion of workers democracy was provided by an RSL forum in Detroit on June 8. When an SL supporter protested the chairman's refusal to call on SLers who had not spoken (yet recognizing an RSLer who had already had a chance to speak), RSL leader Bruce Landau grabbed our comrade with the threat, "if you don't shut up you'll go out of here on a 'stretcher!'" These fake Trotskyists' supposed commitment to "open public debate" is hogwash.

More honest, at least, was the openly Stalinist position of the October League at the August 31 meeting. The *Torch* account quotes Sue Klonsky of the OL as stating that some groups, presumably Trotskyists, "deserve to get their toes stepped on."

The RSL's main accusation against the Spartacist League is that at an initial meeting SL spokesmen allegedly agreed to a permanent defense committee and then inexplicably "changed their minds." At the second meeting on September 6 (not September 13 as reported in the *Torch*), according to the *Torch* account, "The SL speaker stated that she was opposed to any permanent body...." This is pure fabrication. What actually happened is the following:

At the first meeting, on August 17 (not August 31, as reported in the *Torch*), the SL agreed to a statement denouncing thug attacks within the left and stated that it was not in principle opposed to some form of standing co-

ordination among groups committed to defending workers democracy. However, we noted that even apart from the Stalinist OL the groups represented at the meeting were far from unanimous on the meaning of this term. "Everyone here would probably agree that any socialist group should have the right to sell its newspaper on an empty street corner at 2 a.m.," said an SL spokesman, noting that there was little agreement beyond this point.

For example, several groups present accused the SL of "disrupting," by which they did not mean the use of violence or physical disruption but rather the SL's practice of politically struggling for its program. Thus the International Socialists accused the SL of "ripping off" demonstrations it did not help to build; a supporter of the Women's Union condemned SLers for arguing against feminism in women's liberation meetings; and an independent assailed the carrying of our banner "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" in a "Sign the Treaty" peace march.

As if to underline the point, the chairman of the September 6 meeting declared at one point that no more SL speakers would be permitted, since there had already been two and "we know what they have to say." However, after an SL spokesman argued that this was blatant anti-communism the body overruled the chair.

As to the permanent defense committee, the RSL's detailed proposal was presented only at the second meeting. More than a standing arrangement for coordinated united-front defense action, it called for a governing "coordinating council." According to the proposal, "no organization can refuse to engage in a defense action decided

by the majority of the Council without jeopardizing its membership in the United Defense Committee."

Nothing short of full *programmatic agreement* can be the basis for such a blank-check stipulation. Yet the RSL's phantom "United Defense Committee" is not a political party or even a mass organization, but a bloc between independent organizations.

What would happen if, for instance, the RSL should obtain a "majority" to prevent the SL from speaking at RSL public forums? By agreeing to such a hair-brained scheme the SL would give up its own political independence. What the RSL wants is not a Leninist united front—based on the principle of "march separately, strike together"—but a classical "front group" in the Stalinist tradition.

During its one year of existence the increasingly isolated and demoralized RSL has amassed a truly wretched record on the issue of workers democracy. Not only excluding speakers from other left tendencies and threatening physical violence, it recently expelled a minority which stood for the traditional Trotskyist policy of unconditional defense of the USSR and other deformed workers states against imperialism. The charge: "cliquism" and "entrism." Not alleging any violation of RSL discipline, Taber and Co. expelled the defensist minority solely for its political views. And then they turn around and demand for their "United Defense Committee" a level of discipline appropriate only for a Leninist party! Given the RSL's Shachtmanite "third camp" reconciliation with U.S. imperialism we are not surprised that it cannot distinguish the class line on workers democracy. ■

Into the Swamp

Socialist Collective Fuses with International Socialists

We reprint below excerpts from a leaflet directed at the membership of the Socialist Collective, a grouping of black socialist militants that recently joined the International Socialists.

For the IS the recruitment of the SC must be seen as a turning point, beginning a recovery from the organizational consequences of the serious split it suffered just over a year ago. At that time the IS lost about a third of its membership. The bulk of those who left went on to form the Revolutionary Socialist League, a so-far unsuccessful left-wing version of the IS.

At the time of the split the Spartacist League stated that while the RSL's future was bleak, the IS emerged from the split a politically homogeneous left social-democratic formation with the possibility of pulling together a cohesive cadre. The experience of the intervening months has borne out these projections.

The RSL, a genetically defective hybrid offshoot of New Leftism and Shachtmanism which had no principled reason for splitting with the IS, is now foundering. Unable to make a linkup with the Class Struggle League, forced to expel a Soviet defensist minority for its political views and now obliged to retreat to a monthly press, the future of this tendency is dim indeed.

On the other hand the success of the IS, demonstrated by its recruitment of the SC, indicates that this opportunist outfit has indeed been able to stabilize itself around a deep and consistently reformist world view. The IS is thus in the position of seriously contending to be a successful political pole of virulently Stalinophobic left reformism in the coming period. A basis is thus laid for a series of "regroupments" with the IS, from the right as well as from the left, as bits of anti-communist flotsam in search of a home spy this social-democratic garbage heap.

As for the Socialist Collective, its coming together with the IS is a distinct step backward for most of the SC membership, many of whom stood to the left of the IS on important questions. In joining the IS SCers will find that they are obliged to abandon many of their previously held views. They will find that they are now compelled to take full responsibility for the IS's past, present and future betrayals of the working class.

Of course the SC statement printed in *Workers' Power* (1 October) claims a joining together on the basis of complete agreement on the fundamental questions. Thus:

"The Socialist Collective and the International Socialists have complete agreement on the question of party and class—the duty of the revolutionary party is to immerse itself in the struggles of the class, raising its consciousness and bringing the most advanced workers into the party. The party must win this position daily by championing

all working class struggles and defeating all other left tendencies politically."

Those familiar with SC leader Joe Johnson's views (e.g., that the October Revolution was a "mistake" or his support for a Stalinist version of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry) might be inclined to be skeptical about this unity and "complete agreement." But they would be missing the essence of the hasty unity of Johnson and the IS. This "complete agreement" is "agreement" to bloc together to "immerse" themselves in the swamp of classical Kautskyian step-at-a-time pressure-group politics.

What Joe Johnson Completely Agrees With

Socialist Collective members should be clear on the nature of the outfit they have joined. For the International Socialists, like all social democrats, the question of "democracy" (abstract and classless) overrides everything. They reject the Leninist concept that there is no abstract democracy, but that the

class question is fundamental.

Thus the IS will use the "democratic" capitalist courts and police to bring "democracy" to undemocratic trade unions. Thus the IS will support "community-controlled" police because this is more "democratic." Thus the IS shudders in fear in the face of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, because the states established by them are "undemocratic" (which they are), remaining indifferent to the enormous advance for the world working class which planned economy and destruction of the bourgeoisie represent.

Now the IS claims to be a "third-camp" organization, regarding both the U.S. and the USSR, Cuba, China and the other Stalinist-ruled countries as class societies. Hence the IS claims to reject both "camps." But notice how in practice the IS, like all reformists, knuckles under to its "own" government.

Would the IS want Mao Tse-tung's government to "arrest and jail all union bureaucrats who discriminate"? Would it call on the Russian secret police to

decide who will and who will not vote in union elections? You bet not! But when it comes to the government of Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, and their secret police, the IS is more than happy to invite them into the labor unions to "establish democracy."

