

Phnom Penh Falls, Take Saigon!

Victory to the Indochinese Revolution!



DRV/NLF troops enter Da Nang.

AFP-Pictorial Parade

**No Evacuation/Asylum!
No Aid to Saigon!
U.S. Out of Southeast Asia!**

APRIL 21—The fall of the U.S. puppet regime in Cambodia to the Khmer Rouge insurgents is a great victory for the toilers of Indochina and the world proletariat! Class-conscious militants can hail the rout of the imperialist lackeys in Phnom Penh and must demand immediate recognition of the new Khmer Rouge regime by the United States.

Now more than ever the increasingly hopeless military situation of the Saigon generals must be exploited to the hilt. The victory which rightfully belongs to the long-suffering worker and peasant fighters of Vietnam must not be ripped from them or compromised at the hargaining table! We demand: Down with the "Peace" Accords—No Coalition Governments—Take Saigon! Victory for the Indochinese revolution must be secured.

As we go to press, radio reports announce the resignation of the South Vietnamese President Thieu. The surest way to defeat the Pentagon-backed generals and put a stop to the killing in the 30-year-old civil war is to deliver the coup de grace

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UNIONS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

**Fight
Unemployment—
Break with the
Bosses' Parties!**

see page 3



WV photo

Demonstrators in NYC last month protest U.S. "aid" to Saigon regime.

Prisoners Framed Up, Guards/Troopers Go Free

Courts Cover Up Attica Massacre

A former leading member of the Attica special prosecution team, Malcolm Bell, has revealed in a resignation letter that "substantial evidence" points to a gross cover-up of crimes committed by law-enforcement officers during the 1971 Attica Prison massacre. Bell's resignation statement, originally submitted to New York state attorney general Louis Lefkowitz last December, was recently leaked to the bourgeois press.

Piously intoning in his resignation that "One Watergate in this decade is enough" (*New York Times*, 8 April), Bell echoes the liberal opinion that governmental cover-ups are in contradiction to "American democracy." Instead, these sleazy operations are very much "business as usual" and a vital part of maintaining capitalist rule. In the case of Attica, a plea of ignorance is particularly disingenuous—the New York State Special Commission's "Official Report" on the inmates' uprising and the bloody retaking of the prison by stormtrooper police action has been available for three full years.

The "Official Report" makes it clear that outrages and atrocities were committed by the racist cops who rampaged through the prison yard that September 13. State troopers—1,100 in number—assisted by prison guards, park police and assorted cops donated by local sheriffs' offices rushed the prison armed with .270 hunting rifles loaded with unjacketed ("man-stopping") ammunition, 12-gauge shotguns loaded with lethal 00 shot and .38 calibre revolvers. Thousands of rounds were poured into the prison, slaughtering 29 prisoners and 10 hostages and leaving more than 80 wounded.

Prison guards were, of course, held hostage by the prisoners, but the report details the care they were given: mat-

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Bantam

Attica inmates stripped and lined up to run gauntlet of club-swinging police following defeat of 1971 prison revolt.

Letter

SL Challenges Guardian to Indochina Debate

17 April 1975

To the *Guardian*:

Your article (*Guardian*, 16 April) on the Socialist Workers Party's withdrawal from a proposed debate with yourselves on the subject of Indochina tries to attribute the cowardice of the SWP to Trotskyism. Let's not kid ourselves. You and we both know that the SWP is not Trotskyist. Its antiwar program of uniting with "progressive" bourgeois politicians around a common program suppresses the independent program of the working class and has nothing to do with Trotskyism. On the contrary, this is precisely the class-collaborationist "strategy" of the Maoists and the Communist Party. In fact, the SWP has often appeared to be to the right of Stalinists who call for victory to the NLF. This may have been a factor prompting these reformists to back out of the debate. We, on the other hand, have no such fears and challenge the *Guardian* to the debate the SWP was afraid to have. A refusal to accept our challenge would expose your own cowardice as being no less than that of the SWP.

Moreover, in his article Irwin Silber is forced to recognize that the SWP is "a model of restraint" compared to the Trotskyist Spartacist League, which "makes no bones about its hatred for Ho

Chi Minh and the Vietnamese communists." So why not confront the real thing?

You also note that:

"While employing 108-point type to exhort the liberation forces to 'Take Saigon!', their newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, comments: '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.'"

What an opportunity this would be for you to attempt to explain why your program of implementing the Paris "peace" accords is not (as we hold) a formula for defeat. Of course, you would have to explain why this is the program not only of the Chinese and Vietnamese Stalinists but also of the Kremlin (which you consider to be "social-imperialist") and Henry Kissinger. No doubt you would tell us about the "two-line struggle" within a coalition government. We are eager to hear your arguments.

For our part, the Spartacist League believes it can demonstrate in debate that it is you, the Maoists, and not the Trotskyists who repeatedly "whip out the same formula which has proven a disaster everywhere they have tried it." The program of coalition government you offer today for Indochina is no different than the one offered by the Chinese CP for Indonesia in 1965 and by Stalin for

Spain in 1936. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have paid with their blood for those betrayals, the product of Stalinist class collaboration.

You write that "some honest anti-imperialist forces have been influenced and demoralized by this nonsense in the past," referring to attempts to "baselessly [lump] the Chinese communists and the Soviet revisionists together in a passion for 'detente'...." The SL would welcome an attempt by the *Guardian* to defend in open debate with us the Chinese policy of hacking West European members of NATO against the USSR. Furthermore, if there is "a shortage of Trotskyists" in Vietnam, it is not, as you suggest, because revolutionary Marxism is a "white man's burden," but because the Vietnamese Stalinists, led by Ho Chi Minh, murdered the valiant Trotskyist fighters of Indochina and their following.

Because we believe that there may be many potential revolutionaries among those who have been misled by Maoism, we are prepared to make a major effort, calling on all our available resources, to publicize and build a debate between yourselves and the SL on Indochina and related topics. In view of the sharp defeats currently being suffered by the puppets of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Cambodia, and given the fundamental political issues involved, such a debate would doubtless awaken wide interest among

socialists and labor militants.

You also claim to be committed to political struggle and the development of political clarity on the left. The debate we propose would certainly help define the differences between our respective tendencies, and thus contribute to the clarification you say you desire. The *Guardian* is of course well aware of the shameful record of Stalinism/Maoism which has obscured political understanding through slander and gangsterism, particularly against Trotskyists. This is usually carried out in the name of "not confusing the people." We say that it is easy to mouth the words of Lenin on the need for clarity, but Leninism must be judged in practice.

We propose, therefore, that a debate between the Spartacist League and the *Guardian* be held at your earliest convenience at some mutually agreeable location in New York City. Details concerning the organization of the event (speaking time, order of presentation, chairman, participation by members of the audience, etc.) can be easily arranged. We look forward to receiving your reply very soon in order that we can begin work to prepare for this exchange and ensure as great an audience for it as possible.

Fraternally,
Judith Morris
Spartacist League/U.S.
New York Local

Unions March on Washington

Fight Unemployment—Break with the Bosses' Parties!

On April 26 tens of thousands of unionists will march on Washington. Their demand: jobs. While President Ford and the Congress gear up for the "Who Lost Indochina?" debate and talk about plans to reinvade Vietnam under the guise of Terry-and-the-Pirates "evacuation" schemes, the capitalist economy has continued its slide into worldwide depression. And what does the officialdom of organized U.S. labor do about it? Having exhausted the credibility of their usual "write your congressman" ploys, and feeling the pressure from the angry ranks, they have decided to call the first

This "safe" reform amounts to a massive *pay cut* for all workers!)

Worst Economic Slump Since The Great Depression

If the solutions proposed by top union leaders are meek, the economic crisis victimizing the ranks is ferocious. Government statistics report that the gross national product was declining at an annual rate of over 10 percent in the first quarter of 1975, the sharpest and deepest plunge since the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Moreover, even President Gerald Ford is predicting

and northeastern New Jersey more than 20 percent of the workers are pounding the pavement in search of jobs. Unemployment is universally expected to get worse, not better, in coming months.

• **Black, young and women workers** continue to suffer exorbitantly under the heavy load of special oppression. Vietnam war veterans are also particularly hard hit. Minority youth are experiencing unbearable unemployment rates—over 40 percent even in official figures. The Urban League estimates black unemployment at twice the official rate, or about 3 million out of work nationally. "Affirma-

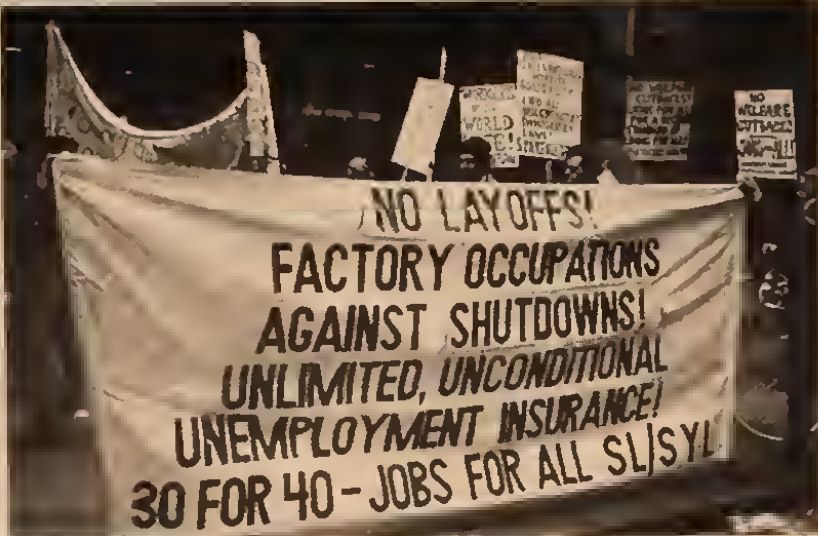
percent average in the last three months of 1974 (*AFL-CIO News*, 22 March) and Japan is experiencing large-scale layoffs for the first time in history. Foreign auto workers like their U.S. counterparts are also feeling the pinch. Volkswagen has announced a cutback of 25,000, including 10,000 dismissals. Schemes to "protect American jobs" with trade quotas and deportation of undocumented workers ("illegal aliens") from the U.S. are being pushed hardest by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. This despicable chauvinism can only set worker against worker and fuel national and race hatreds.



