

U.S. Hands Off Indochinese Revolution!



Spartacist contingent at Bay Area May Day rally. WV



Victorious Khmer Rouge troops entering Phnom Penh.

L'Express

MAY 19—The seizure last week of the U.S. freighter Mayagüez by the recently victorious Cambodian revolutionary government provided the excuse Washington has been looking for to demonstrate that it is not a toothless tiger despite the humiliating defeat of its puppets in South Vietnam and Cambodia. It was a classic display of brinkmanship, "massive retaliation," gunboat "diplomacy," and imperialist hypocrisy.

Two devastating air strikes against the Cambodian mainland took place after the crew was released and the ship taken by U.S. forces; the firepower assembled was enough to take a sizeable city, not to

mention board a single ship on an isolated island; and Kissinger never indicated the slightest interest in negotiating release of the crew. Ford's high-flown talk of resisting "international piracy" and concern for "American lives" was simply the cover—and the Mayagüez incident a pretext—for naked military aggression against the Indochinese revolution.

The vessel involved was apparently not a spy ship (at least the Cambodian government made no such claim in its May 15 communiqué); the area is a frequently traveled sea lane; and commercial cargo ships frequently pass quite close to small islands (being subject, of

course, to inspection by states whose territorial waters they enter).

But something important has just happened on the Indochinese peninsula. The area is a war zone and the entire coastline is now controlled by deformed workers states! U.S. ships would certainly behave more cautiously in Chinese, Russian or even Vietnamese territorial waters in such circumstances. The fact that U.S. authorities reportedly did not warn the Mayagüez to stay away from the area, even though a Panamanian registry freighter had been stopped in the same place a few days earlier, was either a gross stupidity or quite possibly a deliberate

imperialist scheme to send an apparently innocent freighter through, thus permitting a "punitive retaliation."

Most likely it was the latter, for it is obvious that Kissinger was spoiling for "opportunities to prove our manhood." No doubt, the Pentagon figured (accurately) that it could pulverize anything the Cambodians could muster. The sending of Marines from U.S. bases in Thailand was a gross insult to the Thai government and a statement that the U.S. was a strong imperialist power that could do what it liked.

The new Cambodian regime has every
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New York Times Gary Settle

Congress of Afrikan People

Imamu Baraka: From Mayor Gibson to Mao-Thought.....7

15 March 1975

Dear Comrades,

WV No. 62 dated 14 February 1975 contains an excellent summation and analysis of the current events in Spain and correctly draws the parallel between the Stalinist "peaceful co-existence" policies of today and those of the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] 40 years ago which led to the strangling of the Spanish Revolution.

Nevertheless in spite of the excellent nature of the article on Spain ("Franco Dictatorship Totters") a phrase is inserted into the article which is quite incorrect and in fact goes against the analysis of the article. The article states that the "PCE called for victory now and revolution later" during the Spanish Civil War. I do not believe that the PCE ever said any such thing about "revolution" or "revolution later", not in actions or in words. Far from wanting any leftist rhetoric to cover themselves in the eyes of the radicalized working-class elements, the PCE dropped all left rhetoric based on Stalin's Pop-Front policy of trying to convince western bourgeois democracies that he wanted no revolution in Spain.

Jesus Hernandez wrote in *El Mundo Obrero* on August 6, 1936 (the very beginning of the Spanish Civil War!!) the following: "It is absolutely false that the present workers movement has for its object the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship after the war has terminated. It cannot be said that we have a social motive for our participation in the war. We communists are the first to repudiate this supposition. We are motivated exclusively by the desire to defend the democratic republic" (all emphasis mine—A.G.; quoted from *The Spanish Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, page 42).

The reason why I think that such phrases as "victory now, revolution later" should not be mistakenly attributed to the PCE or any Stalinist party for that matter is the following. The Pabloists both inside and outside of U.Sec. have for years used such phrases to prove that Stalinism is variant of centrism. Having then done that they adapt and capitulate to it on nearly every occasion. It should not be Trotskyists who mistakenly provide left-cover for Stalinists and excuses for pseudo-Trotskyists to capitulate to Stalinists. This is doubly true in the case of Spain which, if a mass revolutionary party is not built, will suffer from the defeat of the upcoming revolutionary situation. Given the fact that the fake Trotskyists of the LCR are in an unprincipled bloc with the PCE, WV should make the history of both words and actions of the PCE perfectly clear. As Antonio Gramsci once noted: "Truth is revolutionary".

Comradely,
Al Greengold

Editor's reply: In emphasizing the openly counterrevolutionary policy of the Communist Party of Spain the above comments make a valuable point. It is quite true that during the Civil War the PCE served, often literally, as the policeman of the bourgeois state, taking the crushing of any independent organization and aspirations to power of the Spanish proletariat as its primary task in maintaining the status quo.

During these years, the Spanish Stalinists never succeeded in winning a sizeable mass proletarian base, instead recruiting largely from the petty bourgeoisie, particularly in the state apparatus (army, police, etc.), by posing as the only force capable of maintaining bourgeois law and order in the Republican areas. Yet the PCE was never entirely without influence in the working class and remained a reformist workers party.

While the PCE never had any intention of carrying out a revolution, its character

as a bourgeois workers party forced it to occasionally appeal to the traditions of the Russian Revolution and promise socialism "later" (i.e., never) even as it was executing socialists and anarchists. Thus, among the numerous quotations from the PCE press stressing its limited goals and undying loyalty to the bourgeois order, there are also statements which speak of a revolution in stages. *Mundo Obrero* of 18 February 1936 (quoted in Stanley Payne, *The Spanish Revolution*, p. 186) states:

"We shall follow the path of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution until it brings us to a situation in which the proletariat and the peasantry themselves assume the responsibility of making the people of Spain as happy and free as are the Soviet people, through the victorious achievement of socialism, through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

An editorial in *Mundo Obrero* of 24 February 1936 elaborates this concept of stages, calling first for the outlawing of the rightist parties. Once the conservatives were out of the way and the revolutionary left had expanded, the Republican left would give way to a "worker-peasant government." Of course, at the same time the leaders of the popular front (including the PCE) were coddling the reactionary army officers who rose up under Franco a few months later.

The Stalinists were even capable of making use of the heroic fighting spirit of the proletariat on occasion, as in the bitter defense of Madrid. Pierre Broué and Emile Témime comment (in *La révolution et la guerre d'Espagne*, p. 224) that at such times PCE leader Dolores Ibarruri ("La Pasionaria") could stand before mass demonstrations in Madrid and discourse on the legality of the bourgeois government and "respect for order and property," and in the next breath appeal directly to the workers of Madrid in glorification of "the proletarian revolution they were in the process of accomplishing."

While denouncing the counterrevolutionary policy of the Stalinists, and the fact that they were the main guarantor of the capitalist order in Spain, it is necessary also to understand the dual character of the PCE (simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian) in order to explain how it was able to successfully derail the struggles and revolutionary aspirations of the working masses. The PCE was more than KGB agents and Russian machine-guns in the Republican Assault Guard.

Chicago, Ill.
13 May 1975

To the Editor:

We appreciate the thorough coverage which *Workers Vanguard* has given to our local union's defense guard to protect the home of C.B. Dennis in Broadview from racist fire-bombing attacks. This coverage is vital to acquaint the labor movement with the need for—and possibility of—labor/black defense against racist attacks over busing, integration and so forth. I have noticed that many of my co-workers who don't usually read the left press have bought the last two issues of WV from your paper-sellers at the plant gate.

I am writing this letter to clear up one point. Your articles (in WV Nos. 67 and 68) have said that the defense guard "was set up by unanimous vote" at our local membership meeting of Sunday, April 13. It is certainly true that our Labor Struggle Caucus resolution passed unanimously, and that it resulted, as intended, in the setting up of a local defense guard. I think this point will be clear if the entire resolution is reprinted:

"Whereas racist hoods have attempted to burn down the house of our union

brother, C.B. Dennis, in the town of Broadview; and
"Whereas scum from the Nazi Party have been terrorizing black families in a predominantly white neighborhood on the SW Side of Chicago; and
"Whereas defense of black peoples' rights and the struggle for integration of blacks in housing, education and jobs is in the vital interests of the entire working class; and
"Whereas the racists, and the viciously anti-black, anti-semitic, and anti-labor fascists are the sworn enemies of the labor movement as a whole; and
"Whereas the police serve the employers and can not be depended upon to defend the rights of blacks or of the trade unions, some of them even being members of fascist groups; therefore,
"Be it resolved that our local immediately contact other labor organizations, black groups, and sympathetic community groups to prepare to mobilize a mass labor/black defense to protect the family and house of Brother Dennis; and further,
"Be it resolved that this defense group be prepared, if requested, to aid in the defense of the threatened families on the SW Side."

As you can see, however, while the motion clearly calls for a defense group, it did not include a clause specifically setting up an official Local 6 committee to implement its contents. An amendment to set up a "rank and file committee" to implement the motion was made by another brother. Although we felt the term "rank and file" to be a hindrance, since participation by local officials was important to the success of the defense effort, the Labor Struggle Caucus supported the amendment. It failed to pass, chiefly because conservative elements in the Local leadership opposed it for supposed "legal reasons." (Later, Local President Norm Roth raised the same excuse.) Following the voting, volunteers set up a committee to implement the motion which met the following Tuesday and elected a steering committee, with Roth's reluctant approval, as you reported.