We have a suggestion for Joe Johnson and the comrades of the SC. Next time there is a faction fight in the IS and you find your "complete agreement" in question, propose to your IS comrades that the U.S. Department of Justice come in, seize the files, examine all the records, see who has paid up his dues and who can vote, supervise the delegate elections and do everything that your new-found IS comrades want to do to other workers organizations. To the shrieks of outrage that will arise from your comrades, you can calmly explain that this is "just a tactic," and that "we don't think that this is generally a good idea, but let's not be rigid about it; after all, we don't want to tie our hands," etc. After all, fair is fair.

An Open Letter to the Socialist Collective

September 30, 1974

Dear Comrades:

The Spartacist League has learned of the decision of your leaders to liquidate the Socialist Collective into the International Socialists (IS). While, as Leon Trotsky once remarked, it is impossible to keep adults from committing suicide if they really want to, you should at least know that that is what you're doing: committing suicide as revolutionaries!

Look closely at the organization you are joining! As a longer statement to follow this letter will carefully document, the practice of the IS has been consistently reformist and anti-revolutionary. Soon you will have to defend before the working class the following betrayals, and the ones to come:

The IS, the Cops and the Bosses' Courts

- In 1968 the IS (then called the ISC [Independent Socialist Clubs]) demanded that "all employers and union bureaucrats that discriminate must be arrested and jailed" by the capitalist state [our emphasis].

- More recently, the IS sympathetically commented upon the strike of Baltimore cops this June.

- The IS has called for "community control" of the cops, fostering the illusion that the repressive arm of the capitalist state can be "controlled" through elections. The ISC demanded that "The black community should have the right to hire and control its own police force and should receive whatever technical and financial aid that task requires from the city which contains the ghetto."

- The IS is a mainstay of the United National Caucus, an opportunist caucus of would-be bureaucrats in the United Auto Workers. The UNC is asking the bosses' courts to decide who can and cannot vote in the UAW, and the IS supports this.

The IS and CASA

The Socialist Collective has had some direct experience with Bert Corona's CASA, a reformist outfit led by Stalinists quite willing to use gangster methods. The Socialist Collective has been a target of CASA's gangsterism, as has the Spartacist League. Well, if you join the IS, your problems with CASA are over, as you will never give the Stalinist leaders of CASA any reason to attack you, because the IS stands

(or more accurately, kneels) in fundamental solidarity with CASA against its Trotskyist opponents.

This can be seen from the following incident: Last March CASA had a conference on immigration, at which many other issues of concern to militants, such as Chile, were also discussed. Over 400 people attended the conference. The SWP and the IS had supporters there, who never once challenged the reformist politics pushed by the CP. Only the Spartacist League took part in the workshops, putting forth revolutionary politics. For this, we were attacked and physically thrown out of the conference by a CP-organized goon squad. (The courageous IS and SWP sat by in silence, of course.)

An article in *Workers' Power* on the conference enthused over it as a "step forward" and mentioned not a word about the Stalinist expulsion of the SL. In a letter written to CASA at our urging, the IS praised the conference, solidarized with CASA's motives for desiring to get rid of the Spartacist League, and then explained that the IS was disturbed at our violent physical expulsion because it was important for us to be defeated politically (by the likes of IS and CASA) instead of physically. Challenge the IS to show you this truly disgusting letter—it sums up the essence of IS politics: not socialism-from-below, but social-democracy on its knees.

Burying Yesterday's Opportunism

These examples are only a tiny sample. They are not isolated "mistakes" but illustrations of the IS method which is to tail whatever is popular. Of course the IS has a justification for this. They argue that they are really getting right in there with people, fighting with them, raising their consciousness step by step in an "interventionist" rather than a "sectarian" way. The CP and SWP say the same thing in defense of the same method.

The SC used to be very fond of the quote, "The Communists everywhere disdain to conceal their aims." The very heart of the IS method is to conceal its aims. It is the Spartacist League that has confidence in the working class, that fights for revolutionary politics, that says what is, that tells the class the truth.

The IS will tell you that the SL's real program is to "agitate other Trotskyist sects." (The IS considers itself a sect, revealing the deep self-hate of frustrated reformists who have been able to

build next to nothing to sell out.) The IS simply lies when it charges the SL with "abstention" from struggle. As the SC knows from its own experience, the SL is quite active—more active and successful than the IS, in fact. You need only remember the Committee to Defend Van Schouwen and Romero, our intervention in CLUW, our demonstration at Los Angeles City College, and our hot-cargo action against the ship from Chile, as well as our extensive involvement in the trade-union movement.

But it is also necessary to be the memory of the working class. All [fake-socialist] organizations try to make themselves sound revolutionary, and to bury yesterday's opportunism. The IS is infuriated because we won't let them do this. That's the real reason behind the IS attitude toward the aggressive, polemical approach of the SL. The IS pretends disdain for such an approach, because it is afraid of its own record, even its record of a few months ago.

Joe Johnson knows all this. Why, then, is he leading you into the IS? Because the IS looks like a cozy home for burnt-out ex-revolutionaries—Joe is not the first to take this route. The IS knows that Joe Johnson is not likely to last a year, but they hope that they can absorb enough of the SC in that time before he drops out to make it worth while. They also know of Joe's political differences—some to the right (against the Bolshevik Revolution), some to the left (against the concept of black, female or gay exclusivist organizations).

If the IS does not believe Joe will soon leave, then they are only once again trying to build an organization without principled political agreement, the classic Menshevik method of "party-building." Their last experiment ended a year ago July with the expulsion of the RSL after four years of constant internal warfare. The IS ended up smaller than the SL/SYL whose principled method of recruiting only those with whom we have fundamental programmatic agreement was laughed at by the "smart" IS.

Many SCers admit that the IS is reformist, and that its many opportunist crimes are embarrassing. Why then crawl into such a sewer? Joe has probably told you that you will be able to change the IS. Utter nonsense! The IS will no doubt have future splits to the left, but that will occur only in struggle against the slick cynics who lead the group. Joe is taking the SC into the IS not to struggle, but to dissolve....■

General Strike to Stop Proposition L: Strategy to Win

Speaker: MARTHA PHILLIPS
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 26 8:00 p.m.

Everett Junior High
450 Church Street
Room 232

San Francisco

For information call: (415) 653-4668

World Oil Crisis: U.S. Threatens Force

"...nations have gone to war over natural advantages."

—Gerald Ford

Thus spoke the President of the United States concerning recent actions of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The furor caused by Ford/Kissinger's sabre-rattling at the United Nations evoked only a weak half-repudiation of gunboat diplomacy from the U.S. war minister, Schlesinger. "It is not anticipated there is going to be military conflict," he is reported as saying (*International Herald Tribune*, 27 September).

What lies behind this doomsday rhetoric used in threatening oil-exporting nations who only a few years ago were docile client states of U.S. imperialism?

The Oil Cartel and World Economic Conjunction

The exceptionally sharp worldwide boom of 1971-73 generated one of the classic contradictions which lead to



Aircraft carrier Forrestal, U.S. is increasing naval forces in Persian Gulf area.

capitalist economic crises. With demand far outpacing productive capacity, the relative price of raw materials skyrocketed, deeply cutting into the rate of profit on manufactures. Between late 1971 and the oil boycott in late 1973, world prices of raw materials roughly doubled (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November 1973).

Thus objective economic conditions were highly favorable for cartel-imposed oil price increases. Even before the October War in the Near East, the price of Arab oil had risen steadily since 1970 (see "World Oil Tangle," in *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973). The panicky reaction by the West European and Japanese governments to the initial oil boycott further strengthened and emboldened OPEC, so that by last December world oil prices for crude petroleum were four times the level prevailing during the first half of the year.