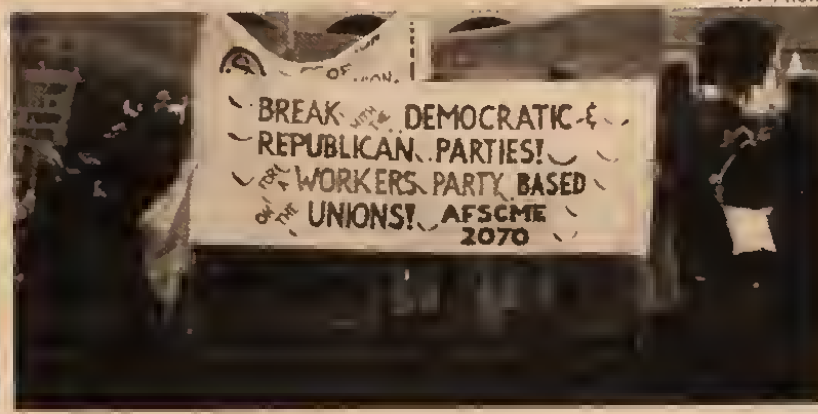
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WV Photo



WV Photo



WV Photo

Responses to mass layoffs: California AFL-CIO rally in Sacramento, March 8 (upper left). IAM march in San Diego in February (lower left). SL-initiated protest in NYC against deportations last month (upper right). AFSCME Local banner at Sacramento rally (lower right).

major national union political demonstration in years...in order to pressure the Democrats!

The nickel-and-dime reforms being tossed around in Washington together with several phony "full employment" bills are completely inadequate to stem the economic crisis, which is rooted in the capitalist system itself. Only by preparing to eliminate the *cause* of mass layoffs can workers hope to stop depression. And that requires not only militant industrial action but also a *political* break with the big business parties and replacing their cronies in the labor bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership prepared to fight for victory instead of crumbs.

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO called the Washington demonstration in the wake of the February UAW demonstration in the capital. But even this mild action was too much for AFL-CIO head George Meany, who said, "We are not going to man the barricades yet." The program for the rally was left as vague as possible, not even demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. (The AFL-CIO council has timidly suggested a shorter workweek, but without specifying "no loss in pay."

depression-level unemployment for the rest of the decade. Here is what the figures show:

• **Idle industrial plant** in the U.S. stands at nearly 40 percent. Manufacturing is running at only 65.5 percent of capacity, and the rate is expected to continue to decline this year (*Business Week*, 21 April). Thus while basic human needs for food, housing, medicine, transportation, education, etc. go unfulfilled, hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of productive capacity lies idle because the owners are unable to operate at a profit.

• **Unemployment** now stands officially at 8.7 percent, or 8 million out of work, an increase of 3 million over the last six months and the highest figure in 34 years. But government statistics grossly understate joblessness because workers who have given up looking for work are no longer counted as part of the workforce. Half a million "disappeared" from the workforce in February alone because of such dubious accounting. AFL-CIO estimates put the real figure at 13.7 percent, and even these figures underestimate the scope of the problem. In the major industrial centers such as Detroit

tive action" programs, like other reformist band-aids, are incapable of stemming the especially heavy unemployment among women and minorities. And now "preferential layoffs" schemes appear, no answer to special oppression but certainly an effective tool of the bosses and their government to divide workers and attack the union seniority principle.

• **Unemployment benefits**, though extended by Congress, are wholly inadequate to maintain a family and last only for a limited time, while the number of long-term unemployed is rising sharply. In especially ravaged industries such as auto hundreds of thousands will be driven onto welfare rolls when benefits run out, and the government already has a record 105 urban areas on its "hard-hit" list. (The UAW-negotiated Supplementary Unemployment Benefits are even more limited: already gone for Chrysler workers, they expire for 132,000 GM unemployed on April 30.)

• **The crisis is international** in scope. Most European countries have had higher inflation rates than the U.S. for years, and unemployment is increasing. France experienced 6.1 percent unemployment in January, up from a 5.4

Roots of the Crisis

The standard predictions of an economic upturn in the second half of 1975 are based on superficial considerations at best. The \$24 billion tax cut finally agreed to by President Ford and Congress is supposed to be a "stimulus" to the economy. This puny tax cut, equal to less than 2 percent of the gross national product, is just a political ploy to convince voters that Ford is "doing something." "People are suspicious of it," reported one congressman, "and take it as some kind of a trick." They are right, and it is a deception in which both the Republican Ford and the nearly "veto-proof" liberal Democratic congress, of which the labor bureaucrats are so proud, share equally.

The Democrats have even more tricks up their sleeve—a \$5.9 billion "emergency" jobs bill, a \$5 billion "public works" bill, etc.—all equally incapable of ending the crisis. Some of these, such as the Reuss/Hawkins/Humphrey bills to "guarantee" full employment and equal opportunity, complete with community-control "councils" to parcel out the jobs, are pure demagoguery. (Worthless "full-employment" statutes have been written into federal law since the end of World War II.) They are sure to be used for an elaborate parliamentary charade, in which Ford threatens a veto. Democratic committee chairmen trim the bills to fit budget projections, etc., while unemployment runs rampant.

Democratic and Republican pol-

"Socialist" Labor Fakers Back Democrats SEE PAGE 6

iticians alike are incapable of solving the crisis—or of significantly easing the plight of workers and the unemployed—because the bourgeoisie is incapable of it. The current slump is a cyclical crisis, caused by a decline in the profit rate, such as has occurred repeatedly throughout the history of capitalism, with greater or lesser intensity. As the owners of the means of production are unable to sell their commodities at a profit they curtail production and lay off workers. In this case massive international speculation and price gouging in primary commodities (such as oil and wheat) aggravated the situation.

Concentration and monopolization—the top 50 banks already control over half of bank assets and hold leverage control

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ILWU Convention . . .

(continued from page 12)

bad that even the reformist Communist Party, which since 1934 has hailed Bridges as its favorite "progressive" bureaucrat, has lately been compelled to implicitly criticize him in its press.

Beneath the escalating bureaucratic maneuvering can be glimpsed the restiveness of the ILWU ranks. And indeed they have much to be disgruntled about. Demoralizing defeats have succeeded one another with frightening speed, as different sections of the same union have been ordered to scab on one another's strikes: for example, the fall 1974 Boron strike of ILWU Local 30 in Southern California, which lasted four months while other nearby ILWU locals handled scab borax, and whose defeat meant the loss of more than 400 jobs.

The most recent case was the strike of Canadian Area longshoremen, defeated after three weeks when the Area leadership meekly succumbed to a federal government strikebreaking order. This treachery was abetted by the International, which allowed diverted Canadian cargo to be shipped by ILWU Local 19 in Seattle, despite the fact (or more accurately because of the fact) that the Vancouver strike overlapped with sharp opposition to the proposed longshore contract in the U.S.

Union Militants Assaulted

Fortunately for the future of the ILWU, a union-wide opposition based on a program of class struggle is emerging in opposition to the muddle of power plays and posturing. Initiated by unionists in the two major ILWU Bay Area locals, the grouping is rapidly extending itself into other areas. It distributed a special joint newsletter at the convention, the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant*. This was put out by supporters of the Militant Caucus, based in Local 6 (Bay Area) of the Warehouse Division, and the *Longshore Militant*, based in Local 10 (San Francisco) of the Warehouse Division.

The founders of the Militant Caucus played a major role in defending the KNC strike last January, when their energetic intervention in solidarity with the workers at the small Union City glass factory was successful in mobilizing mass picketing and staving off a Boron-like union-busting defeat. *Longshore Militant* is published by two long-time ILWU oppositionists who have been active members of the union for 40 years between them, and who played a key role in exposing Bridges' attempted longshore contract sellout this year. They also campaigned to stop the handling of diverted cargo by ILWU dockers during the Canadian strike in March.

At the convention, the nakedly vulnerable International bureaucracy, goaded to frenzy by the bureaucratic maneuvering at the top, lashed out in a vicious witchhunting campaign of slander and violence against the militants distributing the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant*. On the very first morning of the convention, Bridges personally organized a somewhat reluctant goon squad which tried to forcibly remove a literature table at which the *L-WM* was being distributed. Participants in the goon squad included primarily high-ranking officials and International appointees. After a considerable argument and some scuffling, the goons called the hotel management, which in turn threatened to call the cops.

When the oppositionists refused to be intimidated, however, the bureaucrats withdrew, threatening to have the militants ejected by the convention. Backing down from this, the bureaucrats then moved to exclude non-delegates from attending committee hearings (tradition-

ally open to any member in good standing). But even this was only partially successful.

The attempt to create a witchhunt atmosphere continued throughout the week. On Wednesday, the International house organ appeared, containing a centerfold on FBI infiltration of the labor movement. Its thrust was that "super militants" are often FBI agents (*Dispatch*, 4 April). The next day, Local 34 president Hermann, a decades-long Bridges mouthpiece, made the insinuation explicit, stating that some militants "go so far left they start coming from the



Lou Goldblatt

Luis Carballar

right" and equating dissidents within the union with the anti-communist McCarthyites who attacked all of organized labor in the 1950's. He concluded by demanding that "we expose those people and deny them the right to exploit our democratic processes."

Bridges forces were unable to convince the delegates that the *L-WM* distributors represented a threat to unionism, so on Friday the goon squad rematerialized but had to content itself with assaulting the sales teams of several radical publications. The *L-WM* militants came to the defense of the radicals, pointing out that all members of the left have the right to seek to disseminate their views. A scuffle ensued (the bureaucrats seemed particularly offended at having their pictures taken and threatened to kill a *WV* salesman) in which the vendors of *People's Tribune* (organ of the pro-Stalin Communist Labor Party) were roughed up.

Ironically, the CLP had contributed to the red-baiting atmosphere which led up to the attack by issuing a special supplement leaflet for the convention which in true sectarian fashion had singled out an alleged Trotskyist menace and declared that Trotsky's "special task" had always been "to throw sand in the eyes of the workers." In the ILWU, long influenced by CP-style Stalinism, militancy is often associated with Trotskyism.

Bridges' Program for Defeat

As part of the official program put forward at the convention to deal with the rapidly declining membership rolls, a shorter workweek and an organizing drive were proposed and adopted. The lunacy of struggling for a shorter workweek at less pay was noted by delegates from Hawaii who observed that hotel workers on the islands were already getting only 30 hours' work a week and were not finding this an agreeable situation!

The proposal for an organizing drive, mainly in southern California and the desert states where most container stuffing is done by unorganized labor, is clearly crucial for the survival of the union. But the Goldblatt exponents of the official proposal are thinking only in terms of expanding their dues base, not of escalating the class struggle.

To really organize the "right-to-work" desert-area states means a total commitment by the union and active solidarity from ILWU longshoremen in refusing to handle containers stuffed by non-union labor. This could quickly lead to open conflict with the government and

would require the mobilization of the rest of the labor movement in the union's defense. The great CIO organizing drives of the 1930's were driven forward by just such militant tactics—sitdowns and general strikes. To launch an organizing drive with nothing but half-way militant tactics is like pointing an empty gun at an armed burglar.

The real fight of the convention broke out over the merger proposal presented by the Canadian Area. Bridges outlined the objective situation of defeat for which his policies were in fact responsible, then proposed to scuttle the union as the "solution." His message was: if we don't merge we may have to strike over the longshore contract. His main argument was for longshore merger with the ILA, on the grounds that otherwise struck cargo could be diverted from Pacific to Gulf ports.