The failure of the amendment was unfortunate because it allowed Roth and the other officials to pass the entire defense effort off as a "volunteer" action, for which the Local had no official responsibility, despite the unanimous vote. Because of this, Roth only recently agreed to officially contact other local unions, as mandated in the motion.

Incredibly, the brother who made the amendment tried to use the lack of a clause setting up a committee in our motion to accuse the Labor Struggle Caucus of "vacillating and temporizing" and "cowardly behavior" when he spoke at a public meeting about the defense guard in Chicago sponsored by the Spartacist League. He was strongly supported in these remarks by spokesmen of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). We wonder how he could have come to such a conclusion after reading the issue of our newsletter, *Labor's Struggle*, which contained the resolution and in which we said: "We cannot let this terror continue.... We must mobilize our union and other sympathetic groups into a defense squad to protect our union brother...." What could be more clear? Needless to say, the Labor Struggle Caucus poured all its energy into the defense campaign which resulted from its resolution. (Most of the other groupings in the plant concentrated on the elections held last week.)

The Labor Struggle Caucus cannot be accused of not fighting for what it believes in, but this is more than we can say for supporters of the RSL. We wonder why the brother who made the amendment voted for our resolution in the first place, since the resolution is pro-integration and the RSL, with which he openly sympathizes, attacks integration in its newspaper, the *Torch*. Never once has this brother so much as whispered his support for this reactionary position. If he had done so, he would have had to line up with racist

opponents of integration who want blacks to "stay in their place," in the ghetto, instead of moving into predominantly white neighborhoods as C.B. Dennis is trying to do.

Faternally,

Marc Freedman
for the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6

Editor's note: The writer is the secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, in charge of the defense guard of the Dennis house, and was a candidate for executive board in the recent Local 6 elections, in which he received 17 percent of the vote.

Support Grows for Jha Defense Campaign

The campaign being conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, to build support for the Indian Trotskyist Jagadish Jha continues to meet with success. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* who have not yet made a contribution to the defense of Jha to do so through the PDC.

This veteran socialist has been victimized repeatedly for the past five years by the Indian government. His "crime": organizing the agricultural workers of Bankura district during 1969-70. Jha himself has been arrested three times since 1970 and 39 cases have been brought by the police against 150 of the militant agricultural workers and union organizers. Even though they have been forced to sell livestock and agricultural implements in order to meet onerous legal expenses, their combined resources are insufficient to pay for the cost of court appearances.

Jha is a member of the Communist League of India, a section of the so-called "United Secretariat," but the U.Sec. has failed to lift a finger in defense of its persecuted comrade. We condemn the U.Sec.'s cynical abandonment of these courageous class-war fighters and refuse to let them be forgotten. International proletarian solidarity is more than just words!

Defense of Jagadish Jha and his comrades is an elementary duty for all who fight for the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Copies of the article in WV No. 65 (28 March) reporting Jha's story in detail are available in leaflet form. Donations may be made through locals of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League; collection containers will be available at SL/SYL literature tables. In addition, contributions can be mailed directly to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Checks or money orders should be payable to "Partisan Defense Committee" and donations for the defense of Comrade Jha should be so marked.

French Pabloists Outlaw Trotskyist Views

LCR Central Committee Member Purged

For the first time since the formation of the Ligue Communiste in 1969, the French section of the United Secretariat (USec) has expelled a member of its central committee, Lafitte, solely and explicitly for his political views. Threatened by the formation of the only consistent left opposition tendency to emerge within a French Pabloist organization since the 1950's, the leadership of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) resorted to time-honored methods of bureaucratic suppression in order to silence Comrade Lafitte.

This Stalin-style operation provoked considerable resistance from the LCR ranks. Three key trade-union sections voted down the expulsion. Krivine & Co. were able to get rid of the troublesome oppositionist only after the organization's star Renault shop cell (of which Lafitte was a member) was dissolved on orders from the Political Bureau, and abstainers on the central committee were threatened with expulsion unless they could produce a good explanation for their vote.

Nor is this frenzied campaign to crush Lafitte an isolated phenomenon. As the international faction fight in the "United" Secretariat drags on, it becomes increasingly difficult for anyone to take seriously the USec's masquerading as "The Fourth International." In country after country the reformist minority Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) and centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) have already split into separate organizations.

Thus the most dangerous opponents—whose willingness to "say what is" threatens to explode the fraudulent facade of unity—are those who declare openly that the Fourth International does not exist, that it was destroyed by Pabloist revisionism, and that it must be recreated through a principled struggle for the Transitional Program. Both minority and majority sections of the USec have moved quickly to expel Trotskyist oppositionists who commit this blasphemous "crime of opinion." In 1973 supporters of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency (RIT) were peremptorily driven out of the USec in the U.S. and Australia, and last month the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) was similarly purged from the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group. The witchhunt in the French LCR is only the latest, if most spectacular, example of this anti-communist bureaucratism.

The cynicism behind this hatchet job was spelled out by the LCR leadership itself, in a PB statement of 25 April:

"Tolerating Lafitte's statement in the organization would logically entail serious consequences.... If Comrade Lafitte, an alternate member of the Central Committee, stays in the organization, it goes without saying that his opinions have to be debated throughout the organization as a precondition to any other discussion (trade-union, CP/SP, Army, Women, Portugal, etc....). It would certainly be grotesque to discuss seriously this or that tactical or strategic

question before being sure that the discussion is indeed taking place among revolutionaries.... if we start to discuss seriously the question of whether we have spent all our time since 1945 capitulating, whether the Inter[national] is centrist, whether it has to be rebuilt because it was destroyed.... then it is hard to see how we would stop the massive entry of the OCI, LO, the Spartacists, the LIRQI, etc."

And since one thing the leadership cannot afford is to discuss whether the USec is centrist, there is—to paraphrase a favorite LCR slogan—"only one solution, expulsion."

Formation of the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction

Unfortunately for the LCR leadership, however, Comrade Lafitte and two other comrades who share his political positions formed the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (B-LF) before he was railroaded out of the organization. Thus in order to complete the purge, the central committee meeting of May 10-11 passed a motion which in essence orders cells of the LCR to expel all present members of the B-LF and anyone who in the future may come to agree with its positions!

This blatant suppression of political debate is by no means a recent development in the United Secretariat, nor the exclusive monopoly of the IMT. In order to put together an unprincipled "reunification" in 1963, the hydra-headed USec agreed not to discuss the 1951-53 split for a decade. Also in 1963, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) expelled its Revolutionary Tendency (forerunner of the Spartacist League/U.S.) for "disloyalty," a charge "proved" by the fact that RT leaders had characterized the SWP as centrist. (Pierre Frank put the icing on the cake by refusing to hear an RT appeal, on the grounds that the SWP was not formally part of the USec.)

Just as the SWP was forced to throw overboard any semblance of Leninist democratic centralism in order to get rid of the RT, the LCR leadership resorts to Stalinist arguments in order to justify Lafitte's expulsion. In its April 25 "explanation" the PB states:

"No legalistic quibbling about the program can get us to accept that the program of any section might include [the statement] that the Fourth International is centrist and must be rebuilt."

By this logic the LCR would have justified Stalin's expulsion of Trotsky from the Third International, since the Left Opposition argued that the Comintern was "centrist" and had to be "rebuilt"! Or, at the very least, had Trotskyists won the leadership of any section, according to the USec revisionists Stalin would have been justified in expelling that section!

"The Emperor Has No Clothes!"

The membership did not accept this Stalinist reasoning, however. Although the central committee suspended Lafitte

on April 5, requesting that his cell expel him, an expulsion motion was defeated in the Renault cell a week later. The next week, cells in the LCR's most important area of trade-union work (the banks) were instrumental in passing a motion at a general assembly of sections 31 and 32 condemning the CC for its "unacceptable" bureaucratic methods.

The resolution charged that Lafitte "is being expelled for his views since the comrade has not been accused of any factional activity, any break with democratic centralism." Calling on the CC to reconsider its action, the motion was passed 59 to 14. Shortly afterwards, another trade-union section (23) voted in a general assembly by 14 to 0 that "a comrade should not be expelled for the internal expression of political differences which do not necessarily constitute a break with democratic centralism."

Seeing the mounting opposition, the Political Bureau resorted to more "energetic" measures the next day. While the section leadership was dissolving the Renault cell, the PB prepared an announcement at its April 24-25 meeting that members of the cell could be "reintegrated" if they individually signed statements agreeing to "construct" (i.e., not "reconstruct") the Fourth International! The expulsion of Lafitte was not even mentioned in the PB statement.

The LCR central committee tried to justify this outrageous bureaucratic expulsion on the grounds that Lafitte's conception of "reconstructing" the FI is "incompatible" with being a member of the Ligue. In a statement submitted to a bank workers' cell by future members of the B-LF on April 8, the absurdity of this claim is pointed out:

"Who does not recall the application of some members of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié, a social-democratic group] (several of whom are currently on the Central Committee) to our organization which clearly argued that the present Fourth International was merely a springboard to construct the Fifth!! But perhaps the LCR leadership can accept wanting to construct the Fifth International while refusing to condone wanting to reconstruct the Fourth?"