The advanced capitalist countries are expected to run a \$40-50 billion trade deficit in 1974, which must be financed by loans from or capital transfers to the oil-producing states (*Financial Times*, 4 October). During the first half of 1974, official reserves (gold and government securities) transferred from the advanced capitalist countries to the Persian Gulf sheikdoms totaled some \$7 billion.

So far, most of the Arab oil money has flowed into short-term bank deposits, mainly in the U.S. Under conditions of severe economic contraction and increasing bankruptcies, the banks cannot re-lend this massive flow of funds at

secure and lucrative rates of return.

Thus, far from welcoming the flood of oil money, U.S. bankers are more afraid of sudden withdrawals threatening their own solvency. Both U.S. and big European banks have been discouraging short-term Arab money by offering ridiculously low rates of interest.

The massive transfer of surplus value from industrial capitalists to the semi-feudal landlords of the Persian Gulf under conditions of world economic contraction has an enormous depressive effect on productive investment. The sheiks are desperately searching for some safe way to hoard their ever-increasing money capital. However, with inflation rates skyrocketing, the best way to accumulate wealth may be to keep the oil in the ground—a policy which has the pleasant side-effect of keeping prices up.

The Recycling Games

Behind the new-fangled financial jargon about "recycling" there is one single problem: Who is going to "lend" money to deficit nations—like Italy,

Britain and India—which cannot pay it back? Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, head of Bank of America International, went to the heart of the "recycling" dispute when he observed recently that his most avid customers were poor risks:

"We banks are up to our limits for financing Italy, France, Britain and others. We are not now in any danger, but we cannot go further."

—*International Herald Tribune*, 3 October

The banker observed that these countries are likely to run balance of payments deficits for many years to come.

The "recycling" negotiations have consisted of the U.S. (and West Germany) suggesting that oil-exporting states might take a hand in financing international trade deficits and the sheiks replying that this seems a rather risky business. Yet while former Wall Street bond dealer William Simon and Saudi Sheik Yamani are (unsuccessfully) trying to con each other into giving away billions, India is starving and Italy and Britain plummet to depression levels of production and unemployment.

Polar responses to their oil deficits have characteristically come from France and Britain. France has reacted with a hard-nosed nationalist policy immediately placing the burden on its own masses. There is to be an absolute money ceiling on oil imports representing a 10 percent consumption cut at current prices. If prices go up, the volume of imports will be cut proportionately. This is a deliberate depressing of the French economy, as well as of the



ARAMCO

standard of living of the French masses.

In addition, a ban has been placed on the oil countries' buying up French capital assets (as Iran recently purchased 25 percent of Germany's Krupp Steel). And the French government is undertaking an export drive. Faced with large oil deficits, Giscard is resorting to 1960's-style Gaullist economic policies—the kind which led to the May 1968 events.

The British, as usual, are advocating permanent subsidies from the U.S. and West Germany: the IMF should offer the Arabs an absolutely secure, inflation-proof bond at near-market-level interest rates. The money acquired from this offer the Arabs couldn't refuse would then be re-lent to insolvent deficit nations, like Britain. But, says the U.S. Treasury, who pays the Arabs if the deficit nations default? Why, the U.S. and West Germany, of course, replies Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey. And the British press wonders why Ford and Schmidt are not so keen on such a brilliant "recycling" scheme!

The sheiks will not give their oil surplus money away and the U.S. cannot now afford to subsidize West Europe and Japan, much less the backward countries. Thus the U.S. is impelled to try to break OPEC and force down oil prices.

The Carrot Before the Stick

Except for the oil majors (who represent, to be sure, an important section of U.S. capital) and a few favored banks, OPEC's price inflation is very much against the interests of U.S. imperialism. U.S. hostility to the oil cartel and determination to bring down prices has until recently been disguised by behind-the-scenes maneuvers and a "soft" approach. Kissinger's aim has been and remains (if possible) to induce national splits within the OPEC camp.

Since the October War oil boycott, the role of the two major exporters, Shah Pahlevi's Iran and King Faisal's Saudi Arabia, has in a sense been reversed. Seizing an exceptionally favorable opportunity to outflank his republican-nationalist enemies and

establish himself as leader of the Arab cause, Faisal was the driving force behind the deployment of the "oil weapon" following the October War. In contrast, the Shah not only kept his wells flowing, but made veiled threats against the sheikdoms if they pushed the boycott too far.

However, apparently believing that the battle of Marathon was only a temporary setback for the Persian Empire, Shah Reza Pahlevi is determined to transform his kingdom into a world power. He is ostentatiously trying to reverse traditional imperialist relations, buying into the Krupp trust and purchasing sophisticated weaponry on a scale far beyond what Iran's limited trained manpower could deploy in a war. To attain his inflated ambitions the Shah is trying to drive up oil prices to whatever the market will bear.

In contrast, King Faisal is an extreme Islamic traditionalist understandably worried about the effects of industrialization upon the "good society" of which he is the god-given ruler (via a palace revolt). Thus the Saudi regime has somewhat less incentive to maximize current oil revenue than the vainglorious Shah. Knowing this—and noting that Saudi Arabia is the largest oil exporter, with far and away the most money careening around the international financial system—the U.S. government undertook to woo Faisal.

Nixon/Ford/Kissinger no doubt appealed to Faisal's sense of "social responsibility," pointing out that the economic collapse of the "free world" could only benefit Russia. However, the old anti-communist united-front line is no longer adequate.

Kissinger's key tactic was a promise that the U.S. would pressure Israel into a settlement favorable to the Arab cause. In addition, the U.S. would be generous to Faisal's new-found ally, Sadat's Egypt. Thus, for example, Nixon offered Egypt (as well as Israel) a nuclear reactor. As Indira Gandhi has dramatically shown, this is a code word for the capacity to produce atomic bombs.

At first, Kissinger's seduction act on

continued on page 11



DER SPIEGEL

Kissinger with Faisal.

Continued from page 1 Racist Terror...

lutionary Union have lined up solidly alongside the reactionaries and the Ku Klux Klan in protesting busing. Though wholly inadequate, busing is at least a minimal step in the direction of racial integration of the schools. But in order to appeal to the poor whites now being led by racist demagogues like Louise Day Hicks, the RU supports the continued imprisonment of black people in the ghettos.

The only socialist organization which has consistently and unambiguously struggled to support busing and called for labor/black defense of the bused school children and black areas is the Spartacist League. Intervening in demonstrations and teach-ins, distributing tens of thousands of leaflets in both black and white working-class neighborhoods and housing projects and proposing united-front efforts against the racist terror, the Spartacist League has raised the need for common working-class/black mass

the first day of school, a crowd of rock-throwing racists followed 18 school buses for many blocks while the police were nowhere in sight.

However, in the cases where cops have actually stood between the school children and the anti-busing gangs, the TPF has occasionally used the "over-kill" tactics usually reserved for student and black demonstrations or picket lines. This has produced the ironic spectacle of demonstrations against police brutality by forces who are the staunchest supporters of the cops when that brutality is directed against blacks. But the counterposition of the "little people" in Boston's white ethnic neighborhoods to the "big government" liberals has produced a reactionary populist atmosphere which is only heightened by the elitist goonsquad mentality of the cops.

Liberals Pass the Buck

The vote-conscious liberal politicians fear the racist frenzy above all because it threatens their political careers. Boston Mayor Kevin White, Massachusetts Governor Francis Sar-



State and Metropolitan police at Columbia Point.

