

Thieu's Troops On the Run

Take Saigon!



Refugees flee from Hue on vehicles of Saigon puppet army.

MARCH 23—U.S. imperialism's Vietnamese puppets have been compelled to surrender almost two-thirds of the territory of southern Vietnam to the forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF). Nguyen Van Thieu's army is in full retreat, desperately trying to regroup around Saigon and Danang. Quang Tri, Kontum, Pleiku, Phubon, Darlac, Phuoc Long and Binh Long provinces have already been captured by DRV/NLF forces. The fall of Thua Thien, Khanh Hoa, Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc and Lam Dong provinces is imminent.

While Saigon's control in most of these provinces was always nominal outside of the larger towns, the current withdrawal is a stinging political and military defeat, which could take on the character of a total rout. Fleeing South Vietnamese army (ARVN) units find themselves helplessly entangled with hundreds of thousands of refugees who have clogged the roads leading from the Central Highlands south and east to the coast of the South China Sea and to Saigon.

U.S. newspapers again recite the once-familiar names of the cities and the battlefields of the northern coastal region and the Central Highlands—Khe Sanh, Phu Bai, Pleiku, An Khe, Kontum, Hue—sites of some of the bloodiest fighting of the Vietnam war. It was here that the massive buildup of American troops began ten years ago. All revolutionaries in the world, and especially the workers and peasants of Vietnam

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CIA's Murder, Inc.

The ruling British Labour Party has recently protested the presence of 10 agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, masquerading as attachés, in the American embassy in London. Agents by the hundreds have poured into Portugal and the Near East as a result of the increasing tensions between the governments in those areas and the shapers of U.S. foreign policy.

The cooperation between the CIA and the State Department was dramatically underscored by Richard Helms' appointment to an ambassadorship in (of all places) Iran. Helms was director of the spy agency during its "dirty" period—1966-73. Meanwhile, the U.S. ambassador to Italy was formerly envoy to Greece where he developed a "special relationship" with the colonels who were ousted last year. And Portugal got the former U.S. ambassador to Chile who helped engineer the overthrow of Allende.

Since Watergate popped the lid off the CIA, creatures have slithered forth from its depths such as normally surface only in the pages of a John Le Carré novel. Lonely, wandering travel writers, employed by the very real Fodor's Travel Guides Inc., turn out to be secret agents

surreptitiously translating their "reviews" into code. Assassination plots hatched in the highest Washington circles bear fruit in distant Vietnam (Diem) and the Dominican Republic (Trujillo). Former movie mogul Howard Hughes stars in a CIA-sponsored, multi-million dollar production to liberate the corpses of seamen in a sunken Russian submarine from their ocean grave—along with secret code books and nuclear missiles.

Government operatives were discovered to have negotiated "contracts" with Mafia hit men to eliminate "totalitarian" leaders (Castro). In return the CIA performs favors such as spying on singer Phyllis McGuire for her then-boyfriend and Chicago racket chief, Sam Giancana. Leading journalists (the syndicated columnist Tom Braden, *New Republic* publisher Robert J. Myers, *Philadelphia Bulletin* editor George Packard, etc.) are linked to the CIA and Mexican presidents (Diaz Ordaz, López Matcos and Echeverría) are revealed as hip-pocket collaborators of the U.S. spy agency.

The still-unresolved assassination of John Kennedy is also among the contents of this Pandora's box. The 8 March *New*



Summa Corporation

The "Glomar Explorer," used by CIA to salvage Russian submarine in 1974.

York Times reports disputed photographic evidence that some contend places Watergate burglars E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis on the grassy knoll near Kennedy's limousine at the time of the 1963 assassination. Hunt was then a clandestine CIA operative and head of the Mexican CIA station at the time Lee Harvey Oswald visited there. Sturgis is known to have worked for the agency during the Bay of Pigs invasion. The men in the photo had been placed under arrest by Dallas police.

Clearly, whether or not the latter

speculations bear any relation to the truth, any real exposé of behind-the-scenes activities of the cloak-and-dagger set would implicate those in the very top levels of government and industry.

Good old, "dumb-but-honest" Gerald Ford has come up with the answer. He quickly appointed a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate CIA intrusion into domestic affairs. Of the eight men on the panel, three have had direct associations with the CIA—Nelson Rockefeller, C. Douglas Dillon and General Lyman

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Expelled ITers Join SL

"The SWP Is Finished As a Revolutionary Force"

The authors of this document were expelled from the Internationalist Tendency last October for demanding a clear political break with the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The IT had earlier been bureaucratically expelled from the SWP. However, in order to further the maneuvers of the centrist majority of the "United Secretariat" under Ernest Mandel, the IT has been forced to crawl back to the SWP to beg for readmission. The SWP, however, has refused to take it back.

In order to stifle opposition within the IT to this suicidal and unpopular policy, it was necessary to get rid of Comrades R. and C. (both members of the IT steering committee, one full and one alternate; one was formerly the organizer of the Houston IT branch). By this anti-Leninist act of political suppression the IT leaders demonstrated once again their submissive kowtowing before Mandel & Co. and their affinity for the USec's brand of dishonest wheeling and dealing—and drove another nail into the coffin of their tendency.

We welcome our new comrades to the struggle to recreate an authentic Trotskyist Fourth International.

8 March 1975
Houston, Texas

Dear Comrades,

Having reached basic agreement with the political positions of the international Spartacist tendency, we would like to submit our letter of application to the Spartacist League.

We are not newcomers to Trotskyist politics. One of us joined the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance in 1970, the other in 1972. The SWP had been the first socialist group we had come into contact with and their analysis of class society was radically different than what we had heard anywhere else. But it became increasingly apparent that the SWP's practice did not reflect what it had said its goal was—to lead the American socialist revolution. The SWP's line on feminism, on black nationalism, on students, in the antiwar movement—in fact, its line on all the "sectors" in society—were alike in one main point: they failed to link these struggles to the working class's leading role in society, and consequently, the role of the vanguard party. The working class was seen as just another sector. The Internationalist Tendency's predecessor, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, had roughly outlined these criticisms. Their document also stated opposition to the United Secretariat's line on guerrillaism, while at the same time exposing the SWP's pseudo-orthodoxy and legalism in opposing guerrillaism. These criticisms were dropped, however, when it seemed possible to link up with the International Majority Tendency led by the USec leadership; and we became the Internationalist Tendency.

The factional atmosphere inside the SWP increased. IT comrades were summarily removed from positions of responsibility. We were constantly stifled at meetings—questions were called before there was adequate discussion, motions were ruled out of order, etc. Major questions that faced the party were not allowed to be discussed at branch meetings. IT comrades were not allowed to speak for the party, at forums or classes, or as candidates. All recruits to the YSA and party were forewarned about the "disrupters." No union meeting was ever run tighter than SWP branch meetings.

The SWP's increasing degeneration, both politically and organizationally, had its effects on the IT rank and file. In May 1974, the IT held a national conference to discuss perspectives. Overwhelmingly, the IT ranks wanted an independent organization, aligned with the IMT. But the IMT and IT leaderships, fearing a

split with the SWP, began a campaign to quiet the ranks and beat back any moves toward a split. Comrades from Washington, D.C., made the following motion: While accepting the positions and authority of the IMT Bureau, we reject the perspectives of the IMT for the IT (prolonged work within the SWP) and will struggle against the IMT for our perspectives. The motion further demanded an immediate discussion to be opened up on perspectives for North America. The motion was reported to the IMT in a letter from [IT leader Bill] Massey. Point 3 was added to the original motion: "However, we will accept the authority of the IMT Enlarged Bureau and will therefore seek to carry out the line of the resolution. We will however attempt to change the thinking of the comrades of the IMT Bureau and Steering Committee by political persuasion." The letter also stated that the national leadership of the IT was in agreement with this motion, but that they did not initiate it or motivate it. The last paragraph of the letter is the most disgusting: "In short, we urge the comrades of the IMT, who we recognize as our political leaders, to take strong actions to help us democratize the SWP, so that we can carry out the perspectives of the Bureau. Without your strong actions, we will die trying. But, we will die." Massey wanted his swan song to be the IT's theme song! *This was a leader?* We were to be offered up as sacrifice for the sake of our political leaders, and their political expediencies. How many comrades was Massey willing to lose, how much of the IT's work was to go down the drain before he'd fight for independence for the IT?

Several weeks after the May conference, Cde. Charles of France, representing the IMT, toured the U.S., along with [IT leader John] Barzman. The purpose of the tour was to inform the IT ranks of the IMT and IT leadership's position that the SWP was revolutionary and that the best place for the IT to work and recruit was *inside* the SWP. (Cde. Charles said this, even though it was his and others' opinion that the SWP leadership was *not* reformable *nor* was the majority of the membership.) The order to remain inside the SWP completely negated and overturned the decision of the May conference.

During the summer, political tensions mounted. The SWP was embarrassed by their Argentine factional partner's bloc with the Perón government. The SWP found it intolerable to coexist with the IT and its uncritical approval of guerrillaism and adventurist tactics, such as those of

the ERP/PRT and the actions that led to the banning of the French USec section. In reaction to the SWP's conscious rejection of the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state, and its rejection of the role of the vanguard party and of the working class in accomplishing this, to the IT comrades the guerrilla line seemed more "revolutionary." But, guerrillaism also negates the role of the class and of the party in revolution. Thus the SWP, in the faction fight, was able to cover itself with "Leninist-Trotskyist" orthodoxy because of the IT analysis; but in fact, the two camps, with their seemingly opposite lines, ended up at the same watering hole. Nonetheless, the IT was expelled on July 4, 1974.

This opened up a Pandora's box for the IT leadership, for the IT had never been a homogeneous group. The womb that had been holding us together had expelled us. On the one hand, there was a feeling of elation, all the energies that had been channeled into the faction fight came to the fore; on the other hand, the suppressed differences also came out. The IT leadership recognized the danger of open political debate. They deliberately failed to act decisively upon the expulsion. The first plenum after the expulsion was not held until October.

By now, the deliberate footdragging of the IMT really disgusted us and the two of us began work on a document for the plenum, on the nature of the SWP, calling it reformist and calling for the IT to make a clean political break. This went directly counter to the USec leadership. We had learned by now that whatever USec wanted, the IT leadership was ready and willing to rubber stamp. The plenum was finalized for October, ostensibly to discuss perspectives; but since Cde. Charles had already pointed the way, the plenum would be nothing more than a "democratic" vote for those already decided-upon policies, i.e. "reintegration." Our document threw a wrench into an otherwise smooth operation, for in the main the IT ranks had been sufficiently demoralized by the bureaucratic overturn of the May conference, by the delay by the leadership after expulsion and by the "prestige" of "The Fourth International" presenting a solid front with our spineless leadership in opposing independence for the IT. The leadership could easily expect to railroad through their perspective of re-entry into the SWP.

We began to look more closely at the USec and its policies. It seemed quite apparent to us that anyone who closely examined the positions and practice of the SWP could see that what existed today was qualitatively different from the party of Trotsky. Why was the USec bringing all its pressure to bear to force us back into a party that, by Cde. Charles's own admission, was not reformable. The questions of guerrillaism, of the deals made at the Tenth World Congress, of the dual sections [in countries where the USec majority and minority had split into separate organizations], of the actions of the Argentine PST, of the Union of the Left popular front that the French comrades had called upon the working class to support—these questions raised themselves in the context of the IT expulsion.

Comrades in the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (BLT) of the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) were raising the same questions. Their docu-

ment analyzed the crisis facing the USec and their concept of communist work in the trade unions.

"It is an undeniable fact that the method that the international majority leadership has used in constructing the International is not the Leninist one. The Fourth International is not a democratic centralist organization today precisely because it has not been constructed on a firm and well defined programmatic basis. Democratic centralism can have no meaning except as an organizational form at the service of the revolutionary proletarian program. The federalist practices of the Fourth International correspond to a quite different political conception. They reflect a tendency to subordinate political principle to organizational unity. The fact that the international majority has succumbed to this clearly demonstrates its political opportunism and its equivocation before the historically essential task of constructing a revolutionary international. The SWP has repudiated

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Votes for Break With Democrats AFSCME Local Elects Militant

LOS ANGELES—Since the beginning of the "fiscal crunch" of the late 1960's government workers have increasingly flocked to trade unionism. But while the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is now the fastest-growing union in the country, its leadership under liberal Democrats Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum has no answer to the current sharp economic slump. In fact, Gotbaum's recent "achievements" in collective bargaining with New York City officials all amount to giving up hard-won union gains.