The real reason behind the political expulsion of Lafitte is that the LCR leadership is afraid to debate its bankrupt political positions with a principled oppositionist who has a Trotskyist historical analysis of the United Secretariat and the determination to wage an unrelenting fight against Pabloist revisionism. The centrists cannot bear to be called by their true name. As the B-LF put it in a statement to the central committee of May 6:

"The LCR leadership is able to accept even sharp criticisms by left tendencies in the LCR, except on the point which constitutes the basis of the central mystification by the IMT and the LTF: the supposed existence of an International. If you deprive the LCR of the usurped title 'French section of the Fourth International,' there are no programmatic differences between the LCR, Révolution, and the PSU. An important member of the B-LF has been expelled for having said: 'The emperor has no clothes!'"

LTF and IMT: Equally Far from the Revolutionary Program

Realization that the faction fight within the USec was not between revolutionists and revisionists, but rather between centrists and reformists, was crucial to the B-LF's break from the centrism of the LCR leadership (and from the centrist hodge podge of the now-defunct Tendency 4). The "Declaration" of the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction correctly characterizes the International Majority Tendency as "more to the left than the LTF, but just as distant from the revolutionary Marxist program." In his original statement to the CC (for which he was expelled), Lafitte commented on the "crisis" in the USec:

"...whether one votes for the candidate of the popular front, Mitterrand, after having liquidated one's sections in Latin America via guerrillaism [IMT]; or whether one calls on the armed bands of capital to protect blacks and fight racism in Boston, while at the same time participating in attempts to set up a

popular-frontist bloc in Argentina [LTF]—in both cases it is the same rejection of the Transitional Program which these two unprincipled factions have in common."

—Centre de Recherches Socialistes, No. 27

The B-LF "Declaration" subjects the Pabloists' capitulations to non-proletarian forces to sharp attack, linking them to the politically liquidationist policies of Pablo in 1951-53. Both minority and majority are condemned for capitulating to class-collaborationist popular fronts, for supporting Castroism and Vietnamese Stalinism, for failure to call for political revolution in Cuba and Vietnam, for their abandonment of the Transitional Program.

The revisionists' distortion of the Leninist tactic of united front, something never understood by Tendency 4, is also criticized:

"It is extremely significant that in countries where strong Stalinist parties exist, the revisionists—whether the LCR or the OCI leadership—always pass off their capitulation in the form of the united front. The latter calls it a strategy in order to justify the capitulationist practice of fetishizing the bloc of working-class organizations (without bothering about its programmatic basis); the former rejects the united front and, in fact, the program, pretending (wherever possible) to ignore the popular front in order to support it, either by indifference (by not denouncing it) or more concretely by voting for it in the name of the dynamic."

Finally, the B-LF denounces the leadership's tailist conception of trade-union work and the LCR's disgusting capitulation to national chauvinism in its "work" in the French army, which "in no way represents an attack, on a proletarian basis, against the bourgeois army" (statement to the CC, 6 May).

For a Trotskyist Organization in France!

The struggle waged by the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction for the Reconstruction
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Labor/Black Defense Continues in Chicago

Class-Struggle Candidate Polls 17% at Harvester

Woodcock Forces Sweep Local 6 Elections

CHICAGO—Recent elections in UAW Local 6, at International Harvester's important Melrose Park plant on Chicago's West Side, produced a sweep for the right-wing, business-unionist pro-Woodcock slate. The results were a stern indictment of the reformists who hide their politics in unprincipled coalitions and disguise their opportunism with phony "militant" phraseology. But they also showed strong support for the one candidate who actively built the Local's on-going labor/black defense guard as a main focus of his campaign.

A month ago the Local voted unanimously for a resolution presented by the Labor Struggle Caucus resulting in the formation of a defense guard to protect a black member's house, which had been repeatedly attacked (including fire-bombing) in an attempt to prevent him from moving into the predominantly white neighborhood of Broadview. These attacks were part of a wave of terror against blacks in white areas of Chicago; on the Southwest Side, Nazis have all but taken direct responsibility for similar incidents.

Despite foot-dragging by the Local 6 leadership and silence from most of the candidates in the recent election, the defense guard continues to operate and has thwarted new attacks on the house. Support for the defense has reportedly been received from UAW Local 688

(Broadview Parts Depot), Boilermakers Local 1257 and the Bulk Mail Center local of the Postal Workers Union. Resolutions of support have been raised in at least three other local unions, including Steelworkers Local 65, at U.S. Steel's Southworks.

Red-Baiters Denounce "Dream Schemes"

The across-the-board winners in the election were the candidates of the Positive Action Leadership (PAL) slate, consisting of the incumbent administration under retiring shop chairman Robert Stack. The PAL launched a no-holds-barred red-baiting attack on its main opponents grouped together in the Rank and File Coalition (RFC). Echoing a classic J. Edgar Hoover line, Stack wrote in his regular Local newsletter column inveighing against "anarchistic, revolutionary elements" who "used and exploited the plight of minority members of the union" (*Union Voice*, 25 April). The opposition, said PAL, was a "catch-all coalition of militant visionaries" who would "present their 'dream-schemes' for world revolution to the Company as your views." PAL, in contrast, promised "responsible" unionism with "a team of experienced leaders."

The opposition, which included Local 6 President Norm Roth running a losing battle for shop chairman, was indeed a catch-all coalition, but that was the only accurate point in Stack's diatribe. The



Members of the Labor Struggle Caucus leafletting Harvester plant last fall, after LSC won right to distribute literature at inside plant gate through NLRB suit. Management had issued rule requiring prior approval of all handouts on company property.

RFC grab-bag was no more capable of presenting a program for "world revolution" than PAL, but the few so-called "revolutionaries" within it opened themselves up to vicious red-baiting with their own well-practiced and incurable opportunism.

Roth, who has a long-standing individual following in the plant, is a leading member of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy and helped found the short-lived Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC), both of which are supported in the press of the reformist Communist Party. AWAC was touted by the CP as the answer to the United National Caucus (UNC), which it considered too oppositional. CP-supported elements, including Roth, backed Woodcock for UAW president at the union's last convention.

The RFC also included left social-democratic elements and received the support of the International Socialists. The IS, however, is a chief backer of the UNC—despite the latter's support for protectionism and its attempts to exclude socialists at UNC demonstrations—and criticizes the CP's support for Woodcock. Thus about all the RFC could agree on was a low-level program of shop-floor militancy. At a time when massive layoffs and racist violence are the main issues facing the membership, the RFC concentrated its campaign fire on speed-ups. While mentioning six hours' work for eight hours' pay in its program, the RFC also endorsed the current sellout contract whose bankruptcy in the face of layoffs is demonstrated by the collapse of GM and Chrysler SUB funds.

No effective answer to PAL's sophisticated red-baiting could possibly be mounted by a group so divided on fundamentals that one half of it praises "détente" as the answer to unemployment (the plant happens to be operating largely on Soviet tractor orders) while the other half capitulates to anti-communist "Buy Americanism"! Since the RFC offered nothing beyond a slightly frenzied version of the same business unionism as PAL (one plank in the RFC program was a vague call for "total non-cooperation" as the answer to speed-up), the membership, logically enough, opted for the "experts."

Defense Guard Must Be Strengthened

Meanwhile, the Labor Struggle Caucus, a group of Local 6 militants putting

L.A. Cops Frame Up Black Youth

Defend Philip Allen!

About 3:30 a.m. on January 1 of this year a curious crowd gathered outside a neighborhood cafeteria in West Hollywood, looking at a recently broken front window. On his way to the nearby bus stop after a New Year's Eve party, 19-year-old Philip L. Allen joined the onlookers.

After being flagged down by people on the sidewalk who reported that the window had been broken by an unruly customer, West Hollywood police began questioning people gathered around the cafeteria. Allen was one of those questioned. During his "questioning" Allen was brutally battered by at least six combat-trained cops.

Allen phoned his mother from jail and told her that he had been beaten, choked, kicked in the groin and arrested. He also told her that the police now "informed" him that he had killed one deputy sheriff and wounded two or three other cops!

Allen's bail was first set at \$20,000, and then was more than doubled. When he was first jailed, Allen was allowed only limited visitation rights, searched every 15 minutes and kept apart from the other prisoners. It is generally believed that "the police were giving Allen a chance to heal somewhat to look more presentable" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 20 February 1975).

Allen, a black student at Los Angeles Community College, is on trial for his life.

That he was severely beaten by police there is no doubt, and witnesses at the scene have testified that Allen never had his hands on the alleged murder weapon during the incident. Also, the owner of the gun, Deputy Sheriff Michael Grimes, admits to twice firing his gun. Both shots were aimed at Allen's head while he lay on the sidewalk, face down, straddled by Grimes. At the preliminary hearing for the case, the following exchange took place between Defense Attorney Lawrence W. Steinberg and Grimes:

"Att. Steinberg: And you pulled the trigger twice, did you not?"

"Grimes: Yes."

"Att. Steinberg: And at that time, did you intend to kill Mr. Allen?"

"Grimes: Yes."

hearing transcript quoted in Philip L. Allen Defense Committee leaflet

Luckily for Allen, the gun was empty.

The whole scenario claimed by the police is absurd. To begin with, how could a slight (5-foot, 3-inch) youth overpower six to eight burly cops, all of them over 6 feet tall? Another fact: when Grimes' gun was introduced into court, it was clean of all fingerprints. This "clean" gun is telling: it is ludicrous to suppose that in the midst of being beaten Allen could have wiped fingerprints from a gun; and if his prints were on the weapon, why would the police have removed this in-

criminating evidence?