BOSTON GLOBE/DAN SHEEHAN

action—the only effective means to put a stop to the mobilization of the reactionaries.

Mob Violence Mounts

Although the leaders of the anti-busing forces constantly talk of "law and order," the mobs in South Boston have gone rapidly from stoning school buses to random attacks on defenseless blacks. On Friday, October 4, some 6,500 opponents of busing marched "peacefully" through Southie, hurling racist threats and epithets at any black person unfortunate enough to be near the line of march. The demonstration was led by members of the School Committee and Boston City Council.

The following Monday, the racists attempted to form a "human barricade," blocking access to the Gavin School. A mob from a predominantly white South Boston housing project was dispersed by the Tactical Police. However, it re-formed in a short time and roamed the area attacking several blacks. A black worker on lunch break from a printing plant was chased down the street and into his shop. Fellow workers, almost all white, forced his pursuers out of the plant and locked the doors.

Another black worker did not escape so easily. Jean-Louis André Yvon, an immigrant from Haiti, was confronted by a white mob while driving to the South Boston factory where his wife works. He was dragged from his car and unmercifully beaten by the mob, which included men armed with clubs. Yvon's life was saved only by the intervention of a local resident and a cop who fired warning shots.

The lynch mob attack on Yvon was only one of many incidents of the racist terror to which Boston black people have been subjected for weeks. During this time the behavior of the Tactical Police Force has repeatedly demonstrated that the armed thugs of the capitalist state can be trusted to defend nothing save capitalist property. On

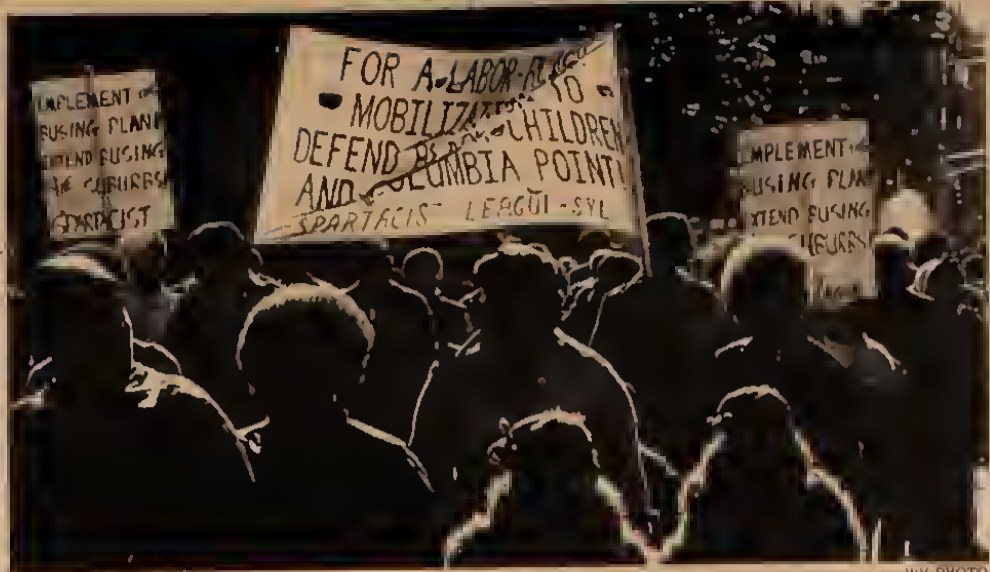
gent and District Judge Arthur Garrity have engaged in an elaborate hand-washing ritual that would put Pontius Pilate to shame. Republican Sargent, in the middle of a tough race for reelection, has attempted to upstage Democrat White as the firm upholder of law and order. His opponent, liberal Michael Dukakis, has cooperated in submerging busing as a campaign issue.

White is in a more difficult position, having been elected with both black and white votes; furthermore, if race riots break out he will be, in effect, holding the bag. He has, therefore, concentrated on calling for federal intervention, initially in the form of federal marshals to replace the hated TPF in South Boston.

White's October 7 statement to Judge Garrity declared: "We can no longer maintain either the appearance or the reality of public safety and the effective implementation of the plan in South Boston... Without additional assistance, the school buses cannot roll in South Boston, the plan cannot be implemented..." Every racist in the country took heart at this statement, a clear indication that vigilante anti-busing violence in Boston was paying off. President Ford's statement two days later opposing "forced busing" in Boston and turning down federal intervention likewise emboldened the reactionary forces.

Black Democrats Demand Federal Troops

Because the labor bureaucracy, in the best traditions of narrow business unionism, refuses to mobilize its strength in defense of the racial minorities who are under attack, the black masses see only two courses open to them: reliance on the bourgeois state or indiscriminate retaliation. The latter course was taken by many black youths in the wake of the lynch mob attack on Yvon. The next day gangs of black youths fought with whites outside several schools in Roxbury and then set off on a spree of windshield



WV PHOTO

smashing attacks on innocent whites.

While communists do not defend such attacks on working people, it must be emphasized that this retaliation is in response to repeated terror attacks to which blacks have been subjected during the last month. For almost four weeks, black youths had put up with endless racist threats.

In a mass-distributed leaflet the Spartacist League warned: "The racists and the Ku Klux Klan want futile black reprisals as an excuse to launch massive terror against blacks... Don't play the reactionaries' game, but repel all racist attacks! For Organized Self-Defense!" ("Stop the Racist Terror," 9 October). If any serious attempt had been made to organize integrated defense squads of unionists and blacks, to protect the buses, schools and black areas, there would be no threat of massive racial clashes today.

The self-serving careerist black liberal politicians have preferred to rely instead on the bourgeois state. Rep-

resentative Mel King, NAACP head Atkins, the Black Caucus in the state legislature, Freedom House, Black Ministerial Alliance, etc., have constantly sabotaged efforts at mass mobilization of black and white supporters of busing to defend the school children.

Not deigning to answer a Spartacist League proposal for a mass demonstration around the slogan "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black Children" (see WV No. 53, 27 September, for a copy of our letter), the NAACP called a demonstration a few days later at the State House. However, it utterly failed to mobilize for the rally, so that only 60 participants appeared.

Again, during the days before the October 12 demonstration the Black Caucus repeatedly vacillated over whether there would be a march at all. Finally, in a stupid act of racial exclusionism, at the last minute black leaders decided to exclude whites from the march! (Whites joined black-marchers

Revolutionary Union: Criminal Opportunism



Of all the responses to reactionary anti-busing demonstrations in Boston, without a doubt the most disgusting has been that of the Revolutionary Union. Its line that "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan" (headline above) puts it in league with the worst racist elements, including even the Ku Klux Klan! If this is what Mao Tse Tung Thought leads to, then truly the Great Helmsman (Mao) is a worthy successor to the Great Organizer of Defeats (Stalin).



WORKERS VANGUARD

at the Boston Commons.)

Federal marshals and troops do not serve the interests of oppressed minorities or the working class any more than the TPF, state troopers or National Guard! They are the armed fist of the bourgeois class. At best the presence of federal troops in Boston might mean the maintenance of "social peace" based on continued segregation of the black minority in inferior ghetto schools. As everyone from the liberal White to the conservative Ford has made clear, they will not enforce school integration.

But, in fact, given the rightward-moving political climate in recent months, particularly with regard to the rights of black people, it is likely that any large deployment of troops or police would be concentrated in the black areas and could result in small-scale genocide. It is no accident that the command center for the 400 state troopers and MDC (highway patrol) police assigned to Boston is Bayside Mall, an abandoned shopping center right next to the overwhelmingly black Columbia Point housing project.