Members of AFSCME Local 2070, the UCLA campus workers' union, have recently taken steps toward a program to combat these attacks on labor. Last month Alice Lichtenstein, a member of the Militant Caucus, was elected to the Local's executive board. Shortly afterward the 2070 membership also approved official participation in a California AFL-CIO march against unemployment, under the banner "Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties—For a Workers Party Based on the

Unions."

The Militant Caucus was founded in 1972 by stewards and organizers who had played a prominent role in the Local's drive to unionize dormitory, custodial and library staffs. Faced with vicious anti-labor legislation (which does not even provide for collective bargaining for government workers) and an AFSCME bureaucracy hostile to organizing university employees (regarded as prone to infection with unruly radicalism), the MC has stressed the need for reliance on labor's own strength, not Sacramento politicians. This has consistently set it apart from the leadership's "Unity Committee," whose key members are sympathetic to the "anti-monopoly" policies of *People's World*, the West Coast Communist Party newspaper.

On the heels of its election victory, the Militant Caucus responded to the AFL-CIO call for a March 8 rally for jobs in Sacramento by proposing a Local 2070 contingent to march under the following slogans: A shorter workweek at no loss in pay—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay—Jobs for all! A full cost-of-living escalator! Union strikes against layoffs! Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties—For a workers party based on the unions! Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers! Expropriate industry without compensation—For the planning of production under a workers government!

The motion passed, with the exception of the last point, which was blocked by Local officers, members of the Unity Committee, who were fearful of scaring off potential members of an "anti-monopoly people's coalition" with talk of a workers government and attacks on private property. However, these reformists let pass the call for a workers party, a demand they have consistently opposed in the past. Correcting for their "error," Unity Committee supporters virtually boycotted the Sacramento march.

The march itself was intended by the state labor federation as an escape valve for discontent over mounting layoffs. Labor skates such as ILWU president Bridges and UAW regional director Whipple shared the podium with Governor Brown and Senator Tunney. Eager to avoid embarrassing their Democratic Party friends, the bureaucrats made only

token efforts to publicize the rally and hounded unionists with "unacceptable" signs (such as "30-for-40"!) along with leftist paper salesmen to the end of the march. Nevertheless, almost half the marchers booed as Brown and Tunney appeared.

The Militant Caucus' struggle against reliance on capitalist politicians was also the central theme in recent local elections. The incumbent Unity Committee campaigned on the slogan "Vote for Experience," projecting itself as the best qualified to take advantage of the pending Greene/Dills public employee collective bargaining act. This legislation provides for a Taft-Hartley-style 60-day "cooling-off" period and empowers any judge to terminate a strike, sending the dispute to compulsory binding arbitration if it threatens "public health and safety"! The Unity Committee supports this bill.

Since the two Unity Committee incumbents running for three open spots on the executive board were virtually assured of re-election, the real contest was between the MC candidate and Barry Sautman, whose views reflect the type of "militant" reformism characteristic of the Progressive Labor Party. Sautman's campaign theme was "Vote for a Change," and his equally vague program concentrated mainly on pressing grievances in a more militant fashion. His campaign leaflet assured Local members that "in the

coming year, collective bargaining will probably become a reality for campus workers...."

The Militant Caucus alone exposed the restrictive, anti-labor provisions of the Dills bill and hammered at the necessity of union organization to build the power for successful strikes. Transcending the minimal and parochial approaches of the other candidates, the MC pointed to capitalism as the cause of assaults on government workers. Its program included not only the demands raised for the Sacramento march, but also the fight against imperialist war; for international workers' solidarity; for the elimination of racial and sexual discrimination—jobs for all, union control of hiring/training; for the expulsion of cops and prison guards from AFSCME; for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

The Militant Caucus program points the path forward for government workers and all labor. The election of Lichtenstein is a victory, but we can be sure that the reformists will only redouble their efforts to keep the Local on the path of class collaboration. The MC must meet this attack by stepping up its own fight to provide resolute leadership in every aspect of the class struggle, and by extending its efforts by joining with militants elsewhere who wish to fight for a program of complete victory for labor against capital. ■



WV Photo

AFSCME Local 2070 banner at March 8 AFL-CIO jobs rally in Sacramento.

Letters

Dacca, Bangladesh
10 February 1975

Dear Comrade,

I have seen *Workers Vanguard* No. 61 in which my letter written to you from Calcutta was published. You must have learnt about the latest developments in Bangladesh which confirm the correctness of your analysis of the political situation in Bangladesh. Trotskyists in India misguided by the two factions of the dis-United Secretariat failed to adopt a correct stand on Bangladesh, not to say of intervening effectively in Bangladesh. Either they wanted to tone down all criticism of the Awami League or tended to identify themselves with one of the Maoist groups [the Communist Party of East Bengal (Marxist-Leninist)] led by [Abdul] Matin and Alauddin.

Another little known fact about the emergence of Bangladesh is that Indian forces had entered into the territories of the then East Pakistan at least two months prior to the declaration of war in December 1971. Visitors to the so-called liberated areas in September or October 1971 were able to see Indian soldiers everywhere and the Awami League people asked them not to disclose it to the press. True, there were Awami League forces too but their role was rather insignificant and the visitors were rather

astonished to learn from the Awami League and their liberation forces that they were going to win fully by December.

Greetings,
Farooq Alim

WV replies: We are indebted to the writer for this information on Bangladesh. In the January 1972 issue of *Workers Vanguard* we pointed out that India, with the connivance of the Awami League, had used the refugee problem and the Bengalis' just struggle against Pakistan for self-determination as pretexts to take control of the insurgent "Mukti Bahini." Its aim was to eliminate Pakistan as a serious rival and to establish Bangladesh as a client state.

At the time of the Indian invasion the SL called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides, i.e., urged the workers, peasants and soldiers to "turn their guns around" and struggle against their own rulers, rather than serve as pawns for the competing bourgeoisies. The issue of Bengali self-determination was subordinate to the reality of an India-Pakistan war.

In contrast, other left groups such as the reformist Socialist Workers Party were hailing the "strength of the Indian army" and, in the case of the political

bandits of the Healyite "International Committee," actually "critically support[ing] the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh."

As we wrote then, "To describe the Indians as providing 'military and economic aid to Bangla Desh' is about like terming the U.S. Army in Vietnam 'advisors'!" This additional report from eyewitnesses confirms that far from merely giving military aid to the insurgents, the Indian military apparatus was in control of the Awami League guerrillas fully two months before the actual invasion in December 1971.

Chicago
15 February

To the Editor:

The otherwise excellent article on the "illegal aliens" scare ("Stop the Deportations!" *WV* No. 60, 17 January 1975) was flawed in one respect: the sentence reading, "At present, 2,000 Cubans enter the country each month, adding to the 750,000 *gusano* families already here" could be construed to imply that the entire Cuban-American population is *gusano*.

The counter-revolutionary *gusano*

organizations in the U.S. are well known and justly hated throughout the left for their complicity in CIA attacks and sabotage in Cuba, their campaigns of terror against left groups, Cuba-support organizations, and the Puerto Rican independence movement, as well as the involvement of some *gusano* elements with the heroin traffic. Many, myself included, have had to guard their own homes or organizational offices from threatened *gusano* attack. The workers movement as a whole must be on its guard against these thugs in the service of imperialism and reaction.

It must be noted, however, that (a) many Cuban refugees leave the island not for clearly defined or active opposition to the Cuban Revolution but in the pursuit of acquisitive individualism, or for family reasons, and, more important, (b) there exists a layer of radicalized young Cubans who have grown up in the U.S. and have come to support the gains of the revolution. Some have become involved in left groups such as the Young Lords or in pro-Castro Cuban groups, and many of these subjectively revolutionary or radical young Cubans can be won to revolutionary Trotskyist politics.

Comradely greetings,
Sandor Jonas

10 Fires in Four Weeks

Company/FBI Crackdown in NY Telephone

MARCH 20—Somebody is allegedly trying to burn down New York Telephone. A big fire at the Second Avenue switching center at the end of February knocked out phone service for the entire Lower East Side of Manhattan. Smaller fires have since occurred at several phone company locations and after three weeks service in the area only now is being restored.

While the fires have caused considerable disruption of New York City—causing even traffic lights and bank burglar alarms to stop functioning—they do not represent a blow against the telephone monopoly. AT&T, the parent company of New York Telephone, will simply write off the damages for tax purposes, get a tax credit for new investment and use the rebuilding expenses as a rationale for bigger rate increases.

Although it is not known who is starting the fires there will certainly be no lack of "suspects." With the FBI involved, the stage is set for a witchhunt against union militants, those with long-standing beefs against the company, those with a history of radical politics, homosexuals, etc. Secret agents now roam the phone buildings and management has stated that it wants to weed out "undesirables" from its workforce. Militants must demand that these government and company spies be immediately removed!

Moreover, stringent sign-in procedures have been set up, which will undoubtedly be used to discipline all phone company workers through stepped-up "absence and lateness control." It is also likely that future layoffs will be justified by referring to the fires.

These fires, if they are deliberate arson, are indefensible. Telephone service is a vital social service for working people.

How many elderly, for instance, have died as a result of this vandalism simply because they could not call a doctor? (Of course, a strike can also cause hardship and deprive working people of needed services and goods. Though strikers may make provision for emergency service, the primary consideration must be defense of the struggles of the organized working class.)

Acts of industrial sabotage are frequently a desperate response to the betrayals of the trade-union bureaucracy. Faced with the refusal of their leadership to do anything about speed-up, auto workers have long used mildly effective harassing tactics to slow down the breakneck pace of the production line. But even where such acts are not a threat to the life and limb of fellow workers (it is simply luck that no phone workers have been seriously injured by the recent fires), sabotage is a primitive form of resistance which cannot seriously challenge the power of the owners of the means of production.

For example, in the 1971 New York phone strike rank-and-file outrage at the sellout contract negotiated by CWA president Joe Beirne resulted in a wave of low-level sabotage, including such acts as overturning phone trucks and dragging cables out of the ground. While harassment can sometimes supplement strike action, in 1971 it was no substitute for what was needed to achieve victory: *shutting down phone.*

But as long as the present misleaders are in control of the unions such a militant policy is out of the question. Beirne (and his successor Glen Watts) stood by as the company sent scabs in from out of state; Local 1101 President Carnivale (and his successor Ed Demp-

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New York Times/Neal Boenzi

February 27 fire at Second Avenue telephone center in New York.

Set Up By Union Tops

800 Long Lines Workers Suspended

NEW YORK—A cynical maneuver by the leadership of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1150 here has ended in a disaster for the membership. More than 800 New York-area Long Lines phone workers were suspended last week as the result of an inept attempt by the executive board to pull off an "unofficial" job action. The walkout was called in order to bolster the sagging reputation of the Local leadership under Anthony Candopoulos, which had been seeking (so far unsuccessfully) to get the ranks to vote a hefty dues increase.

The dues increase is now the least of ex-President Candopoulos' worries. Rather than go along with the "protest" charade, AT&T Long Lines management swiftly moved to lock out workers who attended a union meeting on company time, then suspended all those who responded to union officials' call for a walkout on March 14. Seeing that their bluff had been called, and unwilling to mobilize the ranks for a real fight, the 1150 tops decided to send everyone back to work. As a sop to the furious membership, Candopoulos' resignation was announced two days later.

(This was not the first time Candopoulos had sacrificed militants to company victimization. Last August, when 250 Long Lines employees were suspended for walking out in solidarity with a

wildcat at the same location, the leadership ordered everyone else to stay on the job while individual grievances were filed!)

The recent clashes began earlier this month when 70 Long Lines operators and plant workers in a White Plains facility were suspended for walking out in support of an operator disciplined for supposedly making a personal phone call. Management at first refused to even meet to discuss the union's grievance. A few days later a clerk at the 811 Tenth Avenue phone center was suspended for being late. (Subsequently the supervisor admitted seeing her in the building before the shift began.)