The affair is a blatant cover-up from beginning to end. Grimes admittedly fired his own gun at least twice and is the obvious prime suspect in the killing and wounding of the other policemen. So a scapegoat had to be found: Philip Allen. It is also significant that there has been a news blackout on the case in the bourgeois media—hardly normal when a black youth is accused of killing a white cop.

The trial is scheduled to start June 2: the principal witnesses against Allen will be cops—close associates of the dead cop and of Grimes. The jury will be selected from the predominantly conservative, white community of Santa Monica. Winning an acquittal will not be easy under these circumstances.

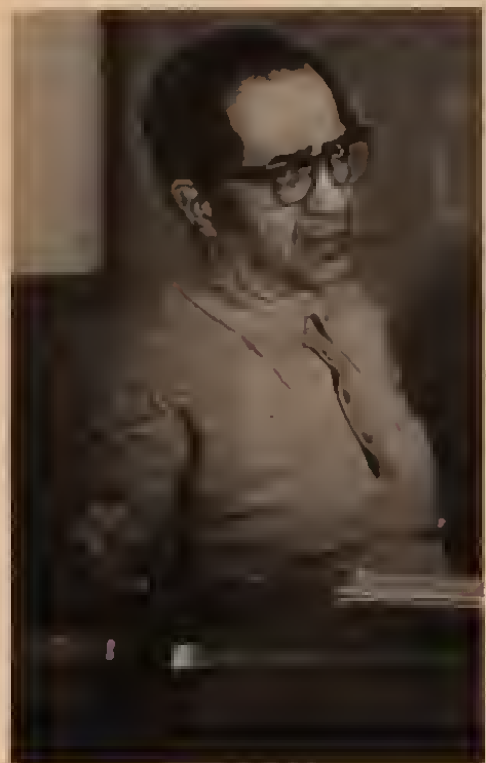
The life of an innocent young man is at stake: the blatant frame-up of Philip Allen by the cops must be protested! Drop all charges against Allen! The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League has declared its support for Allen and made a contribution to his defense fund. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to send messages of support and donations to meet legal fees for Allen to: Philip L. Allen Defense Fund of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.■

forward a class-struggle program, reduced its number of candidates from three (in the 1974 elections) to one this year, largely because of the LSC's heavy involvement in building the Local defense guard. Its candidate for executive board member-at-large was Marc Freedman, who is also secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

A recent incident at the Dennis house drove home the need for the entire Local to strengthen this defense committee, a point which the LSC has been making for some time. Last week five whites drove up to the home, yelling racial epithets and making threatening moves toward a car in which two unionists on duty at the time were sitting. No violence resulted, but the failure of the union leadership to mobilize for the guard has heightened the danger of renewed racist violence.

One of the two campaign leaflets issued by the Labor Struggle Caucus attacked the other candidates for ignoring the guard and ran a "hox score" showing who had served guard duty and who hadn't. In a capitulation to racism in the plant, the entire PAL slate had not served once. While Roth and a few candidates for lesser office on the RFC slate had helped guard the house, these "militants" remained silent about the defense squad in all their campaign literature.

In addition to supporting labor/black defense as part of a militant, integrationist program to fight racism with united working-class action, the LSC was alone in proposing an effective response to the



Norm Roth

layoffs (of 200 to 250 workers) which were announced for the plant just prior to the election. On this key question, which is plaguing the auto union and the entire working class, Roth proposed "détente" and paid lip-service to the old UAW slogan of a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. The Labor Struggle Caucus made the issue quite concrete by proposing a resolution for a strike to stop the layoffs, "extended throughout the Harvester chain and backed up with the full power of the International union."

The LSC also rejects class collaborationism and called for opposition to the parties of big business (Democratic and Republican), and for the building of a workers party which would "fight for a workers government to reorganize our society to do away with unemployment and racism."

Unable to mount a serious challenge to the main slates with only one candidate, the LSC nevertheless scored a victory for the labor/black defense effort and its class-struggle program by winning 441 votes, or 17 percent of those voting, for its candidate. This is more than double the highest vote received by a candidate of the Militant Action Slate (which subsequently became the LSC) a year ago. The program and determined struggle of the LSC point the way forward to victory for a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement in the future. ■

Charges Dropped Against Anti-Nazi Demonstrators

SYL Defense Campaign Victory at S.F. State

SAN FRANCISCO, May 12—Demonstrators who successfully ran a Nazi speaker off San Francisco State University (SFSU) March 10 won a second victory recently. In a letter dated May 6, the Associate Dean of Students, Sandra Duffield, announced that "no action should be taken regarding the groups alleged or admittedly involved" in the anti-fascist protest.

The charges were dropped after hearings by the university's Organizational Review Committee (ORC) found no basis for reprisals against the Spartacus Youth League, Progressive Labor Party and Revolutionary Student Brigade, all of which had been threatened with loss of their status as officially recognized campus organizations.

At the hearings of the ORC, a spokesman for the Spartacus Youth League announced: "We begin by stating to all those present that we do not recognize the legitimacy of these proceedings." Refusing to finger anyone, the SYL said: "...the Nazi scum got what they deserved. Those students, workers and leftists who drove them off this campus should be applauded for courageous action in the defense of black people, Jews, leftists, and the whole labor movement."

While praising the well-deserved thrashing administered to a handful of fascists on March 10, the SYL made clear that it "does not call on the administration to carry out political censorship either by banning the fascists from campus or by firing conservative bourgeois ideologues like Shoekley and Jensen." The statement pointed out that despite its hypocritical talk of "democratic rights for all," the bourgeoisie would resort to fascism and genocide in a last desperate effort to preserve its class rule.

The Review Committee, while responding to widespread sentiment in the student body against reprisals, was careful to phrase its findings in the "balanced" terms of "academic freedom": criticizing the "lack of adequate security," the ORC concluded that "Measures could have been taken to insure: (a) the Nazis' right to freedom of speech and (b) the organizations' and individuals' right to demonstrate." Dean Duffield pointed to a demonstration by the Nazis at SFSU on April 19 as an example of what should have been done. On that occasion, Tactical Squad police in full riot gear

were mobilized to protect the fascist filth.

The SYL, which initiated the united-front demonstration on March 10 around the slogan "No Platform for the Fascists," denied the Nazis' supposed "right to freedom of speech":

"For communists...no democratic right is absolute... if the Klan were holding a rally on the outskirts of a black community to gain support for a lynching expedition, most people probably wouldn't oppose the right of the blacks to organize and break up the rally. It should be clear that fascists use their 'speakers' platform not just to rally support for reactionary ideas but to recruit for racist, anti-working class terror and ultimately genocide."

"...Fascism is not, as Progressive Labor would have it, first and foremost a reactionary idea, it is action. Fascism is a gun held to the heads of the working class and the oppressed..."

—SFSU *Young Spartacus* supplement No. 3, 23 April

Since the announcement that charges were being brought against the anti-Nazi demonstrators, the SYL held forums and classes and published several campus supplements to *Young Spartacus* to drive home the lessons of what fascism is and how to fight it. Before an audience of over 100 students and faculty it debated the professors who were responsible for inviting the Nazis to speak on March 10.

The SYL also initiated a March 10 (M10) Defense Committee in order to put up a united defense against the administration's attempt to witchhunt the left off campus. The M10 committee held a press conference to publicize the case (at which well-known lawyer Charles Garry spoke in defense of the anti-fascist demonstrators), distributed thousands of leaflets, set up informational picket lines, held fundraising events and showed a film ("Night and Fog") about Nazi atrocities. The committee received a number of endorsements from outside SFSU, including from the Black Student Movement at the University of North Carolina. Last January the BSM prevented the national leader of the Ku Klux Klan from speaking at Chapel Hill and then defeated a subsequent witchhunt.

The activities of the SYL and the M10 defense committee were largely responsible for turning around the mood on campus and neutralizing dangerous anti-communist sentiment, formerly prevalent even among students who considered themselves left of liberalism. In contrast,

most of the left groups continued on their respective sectarian courses.

The Young Socialist Alliance, after sending a letter to the campus paper *Zenger's* (19 March) terming the anti-fascist demonstration "unfortunate" and a "disruption," did as little as possible to defend the demonstrators. The Progressive Labor Party refused to join in a united defense and sought to strike a



Attorney Charles Garry speaking in defense of anti-Nazi demonstrators at S.F. State University.

heroic pose by proclaiming "We are guilty!" Not once did it defend the other groups charged and recently in its paper (*Challenge*) PL has taken to labeling the Revolutionary Student Brigade a "Nazi youth group." The RSB, in turn, crawled to an administration representative and behind closed doors dissociated itself from the events of March 10. While condemning the despicable and cowardly behavior of the YSA, PL and RSB, the SYL continued to defend all groups threatened with victimization by the university.

The dropping of charges, while a victory for the anti-fascist protesters, should not lead to complacency. The verdict of the ORC and Dean Duffield can be overturned by SFSU President Romberg, the Nazis have already returned once to campus, and the administration and police have declared their support for "freedom of speech" for paramilitary ultra-rightist terrorists. There must be no illusions that the bourgeoisie will or can stop the fascists. Hitler himself made clear in 1933 what was necessary to crush the Nazis:

"Only one thing could have broken our movement if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement."

This is the lesson that must be learned by those who would bar the way to the fascist scum and their genocidal race-hate, anti-working-class plans. The terrorist vermin of capitalism will be afraid to raise their heads only when faced with the powerful fist of a class-conscious workers movement! ■



S.F. Police protecting Nazis last month.