For Labor/Black Defense

Columbia Point residents have already seen the results of reliance on the bourgeois state as advocated by white and black liberals and various fake-socialists. When project residents appealed for police protection from racist nightriding attacks by white-sheeted vigilantes, they got military occupation instead. Racists in uniform vandalized their community center and sent a number of residents to the hospital.

In contrast to the reformists who build illusions in the neutrality of the bourgeois government, the Spartacist League has insisted that working people and oppressed minorities can rely only on their own forces for defense. As a first step in this direction the SL has called on trade unions, black and tenant organizations and socialist groups to mobilize a mass demonstration to counter the reactionary anti-busing campaign.

The response of the liberal union leaders has been cowardly, defeatist and hypocritical. The Civil Rights Committee of the Massachusetts State Labor Council issued the most tepid policy statement imaginable, announcing: "...it is very clear that organized labor as a body is deeply committed to integrated quality education and to the achievement of that principle. Obviously, the unleashing of violence and hatred, as has happened in the city of Boston, can only be deplored. The first to suffer are the children of working people."

If the labor bureaucrats were so "deeply committed" to integration, then one might expect them to do something. For example, the head of this civil rights committee, Rexford Weng, is a leader of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, an integrated union whose work places are concentrated precisely in the area between white South Boston and black Roxbury. The SL has sought to direct its agitation in particular at such key unions, pointing out that they have a particular obligation and immediate interest in stopping the racist terror. However, like the black lib-

erals, most "progressive" union leaders prefer to rely on the government.

Fake Socialists Tail After the Liberals

Having long since abandoned any semblance of revolutionary, Trotskyist politics, the reformist Socialist Workers Party has dutifully applied its "principled" line in Boston—support whatever the "black community" wants. But who is this black community? We live in a class society. Black working people do not have the same interests as the Mel Kings and Tom Atkins, although all are affected by the racist terror. Yet time after time the SWP makes crystal clear that the "black community" means the bourgeois "leaders" such as the NAACP, Black Caucus, et al.

And, of course, since the "black community" (i.e., King and Atkins) wants federal troops, then so does the SWP: "We completely support the demands of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating rightist violence," brays the *Militant* (18 October). But it is the ABC of Marxism that the armed forces of the bourgeois state are the enemies, not the allies, of working people.

The Communist Party, which has been cynically debauching Marxism for decades, naturally has the same position: "The Federal Government must act—send in Federal marshals and troops to end the racist terror" (*Daily World*, 11 October). But if you are going to tail after the liberals, then at least you should do it right! The CP-backed Mass Alliance Against Racism and Repression called on those who defend busing and support the rights of black people to join the October 12 march; but when the Black Caucus decided to exclude whites, the Young Workers Liberation League (acting as marshals for the march) duly turned back a number of white parents and members of socialist organizations who showed up to demonstrate their solidarity!

Of the remaining groups the Workers League's *Bulletin* has called for labor defense and opposition to troops. However, WL criticisms of the SWP's call for federal troops also raise certain questions about their own view of the capitalists' armed forces. The Workers League supports bringing cops into the unions and defended the 1971 NYC police strike!

In any case, the WL constantly avoids struggling in planning meetings and demonstrations for these positions. Having an abstentionist and purely literary conception of politics, the WL is quite content to let the reformists have a field day with their opportunist tailing after the liberals.

This would be pitiful if the consequences of abstention were not so potentially catastrophic. Those who today are preaching reliance on the bosses' hired guns and abstaining from the struggle for united labor/black defense are preparing the way for tragic deaths and perhaps race riots tomorrow.

—Implement the Busing Plan! Extend Busing to the Suburbs!
—No Troops! For a Labor/Black Defense! ■

Continued from page 1 Sewers...

home state of Arkansas.

Mills, who is a vicious segregationist, during the late 1950's signed the white-supremacist Southern Manifesto. He has for decades maintained the pernicious oil depletion allowances. He blocked even the most minimal medicare proposals for four years until his own miserable formula was accepted. In general this kingpin of capitalist politics writes nearly all the anti-working-class legislation in Congress. It is for this that he should have to answer to the working class rather than "apologizing" for the "Tidal Basin incident."

The Butcher of Attica Gives Gifts

Nelson Rockefeller has now been found to owe nearly a million dollars in back taxes. Further, he has given millions away as "gifts," no doubt to buy political influence for the Rockefeller family. Such deals are made all the time



Nelson Rockefeller

in ruling circles. It takes well-greased palms to maintain the capitalist political machine.

Rockefeller should be tried for any violations of formal bourgeois law (since it appears he is caught). However, such deals are dwarfed by his criminal responsibility for the massacre at Attica prison, where 29 prisoners died during a state police onslaught personally ordered by then-governor Rockefeller. The butcher of Attica was simply caught giving "gifts" to his servants. Only the working class can hold Rockefeller responsible for his crimes at Attica and against working people. His friends on the Senate Rules Committee will not call on him to account for his butchery, because he was only doing the job they would do in his place.

The average working person who finds it increasingly difficult to make ends meet because of inflation is now being treated to the spectacle of Rockefeller's "gifts." It was disclosed that one gift to Dr. William J. Ronan, millionaire chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, amounted to \$675,000!

Who is William J. Ronan? He reportedly authored a secret agreement in February 1968 between the governor of New York and the chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, that is, between Nelson and David Rockefeller. The apparent financial hanky-panky involves tens of millions of dollars in state

bonds, according to the speculations of the *New York Times* (10 October). The deal ended with Chase some \$12 million ahead in interest and Ronan having consolidated his position as "czar" of New York-New Jersey transportation.

The defense of Rockefeller's "charity" is a sickening mixture of cynicism and sentimentality reminiscent of Nixon's early Watergate defenses. Ronan says that if he is investigated "others will be too." Rockefeller says that all his life "he was taught to share" (With whom?) And the sycophantic governor of New York, Malcolm Wilson, has beaten his bible for the proper quotation: "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," he intoned to newsmen. In a further display of sanctimony he described the Ronan gift as "charity in the sense of love" (*New York Times*, 10 October).

Bourgeois Moralism, Bourgeois Hypocrisy

What do Rockefeller, Mills and the rest have to say to the workers whose real wages are falling daily due to galloping inflation? "Tighten your belts." While the haughty 18th-century French queen Marie Antoinette advised her starving subjects to eat cake, Gerald Ford says: "Bite the bullet."

To the extent that exposures of "dirty" deals and escapades lessen the moral authority of the capitalist politicians, the scandals are useful. But socialists should reject the "moralism" contained in recent comments in so much of the bourgeois and left press.

It is the fascists and reactionaries generally, who campaign on a platform of "moral purity" in the political process. While Nixon scandalized many of his supporters with his use of "foul language" on the tapes, socialists are not opposed to "bad words." Rather, it is the content of Nixon's acts, his crimes against the working people, that we condemn.

The desire to appeal to backward puritanical attitudes that exist in the working class has carried the fake-Trotskyist Workers League to a parody of muckraking that entirely obscures the real crimes of these hypocrites. A recent *Bulletin* (15 October) article on the Wilbur Mills "Tidal Basin" incident focuses on the woman with whom he was caught, explaining that "she takes off her clothes for a living." By appealing to puritanical moral standards the WL only reinforces reactionary social attitudes preached by the likes of Billy Graham, spiritual adviser to Richard (I Cannot Tell A Lie) Nixon.