Although the union has repeatedly failed to take action against such company harassment in the past, this time a noon meeting was called in the lobby of 811. When management proceeded to lock out all those who participated on company time, stewards and executive board members pulled out the rest of the building. According to workers at that location interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, these union officials claimed the walkout would be local-wide and promised the quick appearance of picket lines at other buildings.

In reality, however, the Local 1150 leadership refused to take any responsibility for the action. (Under the CWA

constitution local unions cannot call strikes.) A union leaflet merely called on the membership "to take the lockout with our sisters and brothers." Furthermore, it said that the protest meeting was held "to squash rumours and prevent a walkout."

Over the weekend, Local bureaucrats' bravado began to falter as the company announced mass suspensions. This did not stop their loyal "left" cheering squad, the *Final Warning* group supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union, from claiming in a leaflet that Candopoulos was going to carry out city-wide picketing, including at the key Second Avenue switching center where 4,000 phone workers are on round-the-clock shifts restoring lines damaged in recent fires (see story above). But the pickets never materialized. Long Lines operators went to work unhindered on Saturday and Sunday, and by Monday the union simply abandoned the suspended workers.

Workers in Local 1150 report that as a result of the latest fiasco many members have become demoralized, expressing impatience with the frequent walkouts at 811 and saying that nothing can be done except to follow the ineffectual grievance procedures. While isolated adventurist actions *do* lead to defeat (even when they are called by the leadership!), phone

workers cannot afford to take a dive. This would simply give the company free rein as it steps up harassment and attempts to whittle away union gains during the economic crisis.

Candopoulos' resignation is not sufficient. The Local executive board was secretly meeting throughout this time and planning every move! Long Lines workers must demand immediate Local elections so that the entire leadership can be held accountable for its criminal irresponsibility.

What should have been done was to call an official local strike to force management to rescind the suspensions. At the same time, a militant leadership would have demanded a special union convention to reopen the contract in order to get rid of the company's arbitrary absence/lateness control procedures, and to provide protection against layoffs by instituting a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

Such demands will not be won by a bureaucracy which seeks above all to protect its own petty privileges through working out "deals" with the company. It is necessary to prepare the membership for militant action, democratically decided upon, by fighting for a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program. ■

Clique Fights Shatter RSL

Some twenty months ago a new ostensibly Trotskyist organization was born in the United States. Following a several-year period of factional/ cliquist instability a left wing congealed in the left social-democratic Internationall Socialist (IS) group. This left wing, a hasty amalgam led by IS former National Secretary Sy Landy and Ron Taber, precipitated itself out of the IS and founded the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL).

Now the RSL has had its second split in eight months (for the first defection—Margaret Brecht et al.—see "Witchhunt in the RSL," *WV* No. 52, 13 September 1974 and "TRUTH Lies," *WV* No. 64, 14 February 1975). The present fight had been simmering for several months; however, the "Declaration of the Revolutionary Tendency of the RSL" signed by 18 comrades from Detroit and Los Angeles did not appear until 6 February 1975. The "Statement of Resignation of the Revolutionary Tendency of the RSL" signed by 22 comrades appeared on 9 February, three days later.

The new split actually consists of two elements: a group whose central spokesman is former RSL Political Committee member Bruce Landau and which is based in Detroit; and the former RSL "L.A. caucus" led by Eric Olsen. The materials we have consist almost entirely of materials of the component around Landau. A reply by the RSL majority appears in the RSL's irregular paper, the *Torch*, 15 February-15 March 1975.

The comrades of the Landau grouping appear to be thoughtful. One of their first acts after resigning from the RSL was to send their documents to *WV*. (This in itself is not surprising. The Spartacist League is both the tacitly acknowledged "Trotskyist standard of honesty" and also the only organization which will publicize the doings of our competitors, even our minuscule competitors. Therefore lots of people send us their documents.) But the Landau grouping mailed us their documents—and also gave us documents of the RSL majority so that we could examine both sides as we appraised the split from our vantage point. (All this material shows the central cliquist culpability of Taber and Brecht.)

The positions of the Landau/Olsen comrades are deserving of scrutiny. But our main interest at present must be the light which the various documents cast upon the revolutionary pretensions of the Taber-led RSL: the cynical, clique-ridden and programmatically Shachtmanite organization which is the left wing of the old IS.

RSL in Its Death Throes

This second split in eight months of RSL leading elements and others, which is numerically significant when measured against the small size of the remaining RSL, is evidence of the deep crisis of that organization. First the departure of RSL National Organizational Secretary Margaret Brecht and her "Soviet Defensists," then the demotion of Sy Landy and now the departure of 22 comrades (including three members of the Central Committee, one CC "candidate" and four members of local Executive Committees)—only the shell of the leadership remains: Taber and a Landy whose authority is badly damaged within the organization.

The fundamental reasons for the stagnation and resultant frenzy of the RSL are of course political. The most striking organizational manifestation is the continuation of the old IS brand of cynical cliquism, which means that many of the correct and incorrect programmatic positions of the RSL are not real positions, but rather are window-dressing for organizational maneuver and manipulation. The political and the

organizational aspects come together in the main roadblock standing between the RSL and opportunist "success": the Spartacist League.

The Spartacist League is not a mass proletarian vanguard party. It is the nucleus of such a party and is based upon the central programmatic points which must define such a party, although it still lacks many of the elements of a party (in particular, it lacks deep, historically tested and verified, hegemonic implantation among the most militant layers of the working class). The Spartacist League is a propaganda group. It is however unique among U.S. ostensibly Trotskyist organizations to the left of the Socialist Workers Party in that it is achieving and consolidating successes in its political development and its work both domestically and internationally. In short, the SL/U.S. is growing and its growth has sterilized its U.S. centrist competitors, who are suffering repetitive splits as well as less spectacular depletion of their memberships.

The documents of the RSL bear witness to the impact of the SL. The minutes of the RSL Central Committee gathering of 2-3 November 1974 (published in *RSL National Secretary's League Report*, Volume III [No. 1], 18 January 1975) are fixated on the SL. A main bone of contention is the series of debates between the RSL and SL: if the RSL lost them, why the RSL lost them, whether it is even theoretically possible for the RSL to do better in the future, etc. The SL is presented as the horrible example of *everything*: all combatants accuse all others of making arguments that logically lead to "the method that the Spartacists use in their opponents work." "Orthodox" rhetoric is put forward which is nothing but a bad carbon copy of the positions of the SL; and some of the worst positions taken by the RSL have been chosen in part out of a desperate desire to distinguish the RSL from the SL.

In fact a central dispute between the Taberite leadership and the Landau opposition is that both see the need to defend themselves against the SL but they cannot agree on how to do so. Thus Taber produced a seven-page mimeographed "Motion (First Draft) on the Opportunist Character of the Spartacist League" (undated) seeking to prove that the main deviation of the SL is rightist opportunism; the Landau minority, showing at least a bit more sense, considers this a "ludicrous pronouncement" and insists that the SL's main deviation is sectarianism. (The latter position is more sensible inasmuch as it recognizes that the RSL stands to the right of the SL and will have to do less blatant distorting of SL positions if it seeks to attack the SL from the right and not from the pseudo-left. Of course, the fundamental predicament that both sides have is that the SL is neither right-opportunist nor left-sectarian, but revolutionary.)

Cliquism

The documents by the Landau opposition at least seem to show rationality. The apparently pre-factional (undated) "Resolution on the *Torch*" has dug up some excellent Lenin quotes from the 1900-1902 period discussing the need for a polemical press rather than a fake-mass garbage organ. (What seems to be missing from the Landau conception, however, is the insistence which characterized the Spartacist tendency since its inception on building a *fighting* propaganda group—a propagandist orientation of which an essential element is exemplary work among the exploited and oppressed.)

But Landau's greatest service to the socialist movement thus far has been his exposure of the corrupt cliquist character

"The RSL still remains trapped within the framework of its historic origins as a break away from Trotskyism, i.e. the revolutionary Marxist of our time. Politically its future, though not necessarily now determined, is not promising. Organizationally its perspectives, objectively considered, are suggestive of early disintegration. Its prior shaping experience in the welter of IS personality blocs is poor preparation for the crystallization of a cadre capable of class-struggle combat; and a grouping of under a hundred comrades had better have a characteristic and vital programmatic quality if it is reasonably to expect to exist and grow."

—"IS Explodes," *WV* No. 26, 3 August 1973

of the RSL regime, a regime of which he was a part. He has published documents submitted to the December 1973 plenum of the Central Committee, along with an "Introduction" explaining who wrote them and what they prove. They are supposed to prove that "...the cynicism, the substitution of personal maneuver and back-slapping for politics, the hureaucraticism, the generalized abandonment of political debate in favor of any method necessary to maintain organizational control—all these phenomena were first discovered in the functioning of Taber and Landy by Taber and Landy themselves."

And the documents certainly prove what they are supposed to prove! Here are some quotations from the "Political Committee Report" written by the central leadership of the Taberite RSL:

"The Revolutionary Socialist League is now in the process of transformation from a hastily-organized tendency within the IS to a Bolshevik cadre organization...."

"The nucleus of what is now the Revolutionary Socialist League was...for lack of a better term, a clique, or rather a series of cliques, centering around different personalities...."

"The leadership of the League has been in the hands of Comrades Landy, Taber, Brecht and Landau who functioned in a cliquist manner...."

If this expert testimony, combined with the fact that the RSL leadership attempted to suppress these documents from being circulated to their own membership, were not enough, let us quote from the "Statement of Comrade Landy" which is characterized by far less double-talk:

"...While we engage in this and other acts within an ongoing web of cliquist functioning, we from a high moral position severely penalized and castigated Los Angeles comrades for cliquism as well as others. This, while we, Comrades Landy, Taber, Brecht (quite possibly Comrade Landau didn't know what he was participating in) knew we were operating in the same fashion and then some. At the very convention we blasted the LA group we were still engaged in 'setting up' Comrade [Chris] Hudson."

"The amount of untruths, manipulations, cynical tacking and veering in allocating posts to Comrade Hudson as well as in general was high. Not only did the actions react upon the PC, but the CC and certain rank and filers. In fact, at a recent PC meeting where it was charged (not by me) that clique considerations were involved in the make-up of the CC slate, this was not denied. It could not be denied...."

"On the PC, there is little trust or confidence in general. It is not peculiar. Given our intimate knowledge of the cynical tactics that we individually and as a group used recently, there is substantial basis for the lack of confidence and suspicions we have of one another."

Whither the RSL?

With the new organizational split coming on top of continuing insoluble political difficulties, it appears that the RSL has likely already gone below a viable level. The appearance of this article will, we hope, assist subjective revolutionaries remaining within the RSL and within its sundry decomposition products

to separate the wheat from the chaff of the ostensibly Trotskyist movement.

Where the Landau and Olsen oppositions are going is more difficult to determine. Both groupings have expressed the desire to study the history of the workers movement, in itself a valuable commitment (as Marx himself said, ignorance never did anybody any good) if it does not become simply an excuse for retreat into petty-bourgeois academia. Both groupings have verbally declined invitations to discuss with the Spartacist League, at least for the present. But perhaps they will include our suggestion in their projected course of study: a critical examination of the documented history of the Spartacist tendency, undertaken with the recognition that many of their present disagreements may represent not irreconcilable programmatic disparity but old prejudices and slanders inherited from the old IS and its Frankenstein monster, the RSL. The leap from Shachtmanism to Trotskyism which these comrades must make, transcending a fundamentally flawed tradition, is difficult but by no means impossible. The Leninist Tendency of Shapiro/Hayes, which resigned from the IS at the time of the Landy/Taber group's departure from the IS in 1973, subsequently fused with the SL and provides a model for serious comrades to study.