Bridges insisted that the motion authorizing merger talks was meant to apply to the entire union, not just to the Canadian Area as many delegates had thought. The convention wound up passing both the Local 6 motion opposing merger and the Canadian motion authorizing negotiations directed at merger. (This of course gives Bridges the opening to act on the pro-merger motion while ignoring the no-merger motion. The danger is that Bridges will try to organize a breakaway of Canada hoping for a stampede.)

Spartacist League Local Directory

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Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.,
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND (216) 621-3379
Box 6785,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the Inter-
national Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the Inter-
national Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Bridges' prestige had sunk so low that at this point in the proceedings delegate after delegate rose to attack him. The highlights of the discussion were attempts by local bureaucrats compromised by their locals' complicity in the backstabbing of the Boron and Canada strikes to unload all responsibility on the International's slimy shoulders. In addition, a motion was actually passed which attributed the Boron defeat to the allegedly outrageous demands of the rank and file!

The Challenger

Out of the muddled squabbling an electoral battle directed against Bridges emerged. L.A. area longshore Local 13 president Rubio was nominated to run against Bill Chester for vice president. This is generally regarded as a shadow fight with Bridges—as Chester is official "Assistant to the President" and lacks a power base independent of Bridges' own shattered base—in preparation for the next election.

(In 1977 an amendment to the union's constitution adopted at this convention will go into effect, specifying that no one over 65 can hold International office. International secretary-treasurer Goldblatt had initially attempted to force Bridges into retirement; the new amendment represents a behind-the-scenes compromise which makes both Bridges and Goldblatt lame ducks, though heading for pensions roughly four times that available to the average ILWU retiree.)

The pattern of nominating speeches made it clear that an alliance had been established between Rubio, Goldblatt and vice president (for Organization) George Martin. Thus the Rubio candidacy is nothing more than another "palace-coup opposition" in the tradition of "Jock" Yablonski in the Mine Workers Union (UMWA). What difference there is lies in the fact that the ILWU bureaucracy is being squeezed between an economic crisis and a militant membership which remembers the union's highly political history. The threat of dismemberment of the union could possibly propel layers of the union structure toward a distorted version of leftward motion.

Rubio's cheap shots at Bridges at the convention were an example of spilling the beans characteristic of a falling out among cynics. In seeking to paint a rosy picture of the merger schemes as fostering unity at the base (rather than simply amalgamation at the top), Bridges had claimed that only a merger could assure the ranks that the ILA would not handle diverted cargo in future strikes. Rubio rose to challenge him. How could Bridges make such an assertion when during the Boron and Canadian strikes one section of his own union had handled another ILWU section's struck cargo?

Yet the shoe fits Rubio equally well. He is president of one of the locals which handled the scab Borax! And the very thin veneer of militancy which he now seeks to don is dictated in part by another simple fact: it was Local 13 rejection of the sellout longshore contract which necessitated a second round of voting as the International struggled in locals up and down the coast to get the L.A. veto overridden (unsuccessfully, followed by a vain attempt to get it through at the convention). Yet Rubio himself had endorsed the contract! This kind of isolation in right field in one's own power base is enough to make a verbal "militant" out of any collaborationist hack.

The ranks of the ILWU must resolutely oppose this latest false opposition, whose only purpose is to channel militancy into a new round of demoralizing defeats. In a period of deepening capitalist crisis, the ruling class will seek more and more actively to control and break the unions. Only a leadership with an unequivocal commitment to class struggle and international workers' solidarity will be able to fight back. In the ILWU only the program advanced by the Militant Caucus and the *Longshore Militant* points the road forward. ■

SWP Says "Patronage for Everyone!"

Daley Routs Opposition in Chicago Election

CHICAGO, April 3—"Boss" Richard Daley was re-elected mayor here Tuesday with a resounding 78 percent of the vote, the highest ever in his six bids for the office (all successful). Already in February he had scored an easy primary victory over several Democratic Party challengers. Evidently the army of ward heelers and patronage peddlers who are the cogs of the best-oiled political machine in the country can still deliver the goods.

The Republican candidate, John Hoellen, already conceded defeat after the primary when he lost his seat as alderman in a ward he had held for 28 years (he was the lone Republican on the last city council). Charging that the Daley steamroller tried to "buy the ward with rivers of beer and fountains of whisky," Hoellen said, "They could put a gorilla against me and the gorilla would be elected by the machine" (*Chicago Daily News*, 26 February). The ex-alderman tried to bow out but was induced by Republican leaders to stay in the race only so that the party would not lose its ballot status.

The Chicago Democratic machine has dominated local political life for most of the twentieth century. Typically, whenever the corruption, nepotism and graveyard voting became too unsavory for public consumption, the machine would simply run its own reform candidate. However, in the early 1950's a bumbling "reform" mayor, Martin Kennelly, instituted some civil service reforms that disrupted the party's patronage system. Kennelly nailed his coffin shut by angering black ward boss William Dawson, trying to clean up vice and gambling on the latter's turf. Daley was chosen to run against Kennelly and his margin of victory in the 1955 primary came from the black wards.

For 20 years Daley's power has been uncontested in Chicago (1975 was the first time he faced primary opposition since being elected), with ward bosses,



Chicago Mayor Richard Daley

labor bureaucrats, the Mafia and even the Republican Party all selling their influence in return for lucrative handouts from city hall. Daley was careful to spice this up with a few razzle-dazzle construction projects, a drop of federal housing in an ocean of some of the worst slums in the country, and a certain number of city jobs going to blacks and other ethnic groups in addition to the politically dominant Irish.

However, despite careful management of the pork barrel spoils, Chicago remains one of the most sharply segregated and openly racist large cities in the U.S., a point that was underscored by Daley's famous "shoot-to-kill" order during the 1968 ghetto riots. And even bought judges have been unable to cover up the stench of corruption as the mayor's son, his former floor leader in the city council and his former press agent have all been implicated in graft deals. Daley himself and his wife were recently exposed as secret stockholders in a local real estate firm.

Daley's bourgeois opponents have been reduced to limply raising their (somewhat soiled) banners of clean government and trying to beat the mayor at the "law and order" game. The Democratic primary also-rans this year included "Fast Eddie" Hanrahan, who achieved national infamy as the state's attorney who led the police death squad that killed two Black Panther leaders in 1969. The liberals' darling, Bill Singer, managed to get the endorsement of recently elected Steelworkers district

director Ed Sadlowski (which gives an idea of the politics of that purported "labor radical"), but this did not stop Singer from attacking the "excessive" wages and personnel of the garbage collection department (in a panel discussion at the University of Chicago on January 20).

A new contender for the mayoralty this year was the Socialist Workers Party, in the person of its candidate Willie Mae Reid. Reid managed to get on the ballot in spite of blatantly anti-democratic election laws which require "independent" candidates to present more than 40,000 signatures in order to qualify while the major bourgeois parties only have to submit about 3,000. Having gathered the necessary signatures, the SWP promised "the biggest, most audacious campaign the Socialist Workers Party has ever run in Illinois" (*Militant*, 27 December).

The SWP program in the Chicago elections, however, was nothing but reformist pabulum. While these ex-Trotskyists are building their national presidential drive on the twin themes of an updated "Spirit of '76" and socialism through constitutional amendment (a "Bill of Rights for Working People"), Reid's local campaign has been a model of municipal "sewer socialism" in the style of Victor Berger, long-time social-democratic mayor of Milwaukee. Her keynote is "make Chicago work for us" and the equally meaningless "Chicago can become our kind of town" (*Militant*, 14 March).

The demands raised by the SWP candidate are for closing tax loopholes, taxing the profits of the large corporations and federal financing of school, medical and day-care facilities (*ibid.*). Such demands are perfectly indistinguishable from those of the liberal Democrats! In contrast, Trotskyists call for the *expropriation without compensation* of industry and finance, for revolutionary action by the working class instead of small-change parliamentary reformism.

It is little wonder that the *Chicago Tribune* (28 February) commented about one of Reid's speeches that it contained "Nothing one could relate to the image of bomb-throwing revolutionaries who want to overthrow the government." The SWP chose to battle Daley above all on his home ground of ethnic politics. In fact, Reid reportedly went so far as to promise not to end the patronage system but "just extend it so everybody would be covered" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 22 February). Later the candidate claimed to a *WV* reporter that she had been misquoted. "We are opposed to patronage," she said, "but it should be extended to each and every person!"

At a February forum, Andrew Pulley of the SWP asked one of the Democratic primary hopefuls, black state senator John Newhouse, whether he would support Reid if Daley won the primary, since Reid would then be the only black candidate on the ballot. Although Newhouse avoided the question, he could easily have turned the tables. Would the SWP support Newhouse if he were the "only black running"?

One of Reid's themes in the Chicago campaign has been calling for an "independent black candidate" and an "independent black party." What she means by this, however, is merely independence from the Democrats and Republicans. In its pamphlet, "The Case for an Independent Black Party," the SWP states:

"The character of an independent black party will, of course, be determined by its founders and members....

"How radical it will actually be, and what kind of radicalism it will actually express, will depend on the composition and outlook of the leaders and forces who launch the party and their evolution as they operate in the political arena."

What these reformists are saying is that if a party were formed by black liberals of the Newhouse stripe, so long as it is separate from the Democrats and Republicans, the SWP would support it. The "independent" black party they call for could very well be a *bourgeois* party, led by disgruntled poverty bureaucrats, ministers and "black capitalist" elements such as Jesse Jackson.

In the election, Reid received about 16,000 votes or slightly under 2.5 percent of the total. Although some of these voters may have desired to support a truly revolutionary socialist party and cast their ballot for the SWP as a "lesser evil," to give electoral support to this social-democratic electioneering could only serve to create illusions in reformism where they did not exist before. The program of the Trotskyists when intervening in bourgeois elections (or anywhere else) is not the SWP's parliamentary tinkering but the Transitional Program of socialist revolution. ■

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George Meany a socialist? Never! But the current depression-scale capitalist economic crisis is punishing all workers and demands an answer from the trade unions. Predictably the response from the bureaucracy has been a lot of empty talk, futile pleading and class betrayal. Tens of thousands are organized by the union misleaders for a march on Washington to put pressure on the Democratic Party. But not one unionist will be organized by Meany/Woodcock & Co. for the necessary struggle to put an end to the human misery and suffering caused by the wasteful, destructive boom-bust cycle of capitalism.