Another example is the *Bulletin's* recent series on the Kennedy family, which revels in minute, incidental, personal details. Followers of the WL press can learn, for example, that Jackie Kennedy "isn't really quite so good looking in real life as she is in photographs" (quoted in the *Bulletin*, 13 August). Then comes the WL's central political point: "The crimes of Watergate and Chappaquiddick are the crimes of the capitalist class" (*Bulletin*, 6 August).

What does this mean? It is true that Kennedy's enormous wealth makes possible his jet-setting life style. Wilbur Mills probably spends more money on one night's entertainment than an Arkansas sharecropper earns in a year. But the sexual antics, personal corruption and wanton extravagance of these scoundrels are not their class crimes against the working class.

At a time when coal miners in West Virginia are being organized by racist fundamentalist bigots against "dirty" textbooks, the WL's hypocritical moralizing plays right into the hands of some of the worst obscurantist and reactionary ideologues. This bible-thumping fake puritanism is, in fact, the stock-in-trade of the Wilbur Mills, Richard Nixons and Gerald Fords. The task of revolutionaries is not to ape the Sunday-morning sermonizing of these windbags, but to expose their crimes against working people the world over. *Attica and Vietnam—these are the real crimes of the capitalist class.* It is for such crimes that these butchers will be hauled before the revolutionary tribunal of the international working class. The sooner, the better! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is \$5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 6 introductory issues

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Sub Drive Report

Area	Quota	Third Week
Bay Area	325	289
Binghamton	25	21
Boston	160	133
Buffalo	35	56
Chicago	250	233
Cleveland	160	117
Detroit	250	363
Houston	50	50
Los Angeles	200	152
New Haven	25	20
New Orleans	15	7
New York	500	330
Philadelphia	75	139
Toronto	50	39
At Large	50	12
Total	2170	1961

Continued from page 12

...Proposition "L"

the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA, the Committee for a Militant UAW, several ILWU militants and a representative of the Class Struggle League.

The Spartacist League also carried a banner reading, "Not Alioto, Feinstein or Ford, But a Workers Party—Oust the Bureaucrats! FOR A BAY AREA-WIDE GENERAL STRIKE TO STOP PROPOSITION L!" About a quarter of the audience was carrying the distinctive black and yellow signs calling for a general strike.

Labor Fakers Back Democrats, Send Goons After Militants

The determination of S.F. union tops to prevent any strike action and to channel unrest among the ranks into electoral support for Alioto and Co. was made crystal clear at the rally. The very first words out of the mouth of the first speaker, Larry Martin of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A, were: "We have not called for a general strike." He demanded that the General Strike Contingent move across the street "because you don't represent any union organization here."

After this "announcement," a rock band was brought on while a large goon squad wearing jackets labeled "Transport Workers Union" proceeded to harass those holding general strike banners. The goons, however, had a hard time explaining why rank-and-file militants were being excluded as "outsiders" while Democratic politicians were assembling at the microphone. Eventually they gave up (apparently not wanting a brawl in front of the television cameras), although some banners were forced to the side for the benefit of the "friends of labor" on the platform.

Among the Democratic Party celebrities who spoke were Mayor Joseph Alioto (who received a chorus of cat-calls and shouts of "Operation Zebra!"), state senators Moscone and Marks, and Congressman Phil Burton. Interspersed between the capitalist politicians was a string of union "leaders," all urging their members to be sure to vote against Proposition L on November 5. Right after Alioto spoke, his appointee to the Port Commission—Harry Bridges of the ILWU—declared that the Mayor "is strongly with us." Jimmy Herman of ILWU Local 34 assured the audience that Senator Moscone, too, "stands with the labor movement."

Near the end of the list an international officer of the TWU again ripped into the general strike slogan. "These signs are not ours," he said, emphasizing that if there were to be a general strike, "we'll decide that and you won't."

He was right about one thing—the call for a general strike is not the policy of the labor brass. However, the course of the class struggle will not be decided by these slimy "labor statesmen" but by the working class itself. The task of revolutionaries and of class-conscious militants in the unions is to break the stranglehold of the reactionary and reformist misleaders over the labor movement. This is the struggle which the SL has taken up. But by their opportunist policies various fake socialists in the Bay Area have simply liquidated into the bureaucrats' "citizens" committee.

"Oppositionists" Fall In Behind Bureaucrats

Aside from the General Strike Contingent the only signs visible were the officially approved "L No!" placards. "United Trade Unionists," one of Progressive Labor's fabled "left-center coalitions," passed out a leaflet, but restricted itself entirely to electoralism ("Vote NO on Prop. L"). This is

not surprising, as the group includes known supporters of the Democratic Party. Moreover, PL itself ran candidates in the Democratic primaries this year (*Challenge*, 10 October).

The Revolutionary Union-supported Concerned Muni Drivers, a caucus in the TWU, took a similar capitulatory position. Their paper, *Draggin' the Line* (September 1974), gave as the answer to Proposition L: "mobilize the membership to take the message out. People to people: That's the key." By not counterposing themselves to the bureaucrats' support for Alioto, Concerned Muni Drivers and their RU supporters were, in effect, building "people-to-people" support for the Democratic Party of the bosses!

During the rally, S.F. Central Labor Council head Jack Crowley announced that recent polls indicate a probable vote of 71 percent in favor of Proposition L. Thus once again relying on capitalist politicians turns out to be the ticket for defeat.

And, in fact, this may be precisely what the labor fakers want. Many union officials would actually prefer to have wages determined by law, thereby taking the heat off them to negotiate decent contracts.

To the members of the "smart" left groups and caucuses who fell in behind Crowley's "Alioto strategy," and to the ranks of Bay Area labor who have been once again betrayed by their leadership we say: Break with the class enemy! Only by struggling for the independence of the working class, against the sellout misleaders of labor, can victory be won. ■

Continued from page 3

Samarakkody Interview...

class. In the present situation we have once again indicated to the working class that we were not just shouting, that this was the coming reality, that the left and the working-class forces are in real danger, that a Chilean situation is not too far. And we have called upon the working class once again to speedily break from coalition politics.

As to what further action we could take in this situation, it depends upon the days ahead. There is no question that it will be vital for the working-class organizations and parties to get ready, unitedly, to face the offensive from the right. In what way and what form this will have to take place is difficult to say because there has not been yet any response on the part of the trade unions and these other groups. That is roughly the situation in Ceylon today.

WV: How do you see the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International?

Samarakkody: It is a fact that for quite some time, as far as the RWP was concerned, we have been convinced that there is no Fourth International today. This organization that was begun by Trotsky in 1938 and had for several years developed in the perspective of a revolutionary international, is no longer a reality. Over the years this organi-

zation has degenerated. Starting in the 1950's under the leadership of Michel Pablo the organization moved along the opportunist road, and it inevitably has come to a situation when it is possible to say that there is no such organization called the Fourth International.

The recent split in the United Secretariat is a manifestation of this reality. The United Secretariat in point of fact does not exist. It has been split into various groups after what is called the Tenth World Congress. By agreement, they have decided to remain together without raising any of the issues. Opportunistically, the United Secretariat is posing as the Fourth International. But this lie has to be exposed.

The task of all those who claim to be Trotskyists is not merely to expose the fraud of the United Secretariat and all other groups who seek to pose as the Fourth International, especially the International Committee led by Gerry Healy. It is the task of all those who claim to be Trotskyists to begin right now the task of assisting in the rebirth of the Fourth International. The RWP has for some time been basing its activities on this perspective. While we are building our party in Ceylon, we have sought to work toward the development of an international revolutionary tendency.