The following incident is cited in Bruce Landau's "Statement for the Minutes of the 2-3 November 1974 CC Plenum," dated 26 November 1974: Landau had accused RSL leaders of manufacturing differences with the SL because they feared that they would not achieve leadership positions in the SL were they to fuse. "...In private discussion, I suggested to Landy and Gregory that one reason for the RSL's uncoordinated and unclear initial 'combat' with the Spartacist League (SL) was the RSL's determination to build a group independent of the SL at any cost." Landy is quoted as replying, "No, I was never afraid of being denied leadership in the SL. After all, I knew [SL National Chairman James] Robertson would have made me a leader. He knows as well as I do the importance of preserving the remnants of our [political] generation."

Notwithstanding the fact that in the SL leaders are not "made" by cliquist appointment by national officers, there is a core of truth to the observation. The SL recognizes the importance of making the experiences in struggle of comrades from the ostensibly Marxist movement a part of our own accumulated experience. The central cadre of the SL has been built by fusions with elements from the "Trotskyist" movement (SWP), the Maoist movement and Progressive Labor, even the IS. If real programmatic unity can be achieved (the central programmatic barriers at present separating ex-RSL comrades from the SL are the Russian question and democratic/race oppression issues), and if the comrades manifest a determination to "say what is," past combats, even the most bitter ones, are not a barrier to future principled unification. ■

Indian Trotskyist Peasant Leader Persecuted

Defend Jagadish Jha!

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, is launching a campaign to generate international support for the persecuted veteran Indian Trotskyist, Jagadish Jha. Comrade Jha and a number of fellow militants have been subjected to five years of vicious government harassment and prosecution for their courageous efforts in 1969-1970 to organize the agricultural workers of Bankura.

The district of Bankura, with a population of 1.7 million, is the most arid and backward section of the state of West Bengal. The state government at the time Jha's organizing drive was at its height was the so-called "United Front" which included the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the centrist Revolutionary Socialist Party, as well as such outright bourgeois parties as the Bangla Congress Party.

Trotsky called Stalinism the syphilis of the workers movement, and in the Indian strain we find Stalinism at its most virulent. While the CPI(M) sometimes made halfhearted attempts to organize agricultural workers and lead land seizures (mostly prior to its entry into the popular-front government), Comrade Jha's campaign was the first serious effort. Typical of the West Bengal Stalinists' practice was to permit the capitalist landlords (the "jotedars") to join their parties and then defend the jotedars against the agricultural workers who were often members of the same parties. This was as true of the CPI(M) as of the CPI.

Furthermore, their coalition partner in the popular-front state government, the Bangla Congress Party, was openly the party of the jotedars and the urban capitalists. It is not surprising, therefore, that Jha's organizing efforts, conducted through the Paschim Bangla Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh (PSKS—West Bengal Village Workers and Tillers Union), encountered savage repression from the "United Front" government.

(The head of the police at the time in West Bengal was Jyoti Basu, a leader of the CPI(M), who also unleashed a murderous campaign to round up militants of the Communist Party of India [Marxist-Leninist], the official Maoist group, which had recently organized a peasant uprising against landlords in the Naxalbari district.)

Since 1970 Comrade Jha has been arrested three times and the police have brought 39 cases against 150 of the PSKS members and organizers. Jha is a member of the Communist League of India (CLI),

formerly the Socialist Workers Party of India (SWPI), a section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel. The SWPI and USec supported and widely publicized Jha's organizing drive at the time of its initial successes. However, now that these militants no longer have the media appeal of, for example, Bangladesh Maoists or the Chilean MIR, they have been criminally abandoned by the opportunist United Secretariat.

Moreover, Jha and the other defendants have accumulated enormous legal expenses which cannot be paid simply from the pittance which can be contributed from the meager earnings of agricultural workers. They have been forced to sell their livestock and implements but still cannot meet the cost of court appearances (lawyers' fees, travel expenses, etc.), much less bail. Jha himself must support a family of six and is seriously ill, presently being hospitalized. All this makes the negligence by the USec particularly despicable.

A detailed account of Jha's 1970 organizing drive, including the program of the PSKS and a brief biographical sketch, appeared in the SWPI magazine *World Outlook* (May 1970) and was subsequently reprinted in *Intercontinental Press* (11 and 25 May 1970). The article is by Sitaram B. Kolpe, a leading member of the SWPI and CLI. He writes:

"Now forty-seven years old [making him 52 today, quite old for a worker or peasant in India] and the father of five children, Jagdish Jha started his political career as a trade-union worker in Calcutta in the forties. He was one of the first group of workers who were attracted to the Bolshevik Leninist party which was then the Indian section of the Fourth International.

"He helped to organize the first Fire Brigade Workers' Union and other unions in Calcutta City.

"When the BLPI entered the Socialist party in 1948—after the former Congress Socialist party seceded from the Congress party to form an independent SP—he moved to the Raniganj area, where he organized the colliery workers in the coal mines. He was later elected secretary of the Bankura district committee of the SP. He was one of the first trade unionists to be detained by the then West Bengal government under the Public Security Act. On his release he was 'extorted' from Bankura district but he continued to work 'underground.'

"In 1952 when the SP merged with the Krishak Mazdoor Praja party [KMPP], a dissident group from the Congress party, to form the Praja Socialist party [PSP], he resigned along with other Trotskyists and functioned for a while under the banner of the Socialist party (Marxists). Thereafter he lost contact with the Trotskyist groups that existed in different parts of the country and settled down in Bankura to work among the peasants."

As to the later organizing which led to the PSKS, Kolpe writes:

"Jha has emerged as a militant peasant leader after the successful ten-day strike of 15,000 farm labourers in 400 villages in Bankura district in November 1969. The farm hands, as a result of the strike, got their daily wages nearly doubled—from two and a half kilograms of paddy [threshed unmill rice] to four kilograms plus two free meals for an eight-hour working day.

"But they got their wages only during the sowing and harvesting season. They are condemned to remain idle from January to June."

He quotes Jha as saying:

"The jotedars and rich peasants agreed to a wage rise because the strike took place during the harvesting season. But they are launching an offensive now. All sorts of tricks are being employed to scare the rural poor away from the PSKS. 'There are court cases pending against eighty-three of the militants of the PSKS, including me. The charges vary from rioting to illegal seizure of land, use of

firearms, and incitement to violence. We were charge-sheeted by the police under the United Front government which has since fallen. But the prosecution continues, naturally, now that the president's rule [by the central government] has been imposed on the state."

The program of the PSKS contains a number of vitally necessary reform demands, such as for a statutory minimum wage, year-round employment, full unemployment compensation, disability allowances, land distribution, free medical care and education, as well as the demand "Nationalization of all large-scale industries in the urban areas to abolish the monopoly of the capitalist class over them, nationalization of all principal means of production and distribution including transport, wholesale and foreign trade and commerce, as well as all credit institutions under the management of workers through elected committees of workers in all undertakings."

In many cases the demands reveal the stark poverty which exists in West Bengal, calling for things which are taken for granted even in many semi-industrialized capitalist countries. However, neither in the demands relating to distribution of land or in the demand for nationalization of industry is the stipulation "without compensation" included. This is crucial in order to contrast the Trotskyists' call for expropriation to the bourgeois nationalizations proposed by the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists. In addition, no demands are raised for political power, i.e., for the elimination of capitalist rule by a workers and peasants government.

Kolpe quotes Jha as stating, "Unless we establish a firm alliance with the working poor and the urban working class, we cannot win our struggle." Even if the SWPI had been a healthy revolutionary party, it would have required a strong base in the Calcutta proletariat to back up and provide working-class leadership for the mass organizing of the agricultural workers. Had the continuity of revolutionary Trotskyism not been broken in India, had the Trotskyist movement not been totally disoriented and dealt a lethal blow by two decades of liquidationism, a genuinely Marxist party could very well have stood at the head of the Indian proletariat. In that case Comrade Jha's courageous efforts in attempting to organize the agricultural workers might not have gone down in defeat.

The defense of Jagadish Jha is not only necessary because of the government repression of the activities of the PSKS which, whatever their limitations, were clearly on behalf of the oppressed and exploited. It is also required because Jha and his fellow militants have been vilely abandoned by their "comrades" of the CLI and USec, including by the USec's financially rather well-off "fraternal" group in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party. The defense of this veteran Trotskyist and valiant fighter for the cause of the workers and exploited peasants is an elementary duty for socialists and a necessary part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International in India.

We strongly urge our readers to contribute to the defense of Jagadish Jha through the PDC. Checks should be made out to "Partisan Defense Committee" and contributions for the defense of Comrade Jha should be so marked. All contributions should be sent to:

PDC
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
USA

Rightist Coup Smashed

Portuguese Left in Crisis

MARCH 23—On March 11 two plane-loads of parachutists occupied Lisbon airport and encircled the nearby First Light Artillery Regiment (RAL-I), reputed to be strongly leftist. The encampment was also subjected to rocket and machine-gun strafing by several jet trainers and helicopters. Meanwhile, in the center of the Portuguese capital, elements of the Republican National guard (GRN), a paramilitary organization from the period of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship, attempted to take over GRN headquarters. In several minor installations around the country there were similar reports of an attempted coup d'état by reactionary officers in the armed forces.

The conspirators were easily defeated. At the airport and RAL-I the parachutists were quickly surrounded by leftist militants and workers from TAP (national airlines) and nearby workplaces who sought to win over or neutralize the soldiers. Vigilance groups organized by the Communist Party (CP) set up roadblocks at key points around the city and elsewhere in the country to check automobiles for guns and known reactionaries.

In a number of towns the workers, alerted by the radio and left-wing parties, surrounded army barracks, parked cars on air strips and took other measures to frustrate the putsch. Bank workers occupied and closed down their offices in order to prevent a flight of capital from the country. Both in Lisbon and Porto, the second largest city, offices of the reactionary parties were sacked in the wake of the aborted coup.

As the total collapse of the plotters' inept plans became clear, General António de Spínola fled to Spain with 18 associates. Spínola was formerly head of the Military Junta of National Salvation which took power following the overthrow of the rightist dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano last April 25. Deposed in September after attempting to rally a "silent majority" against the CP and leftist officers of the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA), the bemonocled general was either the leader or figurehead of the new conspiracy. Having rallied only a handful of officers to his side and thoroughly botching the planned takeover, Spínola now joins Caetano in Brazilian exile.

"Not the Last Coup"

A move by right wingers in the military had been expected for some time. Rumors of an impending coup had led many housewives to stock up on food and provisions, while some of the more guerrillaist-oriented "far left" groups, notably the PRP-BR (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades), had taken to target practice with machine guns.

Conservative forces reportedly viewed the transfer of the leftist RAL-I unit to its strategic location next to Lisbon airport as a threat. They were encouraged to act by recent elections to advisory bodies for each of the branches of the military, in which leading "progressive" officers were defeated (including Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves and Brigadier General Otelo de Carvalho, commander of the Lisbon military district and head of the

elite Continental Operations Command [COPCON]).

However, it was generally expected that "moderate" elements would case out the leftists peacefully. As *Esquerda Socialista* (13 March), the newspaper of the left-reformist MES (Movement of the Socialist Left), noted:

"Although propitious conditions for a coup were being created, the truth is that no one counted on it then. It was thought that the bourgeoisie would wait for the elections which, according to all indications, would reinforce its positions...."

Within the military, conservative elements around General Francisco da Costa Gomes (head of the junta and a longtime friend of Spínola) and liberals around Majors Vítor Alves and Ernesto Melo Antunes (associated with the Socialist Party) had been able to force the convocation of the 200-member assembly of the MFA on March 11. Presumably Carvalho and possibly even Gonçalves would have been dumped at that meeting.

The bourgeoisie is understandably furious with Spínola for his precipitous move. *The New York Times* (16 March) wrote, "Leftist officers...came close to losing power on Tuesday and were saved by premature action of General Spínola that may have defeated the cause of moderation in Portugal." A high State Department official put it more bluntly: "It couldn't have gone better if it had been planned by the K.G.B."

But while the "progressive" officers won this round, there is no guarantee for the future. As Premier Gonçalves said prophetically the day after the putsch, "I think yesterday's was not the last coup."

"We Know that the CIA Is a Serious Problem"

The Movement of the Armed Forces has always been a very heterogeneous phenomenon. It was originally formed in August 1973 by some 200 junior officers to protest a Caetano decree giving equal rights to conscript officers (the *milicianos*), many of whom were former leftist students. However, the debilitating African wars were a source of far greater disgruntlement and soon moved the MFA toward political opposition to the dictatorship.