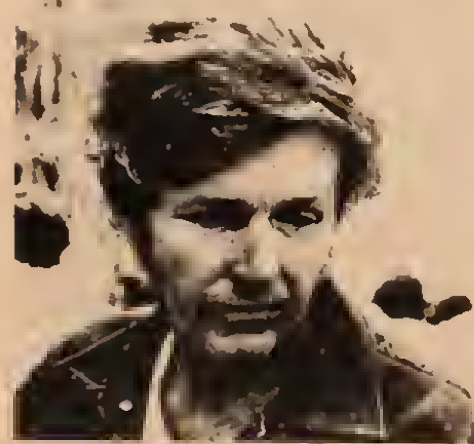
Nevertheless, the word "socialism"—but not the genuine socialist program for planned production for use, not profit, and the abolition of class society—has become more "popular" these days as the labor fakers attempt to gain credence in order to safely channel the deepening anger of the ranks. Such fake socialists may label their political views "democratic socialism" or claim to be part of the "democratic left," but whatever they call themselves and wherever they exist in the capitalist world the social-democratic program is the same: labor reformism, national chauvinism and virulent anti-communism, disguised as classless "democratic" criticism of the bureaucratically deformed workers states.

In the U.S. the labor bureaucracy is already feeling the pressure from enraged ranks for policies that can be carried out only through a militant mobilization of the working class. But there should be no illusions. Mr. Meany's talk of a need for "more socialistic thinking" does not mean the labor fakers are about to break with the capitalist parties and form a labor party. As the *New York Times* (16 March) recently commented about AFL-CIO leaders' criticisms of the Democrats:

"...the one point of genuine unanimity on political policy is that American labor wants no Labor party on the British model. At the mid-winter meeting of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council in Florida last month Mr. Meany reiterated his abhorrence of the Labor party idea at the very same time that he was proclaiming the readiness of the federation to tell both major parties to 'go to hell' whenever it disagreed with their candidates or programs."

When Meany did "break" with the Democrats in 1972 it was only to give backhanded support to the anti-labor criminal Richard Nixon!

Now during the worst crisis for the U.S. economy since the onset of the great depression—the highest unemployment,



Michael Harrington

the sharpest drop in gross national product, bankruptcies and plant closures—workers urgently need independent class-struggle policies and leadership. But this leadership can only be built through unceasing struggle against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—even when it begins to mouth "socialist" phrases.

After the days of Eugene Debs, U.S. social democracy as a distinct political tendency became and remained a small, stagnant cesspool near the stream of labor reformism. It has always been patronized by a number of top union leaders. Moreover, today differences within the labor bureaucracy between Meanyite conservatives and so-called "progressive" bureaucrats like the UAW tops or AFSCME's Jerry Wurf are

"Maybe we need more of that socialistic thinking."

**—George Meany,
19 December 1974**



UPI

Left Talk in Hard Times

"Socialist" Labor Fakers Back Democrats

mirrored in the two wings of official social democracy.

Two years ago the moribund U.S. Socialist Party split over the question of whom to support for U.S. president—the



Bayard Rustin

New America

most liberal Democrat...or the most reactionary Democrat. Those who favored Henry Jackson, the war-mongering "Senator from Boeing," broke to form the Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) under Bayard Rustin. Michael Harrington led those who supported the nomination of liberal George McGovern to set up the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

SDUSA: Right Wing of the Democratic Party

Bayard Rustin's SDUSA echoes George Meany straight down the line. The pages of its journal, *New America*, rail against importing foreign-made products and denounce the "designs of the North Vietnamese" to destroy the South Vietnamese trade-union movement while massacring masses of Vietnamese before the firing squads (*New America*, 31 January 1975).

Although Meany himself is not directly connected with the Social Democrats USA, many Meanyite AFL-CIO officials

are. SDUSA supporters and friends include Meany assistant Tom Kahn; William Marshall, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO; Mary Ellen Roridan, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT); Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Dave Chaney, vice president of the American Clothing Workers of America and a number of other top-level bureaucrats.

Another category favored by these ultra-right-wing social democrats is that of "labor statesmen." On March 13 a testimonial dinner was held in honor of I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, at which he was awarded the SDUSA's Eugene V. Debs award for his "contributions to the cause of economic and political democracy"! His "contributions" in giving up the steelworkers' right to strike no doubt received "honorable" mention along with a "blue ribbon" for vicious red-baiting against opposition militants.

No wonder, then, that the SDUSA's program to fight the economic crisis is merely a carbon copy of the AFL-CIO's, a string of reformist demands aimed at securing a slightly better deal for workers under capitalism through pressuring Democratic politicians: public job programs, "doubling" the youth summer job program, federal investment in public works projects, tax cuts, health care insurance for the unemployed, etc.

The Liberal DSOC

Claiming to be a left opposition to the SDUSA, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee is only a slightly more liberal version of right-wing social democracy. Both groups pledge their allegiance to the U.S. State Department. Pretending to be morally outraged by "Communist Totalitarianism" they form a common bloc with imperialism as a consequence of their aspirations to be the political representatives of the U.S. labor aristocracy. Both support U.S. military aid for Zionist

expansion in the Near East. Each organization hemoans "a threatened loss of Portugal's nascent democracy." And of course both groups swear their fealty to the Democratic Party.

DSOC patted itself on the back for having five of its members elected as delegates to the Democrats' "miniconvention" last December. DSOC National Secretary Jack Clark crowed: "Our Kansas City operation shows that we are a serious current in the left wing of the Democratic Party." Although DSOC announces its intentions to establish a "socialist presence in America," according to its journal, Harrington "will not urge the Democratic Party to embrace democratic socialism in 1976. That proposal is premature given current political realities and the views of most Americans" (*Newsletter of the Democratic Left*, December 1974).

The "action" program of the DSOC is limited to tax reform, "socially useful undertakings" (?), and other small-change reform schemes. Its "maximum" program-for-later is even worse, calling for such "socialist" measures as putting employees on the boards of directors of major corporations and establishing an "Office of the Future" as part of the U.S. presidency.

With its program of liberal reforms and meaningless references to democratic decision-making in the far-off future, it is not surprising that a host of "progressive" bureaucrats can be found in and around DSOC. On DSOC's National Board are Leslie Nulty from the United Auto Workers (UAW) research staff and David Selden, former president of the AFT. Among the "vice-chairpersons" elected at DSOC's recent convention are Victor Reuther, former international affairs director of the UAW; Chicago-area UAW leader Carl Sheir; and Ralph Helstein, president emeritus of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen.

Greetings were sent to the social democrats' conference by a number of liberal labor fakers including William Dobbs, political action director of the UAW; Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Moe Fraser, executive secretary of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Douglas Fraser, international vice president of the UAW; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen; Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of AFSCME; Jerry Wurf, president of AFSCME; Edward Sadowski, director of District 31 of the United Steelworkers; and Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers.

While these "progressives" may be willing to bolster their image by lending a little support to the Harrington outfit, they remain firm supporters of the Democrats and treacherous betrayers who repeatedly sell out the workers' struggles. The Woodcock clique, so heavily represented in the DSOC leadership, is notorious for its complete lack of action during recent massive layoffs in the auto industry. Instead of organizing militant actions—such as sitdown strikes against plant closings—the UAW officials trooped to Washington to beg capitalist politicians for more unemployment benefits, while publicly lamenting the drop in auto companies' profits. Another of these "progressives", Victor Gotbaum of DC 37, after caving in to the several thousand layoffs of New York City workers, announced he was joining DSOC to "work to make good men like [Democratic city council president] Paul O'Dwyer understand the human suffering the crisis is causing."

For Socialist Revolution—Not Social-Democratic Betrayal!

Although in the U.S. it has been largely submerged in recent decades, social democracy is a real and dangerous current within the labor movement, throwing up a particularly poisonous

continued on page 11

No Choice for Workers

Mock Elections in Portugal

APRIL 16—Ever since the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) toppled rightist dictator Marcello Caetano last April, ending 45 years of corporatist rule in Portugal, it has acted as a bonapartist arbiter, seeking to balance between competing class forces in order to prevent the "excesses" of either revolution or counterrevolution. When workers sought to take advantage of their newly won liberties, the MFA broke a May-June strike wave by threatening to use troops against postal workers. Yet shortly afterwards it turned around and prevented conservative elements from freezing the Communist Party (CP) out of the first provisional government.

Similarly in September leftist officers first expelled sitdown strikers from installations of the national airlines, then frustrated an attempt by President General António de Spínola to mobilize a right-wing "silent majority" for a coup d'état from above. Most recently, following an unsuccessful putsch by Spínolists officers on March 11, the MFA simultaneously nationalized banks and insurance companies, formed a "Supreme Council of the Revolution" and cracked

down on "undisciplined" radicals.

Like the CP, the Armed Forces Movement calls for a "democratic revolution." Its program centers on classic bourgeois-democratic demands such as "freedom of expression," "freedom of association," "right of assembly," "trade-union liberty," "the abolition of censorship," "immediate amnesty for all political prisoners" and elections for a National Assembly within 12 months. But in order to carry out its bonapartist role, in practice the MFA has proceeded to severely curtail democratic rights, particularly for socialists and the labor movement.

Thus trade unions led by leftist opponents of the military regime are subjected to "intervention" (receivership) by the government and their leaders arrested. Strikes are almost totally outlawed. Censorship was reinstituted as early as last June and socialist newspapers have been banned for weeks at a time. Leftist demonstrations are often declared illegal, Maoist parties have been outlawed and their supporters thrown in jail.

As a sop to domestic conservatives and imperialist pressure, elections for a



A Voz do Trabalhador

Maoist leaders of the Chemical Workers Union being arrested by troops of the Armed Forces Movement last month. Military officials are now running the union.

constituent assembly are to be held on schedule, April 25, but under carefully controlled conditions. Two Maoist groups, the Movement for the Reorganizing of the Proletarian Party (MRPP) and the Worker-Peasant Alliance (AOC), have been dropped from the ballot and a third, the Communist Electoral Front Marxist-Leninist (FEC-ML), was temporarily suspended for insulting the Armed Forces Movement. Voters who do not support any party are being officially encouraged to cast blank ballots as an indication of support for the MFA.

"Institutionalizing" the Armed Forces Movement

Wary of the possibility of a hostile center-right victory in even these tightly

circumscribed elections, MFA leaders moved earlier this month to "institutionalize" their role as supreme arbiter of Portuguese politics. The instrument was a pact handed to the legally recognized parties on April 4 "for discussion"; the recipients were given exactly 48 hours to respond. All the major parties signed the thinly disguised ultimatum, although several smaller leftist groups refused.

According to the terms of this de facto constitution, all key powers will be in the hands of the president and the Supreme Council of the Revolution. The president is simultaneously chief of state, chairman of the revolutionary council and supreme commander of the armed forces. He can name the head of government, dissolve parliament and order new elections with the approval of the council. The Supreme Council, in turn, can impose a state of emergency, decide controversies over the constitutionality of laws, and issue laws itself.

During the "transition period," which will last "three to five years," all laws passed by the parliament must be approved by the revolutionary council in order to be implemented. In any case the political parties will have no control over military affairs and the council must approve the ministers of interior, economic planning and defense.