ILWU union militants being forcibly ejected from SWP public forum in San Francisco on May 2. Inside, an ILWUer protesting exclusion of the Spartacist League was grabbed by SWP goon squad, choked and, along with his union brothers, pushed toward stairs. When SL pickets outside the building moved to defend ILWUers being assaulted, a violent scuffle broke out.

Denounce SWP Gangsterism!

Following the exclusion of Spartacist League supporters and an attack on three ILWU unionists by SWP goons at a Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco May 2, we have received several denunciations of this gangsterism and anti-communist exclusionism from organizationally non-affiliated defenders of workers democracy. We have also obtained affidavits from a number of witnesses both to this assault and to earlier meetings which the SWP slanderously claims were "disrupted" by the SL. Some of these statements and affidavits are printed here.

At the May 2 meeting itself an unaffiliated social democrat protested the forcible ejection of the unionists, exhorting the assembled SWPers: "Comrades: It ill reflects upon social democracy when we are reduced to using force against comrades—for what the reason and whomever is to blame.... We must not continue in such a manner!" (letter from Clyde K., dated 2 May).

In an affidavit describing the events of this meeting, one of the ILWUers (members of the Militant Caucus of that union) who was physically attacked by SWP goons writes that he and his union brothers talked before the forum with a leading member of the SWP: "The leading SWPer said that it was the SL actions at the Chicago forum which had precipitated the Gusano attack on [Argentine socialist Juan Carlos] Coral.... He went on to state that the Gusano attack had been prevented during the forum because the moderator kept stating that the campus cops were on the way and this allowed Coral to finish. He stated that during the discussion period the SL's actions gave the Gusanos the chance to attack."

The ILWU militant writes further on that when he stood up to protect a union brother who was being assaulted by SWP goons trying to prevent him from protesting the exclusion of the SL, "people moved in on me and grabbed my arms and I heard someone keep repeating 'grab his legs, grab his legs'." After the unionists were forced to the head of the stairs "the goon squad was trying to shove us down the stairs, which are very long and could have seriously injured us. They stopped to let us out only because of 2 things:

- "1. I had an SWPer firmly in my grasp and he would have cushioned my fall.
- "2. A female SWPer intervened and said that we should be allowed to leave vertically and not horizontally.

"We were then followed down the stairs and outside we found that the S.L. picket line had seen the incident through the glass door and had attempted to come to our aid. One SLer had been injured in the face by the SWP goon squad" (affidavit from Peter W., dated 7 May 1975).

Concerning the events at the Chicago forum on March 8, we have published an account of the gusano attack and the defense of Coral by SL supporters while the SWP waited for the cops to arrive (see "SL Helps Fend Off Gusano Goons," *WV* No. 64, 14 March). We are printing below an affidavit by a former member of the Young Socialist Alliance who saw the incident. He makes clear that the SL did not disrupt the meeting and defended Coral in a disciplined manner. We have additional affidavits to the same effect from organizationally non-affiliated persons who were present at the meeting.

(Moreover, the *Militant* [16 May] now makes it clear that the SWP didn't even have to call the police to inform them of the gusano attack since "the Chicago cops had known about the planned disruption beforehand...." This proves that the SWP's reliance on the armed thugs of the capitalist state not only endangered Coral, but is downright ludicrous besides. In any case, if the SL was attempting to disrupt Coral's meetings in order to set him up for assassins, then why did the Los Angeles and New York SWP branches call the SL to invite our participation in defense squads to protect these meetings?!)

In view of the manifest absurdity of charging the SL with disruption for energetically defending Coral from attack by counterrevolutionary thugs, the San Francisco SWP is now trying to back off from using the Chicago incident as the "grounds" for its bureaucratic exclusion. But its prepared statement at the May 2 forum *did* assert that the SL had intentionally set Coral up for an assassination attempt! We have repeatedly demanded that the S.F. SWP branch furnish us with a copy of the statement read at that meeting and, since the proceedings were recorded, permit us to copy the undoctored tape. We have received only evasive answers to our telephone calls and no reply at all to our letter.

In the letter printed here, Associate Professor Richard Rubenstein of Roosevelt University, a long-time sympathizer of the SWP well-known in the Chicago area (he has spoken at numerous SMC/NPAC rallies, USLA events and similar functions), appeals to the SWP "to stamp out this undemocratic, bureaucratic, Stalinoid virus before it spreads even further. Stop the attack on the Spartacist League! Fight capitalism, not revolutionary socialists!" We echo his call on the Socialist Workers Party to put a stop to these despicable incidents of gangsterism and exclusionism by its branches. ■

Roosevelt University
Chicago, Illinois

May 15, 1975

To the Socialist Workers Party
Chicago Branch
428 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60605

Dear Friends:

As you know, I have for several years been a strong sympathizer of the Socialist Workers Party, working in several SWP electoral campaigns and holding local offices of several organizations in which the SWP is interested: the Chicago Peace Action Coalition, USLA, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, and the Political Rights Defense Fund. It is difficult, therefore, to make public a disagreement with the SWP—but circumstances, and loyalty to the revolutionary socialist cause, compel me to speak out.

I wish to protest in the strongest possible terms the developing pattern of harassment, attempted intimidation, smear tactics, and exclusionary policies directed by the SWP against the Spartacist League and the Spartacist Youth League. SWP members in Chicago have alleged that the Spartacists are irresponsible and disruptive; that they failed to defend Juan Carlos Coral at his USLA-sponsored appearance at the University of Chicago; that they publish information furnished by the F.B.I.; that they are red-baiters; etc. On this basis, the Chicago Chapter justifies its policy of excluding the Spartacists from Militant Forums, and failing to inform them of meetings and demonstrations which they might otherwise attend. Apparently, in San Francisco, this policy has been extended to include taking physical action against allegedly "disruptive" Spartacists and their sympathizers.

On the basis of several years' contact with the Spartacists (most of it unfriendly,) and my own investigation of the latest charges, I conclude that the SWP's allegations are either exaggerated or trumped up. The members of the Spartacist League are polemicists, and they *do* defend their right to be heard at public meetings and demonstrations. They are not "disruptive"; they did defend Coral at the University of Chicago; they are not a "cop group" (as Peter Camejo has reportedly charged); they do not red-bait; and there is no basis for excluding them from forums and other activities, smearing them, or attacking them physically.

The reasons given for cracking down on the SL vary from city to city, but it seems evident that the SWP has implemented a national policy to discredit and damage the League. Why? When the norms of socialist democracy are violated—especially by an organization claiming adherence to Trotskyism—one has every reason to suspect that "aggressive," "disruptive," "ultra-left," and similar terms of abuse have become synonyms for "effective." Isn't that precisely how Stalinists customarily rid themselves of Trotskyists?

I appeal to the Socialist Workers Party to stamp out this undemocratic, bureaucratic, Stalinoid virus before it spreads even further. Stop the attack on the Spartacist League! Fight capitalism, not revolutionary socialists!

Yours for socialist democracy,

Richard E. Rubenstein
(Assoc. Prof. of Pol. Sci.)

cc: Spartacist League
P.O. Box 6471
Chicago, Ill.

Imamu Baraka: From Mayor Gibson to Mao-Thought

The history of the struggle for liberation from racial oppression in the United States is the bitter story of radical aspirations of the black masses repeatedly betrayed by the empty promises of demagogues, both romantic and cynical. The promise of black liberation aboard the separatist voyage of Marcus Garvey, the promise of overcoming Jim Crow segregation by marching behind Martin Luther King's pacifist liberalism, the promise of black power in the cities through community control—all proved

to be illusions, broken against the reality of the capitalist social order.

Superficially, the black power movement of the 1960's seemed to have achieved a distorted "success." By 1974 there were black mayors in Newark, Detroit, Gary, Los Angeles, Atlanta and Washington, D.C.; "community school boards" were set up in New York and elsewhere; black professionals found new job opportunities in "minority businesses" and poverty program neighborhood centers. But for the black masses this

"success" was illusory: black incomes are again falling relative to whites; black capitalism simply meant ghetto straw hedges, community control meant strike-breaking, and the cops of the black capitalist politicians continue to shoot down ghetto youth.

Following the waning of the black power movement, an amalgam of Pan Africanism and Mao Tse-tung Thought has lately gained popularity in radical black nationalist circles. And one of the most flamboyant sellers of Mao-tickets to subjectively revolutionary black youth is Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones). His current vehicle is the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP).

While CAP claims to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, it is Baraka's picture that appears on virtually all CAP pam-

phlets and his picture that dwarfs those of Marx and Lenin in the organization's Newark meeting hall. To understand CAP it is first necessary to know its leader. After a brief flirtation with the left (he was head of the New York City Fair Play for Cuba Committee at one point), Jones "came home" to Newark in the mid-1960's as a well-connected black poet and playwright.

Baraka Against Unions

Having become a successful power broker, Jones now had to face "the responsibilities of office." From the capitalists' viewpoint he passed the test with flying colors. When the Newark Teachers Union (NTU) struck in defiance of court orders in 1970, more than a hundred union members were arrested and more than 30 convicted of breaking a reactionary no-strike law. While elementary class solidarity demanded support for the union under attack, black nationalists were concerned only with the illusion of "community control." It was the Young Lords and "black community leaders" whose "representatives kept the schools open" (*New York Times*, 7 February 1970).

When the NTU struck again the next year, the school board did its best to recreate the atmosphere of the 1968 NYC teachers' strike, mobilizing "community leaders" in the service of strikebreaking. Jones' youth group attacked some of the picketing unionists. Fortunately, the attempt to polarize the city along racial lines failed in spite of him, largely because the union's president and 30 percent of its membership were black.