In this regard and for some time now we have developed fraternal relations with the Spartacist League of the United States, and it is our hope that in the coming period it will be possible for our organizations to work toward this perspective. No doubt there are many problems in this regard, but these problems will have to be faced. Also, it is necessary for those who are really interested in the rebirth of the Fourth International to understand that with the objective conditions the world over, especially in the context of the worsening crisis of world capitalism and the possibilities that are opening up for the development of revolutionary struggles, the forging of the revolutionary leadership is more urgent than ever before. It is with this perspective that the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon is functioning today. ■

Continued from page 12

...Government Out of the Unions

for an industry-wide strike against layoffs which was opposed by Stanley and Brody. The motion was aimed against a proposal for preferential layoffs—under which women would have retained their jobs over males with higher seniority—which was being proposed by the backers of the present suit.

As that motion stated, "such schemes [preferential layoffs] accept the companies' employment cycle and result in unfair treatment of one section of the work force. This pits worker against worker, instead of all workers against the company.... Layoffs and speedup must be fought with solid union action: an industry-wide strike, linked up internationally, for shorter hours

with full cost-of-living paid, to make jobs for all." The motion was passed at the February Local meeting, but foot-dragging by officials and the Brotherhood's kowtowing before the International have prevented a serious effort to publicize and organize for this program within the UAW.

On paper the OL and RU have "self-criticized" their opportunist errors in supporting the Brotherhood bureaucrats. But they carefully leave the door open for a repeat performance, and current practice belies their fine words about principle.

Thus the January *Call* criticizes the unionbureaucrats' "half-heartedly" struggling for equal employment "exclusively through the courts and the legal complex." The OL then turns around and backs a court suit which is a thinly disguised attack on the union and male workers!

At decisive points the opportunist appetites and tailist methods of the OL/RU fakers repeatedly lead them to support militant-talking bureaucrats in the unions, whether it is the "people power" rhetoric of the Brotherhood, the pacifism of Cesar Chavez or the "democracy" of Arnold Miller. It is necessary to break with all wings of the labor bureaucracy! Militants in the auto union must look instead to a class-struggle program such as that put forward by the CMUAW as the only real alternative to the Woodcock machine and its "left" hangers-on. ■

ORDER NOW!



- **Spartacist** (English-language edition) No. 22—35 cents
- **Spartacist** (Deutsche Ausgabe) No. 2—40 cents
- **Spartacist** (Edition Française) No. 7—50 cents
- **Cuadernos Marxistas** (en español) No. 3—50 cents

order from/pay to:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday }
and } 3:00—6:00 p.m.
Saturday }

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00—8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00—6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday }
through } 3:00—7:30 p.m.
Friday }

Saturday 1:00—4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Continued from page 4 1974 Elections...

Democratic Party, reported of course in the inimitable *Challenge* style.

The Workers League, which has been having internal difficulties of late, has made a modest left turn and is now running two candidates for Congress in Brooklyn on a platform of opposition to the labor bureaucracy and advocacy of a labor party. Anyone who happens to live in the appropriate areas of Brooklyn might as well cast a vote for these candidates, but we warn that these political bandits will climb back on Woodcock's lap at the first hint of some imagined "leftward" motion by any section of the bureaucracy.

Finally there are the candidates of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, running under the label of the U.S. Labor Party. This bizarre cult reminiscent of a fusion between scientologists and followers of Henry George, is an essentially extra-political phenomenon. It deserves no support from socialists if only because among its chief campaign activities have been its petitioning of the bourgeois courts to have the SWP and CP removed from the ballot.

For a Workers Party

The current situation poses in the starkest manner the need for a complete break with the Democratic and Republican parties and for the formation of a workers party based upon the trade unions, to fight to replace the rule of the capitalists with a workers government. This cannot be accomplished except through the most bitter struggle against the current trade-union leadership, which is consciously pro-capitalist and resolutely opposed to any expression of class-struggle politics.

The formation of such a workers party will not come about due to the "automatic" pressure of the masses or through a "cold" process. The achievement of political class consciousness by the American working class, the world's largest and most powerful but politically backward working class, will come about only through the conscious intervention of revolutionary Marxists in the course of tumultuous class struggles. It will be through such struggles that a mass Leninist combat party will be constructed. It is to the realization of this historic task that the Spartacist League directs its efforts.

—For labor action to force new presidential elections! Not Ford/Rockefeller, but a workers government!

—Oust the bureaucrats, for a workers party based on the unions!



The Shah of Iran dines at Versailles Palace, June 1974.

Continued from page 7

Oil Politics...

the Faisal/Sadat axis seemed to be working. The Saudi government publicly declared that it favored lower oil prices. In private discussions with U.S. officials Sheik Yamani no doubt promised to take a hard line against high prices in OPEC.

American "game-planners" also figured that market forces were on their side. The combination of economizing due to higher prices and the world economic contraction cut back oil consumption so that by early summer 1974 there was an oil "surplus" estimated at 3-4 million barrels a day. Like any well-behaved cartel, OPEC simply cut back production. However a "surplus" of about 1.5 million barrels a day remains (*Economist*, 21 September; *International Herald Tribune*, 5-6 October).

The triumphal day of U.S. oil diplomacy was to have been the September 12 OPEC meeting in Vienna. But much to the shock of Ford and Kissinger, OPEC decided to raise taxes and royalties by 3.5 percent. It also threatened to raise the posted price (the official price on which taxes and royalties are calculated) in line with world inflation rates. (The Anglo-American oil majors, of course, promptly declared their profits were inadequate to absorb the increased taxes and the selling price of oil had to rise.)

Sheik Yamani, the avowed champion of lower prices, was evidently something less than an implacable obstacle

in these decisions. Adding insult to injury, the Saudis then raised their own "buy-back" price (charged to the companies on the share of the oil allotted to the government). Undoubtedly, suspicion that Faisal had double-crossed them accounted for the extreme belligerence of Ford's and Kissinger's attacks on the oil exporters at the UN.

The Options of U.S. Imperialism

Even in the unlikely event that the U.S. could organize the other imperialist powers into a disciplined consumer front, there is no way that the price of oil can be brought down by market forces alone. Simon's idea of cutting world oil consumption by 15 percent, in order to present the producing states with an intolerable surplus, is a hare-brained scheme that might have been inspired by reading *Alice in Wonderland*. As Yamani astutely observed when hearing of Simon's brainstorm, it is far easier to cut oil production than oil consumption.

No, it is by political, not economic means that U.S. imperialism has to deal with the oil cartel. Kissinger's main strategy has been (and to a lessened extent remains) the Israel/Palestine settlement. The Saudis continue to insist that given a "favorable" solution to the Palestine question, all will be sweetness and light in the oil market.

The decisive question is whether the U.S. can pressure Israel into a settlement that Faisal/Sadat would consider favorable. The answer is, probably not. The present U.S. government cannot simply abandon its alliance with Israel. Knowing this, the Rabin government in Tel Aviv is unlikely to give up much at the bargaining table that it could hold on the battlefield.

And if the U.S. cannot offer up the capitulation of Israel to Arab demands, there is only one other way to bring down oil prices—by force. Despite attempts to cover over the ominous sabre-rattling at the UN, military intervention is certainly being considered in the imperialist high councils. A banker who attended the recent Washington IMF meeting reportedly told the press:

"An alternative approach," he added, "is to bring down the price of oil by force." He said that although no one wants to get caught publicly advocating this, it was a view often expressed in private conversation during the Washington conference."