At the ceremony accompanying the signing of the "institutionalization" pact, President General Francisco da Costa Gomes summed up the thinking behind this move, denouncing "minorities who have become drunk with liberty and abuse it in demonstrations of anarchy, impotence and verbal opportunism" (*Diário de Notícias*, 12 April). The purpose of the pact, he suggested, was to

continued on next page



Communist Party election propaganda in Lisbon.

Avante!



Ceremony installing the fourth provisional government in Portugal last month.

Portugal Socialista

Portuguese Elections...

(continued from page 7)

prevent such groups from disturbing the revolutionary process, which must develop in "peace," "tranquility" and "serenity."

"Officers and Gentlemen"

Just as in Chile, the Stalinist CP tries to fool the masses into believing socialism can be brought about by following a "peaceful road" based on alliance with the "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, in the Portuguese case the Armed Forces Movement. The "alliance of the MFA with the people" has been the cornerstone of Communist Party policy since April 25. The same is true, although with more reluctance, for the Socialist Party (SP) and two "left" satellites of the MFA-CP-SP bloc, the Socialist Left Movement (MES) and Popular Socialist Front (FSP). Yet the bourgeois officer caste, in the guise of the MFA or more rightist generals, has repeatedly suppressed the struggles of the working class and will utterly destroy the organized labor movement if necessary in order to maintain capitalist rule!

Following the bloody end of the "Chilean road to socialism" in the September 1973 coup, the Kremlin concluded that the solution was a more solid alliance with "progressive officers." The MFA is presented by Moscow-line Stalinists as the "answer" to Chile, a bulwark against "fascism." In turn, members of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, such as the "red admiral" Antonio Coutinho, announce that "we are going to socialism in the next three to five years" (*New York Times*, 15 April).

Nevertheless, MFA leaders have been unable to prevent the repeated appearance of reactionary conspiracies among their fellow officers. Counterrevolutionary elements in the bourgeois armed forces cannot be eliminated simply by the arrest of a few dozen plotters or even a wide-ranging *saneamento* (purge). The military is the mailed fist of the ruling class and the officer caste, and as Lenin remarked, is tied to the exploiters "by a thousand threads." What is necessary in order to crush reaction is to *destroy* the capitalist army and replace it with a workers militia.

As for the "socialism" and "anti-monopoly" policies of the MFA, we need only consider the words of President Costa Gomes, who explained at the inauguration of the fourth "provisional government" that, "We will create a climate of confidence and tranquility which will permit those businessmen who are prepared to distribute the wealth produced with social justice to invest with an acceptable risk in the sectors reserved for private initiative" (*Diário de Notícias*, 27 March).

Capitalists and Reformists

The Stalinist and social-democratic leaders are not confused about the role of the military, but rather are themselves committed to the maintenance of capitalist rule. Thus the SP talks of capitalist revolution "now," but insists on the presence of the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD) in the government coalition. The CP, lacking a compatible bourgeois coalition partner, has sought to create its own captive "non-socialist" party, the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP), in order to attract middle-class votes.

But the CP and SP, in spite of their leaders' pro-capitalist policies, are part of the workers movement and subject to pressures from their base. While the pro-Moscow Stalinists engaged in open strikebreaking last year, they are obviously under pressure from the left at present.

It is not surprising that the Communist Party engineered the "suspension" of Maoist groups from the elections. How-

ever, it also backed the elimination of right-wing Christian Democrats from the ballot and called for the ouster of the PPD from the fourth provisional government. This action, while it evidently met with Kremlin approval, brought sharp criticism from the Italian and Spanish CP's.

Moreover, in recent days Communist Party head Alvaro Cunhal has declared several times that "in the Portuguese conditions, a democratic regime is incompatible with the power of the monopolies and the latifundists and...therefore in Portugal there will not be bourgeois democracy" (*Avante!*, 3 April). Lest anyone get the misleading impression that the CP might be thinking of socialist revolution, however, the Stalinists were careful to eliminate any mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat from their program at a special congress last October.

Break with the MFA!

From the time of the *Communist Manifesto* on, Marxists have fought for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. This program was upheld by Lenin and Trotsky against the reformists who sought to tie the proletariat to its exploiters through "popular fronts," coalition governments and other forms of class collaboration. Trotsky wrote in the "Transitional Program" (1938) that, "The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the corpse of the bourgeoisie."

The Portuguese workers need above all a Trotskyist party, struggling for the Marxist program of proletarian independence, in order to open the road to socialist revolution. However, the only ostensible Trotskyist tendency on the ballot, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI)—Internationalist Communist League, a sympathizing section of the so-called "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel & Co.), capitulates to the "socialist" pretensions of the MFA.

For example, the LCI election manifesto published in January does not mention the Armed Forces Movement *once* in the space of six pages! There are many correct demands raised in this program, including a number of transitional demands (sliding scale of wages and hours; workers control of production; expropriation of large industry, commerce and agriculture; workers militias). It even calls for the replacement "of the present government of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie...." But it does *not* call for a break with the MFA, which is the burning issue in Portugal today. This is no oversight, but a conscious policy.

In the LCI's opinion, the MFA is not a bourgeois force. In a statement on "The Present Political Situation and the Intervention of the LCI in the Elections for the Constituent Assembly" (*Luta Proletária*, 14 January; translated in *Imprecor*, 7 February), it writes that:

"...the centers of political power have been removed from the direct control of the bourgeoisie or, rather, from that of any of its parties. A military caste appears to have raised itself above the two fundamental social classes in struggle...."

This statement refers to a "petty-bourgeois reformist military caste." Another example of its failure to recognize the bourgeois class character of the MFA was its response to the "institutionalization" pact. While refusing to sign it, like the Maoists the LCI reportedly explained its refusal by the fact that capitalist parties were also asked to sign, and demanded that "the capitalist ministers leave the government" (*Diário de Notícias*, 10 April). But even without capitalist ministers in the phantom "provisional government" the regime will remain bourgeois because power is in the hands of the military! Without a call for breaking with the MFA, occasional condemnations of class collaboration are meaningless and the LCI is, in fact, just as some of the Maoists have observed, a

"left" tail of the bonapartist military dictatorship.

A Bourgeois Workers Government?

The crowning jewel in the LCI's diadem of capitulation is its transformation of the Bolshevik slogan of a workers government into a call for a left social-democratic government of the *bourgeois state*. The January election manifesto referred to a "revolutionary government of the workers...constituted by all the workers and revolutionary organizations." However, references to "revolutionary" have since been dropped, reportedly after internal discussion. In a document published under the title "Programmatic Bases of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista" (*Diário de Notícias*, 12 April), the LCI states that:

"That is why the imposition of a workers government within the framework of a capitalist state—within the framework of the maintenance of capitalist economic and social relations and the maintenance of a political apparatus intended to perpetuate it—is only a first step on the road of proletarian revolution and socialism."

Comrades of the LCI, ever since the experience of the Paris Commune revolutionary Marxists have understood that the proletariat could come to power only by smashing the bourgeois state apparatus! Marx and Engels wrote, in the 1872 introduction to the *Communist Manifesto*, that "One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'"

Within the Marxist movement there has been a certain amount of confusion about the slogan of a "workers government" or "workers and peasants' government." Trotsky wrote in 1922 that the slogan is "an algebraic formula" whose advantage is that "it reaches even those workers who have not yet raised themselves to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Its disadvantages," he added, "...consist in that it can be given a purely parliamentary sense..." ("The Workers Government"). This is precisely what the LCI has done.

The origins of this betrayal of Marxist principles and the interests of the proletariat are to be found in the writings of the Pabloist revisionists, who broke with Trotskyism in the early 1950's by denying the need for an independent revolutionary Marxist party and endowing the Stalinist betrayers with the ability to carry out a proletarian revolution. Writing on the Transitional Program, one of the leaders of the United Secretariat to which the LCI belongs, Pierre Frank, commented that the USec had "revived and enriched" the teachings of the Communist International by using the slogan of a workers government as "a transitional governmental formula corresponding to the organizational conditions and consciousness of the masses at a given moment, and not as a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat" (*International Socialist Review*, May-June 1967, our emphasis).

Trotsky explicitly rejected this reformist conception. In the Transitional Program he wrote that the Stalinists "gave to the formula of the 'workers' and peasants' government' a completely different, purely 'democratic,' i.e., bourgeois content, counterposing it to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Bolshevik-Leninists resolutely rejected the slogan of the 'workers' and peasants' government' in the bourgeois-democratic version." Shortly afterward he stated that the workers and peasants government "is nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Conversations on the Slogan 'Workers and Farmers Government,'" *Writings* 1938-39).

For a Trotskyist Party in Portugal

Today in Portugal, the CP and SP shackle the combative workers by allying with the bourgeois officer caste in the form of the Armed Forces Movement. If the Maoists do not openly support the

MFA, they are unable to clearly break from it because of their Stalinist policies. Although tens of thousands of socialist militants stand to the left of the reformist Communist Party, and have participated in concrete struggles which bring them into conflict with the MFA, they have no revolutionary Marxist party to lead them.

We have on occasion given critical electoral support to other workers parties when a vote for their candidates, despite fundamental errors and ambiguities in their programs, could represent a class vote against the bourgeoisie. In the case of small tendencies which do not have a mass base, we have given such critical support when they have actively fought against class collaboration. Thus in the 1973 French parliamentary elections the Spartacist League called for votes to candidates of the OCI and Lutte Ouvrière organizations, which campaigned against the popular-front Union of the Left, while sharply criticizing their call for votes to the CP and SP (the workers parties of the popular front).

But in Portugal, the LCI not only calls for votes to the CP (as well as the FSP and MES) in those districts in which the LCI itself is not running candidates, but it utterly fails to present a class pole of opposition to the MFA. It falsely interprets the MFA's attempt to play a bonapartist role as placing the "progressive officers" outside of the bourgeois camp. An LCI communiqué of 15 February even declares that "The workers movement...must offer to these 'progressive officers' the effective possibilities to...accelerate their joining the combat of the working class" (*Combate Operário*, March 1975).

By explicitly calling for a "workers government" of the bourgeois state and *not* demanding a break with the MFA, the LCI in effect adopts a "two-stage" conception of revolution not fundamentally different from that of the Stalinists. It is significant that the Communist Party for several weeks took up the demand for the expulsion of the PPD from the provisional government (which would leave no bourgeois party in the "government"). This did not for a minute affect its alliance with the bourgeois MFA, the cornerstone of current CP policy in Portugal.

Therefore, the Spartacist League gives no electoral support to the LCI, while calling on LCI militants (and those of other ostensibly revolutionary organizations) to struggle for the Marxist policy of working-class political independence. The building of an authentic Trotskyist party in Portugal in the course of a fight to reforge the Fourth International is the necessary precondition for successful proletarian revolution and the creation of a true workers government, a regime based on the democratic rule of workers soviets. ■

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...Attica

(continued from page 2)

tresses for sleeping when the inmates had none, food when the inmates were starving. The inmates realized that the hostages were their only real capital at Rockefeller's bargaining table and they protected their meager collateral. Outside the prison walls, however, the cops were fabricating tales of prisoner atrocities—disembowelments, throat cuttings, castrations and sexual violations—which were passed on to the press for public consumption. The cops cynically dubbed the prisoners holding hostages "executioners"!