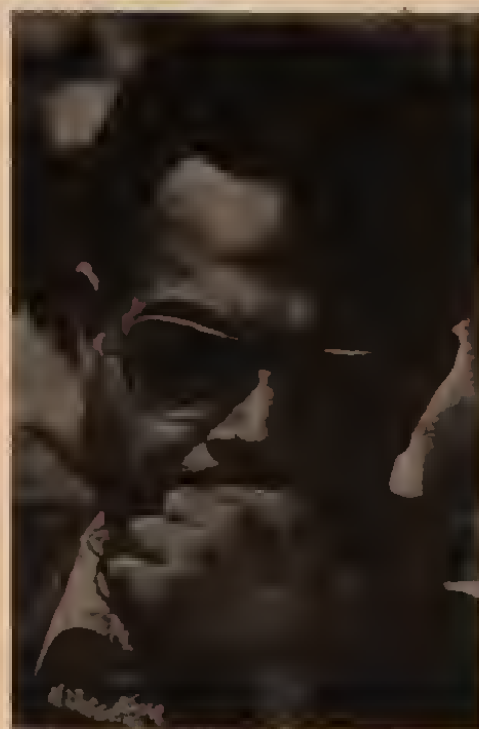
But those were the days before Jones/Baraka became a "Marxist-Leninist-Mao-Tse-tung thinker." Now CAP's newspaper, *Unity and Struggle*, "frankly admits" errors and makes "ruthless self criticisms" of its past mistakes (which ones?). Now they are all for the class struggle, but the April 1975 issue of *Unity and Struggle* is preparing once again to line up against the teachers who are faced with massive layoffs in Newark.

"If the Newark teachers go out on strike will they be striking for all the workers and for a just cause or will they be being used by Shanker and his boss, Nelson Rockefeller?..."

"We all support the struggle of working people against corrupted Board officials and the capitalist system in general.... But at the same time we do not support the game used by the capitalists to divide the workers whether it be an anti-community teachers strike in Newark or a race war like the one that was started in Boston."

So for all its "ruthless criticism" of "narrow nationalism" in the past, for all its denunciations of "fascist" Gibson who is now seen as a "tool of capitalist rule," CAP still lines up with the bourgeoisie against the workers' struggles! For this task, Mao Thought is more than adequate—having in the past excused such betrayals as the ruthless suppression of a 1971 youth uprising in Ceylon—and we will no doubt soon be hearing of the

continued on page 10



Imamu Amiri Baraka

phlets and his picture that dwarfs those of Marx and Lenin in the organization's Newark meeting hall. To understand CAP it is first necessary to know its leader. After a brief flirtation with the left (he was head of the New York City Fair Play for Cuba Committee at one point), Jones "came home" to Newark in the mid-1960's as a well-connected black poet and playwright.

During the Newark ghetto rebellion of 1967, Jones was beaten by the cops and arrested but quickly released. He was far more valuable to the racist Democratic Mayor Addonizio as a sharpshooting anti-communist, blaming "outside agitators" of the "white left" (SDS) for the outburst of ghetto anger. In his book, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, Robert L. Allen describes how Baraka was the willing instrument of the cops against the left:

"In his capacity as spokesman for the United Brothers, Jones actively sought to quell the riots which developed after the murder of Martin Luther King. He believed that Black control of Newark could be won through the ballot, not the bullet. On April 12, 1968 he participated in an interview with Newark Police Captain Charles Kinney, and Anthony Imperiale, leader of a local right-wing white organization. During the interview, Jones suggested that white leftists were responsible for instigating the riots."

Jones was not just another black

Statement by John Hess, Co-Editor of Jump Cut preceding a Militant Labor Forum given by the SWP in San Francisco on Friday evening, May 16, 1975.

"I have a brief political statement to make before this forum on Revolution and Cinema gets under way. I thank the Chairperson for his permission to make it now. I want to vigorously protest against the SWP policy of forcefully excluding for political reasons certain groups on the left, specifically the Spartacist League, from their open, public forums. I raise this protest not as a member of either group, but in defense of the principle of workers democracy.

"Now is the crucial time for the development of the left in America and the only way we can gain strength, clarity, direction, and therefore effectiveness is through constant, open, rational debate of the principles and issues. The physical expulsion of the three ILWU labor union militants from a recent Militant Labor Forum on Chile seems a strange way for a self-proclaimed Marxist political party to conduct itself at a moment when the increasing confusion among the capitalists provides us with many opportunities to advance our cause.

"I call on the SWP to reverse its anti-Marxist exclusion of other groups from its public forums; I call on my colleagues on this panel to join me in this protest."

I attended the lecture given by Juan Carlos Coral at the University of Chicago. During both the periods of the lecture and the ensuing disturbance, I at no time witnessed any disruptive activities on the part of any of the members of the Spartacist League. Quite to the contrary, they participated fully and helpfully in the defense guard around Coral, actively seeking to keep him protected.

While I do not necessarily support the political positions of the Spartacist League—in fact, I am a former member of the YSA—I feel that the allegations made by the YSA represent a breach of conduct on the radical left. Any sympathies I had with the YSA after I quit their organization I have no longer.

David Arenberg

The SWP claims that the Spartacist League disrupted the appearances of Juan Coral in the Bay Area. This is not true. However, I did attend a speech by Coral that was disrupted—by the SWP. This meeting took place in the Mission District of San Francisco. I was called on early in the discussion period and after I had spoken for only a couple of minutes SWP members began to shout so loudly that I could not be heard. A goon squad of 8 to 10 people from the SWP security force surrounded me and the shouting continued.

This action was carried out by the SWP with no protest from the chairman and completely disrupted the meeting for five to ten minutes. Finally I gave up trying to complete my remarks and sat down. The chair next called on Earl Owens, a member of the Class Struggle League. Owens spoke first in defense of my democratic rights and the rights of everyone at the meeting, stating that by not controlling its own members the SWP had disrupted the meeting.

After attacking this assault on workers democracy he then proceeded to denounce Coral's statement of support for the current government of Argentina. After the meeting, Owens was surrounded by angry SWPers who shouted "You Spartacists disrupt everything." Owens could only protest, "I'm not a Spartacist," and that the SWP were the real disrupters.

Tweet Carter

Spartacist League Central Committee

Mass Expulsions from British WRP

After Healy, What? WSL Adrift

LONDON—Last December-January, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) expelled perhaps as many as 200 members, led by Alan Thornett, whose core has since formed the Workers Socialist League (WSL) claiming to be an anti-revisionist Trotskyist organization. The exit of large numbers from the WRP is not in itself unusual. The combination of an erratic and often fantastical political line with a frenzied and despotic internal life guarantees a steady supply of ex-Healyites. In fact, a large proportion of the cadre of all the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Britain has passed through Healy's organizations. However, those who in the past left the Socialist Labour League (SLL), or its successor, the WRP, did not or were not able to wage an effective opposition laying the basis for a new organization.

The Thornett opposition constituted the first serious internal challenge to the Healy/Banda regime in a decade. In part this was because Thornett had a pre-existing regional base in the Oxford-Reading-Swindon area. This derived from the fact that Alan Thornett was the most prominent industrial unionist in the WRP, coming under sharp and well-publicized bourgeois attack for his actions at the Oxford-Cowley Leyland auto plant. Both because of its claim to stand in the anti-Pabloist Trotskyist tradition and because of the prominence of its leading cadre, the WSL should be regarded seriously.

If Healy's Mafia tactics including physical intimidation—against the Thornett opposition were predictable, his attempts to destroy the WSL are worse than despicable. As a result of a domestic lawsuit, Thornett had borrowed money from Vanessa Redgrave, the wealthiest Healyite of them all, while he was still a member of the WRP. Actress Redgrave, whose life-style would not shame Princess Grace of Monaco, has now appealed to the capitalist courts to make Thornett, an industrial worker, repay the entire loan immediately. This is Healyite class collaboration par excellence!

Healyism as Sectarian British Economism

Virtually all those who break with Healyism characterize it as ultra-left sectarianism, and so it is with the Thornett group.

"As the split emerged, the sectarianism of the WRP, its departure from the Transitional Programme, and the way its maximum programme isolates the WRP from the working class became clear."

—*Socialist Press*, 3 April

It is indisputable that organizationally Healyism is sectarian: the posturing as a mass party, the generalized gangsterism against other working-class tendencies, the refusal to enter into united fronts provide the proof. While sectarian organizational practice is usually associated with ultra-left policies (e.g., electoral abstention, dual unionism, refusal to fight for democratic rights), this is not at all the case with the Healyites. In a sense, the contrary is true. The Healyites' sectarianism—their violence and character assassination against opponents, willful distortion of reality and absurd posturing—is caused by the contradiction between organizational hostility to the Labour Party, proper for a communist vanguard, and a program that does not go beyond traditional British Labourism.

The essence of Healyite politics is not ultra-leftism or ultimatism, but militant nationally centered economism—defense of the immediate economic interests of the English working class. Healyism, like all forms of economism, denies that the

proletariat cannot liberate itself without, in Marx's words, "destroying all the inhuman conditions of life in contemporary society." The SLL and WRP have never acted as a "tribune of the people" and an upholder of socialist morality. On the contrary, they have pandered to and strengthened the most backward prejudices among English workers.