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David Barrett/Gamma

The "anti-imperialist" generals Pinochet, Spínola led to bloodbaths in China and Chile. I

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General Francisco da Costa Gomes

military institution. At the time of the April 25 coup they turned formal power over to a junta composed exclusively of right-wing generals and admirals, all of whom had recently held high commands in Africa. Costa Gomes remained as chief of staff, a position he held under Caetano.

Even the most left-wing members of the MFA have refused to break with their reactionary fellow officers. Thus COPCON chief Carvalho has declared that "the Cuban Revolution is extraordinary....My admiration for Fidel Castro is great" (*Afrique-Asie*, 10 February); but in September he said in an interview that "I knew I was not fighting against Spínola. That was never my intention and it never occurred to me to go against him or to make some sort of coup d'état to remove him from power." On the one hand, he says "We know that the CIA is a serious problem....NATO is another organization to combat communism" (*New Left Review*, November-December 1974). On

the other hand he remains in NATO and declares that "foreign companies...do not need to fear nationalization."

Most important, even the most "progressive" of the "progressive" officers are firmly determined to keep order in the military and to control the left and workers movement. When two *miliciano* officers refused to break the postal strike last June they were arrested. COPCON troops have been used to return the occupied Timex factory to its American owners last summer, to ban demonstrations by the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reorganizing of the Proletarian Party) on several occasions, to guard the U.S. embassy during a leftist march against layoffs and NATO on February 7, and to arrest Maoist leaders of the Chemical Workers Union only four days before the coup attempt. No wonder the MRPP claims that COPCON is really an abbreviation for "how to organize PIDE [Salazar's hated political police] with a



Leftist militants and troops at Artillery Regiment in Lisbon after defeat of March 11 putsch attempt.

different name."

For a few days after the abortive March 11 putsch there were speculations that non-leftists had been definitively removed from power. However, Costa Gomes remains as "President" of the country, a suitable rallying point for another reactionary coup, and on March 22 the Supreme Council of the Revolution added Majors Alves and Melo Antunes and Admiral Vitor Crespo, all of them pronounced liberals, to its ranks.

A Shift to the Left?

Among the immediate consequences of the March 11 events was the formation of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, replacing the military junta, the council of state and the coordinating committee of the MFA. Two days later the Supreme Council announced the nationalization of all banks and insurance companies not owned by foreign capital. In addition, a number of leading financiers have been arrested on charges of economic sabotage. Among them are the heads of the Champalimaud, Espirito Santo and CUF trusts.

These moves have been interpreted by the more alarmist bourgeois press as the "beginning of the end" for Portuguese capitalism. It is true that the banks control much of the country's industry, but their nationalization was a measure that had been demanded even by the pro-American Socialist Party (SP) of Mario Soares and the bourgeois PPD (Popular Democratic Party). (Both parties are suspected of having had contact with Spínola in the weeks before the putsch.)

Moreover, many western capitalist countries have a high percentage of state ownership in certain sections of industry and finance. Much of Italian industry, for instance, is controlled by two super-trusts left over from the period of fascist rule. Given the severe economic difficulties accompanying Portugal's loss of its former colonies, a degree of state ownership may be necessary in order to accomplish a reorientation of the capitalist economy toward Europe. These bourgeois nationalizations do not mean the expropriation of the capitalist class any more than did similar measures taken by "anti-imperialist" military regimes in Egypt, Algeria and Peru in the past.

An important issue not yet fully resolved is the elections. Originally scheduled for March they have been twice pushed back, the latest date being April 25. In addition, three parties which had been scheduled to run in the election have now been taken off the ballot and forbidden to hold demonstrations or public meetings before April 25. These are the rightist Christian Democratic

continued on page 10



David Barrett/Gamma



João Ribeiro



The "anti-imperialist" generals Pinochet, Spínola and Chiang. Stalinists' policies of alliance with bourgeois officer caste led to bloodbaths in China and Chile. Is Portugal next?

Take Saigon!

(continued from page 1)

who have fought so long and suffered so much, can celebrate the headlong retreat of the puppet forces of U.S. imperialism from this strategic area.

USSR, China Must Aid the DRV/NLF

The precipitous retreat of Saigon's forces is the direct outcome of the current DRV/NLF offensive, an offensive which began last December. By January the DRV/NLF had captured Phuoc Long, a province northwest of Saigon on the Cambodian border. Then the heaviest fighting since the Easter campaign of 1972 began in the northernmost province of Quang Tri located just below the demilitarized zone. The offensive subsequently shifted southward into the Central Highlands and toward Saigon.

The puppet forces attempted to make a stand at the Highlands town of Ban Me Thuot located on the strategically important Highway 14. Battered to pieces by the DRV/NLF units Thieu's troops broke and withdrew, setting in motion the massive retreat which is still going on. The imminent loss of the old imperial capital of Hue, the center of Vietnamese culture and the site of bloody battles in the 1968 Tet offensive, will be a severe blow to the Saigon regime.

The battle for Ban Me Thuot spotlights a very important aspect of the current offensive. The DRV/NLF attack was spearheaded by a sizeable tank column. Throughout the current offensive DRV/NLF forces have employed sophisticated weapons such as tanks, armored personnel carriers, heavy artillery and radar-aimed anti-aircraft guns against the ARVN. This is no guerrilla offensive such as in 1968. Further, since the DRV is totally dependent upon the Soviet Union and China for such weaponry, the attitude of Peking and Moscow toward the situation in Vietnam takes on decisive importance. In the past the nationalist Russian and Chinese bureaucracies have cynically turned off the spigot of military supplies in order to induce Hanoi to fall in line with their efforts to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. This criminal policy must be stopped. Revolutionary militants must demand that the USSR and China supply the DRV/NLF fighters with all necessary military equipment.

The military situation in Vietnam is still extremely fluid and reports coming from the areas of battle are necessarily spotty and very likely inaccurate. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the DRV/NLF forces are in a position which enables them to easily cut southern Vietnam in half, isolating the battered and demoralized ARVN troops now concentrating around Danang. Most likely the DRV/NLF will seek to consolidate its hold in the north and in the Highlands, to control Highway 1 and other strategic avenues of supply, and to begin the encirclement of the city of Saigon in preparation for a more intensive pressure campaign next year, timed to coincide with the U.S. presidential elections.

Unlike the Tet offensive of 1968, present actions have so far excluded the city of Saigon and avoided major battles in the rice-rich Mekong delta. But like Tet in 1968 and the Easter offensive in 1972 the strategic *political objective* is to *pressure* for a negotiated coalition government in the South. It is therefore no accident that major offensives by the DRV/NLF have taken place during U.S. presidential election years.

That the strategic aim of the Vietnamese Stalinists is not outright military victory but pursuit of a popular-front coalition in the South is now clear to nearly everyone including even the more obtuse members of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, as early as January 31 the *Wall Street Journal*, house organ of American finance capital, explained to its readers

that the North Vietnamese promise that 1975 would be a year for "new opportunities for decisive blows" did not mean that "the Communists" wanted "outright victory with Communist columns marching into Saigon. Rather the Communists seemed to be aiming to...switch the balance of power...to form a coalition government."

The announced purpose of the DRV/NLF to form an all-class "democratic" government is completely in accord with their Stalinist traditions. The Stalinists once again seem determined to sacrifice military victory in order to gain a political defeat. The incomparable military courage of the Vietnamese worker and peasant fighters has been matched only by the political treachery of their leadership.

Yet Another Sellout?

The fact is that for over three decades the armies of the Vietminh, NLF and North Vietnam have been at war with the bourgeoisie—the French, Japanese, British and American imperialists and their

form a coalition government with the oppressors of the workers and peasants in South Vietnam.

At the time the Spartacist League declared that the terms of the Paris treaty were a robbers' peace, while pointing out that the treaty was simply an episode in the ongoing civil war. As the SL Political Bureau statement of February 1973 said: "the cease fire does not mean an immediate liquidation of the struggle and could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South" (*WV* No. 16, February 1973).

U.S. Imperialism, Hands Off Vietnam!

While Hanoi doubtless still seeks accommodation through the creation of a popular-front government in the South, it is not yet clear what the implications of the current offensive are. Should Thieu's army be mortally wounded and incapable of defending Saigon there will be a very strong pressure upon the American imperialists to intervene directly to head

elementary duty of the world proletariat, and especially the American working class, to combat it by means of class-struggle actions: e.g., political strikes against intervention and the "hot-cargoing" of military supplies bound to the U.S. Army and Thieu. Likewise, the Soviet Union and China must supply the DRV with the most modern weapons systems to ward off imperialist attack. Once again, as we did as early as 1964, the Spartacist League raises the call: Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover Hanoi!

Imperialism's Dilemma

In the current deep economic crisis and in the face of the certain widespread revulsion which a new Vietnam adventure would certainly engender, American imperialism would prefer to avoid direct military intervention in Indochina. Instead, through aid to Thieu and by seeking an accommodation with the Stalinists it hopes to extricate itself from its difficulties in the region. Present bourgeois reaction to the crumbling position of U.S. imperialism has so far



Keystone

Paris peace conference on Vietnam, January 1973: civil war continued despite the accords.

"own" bourgeoisie. Socialists must recognize the class character of this civil war and call for military victory to the DRV/NLF, but at the same time withholding any political confidence in the Stalinist leadership.

The Stalinists, both in Moscow and Peking as well as those in Vietnam, have a despicable history of selling out the Vietnamese struggle in an effort to come to an accommodation with imperialism and its local lackeys. Thus Ho Chi Minh supported French colonialism during the period of the popular-front government in France (1936-39), calling only for limited independence within the French Union.

After the Japanese defeat in 1945 there was an insurrection in Saigon which aimed at resisting the British and French troops reoccupying Vietnam. The Vietnamese Trotskyists who stood at the head of the revolutionary masses were butchered by Ho Chi Minh in order to smash this resistance and to further Ho's successful effort to sign an agreement in Hanoi in 1946 permitting the reintroduction of French troops.

At Geneva in 1954, after the overwhelming Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu, the Vietnamese Stalinists under the tutelage of Chou En Lai and the Soviet Union returned half the country to imperialism, withdrawing their troops to seal the bargain.

Once again, in 1972 the DRV/NLF signed the so-called Paris "Peace" Accords. These accords provided for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an in-place ceasefire. But, additionally, the Paris treaty called for the establishing of a popular-front coalition government in the South. World Stalinism joined in chorus with its liberal friends to sing the "Sign the Peace Treaty" song:

off a collapse such as that occurring in Cambodia. (A major battle near Saigon in which units of the ARVN are pulverized would produce a panic in the already shell-shocked puppet army, thus starkly posing this question.)

Vietnam is much more important to the imperialists than Cambodia. American imperialism was never directly involved in the Cambodian civil war, whereas in Vietnam it committed a very large expeditionary force. Vietnam represents an investment of billions of dollars in the most highly mechanized army in Southeast Asia. Loss of Vietnam would represent a political and military defeat of incomparably greater weight than loss of Cambodia, a defeat whose ramifications would extend far beyond Indochina.

A new American intervention into Vietnam must not be permitted. Militant workers must raise the demand: U.S. Imperialism, Hands Off Vietnam! Should such an aggression occur it would be the

been confined to blustering threats and political maneuvering amongst the various factions.

Thus, after conferring with Gerald Ford, former U.S. Vietnam commander General Westmoreland moaned that it was "too bad" that the U.S. "couldn't again mine Haiphong harbor" and fly saturation bombing raids by B-52's (*New York Times*, 14 March). Only slightly less rabid were the sentiments offered by Chief of Staff Brown, Defense Secretary Schlesinger and President Ford, all of whom have been trying to score political points for the Republican Party by blaming the Democrats for "letting Indochina go Communist."

Eager to replay the "Who lost China?" game, Ford and the Republicans accuse the Democrats of a "sudden reduction" of U.S. aid to Cambodia and Vietnam. They want to pin the collapse of the Lon Nol government and the retreat of Thieu's troops on the Democrats' aid reduction.