After the massive barrage of firepower the cops, "outraged" by their own fanciful stories, proceeded to amuse themselves inside the prison for endless hours. Inmates were threatened, repeatedly clubbed, stripped and made to run a gauntlet of 30 night-stick swinging savages, forced to crawl on their bellies. One prisoner was sodomized several times with a Phillips screwdriver. Medics allowed into the prison to assist the wounded and carry out the dead were met with a grisly sight:

"The third dead 'executioner' [inmate with a hostage] suffered multiple wounds, apparently from two separate sidearms, fired at close range, both in front of and behind him. The autopsy report revealed 18 separate puncture wounds and the ballistics laboratory analyzed 13 separate bullet fragments from his body."

Attica (The Official Report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica)

Four others, besides those shot in the police assault, were found dead in the prison—one guard, William Quinn, who was a hostage and was evidently unintentionally killed during the first minutes of the revolt, and three inmates apparently murdered by other inmates during the time they held prison yard D. These three are believed to have been police informers. (For more detailed reportage and analysis, see "Massacre at Attica," *WV* No. 1, October 1971.)

Whitewash and Frame-Up

The subsequent court action has been a total whitewash of the state and its professional killers, and a frame-up of the leaders of the prisoners' uprising. The death total at Attica was 43—39 of these by gunshot wounds from Rockefeller's cops. To date one Attica prisoner, John Hill, has been convicted of first-degree murder; another, Charles Pernasilice, of second-degree assault. Both were charged in connection with the death of Quinn. Of 62 inmates in 42 indictments for crimes stemming from the revolt, five will soon be tried for murdering the stool pigeons. In contrast, *not one cop has been indicted by either of the two grand juries investigating Attica!* No clearer testimony to the class nature of bourgeois "justice" could be made.

There has been a significant increase recently in the number of more or less openly political trials. While the liberals and Gerald Ford talk of Watergate as a relic of the long-gone "Nixon era," prosecutors, law-enforcement agencies and grand juries are still railroading innocent victims and resorting to police-state tactics. Evidence is suppressed, proof manufactured, witnesses threatened and bribed, secret indictments and hearings are used to fix later convictions, defense efforts are sabotaged by police infiltrators and, if necessary, "justice" officials help prepare the crimes and then "direct" convictions.

The State of New York, eager to justify its savagery at Attica, has employed several such tactics. One prison guard has already admitted falsely identifying an inmate defendant in order to obtain a desirable transfer; a former prisoner and state witness testified that he was tortured by troopers and guards after the rebellion in order to elicit his future cooperation; other former inmate prosecution "witnesses" have obtained speedy release from jail. Nonetheless, on the basis of the

most circumstantial evidence and conflicting testimony from unreliable witnesses, Hill was convicted of first-degree murder and Pernasilice of a felony.

The prosecution's case against Pernasilice was so flimsy that presiding judge Gilbert King virtually had to direct the verdict. One of the jurors acknowledged as much after the trial. "I think basically we would have liked to acquit him but felt we had to abide by the charge given to us by the judge" (*New York Post*, 7 April). During the trial Judge King systematically blocked all references to prison conditions and the massacre itself.

Police Set Up George Jackson?

Among the several political frame-up trials currently in progress is that of the San Quentin Six, inmates charged with killing guards at the California prison on 21 August 1971. There has always been widespread speculation about cop provocation in that incident, during which Black Panther George Jackson was killed by guards. Recently Marin County chief deputy public defender Frank Cox, lawyer for one of the six, filed an affidavit contending the U.S. and state police agencies had foreknowledge of the escape attempt and had set Jackson up by providing him with phony explosives and an inoperative gun.

The affidavit was filed along with a motion for defense access to police agency files pertaining to the case. Judge Henry Broderick, however, denied the motion on the incredible basis that "what happened before wasn't pertinent to the case" and because compelling "police agencies to yield their information would delay the trial..." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 March). The trial has been pending for three and one half years!

These are by no means the only recent victims of bourgeois class justice in the U.S. Ruthell Magee, one-time co-defendant with Angela Davis before the Communist Party luminary's lawyers severed her case, was given a life term in January on a charge of aggravated kidnapping growing out of a 1972 incident at Marin County courthouse. In North Carolina a black woman, Joan Little, is being tried on a charge of murdering a jailer who was attempting to rape her while she was imprisoned. In New York and New Jersey, Martin Sostre, Rubin Carter and John Artis continue to languish in prison although the "witnesses" whose testimony convicted them have since admitted to lying under oath in order to get favored treatment from the police. Meanwhile dozens of convicted Watergate conspirators receive minimal and suspended sentences and Nixon himself goes free.

Time and again it is demonstrated that the bourgeois courts are agencies of class oppression of working people and racial minorities. To pose a strategy of endless series of court suits as the answer to Watergate, as does the reformist Socialist Workers Party, is to criminally build illusions that the capitalist state can provide justice to its victims.

But at the same time, communists are the most ardent fighters for the democratic rights of the oppressed and do not commit the suicidal ultra-left error of refusing to make use of ruling-class courts. The recent victory of the Houston 12, who succeeded in forcing absurd charges of attempted murder to be dropped, should be greeted by all socialist and labor militants (despite the sectarian stance taken by their defense committee). However, the limited character of such victories is indicated by the fact that the defendants are still open to conviction on lesser charges.

All charges against Joan Little and the Attica and San Quentin defendants must be dropped. Victims of frame-ups and militants subjected to political incarceration such as Hill, Pernasilice, Magee, Sostre, Carter and Artis must be immediately freed. The butchers of George Jackson and of the prisoners at Attica should be imprisoned in their stead! For a united, non-sectarian defense of class-war prisoners! ■

Fight Unemployment

(continued from page 3)

stock in 5,200 corporations—have increased, making it all the more obvious that a major reorganization of the economy and the instituting of centralized planning are necessary to make production for social use rather than private profit possible. This can only be accomplished through working-class power and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. The capitalists may eventually ride out the immediate crisis through cut-throat trade war and ruthless international competition to monopolize the most lucrative sources of investment, which will lead to hardship for the workers. But it will not stop there. Unless world proletarian revolution intercedes, a new inter-imperialist war is inevitable.

Bureaucrats and Reformists

While the Democrats and Republicans are the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, the labor bureaucracy plays a contradictory role. Based on the trade unions and subjected to pressure from the workers, it is also the bourgeoisie's agent within the labor movement and the chief obstacle to the development of a class-struggle leadership in the unions. The bureaucracy performs a valuable role by holding back workers' struggles, keeping labor tied to the Democratic Party and building racial and national-chauvinist antagonisms within the working class.

The AFL-CIO program for the economic crisis has been developed in lock-step coordination with Democratic Party tactics in the shell-game competition with Ford. Thus Meany first demanded a \$20 billion tax cut, then upped it to \$30 billion when the Democrats raised their sights in order to pressure Ford. The AFL-CIO tops even fail to demand full trade-union wages and rights in their proposals for public works programs.

On some questions the AFL-CIO program is in line with that of the most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie, as with its protectionist demands and vicious campaign to deport undocumented foreign workers. Such virulently chauvinist economic nationalism can only worsen the situation of the workers by interrupting trade, driving up prices, causing scarcities of key commodities and inflaming race hatred. And just like the reactionary Meany, the "liberal" Woodcock also calls for protectionist quotas on auto imports. A precondition to putting an end to the capitalist cycle of depressions and preventing renewed imperialist war is to replace the present treacherous misleaders of the workers movement with a revolutionary leadership, committed to taking the class struggle forward to victory for the international proletariat.

Two ostensibly revolutionary groups guaranteed *not* to take labor in this direction are the Communist Party (CP)

and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Both are uncritically building the April 26 rally, encouraging nearly the same illusions as the AFL-CIO leaders. The CP sees its role as keeping the workers tied to the liberal wing of the union bureaucracy and to the Democratic Party. It hacks Woodcock against Meany and worthless hoaxes such as the Reuss/Hawkins/Humphrey bills. A flyer put out in New York City by Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), a union group supported by the CP, says "We...want to help make the Washington rally the kind of success which will help turn the Administration around." No serious working-class militant should give a moment's confidence to such a blatant attempt to build false hopes in reformist "pressure" on the system.

Though it adopts a slightly more militant posture (mainly because it has nothing in the unions, and therefore nothing to risk) the SWP builds the same illusions in the "objective" pressure that a mass turnout, regardless of the program, can supposedly produce. Regarding the union march on Washington, the SWP is mainly concerned to demonstrate the compatibility of labor reformism with its own craven call for federal troops to solve the Boston housing crisis, by trying to identify the April 26 demonstration with the May 17 NAACP march on Boston.

A Class-Struggle Program

A massive turnout in Washington will be as much a message to the quiescent labor bureaucrats as to the ruling class, and should be encouraged. However, it must be recognized that the rally has virtually no program, which means it is intended simply to pressure the Democrats and can therefore achieve nothing. The April 26 rally would have a vastly greater impact, even if it were much smaller, if it raised a real program for class struggle, including the following demands:

- Launch an immediate struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay: 30 for 40, and keep on sliding the hours down and wages up to meet inflation point for point!
- Workers: occupy plants and strike to halt mass layoffs and plant closings!
- Unlimited, unconditional unemployment benefits, incorporating welfare, at full union-scale wage levels—Guarantee SUB payments!
- Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the trade unions! For unlimited recall rights and union membership rights at nominal dues for laid-off workers!
- No protectionism or deportations! For international working-class solidarity—immediate citizenship rights for foreign-born workers.
- Fight discrimination—Jobs for all, no preferences! For labor/black defense against racist attacks!
- Stop all schemes to evacuate Vietnamese or American war criminals—Not one dime for the Saigon regime—U.S. out of Southeast Asia—Immediate recognition of the NLF/PRG and FUNK/GRUNK governments in Vietnam and Cambodia!
- For massive public works with full trade-union rights and wages! Make basic social services (medicine, mass transit, etc.) free! Operate idled plants to capacity under workers management—Nationalize all major industry without compensation—For central planning of the economy.

• Workers: Dump the Democrats and Republicans and their bureaucratic "friends" in the labor movement! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!

Class-conscious militants in the unions know that there is no wing of the present union leadership willing to carry through the fight for these demands. Caucuses must be built in the unions to fight for a class-struggle program and replace the bureaucrats with revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League fights for such a program and builds such caucuses: join the Spartacist League, nucleus of the vanguard workers party. ■

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Labor/Black Defense...

(continued from page 12)

new attacks as the teams of union volunteers have been guarding the house daily. Members vow the guards will remain "as long as necessary" to ensure that the family is safely moved into the house.