The liberation of women through the destruction of the bourgeois family plays no role whatsoever in Healyite politics. The increasingly important question of the racial oppression of South Asian and West Indian immigrants has been of marginal concern to the SLL and WRP. And Healy's England-centered perspective is notorious within the left, reaching chauvinist proportions over the Irish question. Thus when the Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed, following the Birmingham pub bombings attributed to Irish nationalists, *Workers Press* denounced it for threatening above all the English workers movement, particularly the WRP! Presumably, had Healy been assured the law would be used only against the IRA he would not have opposed it.

It is only within the framework of the Healyites' underlying economism that their "The Crisis" mongering can be understood. From an economist viewpoint, a socialist revolution is *only* justified in the face of a massive decline in the living standard of the working class. For Healy, a socialist revolution was not possible or really justified throughout the post-war period. For him, a revolutionary situation must be like Germany in 1932—a profoundly defeatist and pessimistic attitude.

Despite its ritualistic attacks on Pahlöism, Healyism shares the central conclusion of Mandelstam "neo-capitalism": that since the late 1940's revolutionary situations have been impossible in West Europe because of objective conditions. This objectivist pessimism was disproven by life itself with the anti-Gaullist general strike of May 1968 and the wave of workers



Alan Thornett

Workers Press

control struggles in Italy the following year. In France during 1968 and Italy in 1969, the working class demonstrated an *offensive* revolutionary impulse, directed against bourgeois democracy under conditions of relative conjunctural stability. Such revolutionary developments are incomprehensible to the Little England economism of Gerry Healy.

Electoral Opposition to Labour

Both Thornett's WRP internal document and the Healyite account in *Workers Press* after the expulsion indicate that the WRP's electoral candidacies in March and October 1974 were a major issue in the faction fight. The question of electoral policy represents in a concentrated form the central problem facing British revolutionaries: how to break the masses from the Labour Party.



Bulletin

Gerry Healy (standing), leader of the WRP, with Vanessa Redgrave.

Because the Labour Party has been the only mass workers party in British history, and because of its organic ties to the unions (every union member is automatically in the Labour Party), it is generally taken for granted as *the* political expression of the British proletariat. The British working class can hardly conceive of a different mass workers party. Therefore, there is great social pressure on a revolutionary organization to present itself as a non-competitor, as non-antagonistic to the Labour Party.

And virtually all British left organizations adapt to the spirit of Labour hegemony. Some act as organic factions within the Labour Party (the *Militant* and *Chartist* groups); some act as pressure groups upon the Labour Party (the Communist Party, the Healyites at times); and others embrace spontaneism/syndicalism, maintaining that new forms of revolutionary organization will emerge independently of developments within the Labour Party (the Mandeliste International Marxist Group [IMG], International Socialists [IS]).

For a British revolutionary propaganda group it is essential to project itself as an *organizational* opponent, however embryonic, to the Labour Party. (This is not to deny that use of the tactic of entry into the Labour Party will also be essential in building a British Trotskyist party.) Despite long-standing revulsion against Healyism, we gave critical support to WRP candidates in the two 1974 elections, in part because standing against the Labour Party is *itself* a central question for British revolutionaries, particularly in the February election which culminated a period of intense class polarization. (We were sharply critical of the WRP's February campaign not because it competed with the Labour Party but, on the contrary, because it failed to agitate for a general strike in defense of the miners—a demand which would have challenged efforts by both union and Labour Party leaderships to liquidate the miners' strike into parliamentary electioneering.)

In contrast, Thornett retrospectively opposed the WRP candidacies, as the party did not have a mass base and there was strong working-class sentiment to vote Labour:

"This means in my view that the party would require a definite base in the

working class where it stood candidates, it should have the capability of winning the support of important sections of the labour movement to our candidates..."

—"Correct the Wrong Positions of the Party: Return to the Transitional Programme"

Revolutionists call for votes to candidates of the Labour Party not because we believe a Wilson government will undertake progressive policies; rather, the tactic of critical support enables the communist vanguard to *expose* Labourism—to demonstrate that Wilson & Co. will *refuse* to fight for policies which defend the workers' interests—and thereby win over its most class-conscious and militant supporters. To achieve this end the vanguard must present an organizational alternative to the Labour Party capable of attracting those workers already disillusioned with reformism and now seeking a revolutionary path. For a very small and weak propaganda group to participate in parliamentary elections may be a gross misuse of resources. But for an organization with the resources of the WRP not to stand some candidates against the Labour Party is liquidationist, transforming the tactic of critical support into the strategy of political support to reformism.

Workers Control and Revolutionary Strategy

If anything distinguishes the WSL's position on the British question, it is emphasis on workers control. Much of Thornett's documents are devoted to this question. His criticism of the Healyite all-purpose slogan, "nationalization without compensation under workers control," is correct. Putting forward workers control only as part of a demand for generalized expropriation of the capitalist class is both ultimatism and confusing. Workers control—meaning dual power at the point of production—can exist *before* widespread expropriation, which requires the establishment of a workers state. After general expropriation what is involved is not at all dual power but the institutionalized relation of factory committees to the administration of a workers state concerning production decisions. Because the Healyite press does not raise workers control except in this manner, Thornett is correct in asserting that Healy's ultimatism slogan *eliminates* workers control as a transitional demand.

WORKERS VANGUARD

However, Thornett goes on to fetishize workers' control, presenting it as a necessary stage for any revolutionary dynamic:

"Only workers' control, struggled for and established from below against the capitalist owner creates the organised power of the workers to carry through the expropriation of the owners... no 'bridge' in the form of workers' control, no 'revolutionary nationalization'." (emphasis in original)

"Second Document on Party Policy and Perspectives"

This view is totally mechanical and without historical justification. In Russia in 1917 and Germany in 1918, workers control emerged (and could only emerge) after political revolutions had shattered the state apparatus and simultaneously with the creation of soviets. Prior to that point, atomized illegality at the factory level would simply have been crushed.

Furthermore, there are revolutionary situations where workers control plays no essential role at all: for example, the sudden explosion of a political general strike. To have called for workers control in the first period of the 1968 French May events was to demand a lower level of struggle than that already attained. To carry the French May events forward what was called for was placing the strike in the hands of democratically elected and nationally coordinated factory committees, which would serve as embryonic soviets.

In an article from which Thornett quotes extensively, "Workers' Control of Production," Trotsky explicitly states that there is no necessary connection in time between workers control and the emergence of soviets:

"...that these two processes need not necessarily run in parallel and simultaneously. Under the influence of crisis, unemployment and the predatory manipulations of the capitalists, the working class in its majority may turn out to be ready to fight for the abolition of business secrecy and for control over banks, commerce and production before it has come to understand the necessity of the revolutionary conquest of power." (our emphasis)

Where Trotsky uses the word "may," Thornett insists on must—a significant difference.

Regroupment

Thornett presents the central theme of his opposition as "Return to the Transitional Programme." However, he presents that theme in such an abstract manner that it could be used by any self-proclaimed Trotskyist. The abstractness of Thornett's documents mainly derives from his failure to deal with the concrete organizational configuration and balance of forces within the British left.

Thornett's documents essentially ignore the Communist Party, the Maoists, the ostensibly Trotskyist groups (e.g., IMG, *Militant* group, etc.) and the Irish nationalist left. Yet it is just these forces that must be destroyed as obstacles before a Trotskyist organization can make serious inroads among the supporters of Tony Benn and Michael Foot. The struggle to win over the Labourite masses through struggling for the Transitional Program is not an isolated pedagogical process, but can only be achieved through the defeat of the Stalinists, centrists and left Irish nationalists.

It is clear that Thornett accepts the Healyite "mass" press concept; indeed, he wants to deepen it, making the press more pedagogical and more agitational. A genuine mass press is not a matter of content and style, but of whether the party has the breadth and depth of cadre to have its press actually influence mass struggles on a wide scale:

"This task [making the newspaper of the organization accessible to the masses] cannot be effectively solved except as a function of the growth of the organization and its cadres who must pave the way to the masses for the newspaper—since it is not enough, it is understood, to call a publication a 'mass paper' to have the masses accept it in reality."

—L.D. Trotsky, "What Is a 'Mass Paper'?" November 1935

A "popular" agitational press without a cadre having considerable real influence in the workers movement is a diversion from the development of a communist vanguard.

Virtually all of the leftist organizations here maintain an attitude of peaceful coexistence with one another, seeking to recruit out of the broad Labourite milieu. This attitude is also that of Healy's WRP, although its conception of peaceful coexistence is modeled on Stalin's Russia in the 1930's. But a genuine Trotskyist party can be built in Britain only by destroying the manifold "Trotskyist" organizations, assembling and unifying their most serious and subjectively communist cadre through effecting splits and fusions among the ostensibly revolutionary left.

Which "Fourth International"?

The WSL's reluctance to engage its left opponents in polemical combat is also reflected in the vagueness of its references to the key question of the International. *Socialist Press* (20 February) simply states, "We are confident that our movement will soon be able to play an important role in the strengthening of the Trotskyist Fourth International..." The question is, which "Fourth International" does the WSL mean?

Socialist Press provides no answers. We can presume that the WSL does not identify the "International Committee" as the Fourth International, having learned at close hand how the IC is but a puppet in the hands of Gerry Healy, lacking even rudiments of democratic centralism. On the other hand, much of Thornett's writings on workers control seem curiously akin to the writings of Ernest Mandel on the subject. But the WSL declares it will fight against "the Pabloite revisionists of the IMG," local representatives of Mandel's "United Secretariat." No doubt the IMG's long-time line that the Labour Party is a bourgeois party (a view now in disfavor, but indicative of the British Pabloists' general approach to the LP) would be hard for Thornett to stomach.