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But the issue is a red herring. Last year aid to Vietnam was \$805 million. If the Ford administration gets the \$300 million it seeks in addition to the \$700 million already appropriated for Vietnam aid this year, Thieu's loot will exceed that of any year since the Paris peace accords.

In making a plea for aid to pad the Swiss bank accounts of Thieu and his cronies Ford and other reactionaries wept crocodile tears over the plight of the refugees created by the latest offensive. We do not deny that the human misery of these people is indeed staggering. But Ford's unctuous moralizing is just one more example of the imperialist hypocrisy from the representative of a class that has butchered millions in Indochina.

The hue and cry about the refugees and the incipient "communist bloodbath" comes to us from the people who saturation bombed North and South Vietnam, from the architects of "free fire zones" and "strategic hamlets," from the "humanitarians" who sprayed plant killers over whole provinces to "deny the enemy his food supply." The proletariat in power will give its own answer to these imperialist jackals.

U.S. aid will only go toward building up the "Paris Retirement Fund" for the ARVN officer corps, toward further oppressing the workers and peasants of Vietnam. We say: No Aid to the Rotting Corpses of the Reactionary Thieu and Lon Nol Regimes! Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!

Indochina and the U.S. Antiwar Movement

As the Thieu government retreats to prepare the next year's "defensive," the Lon Nol government is precipitously collapsing in Cambodia. Lon Nol is, in fact, already packing his bags for a quick departure. Embassy files are being burned, household items shipped out, and even U.S. relief agency personnel are trying to clear out of Cambodia (*New York Times*, 20 March).

Laos has also felt the effects of the intensifying Indochina war. According to the *Economist*, the Pathet Lao now controls about 65 percent of Laos "and could probably seize the rest easily." The dominoes are tilting precariously.

In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos the Indochina civil war has raged on for years. In the United States antiwar movement it was the SL alone that carried the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" The reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP) who, with the liberals, led that long protest march into the Democratic Party, used to giggle at such "sectarianism." They preferred to build a movement in the United States based on the strategy of the liberal bourgeoisie: social pacifism ("Peace Now") and social patriotism ("Bring the Boys Home").

While the SWP's failure to call for the military victory of the NLF is a capitulation to liberalism, its "fraternal" colleagues of the International Majority Tendency of the United Secretariat preferred to capitulate to the popularity of Vietnamese Stalinism and Ho Chi Minh, the butcher of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. Revolutionaries cannot depend on the "logic" of armed struggle by Stalinist peasant armies which can at best create deformed workers states.

Rather, powerful Trotskyist parties capable of leading proletarian revolutions as part of a reborn Fourth International must be forged against all revisionist currents and particularly against the stranglehold of Stalinism. Such parties and such an International will never be built by those who yesterday and today chant: "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh." The SL slogans posed during the height of the antiwar movement are no less applicable today: Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution! For International Communist Unity Through Political Revolution, From East Berlin to Hanoi! No Political Confidence in the Stalinist Leadership—All Indochina Must Go Communist! For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!■

CIA's Murder, Inc.

(continued from page 1)

Lemnitzer. In addition to Dillon and Rockefeller himself, two other panel members also have direct connections with Rockefeller interests—John T. Connor, chairman of Allied Chemical Corporation (and one-time fund raiser to buy back Cuban counterrevolutionaries taken prisoner in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion); and Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and member of the board of the Rockefeller foundation.

Both the Rockefeller group and the Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy have long-standing and intimate connections with the CIA in the fight against Communism, especially in Latin America (e.g., Chile). The CIA responded to Meany's kindness by illegally opening his mail, suspecting him of mismanaging CIA funds.

Other members of this commission are Ronald Reagan; ex-U.S. Solicitor General and suspected Watergate perjurer, Erwin Griswold; and finally the as yet innocuous ex-University of Virginia president, Edgar F. Shannon.

In reality the President has little taste for an exposé of the CIA. He and Rockefeller have both indicated a Watergate-like reluctance to cooperate with the newly-formed Senate Select Committee on Intelligence which will "independently" investigate the CIA and FBI.

Rocky, who is reportedly worried lest the authority (!) of the presidency be destroyed by the Senate hearings, previously announced that he anticipated his

Mr. Ford, in the meantime, has been treating us to an incredible outpouring of moral cant. Although originally only "opposed to a policy [not the practice] of political assassinations" (*New York Post*, 12 March) he has recently stated that he would "not condone under any circumstances any assassination attempts," and indeed "condemn[s] any CIA involvement" (*New York Times*, 18 March). Eisenhower did it, Kennedy did it, Johnson and Nixon did it. Ford, however, is now mainly concerned about Southeast Asian dominoes and the need to increase the U.S.-financed slaughter there. (After contemplating Diem's fate Lon Nol, at least, must devoutly hope that this president's "condemnation" is sincere.)

The FBI has evidently engaged in tamer forms of gangsterism. It has "merely" practiced kidnappings and taking suspected foreign agents for rides in order to extract confessions. It was recently revealed that in 1970 the FBI forged letters in an effort to remove Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member, Dr. Morris Starsky, from his teaching position at Arizona State University. (Similarly, a forged letter was used in an attempt to scare a black minister out of the civil rights movement during the FBI's campaign to smash that movement in the 1960's.)

In fact, the FBI had a large-scale campaign directed against the SWP over a 10-year span as it reluctantly revealed by releasing 3,100 pages covering 41 different operations. The bureau's efforts were directed along its normal smutty lines. Agents harassed relatives and employers, published slanderous materials and scurrilous innuendoes concerning the private lives of several SWP electoral

a sworn affidavit was presented by the government which claimed it had no informers in the defense ranks (*New York Times*, 13 March). And J. Edgar Hoover's secret files on the left-wing ties, drinking and brothel-attending behavior of U.S. congressmen will soon provide comic relief for members of the Select Committee.

There is *na* chance that the current investigations will lead to any but the phoniest reforms. Indeed, the opposite may be the case. A U.S. Court of Appeals reprimanded a lower court judge in February for putting "excessive pressure" on the CIA. The unfortunate judge had merely insisted that the spy agency document its contentions that certain sections of Victor Marchetti's *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* contained "classified" information. CIA chief William Colby has, in fact, used the current investigations to demand "legislation to strengthen our ability to protect those secrets necessary to successful intelligence operations" (*New York Times*, 16 January).

Frank Church, liberal-Democratic chairman of the Select Committee, reassured Colby that "we're as mindful as he is of legitimate security" and declared that the hearings are not going to be a "manhunt" (*New York Times*, 28 February). As with Watergate, the focus is on removing the bad apples, in this case perhaps Helms, and attacking even Secretary of State Kissinger, while erecting safeguards so that such exposures will never occur again.

"Blue-ribbon" commissions, "select" committees, etc., are simply the democratic froth covering up the structure of avarice, anarchy and destruction which is based on the profit-driven engines of capitalism. Cleaning up past "dirty tricks" is not enough. Workers must demand a full disclosure of all "classified" secrets in open televised hearings. CIA and FBI criminals must be incarcerated. The CIA, FBI and all such agencies must be abolished. What at times seem more like silly high jinks and impotent machinations are, in reality, the armoring of the state's fist in preparation for future Chile, the "conventional" warfare of a Vietnam and world nuclear holocaust.

The CIA's greatest crimes remain untold. As the resigning chief of Latin American operations, David Phillips, stated, "a few of our older documents from the cold war period will make for pretty heady reading today" (*New York Times*, 22 March). The massacre of the Greek Communist revolt after World War II, the worldwide infiltration of trade unions, the slaughter of the Rosenbergs and the days of McCarthyism seem "heady" only to these scum. They are, in fact, despicable crimes against the people and the world workingclass in particular.

Although to call for abolishing these institutes for murder is in form only a democratic demand, such a measure would have a substantial disorganizing effect on the world's leading imperialist power. That is why even the most "left" liberals only dare to call for the elimination of so-called "dirty tricks" and domestic operations. The CIA and FBI will not be abolished by the bourgeoisie, but only by the class-conscious proletariat in the process sending capitalism to the graveyard of history and establishing its own democratic class rule.■



Paris Match

Cubans capture prisoners during CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

commission would deliver the ho-hum finding that "the Central Intelligence Agency had violated its charter by undertaking activities within the United States" (*New York Times*, 27 January). Later he told reporters that the commission would only deal with "apparent violation(s) of the statutes relating to domestic activities." However, the Butcher of Attica was mum when asked if executing foreign leaders qualified as a "domestic violation."

candidates, encouraged law-enforcement agencies to engage in petty harassments of party members and even tried to encourage the Boy Scouts of America to drop a scoutmaster because his wife was in the SWP!

On several occasions FBI representatives have perjured themselves before courts. Recently the chief security officer for the American Indian Movement during the Wounded Knee trial confessed to being a paid FBI informer. At the trial

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Portuguese Left

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Party, the MRPP and another Maoist group, the Workers and Peasants Alliance (AOC).

The Working Class Under the Gun

The left shift in the ruling circle following March 11 is not unprecedented. Similar steps have been taken by generals in Burma, Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Libya, Peru and elsewhere. But this is usually undertaken in the absence of a combative working class, or else after the workers movement has been crushed. In Portugal this is not the case. There are literally tens of thousands of workers who stand to the left of the Stalinist CP and the MFA. Many of them are organized in militant unions, workers commissions, and a number of ostensibly revolutionary communist parties.

The repeated attacks on the MRPP by the regime (which twice banned its newspaper, prohibited its demonstrations on several occasions, and jailed its principal leader) point to the inevitable clash between the MFA-Stalinist coalition and the combative workers movement. Another was the recent arrest of several leaders of the Chemical Workers Union who were also candidates of the AOC for the constituent assembly. Their crime was to have publicly criticized the MFA, to oppose the government's law for a state-imposed single union federation, and to have failed to carry out a directive of the Labor Ministry controlled by the CP.

This is not the only union where the pro-Moscow Stalinists are weak. In January postal workers elected a leadership which consists of the former Comissão pró-sindicato which led the CTT strike last June in the face of CP gangs of scabs. Among workers at the giant Lisnave shipyards the CP is frequently heavily outvoted by a bloc of Maoist and syndicalist tendencies. And in the industrial zone on the south bank of the Tage River which includes the Lisnave yard, workers commissions from 38 enterprises have joined to form the Reunião Inter-Empresas which organized the February 7 demonstration against a government ban (*Voz do Povo*, 11 February).

Among the masses of Portuguese workers there is a substantial current which has seen through the "socialist" rhetoric of the MFA and is eager to fight for socialist revolution. What it lacks above all is a revolutionary Trotskyist party capable of leading the exploited masses to victory. On the so-called "far left" in Portugal today there is no group which combines unshakable fidelity to the Marxist program of proletarian independence from alien classes, including their most "left" manifestations, with a principled use of the Leninist united-front tactic in order to reach those workers still under the influence of the pro-Moscow Stalinists and their military allies.

It is the task of authentic communists to warn the working masses against placing any confidence in the officer caste of the bourgeois armed forces. The

Marxist program is not to ally with the "progressive" wing of the hired guns of the class enemy, but to *smash* this institution for the control and murder of the exploited population. The officers who today oppose Spínola at the same time hold down the workers' mobilization and tomorrow will serve as the cat's paw of imperialist reaction.

Third-Period Maoists

The largest Maoist organization, whose supporters number several thousand militants, is characterized particularly by its wooden imitation of the "ultra-left" tactics of Stalinism during the so-called "third period" (1928-33). The MRPP holds that the main danger at present is "social fascism," by which it means the Portuguese Communist Party of Alvaro Cunhal.

We have described the views of the MRPP elsewhere (see "Which Way for the Portuguese Revolution," *WV* No. 48, 7 July 1974). Some recent statements by MRPP leader Saldanha Sanches indicate some ambiguities in its sectarian "third-period" Stalinist policy. Thus he is reported as saying of the CP that "They are social fascists, but this is not yet the opinion of the large masses whom we have to educate" (*New York Times*, 23 March). Meanwhile, the MRPP continues to exclude all other tendencies from its demonstrations, including other Maoist tendencies, and even if the issue is defense of the MRPP's own right to free speech!