The attacks on black families have mounted during an organizing offensive by fascist and racist groupings in Chicago. Besides the attacks on four black families on the Southwest Side, there were earlier attacks on other families in Broadview. The Nazi Party ran candidates for alderman in five wards in the last elections, and the Ku Klux Klan has also been actively organizing lately.

These scum thrive on the despair generated by heavy inflation and unemployment in the working class, and their efforts to divide the workers along race lines can only benefit the employers. Resolute action such as that undertaken by Local 6 could, if followed through and adopted by the rest of the labor movement, prevent future attacks and quickly lay the tiny but deadly dangerous fascist movement in the grave where it belongs.

The third attack on the Dennis house, which occurred two days prior to the union meeting, particularly incensed many members of the Local. The motion to set up the volunteer union defense guards was made by a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus, which had distributed a newsletter in the plant before the meeting calling for a militant response to the wave of racist terror. The Labor Struggle Caucus is a grouping in Local 6 with a class-struggle program which has recently been active in successful struggles against a company leafletting ban in the plant and against a move to extend terms for local union officers to three years. Its resolution at the Sunday meeting supported the "struggle for integration of blacks in housing, education, and jobs," as "vital interests of the entire working class," and denounced reliance on the police, who "serve the employers and cannot be depended upon to defend the rights of blacks or of the trade unions." The motion also called for defense activities to be extended to the black families on the Southwest Side, as well as Broadview.

Following the meeting, the Local issued a special number of its newsletter. Although this was reportedly not very well distributed, a special meeting held Tuesday night for volunteers was attended by 25 members from all political groupings in the Local, as well as by a television crew, which filmed the entire proceedings. President Roth chaired and took a lot of criticism for the inefficient distribution of the special Local newsletter which, it was said, kept the meeting from being larger.

He also relented under pressure on his earlier objection to the formation of a special committee to organize the defense guards. A steering committee was then set up under the chairmanship of the by-laws

committee chairman. It includes two members of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a member of the syndicalist Workers Voice group, and other Local members. Members of the steering committee immediately began signing up volunteers in the plant.

Support for the defense activity was forthcoming, at least verbally, from the UAW officialdom in the area, including regional director Robert Johnston. The special Local newsletter asserted, "These efforts are in accord with our UAW principles and policies."

On the other hand, the UAW officials seemed primarily concerned to get government officials to intervene, thereby relieving the union of its responsibility. At the Dennis house on Sunday night, Roth told *WV* of his intention "to exert every political pressure possible to try to get the authorities to do something." He further claimed that "In some instances, the police have given some protection."

The Spartacist League's call for integrated working-class defense of endangered blacks in Boston received wide national and international media coverage last fall. Recent action by Chicago-area UAW Local 6 to defend the home of a black member against firebombing night riders dramatically demonstrates the power of a class-struggle answer to racist attacks.

Roth, who is a prominent supporter of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, the trade-union group backed by the reformist Communist Party, not surprisingly places confidence in the bosses' state. Yet neither courts, cops, troops nor National Guard will protect blacks against racist victimization. This can be clearly seen in the Boston situation, where the courts are conciliating the racists and have taken a giant step backward on the busing plan.

In Boston there have been two sharply counterposed lines on how to defend the endangered blacks from racist attack. On the one hand there are the liberals, joined by the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, who have called for federal troops. Against this dead-end reliance on the armed forces of the capitalist state, the Spartacist League has called for integrated working-class defense. Both in Chicago and Boston or elsewhere, labor/black defense guards could quickly eliminate racist terrorists, neutralize wavering elements in the white population and eventually defuse racist

mobilizations.

The Local 6 action could be the start of a general initiation of militant, class-struggle response to racist terror in the Chicago area, but only if the whole Local, leadership included, works to undertake it seriously and spread the idea to other locals. If the Local 6 leadership instead spreads illusions in the state, the way will be left open for a worsening racial polarization. The guard must not be ended prematurely, on the advice or promise of the cops or city officials that defense will be provided by the state.

The recent action of the Local 6 members stands as an inspiring example for all trade unionists and black militants: black and white workers *can* unite and organize to fend off racist terror. It will take an all-sided fight for class-struggle policies and leadership throughout the labor movement to turn this example into the rule. But an important beginning has been made. ■

...Indochinese Revolution

(continued from page 1)

now against the tottering Saigon regime!

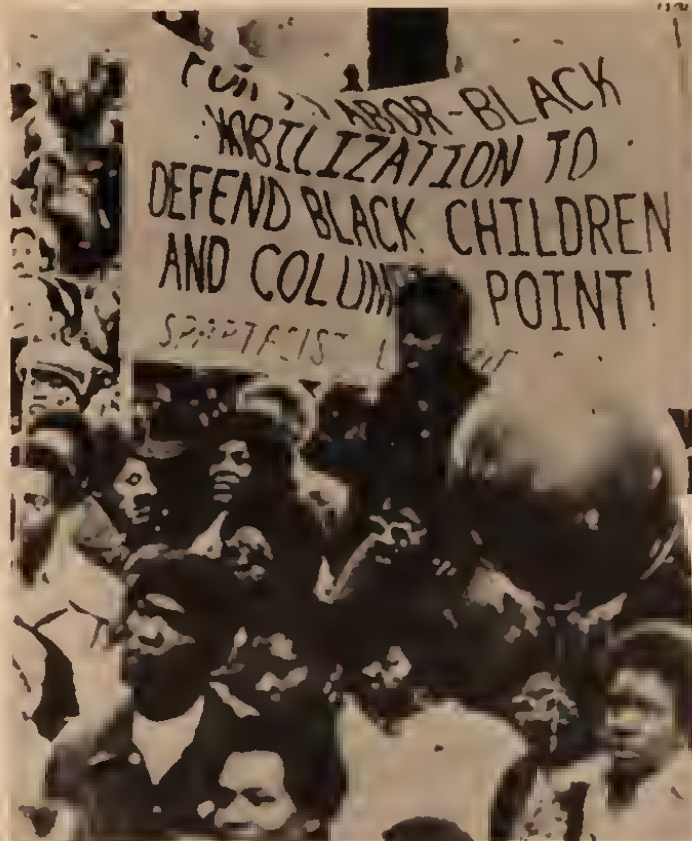
We have repeatedly warned of the treachery of the Stalinist leaderships in Indochina. The sellout of southern Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian fighters at Geneva in 1954 and the negotiation of a robbers' peace at Paris in 1973 were the result of the defeatist policies of the bureaucracies in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi who sought above all to achieve peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Likewise, the programs of the Stalinist-led insurgent movements in Indochina (as elsewhere) call not for socialist revolution but for "democratic"

However, there are elastic constraints on the Stalinists' ability to betray. They are not about to commit direct collective suicide, although Moscow and Peking are only too willing to sacrifice someone else's revolution. And there must be someone to whom they can capitulate. As we wrote last month about Cambodia, "While the strategy of the Stalinists is to form a popular-front government and maintain capitalist rule" the forces of the Phnom Penh regime "are so enfeebled and hopelessly corrupt that they represent no social base at all. A Laos-type 'settlement' is evidently non-viable" (*WV* No. 64, 14 March).

The Cambodian Stalinists continued to call for a coalition government until the end, and the insurgents' royal government in exile (GRUNK) was already a popular-frontist formation with a program of class collaboration. Nevertheless, what has emerged in Cambodia with the taking of state power by the Khmer Rouge is a *deformed workers state*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated Russian workers state under Stalin and his successors and the states which emerged under Stalinist bureaucratic domination in China, Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, etc. Imperialism and its local bourgeois allies no longer rule in Cambodia.

Although news from Cambodia is extremely sketchy it is evident that no coalition with substantial bourgeois forces was formed before the Stalinist-led insurgents militarily took Phnom Penh. The real power is being consolidated in the hands of the Khmer Rouge; the coming to power of a bourgeois regime would require a violent counterrevolution.

The most important bourgeois component of the GRUNK is Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former ruler of Cambodia before an American-engineered 1970 coup, now formally designated as chief of state. Sihanouk has a long reputation as an anti-communist opportunist, turning a blind eye when U.S. and Saigon planes bombed NLF "sanctuaries" inside Cambodia in the late 1960's. Last week he said in a broadcast interview that he planned



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WV photo

Chicago UAW member's house after fire-bombing.

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to retire after the Khmer Rouge victory. "I am not a Khmer Rouge," he is quoted as saying. "I am not a Communist and I do not understand communism...." he added.

"They have made me president of the Cambodian popular resistance, but that does not mean that I can see any role for myself after victory.

"Even if one thinks of a sharing of power, there will be a clash. I am a very independent man."

"After victory, I will be chief of state and there will be an entirely Communist government and administration. So either I am a puppet of the Khmer Rouge or I remain independent and there will be trouble."

According to the news report, "the Prince has acknowledged that there were few 'Sihanoukists' in the rebel movement" (*New York Times*, 15 April).

As we wrote in *WV* No. 25, 3 August 1973:

"If, however, the GRUNK takes power through the defeat of the Lon Nol regime by Khmer Rouge forces and the U.S. government is too paralyzed by domestic crisis to intervene, the Stalinist component of this unstable popular front could very well shed its monarchic shell, leading to a deformed workers state."

This is what is taking place at present.

Vietnam is far more critical to U.S. imperialism, and the social and political conditions there are not identical to those of Cambodia. However, the military situation of the Saigon puppet regime is by all accounts untenable and rapidly deteriorating. The NLF continues to call for a coalition government, but the chances of actually forming such an unstable regime are dim.

At the present time, the Ford government in Washington is already accusing the Democrats of responsibility for the "loss of Indochina from the Free World." The theme of the "stab in the back" has been a fruitful propaganda theme for reactionaries from Hitler to Joseph McCarthy and communists must vigorously combat the coming wave of chauvinism and mutual anti-communist recriminations by the capitalist politicians.

Ford's kidnapping of several thousand Vietnamese babies and announced plans to "rescue" 170,000 Vietnamese from the "Red Menace" are in large part intended to whip up reactionary sentiment at home. Nevertheless, the possibility of a new imperialist adventure cannot be absolutely ruled out. All working-class militants must vigorously oppose any attempts to re-invade Indochina under the guise of evacuating Americans or "saving" the sadistic torturers and butchers who are the Vietnamese collaborators of U.S. imperialism. We demand an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces, military and "civilian," from Southeast Asia; no "aid" to the tottering Saigon regime; recognition of the NLF/PRG as the government of South Vietnam; no asylum for the collaborators of imperialism and no evacuation of war criminals. To the NLF/DRV armed forces we say: Down with the Robbers' Peace—Take Saigon! Don't Stop Short. Smash the Bureaucrats—Complete the Socialist Revolution Through Political Revolution! All Indochina Must Go Communist!