—*International Herald Tribune*, 7 October

The resistance by the European imperialist powers to Washington's new "get-tough" diplomacy is not primarily caused by a fear of confrontation with the Arabs. Rather, much as the European powers are being hurt by the OPEC price offensive, they do not want the Persian Gulf firmly in the hands of Rockefeller again. Yet their economies are increasingly shaky and the world oil/financial situation is intolerable. Japan, too, has been notably conciliatory in bargaining so far. As yet it is not a major military factor beyond its immediate perimeter. But with economists now predicting certain depres-



L'EXPRESS

Saudi oil minister Sheik Yamani

sion in Japan by 1975, the leading imperialist power in Asia will be heard from. Something must give!

Last year we wrote:

"Within the framework of the imperialist system, there are only two ways out of the present stalemate. The U.S. will line up the Europeans behind it to smash the Arabs and ensure the oil supply. Or the Europeans will be drawn into a full-fledged alliance with the Arabs leading to direct conflict with the U.S. Without a revolutionary proletarian solution to the Near East conflicts, there can only be one or another kind of imperialist war."

—WV No. 34, 7 December 1973

This statement retains its full validity today as the U.S. moves toward realizing the first "solution." ■

DEBATE:

Revolutionary Leadership and the Crisis of Imperialism Today

Speakers:

Spartacist League: ED CLARKSON

Revolutionary Socialist League: WALTER DAHL

Washington Square Methodist Church
133 W. 4th Street

Saturday, October 26
7:30 p.m.
NEW YORK CITY

SUBSCRIBE
TO

Young Spartacus

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League,
youth section of the Spartacist League

\$2

11 ISSUES

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. P.O., N.Y., N.Y. 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Labor Tops Sabotage Protest Rally

For A General Strike Against Proposition "L"!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 19—Union leaders here today cynically sabotaged what could have been a massive labor protest against the vicious wage-cutting "Proposition L." Instead, the City Hall demonstration was transformed into a rally for the Democratic Party.

Fearing that a massive turnout of Bay Area labor could prove explosive, the bureaucracy put out only limited publicity for the event. Attendance was consequently small, consisting of union hacks, their Democratic "friends of labor," television cameramen plus a few rank-and-filers (a total of about 200 people).

While the original handbill was signed by a "United Labor Committee" of several dozen top union officials, the crowd at the rally was liberally supplied with "L No!" placards bearing the signature of "Citizens United Against Proposition L." This "citizens" committee is a Democratic Party front headed by Mayor Alioto and Sheriff Hongisto. The speakers' platform was similarly sprinkled with Democratic bigwigs.

If passed in the November elections, Proposition L—also known as the Feinstein Amendment to the S.F. city char-

ter—would tie city workers' pay to the levels prevailing in lower-wage open-shop areas of California, preventing any possibility of collective bargaining. What is needed to fight this union-busting, Chamber of Commerce-backed attack is independent labor action. But that is not the program of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

The Spartacist League together with its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, has been the only left tendency to openly campaign against the class-collaborationist strategy of relying on big-business politicians. The SL/SYL called instead for a general strike to stop Proposition L and for a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government:

For today's demonstration, the Spartacist League initiated a General Strike Contingent open to all organizations and militants who supported the perspective of fighting the union-busting charter amendment through mass labor action. Most of the left, however, preferred the bureaucrats' Democratic Party swamp. Besides the SL/SYL the only other groups to take up the call for a general strike were

continued on page 10



Demonstrators at October 19 San Francisco rally against Proposition "L."

October League Splits with Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont GM

Workers Demand Government Out of the Unions

OAKLAND, October 21—As the economy continues to slump, competition for jobs intensifies. The situation is particularly acute for auto workers, with sales in the industry down 21 percent from last year and more than 51,000 union members on indefinite layoff.

Not surprisingly, demands are increasingly being voiced for "solutions" which pit one section of the working class against another. These include economic protectionism ("Buy American"), reverse seniority layoffs and preferential hiring. Moreover, such schemes frequently involve using the capitalist state against the unions.

Precisely this reactionary formula is raised in a court suit by eight women workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, California. The plaintiffs demand immediate reinstatement of women to bring their proportions up to the level existing prior to massive layoffs last spring. (At that time women were about 10 percent of the plant workforce.)

In addition, the suit demands "...permanent population parity for female employees at GMAD Fremont by a time not later than four years from the date of the filing of this complaint, that is, population parity without regard to workforce size at any time."

The court action, which is backed by the Maoist October League (OL), calls for no men to be laid off. But demanding

"population parity" (presumably 51 percent women) in four years, "without regard to workforce size at any time," can only mean laying off thousands of men with high seniority to make way for women new hires!

The fine words about not laying off men are simply a hypocritical cover to a call for government assault on hard-won seniority rights and the union contract. The suit, in fact, names seniority and the contract as vehicles of the company's "illegal, deliberate, and invidious practices of discrimination against women."

It is perfectly true that the company discriminates against women, and seniority is involved. Since GM did not hire women at Fremont until 1968, this year's "energy crisis" layoffs eliminated every woman production worker in the plant. But the solution to company discrimination is not to set women against men and call on the bosses' state to overturn the contract.

Opposing this divisive (and ineffective) suit, several militant women workers in United Auto Workers Local 1364 have drawn up a petition demanding the court action be dropped. Calling on the union to fight all forms of discrimination and all layoffs, their petition has won wide support. According to a press release of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), issued yesterday, more than 500 Local mem-

bers have already signed it.

Point 11 of the petition states that "This suit will open the door to government interference, inviting the courts to re-write our contract and break the seniority system." Recent judicial decisions indicate that this is precisely what would happen.

In a ruling cited in a CMUAW leaflet accompanying its petition, a Louisiana federal judge declared that strict seniority violates the Civil Rights Act. Another ruling, from a federal court in Richmond, Virginia, for the first time explicitly requires the employer to replace some presently employed workers with blacks and women, if necessary to reach a prescribed sexual/racial balance (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 September).

Court cases such as this one at Fremont generally lead to the union's becoming a defendant along with the company. One of the suit's backers, Local executive board member Liz Stanley, has reportedly stated willingness to take the International to court if necessary. This anti-union court case is a threat to the entire UAW membership and the working class as a whole. In this court action only the bosses will win.

Until recently a number of the "preferential hiring" suit's supporters in the plant, including Stanley and Community Action Program member Alice

Brody, had supported the Brotherhood Caucus, currently in power in Local 1364. (Brotherhood leaders are reportedly opposed to the court action, although they have not yet taken a position publicly.)

Now in the October issue of the October League's newspaper, the *Call*, an article entitled "Lessons Drawn From Building U.A.W. Caucus" admits that the Brotherhood leaders have been opportunist careerists all along. Yet the October League has supported these fakers, both during Local elections in 1973 and subsequently, for nearly two years!

What is more, the article promises the OL would do it all over again, under the guise of building a "united front." It criticizes the Revolutionary Union, another right-Maoist group, for having broken earlier with the Brotherhood leaders. But the supposedly "purist" RU also supported the fake-militant Brotherhood in the 1973 elections and once in power!

As opposed to the opportunist politics of the increasingly discredited Maoists, militants grouped together in the Committee for a Militant UAW have put forward a program of united class struggle. In addition to authoring the petition against the Maoist-backed court suit, CMUAW members last February put forward a resolution calling

continued on page 10