In the trade unions its slogan is "Social Fascists Out of the Unions!" *Luta Popular* (12 December 1974). While Trotskyists call unambiguously for the expulsion of scabs from the unions for their concrete acts against the workers movement, and while the Stalinists in Portugal have in some cases acted as literal strikebreakers (as in the postal strike in June 1974), their basic role is as the agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. Thus it is necessary to *expose* their fake pretensions to be communists to demonstrate that their line of capitulation to the MFA and the capitalists is in fact the road to defeat, as in Chile or in Spain during the civil war.

The MRPP is politically reformist, calling for a "democratic and popular revolution" rather than proletarian revolution. Nevertheless, it interprets this "intermediate" stage as involving the elimination of capitalist rule and has consistently vigorously opposed the MFA. Despite the ban on MRPP demonstrations it managed to mobilize some 10,000 militants in an orderly march on the presidential palace to protest its elimination from the elections. Despite the large distance which separates these Maoists politically from the program of Marxism, many individual militants may well possess the qualities of which revolutionaries are made.

The Opportunist Maoists

Probably the most contradictory of the Maoist organizations in Portugal is the Communist Party of Portugal Marxist-Leninist (PCP-ML), whose trade-union supporters are grouped in the AOC (one

of the two leftist groups banned from the elections for the constituent assembly). Alone among the Maoists, the PCP-ML holds that the task in this period is socialist revolution. The "stage of popular-democratic revolution belonged to the fascist epoch" (i.e., before April 25) and the goal now is to "overthrow the power of the monopolies, expel imperialism and install the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Unidade Popular*, 16 January).

The PCP-ML also condemns terrorist tactics, and fought against the state-imposed trade-union "unity" law—a correct position taken by few of the Maoist and "Trotskyist" groups, most of whom were busily tailing after the CP, which vigorously backed the law since it would reinforce its stranglehold on the intersindical, the only existing labor federation.

While this would appear to give the PCP-ML a left aura, it is in practice aligned with the *right* wing of the MFA, in particular with the Socialist Party. This is accomplished by carrying out the logic of the Chinese foreign policy line that the main danger internationally is "Soviet social imperialism."

The PCP-ML does not shrink from drawing the necessary conclusions from this policy. It writes: "German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism..." (*ibid.*). What is clearly meant here is that if the CP attempts to establish a state on the model of Eastern European "peoples democracies," the PCP-ML would fight (together with the Socialists and the CIA) against that.

This is a graphic demonstration of the bankruptcy of the Maoist line that Russia is now capitalist. For Trotskyists, in contrast, the defense of the historic gains of the October Revolution and the overthrow of capitalism require our *unconditional military support*, even if this means defending or placing in power a parasitic bureaucratic caste which would have to be overthrown in a subsequent political revolution. To act otherwise would mean becoming "State Department socialists."

LCI: Critical Support to the Workers Parties of the Popular Front

The first ostensibly Trotskyist organization to emerge after April 25 was the International Communist League (LCI), affiliated with the United Secretariat and politically following the line of the European majority led by Ernest Mandel.

We have criticized the LCI for its uncritical tailing after petty-bourgeois nationalists in Africa, its failure to raise political and transitional demands in strike situations, its failure to undertake student work, and above all its desire to liquidate into a false unity with some kind of "new mass vanguard."

The LCI has continued to seek out a bloc with various groups to its right, revealing in the process an opportunist appetite which can only lead to serious errors. Thus in a recent article it refers to the "left social-democratic character" of the Socialist Party (*Luta Proletária*, 14 January); earlier it referred to the Left Socialist Movement (MES) as "tak[ing] positions within the camp of the revolutionaries." But comrades, the SP of Soares is notoriously rightist, accused of having contacts with Spínola, and pro-American in orientation; the MES, on the other hand, is simply the left cover for the MFA-Stalinist alliance and may imminently enter the government!

The LCI is presenting candidates in several constituencies in the coming elections, but according to *Diário de Notícias* (10 March), representatives of the LCI announced at a press conference that "all militants of the League must vote for the CP in those districts where the party [LCI] is not running." This is the same policy as adopted by both majority and minority of the USec, of voting for the workers parties of the popular front. (In the March 1973 elections the French Ligue Communiste actually called for votes to the bourgeois Left Radicals as well.)

In Portugal today no one can hide the fact that the CP is running as part of a coalition with the bourgeois MFA. By giving critical support to the workers parties of a class-collaborationist coalition, the "Trotskyist" LCI in fact exposes its own opportunism and not the contradictions in the Stalinist party.

PRT: Strategic United Front

A second main "Trotskyist" organization has recently taken the name of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). This group, formerly known as the Revolutionary Marxist Group (GMR), supports the positions of the SWP-led minority of the United Secretariat. But while the international minority is reformist in character—supporting the capitulation to bourgeois liberalism of the American SWP and the Argentine PST's shameless tailing after the murderous Peronist regime—the PRT does not appear to be identical with its international mentors.

Many of the PRT's positions are to the left of the LCI, in particular its emphasis on the need to struggle against the class-collaborationist policies of popular frontism, a theme which is rare in the LCI's *Luta Proletária*. However, the PRT falls into a policy which, although not fully developed theoretically and in practice, tends toward the concept of a strategic united front, as put forward by the French OCI and the LCE of Spain.

This is seen most notably in the PRT's declaration that "we supported the demonstration" organized by the Communist Party and the Intersindical in January, in favor of the government's single-union federation law (*Combate Socialista*, 23 January). While the same issue of its paper publishes a leaflet distributed at the demonstration, in which a call is made for "strong democratic unions independent of the state and the bourgeoisie," neither editorial nor leaflet explicitly attack this MFA-Stalinist law, which is a straightjacket for class-struggle elements who attempt to fight CP control of the existing unions.

Without a clear understanding of the united front as a *tactic*, not a strategy of unconditional support for the reformist workers parties, ostensible Trotskyists will in fact end up being the willing or unwilling tail of the class traitors, and of their policies of cooperation with the bourgeoisie. ■

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Strike Wave in British Columbia

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there can be no collective agreement signed."

In the face of this provocative stance (the employers also hinted at the possibility of using "casuals," who are not full union members, as scabs) it is vital to raise the demand for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Other key demands are to reject the companies' proposed change in the container clause (which would cause the kind of massive job losses the ILWU has suffered in the U.S.), for full status for all dock workers (casuals are a substantial portion of the longshore workforce here), and for a full cost-of-living escalator.

However, the settlement recommended last week by Canadian Area ILWU officials contained no cost-of-living clause at all, no form of contractual job security and agreed to have a supposedly neutral professor "study" the implications of management proposals on the container issue! A supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) fund is being posed as "security," but in addition to its low ceiling and tie to the number of man-hours worked, it is evident that (as is already happening with a similar fund in the UAW) it will simply go bankrupt during periods of economic depression.

The voting on this proposed settlement began Friday evening following a meeting of about 1,500 members of Vancouver Local 500 in which the sentiment was heavily against any contract which did not provide job security. (According to union members interviewed following the meeting, even a section of the leadership opposed the contract.) The results announced late last night were 55 percent against acceptance (59 percent no in Vancouver). And the foremen's union will join the strike Monday morning.

If longshoremen are to win job security, protection against inflation and other vital demands it will be necessary to mount a united struggle all along the

coast. But so far ILWU members in the U.S. (particularly Seattle) have been ordered to scab on their Canadian brothers by unloading cargo diverted from Vancouver, which is then trucked across the border.

So far the Canadian Area leadership has apparently not made a formal request to the International for "hot-cargoing" of the diverted goods. Moreover, when one militant proposed such a request for elementary union solidarity at the Friday meeting, Local 500 leaders managed to keep the motion from coming to a vote.

At a recent meeting of the executive board of Local 10 in San Francisco, a supporter of *Longshore Militant* introduced a motion calling for refusal to handle cargo diverted from Canada during the strike. The proposal failed while another, endorsed by Archie Brown (a well-known supporter of the views of the reformist Communist Party) calling for not handling diverted cargo if requested by Canadian locals, was approved. Since the Canadian Area, in whose leadership the CP has a certain influence, has not made such a request, it is obvious that the Stalinists' real position is for continued seabbing. This is not surprising since Stalinist-inspired elements in Vancouver have been among those pushing hardest for the proposed sellout settlement which was voted down by the membership Friday.

Tailism or a Program for Victory?

The opportunist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG—Canadian sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat") intervened in this strike wave with a special leaflet directed at Vancouver postal workers on March 14. After a generally accurate analysis of the government's intentions and the

bureaucrats' sellout maneuvers, it ends with the following "strategy":

"The ways can be found to strengthen PSAC's pickets; the ways can be found to support the brothers and sisters in Montreal [LCUC workers suspended for refusing to cross PSAC picket lines]; the ways can be found to bring the struggles of LCUC and CUPW back together where they belong. All that is needed is full discussion, and democratic, militant action."

If all that is needed is democracy and militancy, then one wonders why the RMG hothers to dabble in revolutionary politics at all!

The Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency issued a leaflet on March 21 which puts forward a program for victory, in stark contrast to the RMG's pathetic tailism. Underlining the need for labour solidarity against government attacks, it calls for preparations for a province-wide general strike should the government attempt to smash the longshore, government workers' or other major strikes.

The leaflet emphasized, furthermore, that the trade-union bureaucracy has no intention of carrying out such militant action. Its obedient knuckling under to the anti-labour legislation passed by the social-democratic New Democratic Party government of British Columbia is only a reflection of the fact that it accepts the limits of capitalism. Though they may not openly endorse compulsory arbitration the labour tops, like B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett, seek to achieve "harmony" and "friendship" between labour and management. Consequently they produce one sellout after another.

Only an alternative leadership committed to vigorously waging the class struggle and opposed to the entire capitalist system can achieve victory for labour. Union militants must build caucuses committed to a class-struggle program in contesting the stranglehold of the current misleaders. Only by raising the struggle to the political level, through a series of transitional demands, can they prepare the ranks for the necessary struggle against the bourgeoisie and its governments. In the present sharp economic crisis the need for expropriating industry and instituting a planned economy under a workers government has never been more clear.■

...NY Telephone

(continued from page 4)

sey) failed to organize the operators and to extend the strike nationally. And so the strike was defeated.

It is the thin layer of the pro-company union bureaucracy that is the main obstacle standing between the union ranks and a militant fight which could unite the class in struggle against capitalism. What is needed is a fight in the unions to dump these traitors and replace them with a militant new leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

The phone company has earned the just hatred of hundreds of thousands of its workers for its dictatorial workplace rules and low wages; millions of consumers are enraged by its shameless profit-gouging. Predictably AT&T is now seeking to use the massive reconstruction effort on the Lower East Side to spruce up its image and to demonstrate why the nationwide monopoly should not be busted up (as the government's anti-trust agency proposed last year). Hailing the "Miracle on 2nd Avenue," the company notes in full-page newspaper ads that it was able to ship in a new main frame from San Francisco, miles of cable from Chicago, and so on.

It is true that breaking up the company into regional/state components is an archaic conception. In fact this "trust-busting" would be nothing but a sham, like the original dissolution of the Standard Oil empire; if really effective it would actually make phone service more inefficient. But as long as the telecommunications monopoly remains in the hands of the capitalists it will continue to serve the interests of the ruling class and not the millions of working people who are its unwilling victims.

Militant phone workers must demand the expropriation of the telephone monopoly, without compensation, and organize to institute workers control of the industry. To carry out such a demand it is necessary to fight for a program of consistent class struggle. While the various "rank-and-file" caucuses in Local 1101 (and elsewhere in the country) fail to raise such a program, for fear of losing temporary popularity, they therefore also capitulate to the "militant" bureaucrats of Dempsey's ilk.

The Militant Action Caucus in Oakland and San Francisco is quite different. It has raised the call for nationalizing the phone company without compensation, a demand which caused the company to refuse to permit MAC election handbills on union bulletin boards, as well as calling for a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. It is by building such an alternative leadership that phone workers can open the way to victory.■

Expelled ITers Join SL...