The events in Cambodia raise certain questions concerning the Marxist analysis of Stalinist-ruled countries. Is it possible to call Cambodia a deformed workers state if its representatives proclaim that the new government is not "communist" but "democratic," and there are non-Stalinists in the GRUNK? It is, and a parallel situation can be seen in China when the People's Republic came to power in 1949. The government which took office in Peking included members of a "third force" democratic opposition to Chiang Kai-shek, and Mao spoke of a period of "new democracy." Large-scale nationalizations of industry and business were not undertaken until the Korean War, three years later. Yet power was firmly in the hands of the People's Liberation Army, which in order to consolidate its power against the imperialist attack was eventually forced to

formally expropriate the already devastated bourgeoisie.

And what of the Trotskyist accusation that the Stalinists are enemies of proletarian revolution and do not wish to take power in their own name? Can this be reconciled with the emergence of a deformed workers state in Cambodia? Again, the answer is yes. There is no doubt that for years the Stalinist-led insurgents have sought to form a coalition bourgeois government; the taking of power by the Khmer Rouge is in direct contradiction to the program of the GRUNK and Stalinist strategies of a "bloc of four classes," "two-stage revolution," etc., and occurs only under exceptional circumstances of disorganization among the bourgeoisie and the absence of a working class struggling in its own class interests.

What a Stalinist-led guerrilla movement cannot do, however, is create an



"OPERATION BABYLIFT": Phony humanitarianism and anti-communist demagoguery.

internationalist and revolutionary workers state based on democratic soviet rule. As we wrote in the "Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" (1966):

"Movements of this sort can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to political power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions towards socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry."

These words are being confirmed once again in Indochina today. We hail the military victory of the Khmer Rouge. We unconditionally defend the Cambodian deformed workers state, as well as the NLF and North Vietnamese (DRV) forces, against imperialist attack. But we have not forgotten the fate of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, murdered by the Stalinists in 1945-47 for their uncompromising struggle against imperialism, and we do not ignore the absence of real workers democracy in North Vietnam or the other deformed workers states. As Marxists we tell the truth to the workers, namely that only with a Trotskyist party at the head of a working-class revolution can true proletarian democracy be established and the way opened to the international extension of the revolution and the abolition of class society. ■

Militants Demonstrate Against Zionist Butchers



WV photo

PARTICIPANTS IN SL-INITIATED PICKET OF DAYAN—On April 16 radicals and union militants demonstrated against the appearance of Zionist butcher Moshe Dayan at a Cleveland college. An ad hoc coalition including the Revolutionary Union, Socialist Workers Party and representatives of several Arab groupings had originally called for such a demonstration, but when the Spartacist League attempted to join in the planning and organization the RU-dominated "coalition" made it clear that they intended to physically prevent the carrying of "unauthorized" slogans.

The SL was not deterred by this blatant sectarianism and, recognizing the importance of presenting a strong opposition to Dayan, issued a call for a separate non-exclusionist demonstration to coincide with that called by the "coalition." The SL was successful in mobilizing about 65 people, including local unionists and members of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The RU's childish efforts to provoke the SL-led protesters were firmly resisted and, despite the RU's "best" efforts, the parallel demonstrations constituted an impressive showing by about 150 militants of opposition to the architect of the Zionist war machine.

"Socialist" Labor Fakers...

(continued from page 6)

variety of pro-capitalist reformism as an obstacle to revolutionary working-class struggle. Whipping up a witchhunt hysteria, social democrats aid and intensify the division of the working class along national lines; in the name of "democracy" they line up workers behind imperialism against the "red dictatorships."

These agents of the capitalist class within the unions masquerading as socialists have absolutely nothing in common with socialism or international working class interests. The anti-communism of U.S. social democrats has led them to support such CIA-backed operations as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). The AIFLD is a cabal of AFL-CIO bureaucrats and top corporation executives and is used to funnel U.S. government funds in the service of breaking authentic trade-union movements in Latin America.

And what do these "democratic socialists" do "at home" in "their" unions? For all their talk about the "threat of totalitarianism" the patrons, friends and supporters of the social democrats in the unions are bureaucrats notorious for their suppression of union oppositionists (often using physical intimidation), railroad union meetings, and ramming through sellout contracts.

Unlike the social democrats, revolutionary Marxists understand that what is

wrong with Stalinism cannot be "cured" by capitalism. For Trotskyists, the gains of the revolutions in countries where capitalism has been overthrown but political power is presently in the hands of a self-serving bureaucratic caste (Russia, China, Cuba, etc.) must be militarily defended against imperialist attack. In much the same manner, revolutionaries would defend a bureaucratically controlled trade union against the bosses. While defending the gains of the revolutions, it is necessary to wage a struggle to establish the forms of democratic soviet rule by overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracy through a working-class political revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party. Those who oppose Stalinism from the left, basing themselves on the revolutionary class interests of the international working class, the Trotskyists, have nothing in common with the social democrats who, openly or covertly, work for the restoration of capitalism in the deformed workers states.

By cloaking their reformist garb in socialist-sounding rhetoric, the social democrats may lend a left cover to the trade-union bureaucrats, reactionary as well as "progressive." But no amount of reformist gimmickry can solve the capitalist economic crisis. A class-struggle leadership must be forged in the unions to oust the bureaucratic parasites. Fighting for the political independence of the proletariat, it must put forward a program to lead the working class forward to the revolutionary expropriation of capitalism as the only means of securing real and lasting gains. Break with the Democratic Party! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Family Firebombed in Chicago

UAW Local Sets Up Labor/Black Defense Guard

CHICAGO, April 18—C. B. Dennis, black UAW union member, has been trying to move into the white neighborhood of Broadview. His house was firebombed and stoned repeatedly. But tonight, like every night for the past week, the Dennis family home is being protected by an integrated defense guard of his union brothers. Local 6 of the United Auto Workers, International Harvester, voted unanimously at the membership meeting Sunday to set up the defense guard.



WV Photo

UAW member C. B. Dennis commenting on the union action to defend his house from racist attack last week: "It's a wonderful idea. If we give this up, it'll be harder for another black family to move in next time. . . . This is the best thing we could do. I was really proud of the union today."

At a time when there is a dramatic increase in racist terror against blacks all across the country, the UAW local's action is a powerful example of what can be done to stop the nightriders. And it is the best possible answer to those who preach reliance on the bourgeois cops by hiding behind the despairing lament, "workers won't defend blacks against racist attacks -- there's no solution except to call on the troops!"

The attacks, which have caused thousands of dollars' worth of damage to the house and prevented the family from moving in, are part of a pattern of terror against blacks in white areas here, where right-wingers have been trying to stir up race hatred. In another neighborhood on the Southwest Side, four black families have been forced to live under a virtual state of siege, with the National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis) all but taking direct credit for the firebombings (see article in this issue).

The first volunteers from Local 6, including Local president Norman Roth, were at posts outside the damaged house within hours of the union meeting. C. B. Dennis, who is a repairman at the Melrose Park IH plant and has been working there for 15 years, was interviewed at the house by *Workers Vanguard*. He said he had been unable to get adequate police protection.

"They said they would come by 20 minutes out of the hour. But that's no protection at all," Dennis told *WV*, observing that patrols had been by only once in two hours that night. "This is the best thing we could do," he said, referring to the volunteer guards. "I was really



WV Photo

Union defense guard from UAW Local 6 protects home of black member against racist violence.

proud of the union today. I think it's a good thing." An older black worker who was listening agreed, saying he could recall no similar action by the Local in its history. He likened it to the defense activities of the anti-eviction campaigns in which he had participated in the 1930's.

The UAW Local's defense action received considerable attention in Chicago. Articles appeared in both daily papers on Monday, and Dennis and Local 6 officers were interviewed on two television stations Monday evening. At least three radio reports were also made.

On the second night, the union guards

were heckled by passers-by in the area, and a neighbor two doors down shouted at them to "get the hell out" of there. Another white resident, however, had earlier come over to talk to Dennis for 20 minutes, expressing sympathy and pointing out that some of the rocks had hit his house as well.

It is clear that the racial polarization runs deep but the entire neighborhood has not been terrorized. Local 6 defense volunteers speak in terms of the need to prevent another Boston-type racist mobilization in Chicago. There have been no

continued on page 10

ILWU Convention:

Bridges on the Ropes

VANCOUVER, April 17—The 21st biennial international convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has concluded after a week of bitter intra-bureaucratic clique fighting and frenzied red-baiting. It constituted an overwhelming vote of no-confidence in ILWU International president Harry Bridges, long-time left-posturing sellout artist, as the International bureaucracy was unable to force through the convention either acceptance of the unpopular U.S. mainland Longshore Division contract or endorsement of Bridges' pet scheme for a merger with the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and/or the Teamsters.

The proposed longshore contract—continuing in the tradition of the "Mechanization and Modernization" pacts and "steady men" clause which have eroded

hard-won gains of ILWU dockers and cut the Local 10 membership in half since 1961—would include such provisions as dumping protection against layoffs through eliminating the pay guarantee in "unusual circumstances" (such as a depression?) and intensified attacks on the rights of the B-men, the Longshore Division's "second-class citizens."

The merger proposals—which even include, in the name of "unity," the splitting up of the ILWU by having its Longshore Division merge with the ILA while Warehouse becomes part of the Teamsters—were unpalatable for several reasons. The delegates, coming from a multi-racial union with a history of militancy and (relative) union democracy, were unable to swallow the prospect of absorption into the arch-reactionary and racist ILA or Teamster bureaucracies. This holds particularly for the Hawaiian

section of the ILWU, which had nearly a third of the delegates at the convention.

Bureaucratic Backstabbing

On the surface, the convention was little more than a week-long spectacle of squabbling as long-time Bridges partners-in-crime and cronies (e.g., ILWU International secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt and S.F. clerks Local 34 president James Hermann) jockeyed for position on the sinking ship. But the maneuvering at the top is only the tip of the iceberg.

The leaderships of key ILWU locals, reflecting the seething discontent of the rank and file, have been compelled to seek to put distance between themselves and the increasingly isolated and exposed Bridges regime: the historic backbone of the union, San Francisco Local 10 (longshore), is headed by an anti-Bridges bureaucrat, Larry Wing; and the main

Verbal leftism in the pursuit of scandalous treachery has always been a gambit at which ILWU president Harry Bridges excels. As usual at the recent International convention in Vancouver the early proceedings were dominated by such events as greetings from the USSR longshore delegation and ringing declarations of support for the Chilean masses. The convention unanimously passed a motion (authored by prominent "progressive" Archie Brown) calling for a boycott of shipping to Chile. During the break that followed, however, Bridges brazenly admitted to a *WV* reporter that the union had no intention of stopping a single ship bound for Chile because such action would cause the men to lose their pay guarantee!

challenger to Bridges at the convention was Rudy Rubio, president of San Pedro (Port of Los Angeles) Local 13, the largest mainland local. Rubio is a protégé of Goldblatt. In fact, things have gotten so

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