(continued from page 2)

in practice the construction of a democratic-centralist world party because it has embraced a class collaborationist perspective. At the same time it must be said that the international leadership has lost sight of this task to the extent that it has departed from a proletarian perspective. There is a fundamental harmony between the international leadership's historic perspective on the construction of the international and its political program. The international majority's politics are characterized by a lack of confidence in the proletarian road to power and the Trotskyist vanguard's historic mission in assuming the leadership of the proletariat. This is reflected in its adaption to petty-bourgeois guerrillaism in Latin America, erstwhile youth vanguardism, Stalinism, and popular frontism. It is only logical that this opportunist approach he extended by the international leadership to the task of building the International."

We supported the politics contained in the BLT document and submitted our document and the Canadian document (the latter for discussion, not a vote) a month and a half before the plenum. The documents were never sent out to Steering Committee comrades. We were told, by Massey, when we protested, that other documents had political priority over ours and were being prepared first. Two weeks before the plenum, Cdc. Massey made it quite clear to us that the first point on the agenda was our expulsion; that our adherence to the

political positions in the BLT document "placed our loyalties outside the FI and the IT," Bret Smiley of the RMG told us, and the IT leaders concurred, that in the RMG, which was a party, they had room for opposition, but the IT was a tendency, and it would be unprincipled, given our differences, to allow us to remain! Cdc. Massey said he had more respect for Cdc. Don Smith, who at least recognized the extent of his political differences and kept himself "principled" by resigning from the IT. (Previously, Cdc. Smith had been criticized for not having enough respect for the tendency to fight out his differences in a Leninist fashion.) At the plenum, comrades were allowed 20 minutes to read the BLT document (although Cdc. Massey graciously said if comrades needed extra time he would allot an extra five minutes). There were presentations and discussions, and in its summary the IT Political Committee put a motion on the floor for our expulsion. We put forward a counter-motion saying that the SWP was finished as a revolutionary force. We were summarily expelled with only one comrade daring to vote against this political purge. The extent of the maneuver was made clear when it became obvious that they had never even printed our document on the SWP, which *should* have been the discussion at this plenum. The BLT documents were collected as we were ushered out.

In our minds, the IT had decisively chosen its path and rejected any meaningful fight for a principled Trotskyist program. As it turned out, the cycle has made its complete turn and the extent to which the IT leadership is willing to

destroy the cadres of the Tendency for the sake of its masters and "co-thinkers" in the USec has become fully exposed: individual reintegration is now on the bargaining table in Brussels in exchange for some favors for the SWP.

We made our protests to the USec and to the IMT on the expulsion, which in itself was ironic considering that Cdc. Charles was at the plenum actively arguing for our expulsion. As we expected, we received no reply.

We feel that the SWP's recent call for troops to Boston and its renunciation of revolution in the courts has more than proved our position on the SWP. It is reformist and if it is ever in a position to lead the working class, it will lead us into the class-collaborationist swamp and to the bloodbath and destruction of the revolution that necessarily come out of such politics. The SWP is an obstacle to revolution and must be fought and exposed in the political arena. Its politics are potential killers, just as the policies followed in Chile were death to the Chilean working class. Any young person seriously interested in revolutionary politics has the duty to examine critically the politics of the various left groups. After our experiences, we realized what a dead-end the IT was. The group that had been saying these things all along, that had been warning that this was the inevitable end of the IT, was the Spartacist League. After discussions and political work with the SL we are asking to join the comrades of the SL in the fight to build the Trotskyist party in the U.S. and to reforge the Fourth International.

Comradely,
R. and C.



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Longshoremen Turn Down Rotten Settlement

Strike Wave in British Columbia

VANCOUVER, March 23—Canada's West Coast province is experiencing a strike wave that has substantially disrupted transportation, mail, schools and local governments. Although the numbers involved are not large—a count by one newspaper last week showed 8,500 on strike and another 4,500 honouring their picket lines—the impact of the strikes is such that federal Parliament has been debating emergency back-to-work legislation for the last week.

The tie-ups are centered particularly in British Columbia ports where 3,500 ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) dockers have been on strike since March 1, and grain weighers and samplers of the PSAC (Public Service Alliance of Canada) have been out since mid-February. This has had the effect of piling up freight trains on sidings all across the prairie provinces. At present some 20,000 grain cars, virtually the entire capacity of the railways, are reportedly idled at points from here all the way east to Thunder Bay, Ontario.

The current rash of labour disputes is partly the result of near-simultaneous contract expiration dates, but as they drag on the stakes are escalating rapidly while the bureaucracy's control weakens. The rejection of a proposed ILWU longshore contract by B.C. strikers this week is indicative of the unrest in the

ranks. And although a settlement was also announced by PSAC leaders on Wednesday, early returns indicate a close vote.

The cross-Canada strike of blue collar government employees involves 18,000 workers nationwide, but only 200 are out in British Columbia. Nevertheless, because of their strategic location at grain terminals, airports and post offices, and the strong traditions of labour solidarity in this province where half the entire workforce is unionized (the highest rate on the continent, more than double that in the U.S.), PSAC strikers have considerable power.

Unfortunately, the union brass has not sought to use this potential strength. For almost four weeks full PSAC picket lines did not go up at the Vancouver post office due to a bureaucratic deal with the other postal unions, LCUC (letter carriers) and CUPW (inside workers). When they were finally set up on March 14, about 50 pickets were sufficient to completely shut down mail handling. Yet only four days later the lines were down again as federal negotiators worked out a contract settlement at little more than half the original wage demands.

A hot issue in this strike has been the government's designation of some 5,000 members of the General Labour and Trades division of PSAC (the unit

involved in the current bargaining) as essential workers who are legally prohibited from striking. The federal treasury board has applied for authority to prosecute about 500 of these "designated workers" for participating in the selective strikes.

In the face of threats of possible back-to-work legislation, the imposition of wage guidelines and prosecution of the PSAC strikers, a national strike by federal government workers is called for. Such action has been demanded in motions passed by LCUC and CUPW locals in Toronto and by Vancouver CUPW. This would be an important step toward the formation of a single national postal workers union. But instead of heeding the ranks' call for unity, the bureaucracies of all three unions continued their stalling and divisive tactics.

The same has been true of strikes involving municipal workers organized in locals of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. CUPE has already begun strike action against several municipalities including Victoria, the provincial capital. In the Vancouver district, however, the bureaucrats' actions have been limited to impotent "work-to-rule" slowdowns and one-day stoppages, although for more than a month they have had strike votes averaging almost 85 percent

in their pockets. In the strike by Vancouver school maintenance workers, CUPE tops arranged a deal with the teachers' union which forces teachers and students to cross picket lines in order to keep schools functioning at a minimum level.

ILWU Leaders Attempt to Scuttle B.C. Strike

Far and away the most important of the current disputes is the strike by British Columbia dockers. With ILWU longshoremen in the U.S. in the midst of contract negotiations, the possibility of a first-ever coast-wide international strike is sharply posed.

The Canadian port walkout began three weeks ago as the employers' association (BCMEA) demanded that the union permit stuffing and unstuffing of containers away from the dock area and by non-ILWU labour. According to a strike bulletin published by the ILWU Canadian Area news sheet *Waterfront News* (4 March), a BCMEA spokesman said: "There can be no agreement on term or money unless the change is there in the container clause. This is our position and you may have to test our resolve by going on strike. We must have the change or

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ILWU Dockers Reject Pact Again!

Bridges Moves to Void Contract Vote

SAN FRANCISCO, March 21—In a second, coast-wide vote, West Coast longshoremen again rejected a contract proposal from ILWU President Harry Bridges and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association. Although the reported tally was 6,131 yes and 3,132 no, it fell short of the two-thirds margin necessary to override an earlier veto by the port of Los Angeles.

This two-time rejection of the leadership's proposal is unprecedented in the history of the union. Moreover, in the key Bay Area-Local 10, opposition to the contract increased sharply on the second round. In the first vote the proposed agreement won by 1,092 to 811; this time it was decisively turned down, with 962 voting for and 1,192 voting against.

Despite this strong opposition, at the Local 10 membership meeting last night Bridges dropped a bombshell into the contract dispute. Since the ranks persist in turning it down, the International is now demanding that the Coast Longshore Caucus drop its two-thirds rule and pass the contract, as is, by a majority vote. ILWU militants must vigorously protest this slimy maneuver!

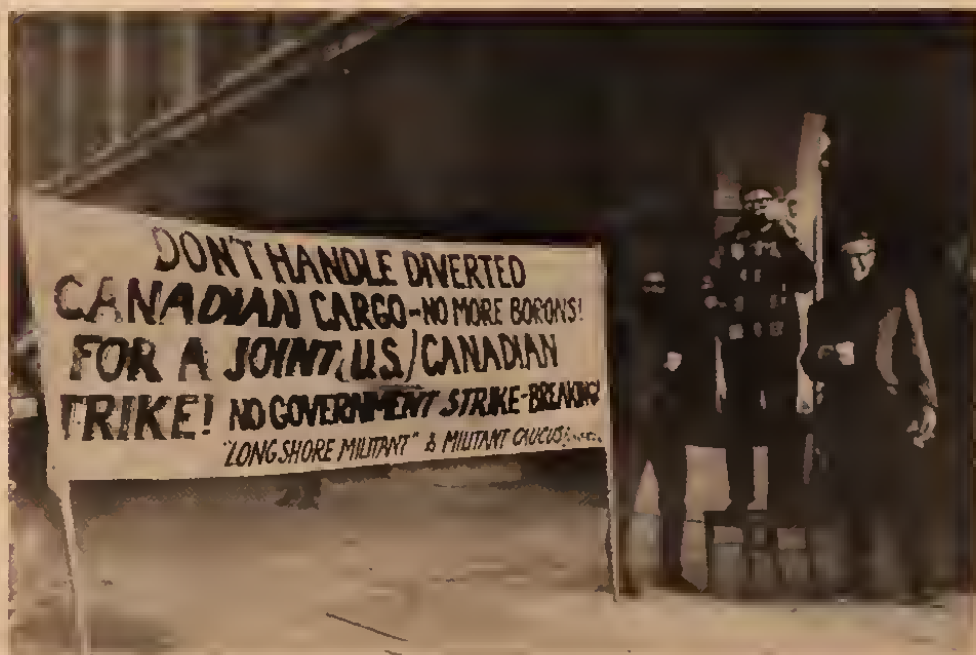
Of those leading the fight against the contract, the most resolute is the *Longshore Militant* published by longtime Local 10 oppositionists Stan Gow and Howard Keylor. In its 11 March issue, *LM* calls for immediate recall and new elections for the Coast Caucus and

negotiating committee, and for a strike vote. Bridges' threat underlines the need to mobilize the ranks around these demands.

While reformist elements are simply urging additional bargaining to "sweeten" the package, *Longshore Militant* calls for an entirely new set of contract demands and "the first coast-wide cross division strike in history." Its demands include: a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, no "steady men" (all jobs to be dispatched through the union hiring hall), full "A" status for all "B-men," full right to strike on union issues and common expiration dates for all ILWU contracts. In addition, the newsletter headlines the demand that U.S. longshoremen must refuse to handle cargo diverted from Canada as a result of the ILWU strike there which began March 1.

During a rally at Local 10 paylines on March 14, called by *LM* to defend the Canadian strike and attended by the Militant Caucus of ILWU warehousemen, we were able to interview several longshoremen about the contract and "hot-cargoing" goods diverted from Vancouver. "Sure I'm against handling the stuff," said one member. "It's a sister local. Let's act like one union and not allow one section to be played off against each other."

Another commented: "I'm glad it [the contract] was defeated. It was rammed



ILWU militants demonstrate in San Francisco for boycott of cargo diverted from Canada during B.C. dock strike. WV Photo

through by the Bridges faction." He singled out the steady man question (section 9.43 of the present contract) and the wage guarantee as the main issues. "We shouldn't work the Canadian cargo," he added. "That's how the '71 strike was broken." In the 1971-72 U.S. longshore strike the International leaders permitted cargo to move through Vancouver in Canada and Ensenada, Mexico. They also permitted military cargo to be

shipped to Vietnam.

Bridges' rotten contract and haughty disregard for rank-and-file opposition are the logical outcome of his overall program of class collaboration. ILWU militants must take up the demands raised by the *Longshore Militant* and fight for a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program of consistent opposition to the capitalists, both economically and politically. ■