More compatible with the WSL's views on the Labour Party would be the French OCI, whose British satellite (the Bulletin group of Blick) has a perspective of deep entry in the LP. But how would the WSL coexist with the Irish affiliate of the OCI's "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" which called for a vote for the Republicans (either wing!) in Northern Ireland local elections last summer? And how would recent victims of Healy's heavy-handed bureaucracy (if not gangsterism) feel about becoming potential candidates for the Varga treatment at the hands of the OCI (charges of being KGB agents, etc.)?

Without clarity on the central question of the Fourth International and on the concrete tasks involved in reorganizing the Trotskyist party of world revolution, the WSL will either disappear into the Labour Party or be taken over by right centrists such as the OCI. Thornett's sympathizers in the U.S., the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) in the San Francisco Bay Area, have already clearly latched onto the most right-wing expression of Healyism by calling for a reformist labor party as a stage in the construction of the revolutionary party.

At present the WSL is most clearly defined negatively, by its break from the Healyite organization in opposition to the WRP's sectarianism and brutally undemocratic internal regime. While its future programmatic course is not definitively predictable, the WSL's failure to develop the internal struggle against Healy much beyond the democracy issue, and its rejection of Healyite "ultra-leftism" while maintaining some of the most rightist-revisionist aspects of the SLL/WRP, would seem to define the WSL as a split to the right from a badly deformed and characteristically English-centered version of fake "Trotskyism." ■

While RMG Chants "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!"

Canadian Spartacists Hail Martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists



TORONTO—On April 19, 130 people met at Toronto City Hall to march in solidarity with the Indochinese revolution. Sponsors of the demonstration were the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (CCIST), the Revolutionary Marxist Group (a sympathising section of the fake-Trotskyist

United Secretariat), the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (recently expelled from the RMG), and the Canadian nationalist Socialist League.

The RMG tried to exclude the League for Socialist Action (its own factional opponent within the USec) from the speakers' platform. The LSA, they argued with bureaucratic logic, didn't sponsor the rally, so why should they speak?! The CCIST and B-LT, however, condemned this blatantly undemocratic maneuver and successfully demanded the right of all tendencies in the left



Quatrieme Internationale

and workers movement to have a speaker.

As the march proceeded to the U.S. consulate the spirited CCIST/B-LT contingent chanted "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and "Take Saigon, Take Vientiane, No Coalition Governments!" The RMG, obviously offended by these communist slogans and caught up in their NLF flag waving, cried "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is Going to Win!"

Outraged by this disgusting praise for the Vietnamese Stalinists (led by Ho Chi Minh) who were responsible for assassinating several thousand Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945-46, among them the veteran Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau, the CCIST/B-LT contingent responded with the call, "Long Live the ICL" and "Long Live Trotskyism!" (The International Communist League was the Trotskyist organization which led a workers' insurrection in Saigon in 1945 against the reintroduction of colonial troops.)

The RMG continued its cheers for Ho Chi Minh (who in 1946 welcomed French troops back to Hanoi), so that at one point there was the spectacle of the RMG shouting hosannas to the Vietnamese Stalinists in opposition to the call for "Long Live Trotskyism." This is the treacherous logic of Pabloist liquidationism, which capitulates to non-proletarian forces and abandons the struggle for the independent Trotskyist program and party.

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are not part of its job agency!

The unionized building trades workers correctly see the coalition's demands, especially its insistence that it directly control one quarter of the hiring on the site, as threats to the union, the seniority system and their jobs. The coalition's call on the university administration to go around the union hiring hall, threatening to sue the union if its demands are not met, amounts to plain-and-simple union-busting, an attack on the entire working class, including black workers. This is not surprising, given participation in the MNC by contractors who, whether they are black or white, see the unions only as impediments to higher profits.

The existing union leadership, however, bears the ultimate responsibility for the ugly confrontation which erupted at CCNY. The narrowly self-interested labor bureaucracy, which has fought tooth and nail against any attempt to alter the previously lily-white composition of the craft unions, has made the unions vulnerable to attack, while driving the union ranks into apathy or into the arms of outright reactionary and racist elements. In the absence of substantial oppositional forces fighting for a class-struggle program within the unions themselves, the bourgeois ideology of the union misleaders is inevitably reflected in the ranks. At CCNY, many of the construction workers fraternized with the marauding cops during last week's incidents.

Whatever the motives of many of the MNC's supporters, beneath the militant rhetoric lurks the hucksterist appetite to replicate the job-trusting rake-off mentality of the construction union tops. In the guise of opposing the racist status quo—which is supported by the blatantly anti-black, exclusionist, nakedly reactionary policies of the construction unions—the MNC eagerly makes itself a party to an assault on the hard-won gains of unionism: the seniority system and the union hiring hall. It would be tragic if the MNC were successful in appealing to the just grievances of unemployed minority-group workers and sympathetic students, using this reservoir of anger to buttress its own schemes.

The Maoist opportunists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade formed a rotten bloc with the "community" forces of the MNC, although the RSB's mentors in the Revolutionary Union now claim to oppose preferential hiring. In contrast, the SL/SYL has consistently fought for an end to discrimination in hiring, for contractor-funded minority recruitment and training programs, a shorter work-week at no loss in pay (to provide jobs for all) and the ousting of the reactionary union bureaucracy by a class-struggle leadership—while warning that preferential hiring schemes serve the bosses by setting one section of the working class against the other.

It is necessary to unite the unemployed with the employed workers, through trade-union organization of the unemployed; massive public works programs at full union-scale wages and under union control; unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance at union wages; and amalgamation of unemployment insurance, welfare, SUB benefits and social security programs into a single fund at the highest rate. And the fight must be directly against the capitalist system, refusing to accept the "logic" of production for profit, by calling for strikes and factory occupations against mass layoffs; expropriation of construction companies and all industry with no compensation; and a workers party to fight for a workers government which can institute planned production for use, the only way to guarantee full employment.■

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"two lines" which make a struggle against layoffs "objectively reactionary."

CAP's "Revolutionary" Nationalism

The Congress of African People is not the only organization which has traveled from cultural black nationalism to "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" Pan-Africanism. Many of yesterday's leading advocates of the seven principles of Kawaida (Maulanda Karenga, Baraka, etc.) now claim to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Faced with the demise of the black power movement (including its most left-wing expression, the Black Panther Party), a large U.S. contingent to the Sixth Pan-African Congress at Dar es-Salaam in 1974 welcomed the socialist

rhetoric of Nyerere and other African leaders. But while "African socialism" is the ideology of petty-bourgeois bureaucrats seeking to transform themselves into a capitalist class under conditions of extreme economic backwardness, the recent popularity of socialist Pan-Africanism among U.S. blacks represents in part a subjectively left-wing response to the manifest bankruptcy of "black power."

Yet the very abstractness of the new rhetoric was its main attraction for leftward-moving black nationalists, making it possible for slick, cynical opportunists like Baraka to elaborate a "revolutionary nationalism" whose "socialism" was still very much anti-union. It was all too easy to see the Kenneth Gibsons as the domestic equivalents of such reactionary "African socialists" as Leopold Senghor.

CAP has not broken from black nationalism. It declares: "It is the Congress of African People's view that black people are an oppressed nation in the United States" (*Black Scholar*, Janu-

ary/February 1975). This position paper sees that blacks are situated in key industries in the U.S. and lack the economic-territorial basis to secede, yet CAP still calls black people a nation. This is nothing but the old cultural nationalism dressed up in a Mao suit.

Blacks in the U.S. are a color/race caste segregated at the bottom of the working class. The key position of black workers in the country's industrial structure will give them a vital role in building a united revolutionary vanguard. Moreover, the struggle for the democratic rights of racial minorities and against the special oppression of black people must be a major component of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. The forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party is the only means to prepare the overthrow of capitalism which is at the root of black oppression. Utopian dreams of a separate black state—whether in Africa, the old "Black Belt" of the South or northern ghettos—will go the way of Garveyism. And while Garveyism was able to

...Indochinese Revolution

(continued from page 1)

reason to exercise the utmost vigilance against infiltration by imperialist spies and agents, and it would hardly be surprising if, as Cambodian Information Minister Hu Nim said in his statement, CIA agents are being slipped in aboard small sailing vessels. The Khmer Rouge

demonstrated good sense in returning the crew and its statement showed dignity in the face of an inevitable attack by vastly superior forces, when it could only lose.

Given their bitter experience with U.S. imperialism, the Cambodian government likewise had every reason for inspecting an American ship entering its territorial waters. At the same time, if there was no evidence of spying, both Cambodian and U.S. workers should legitimately have been concerned for the freedom of the crew, who were cynically used as pawns in a criminal imperialist adventure. Ford naturally showed no concern whatever for their lives, and U.S. planes could easily have killed them all with the massive fireworks.

Despite the overwhelming dove sentiment in the U.S. and European bourgeoisies with respect to Vietnam and Cambodia only a few short weeks ago, imperialist ruling circles throughout the world uniformly praised Ford's petulant display of military might in the Mayaguez incident. The London *Economist* (17 May) commented that "This was a fresh reminder that brinkmanship is sometimes necessary and sometimes works..." The Japanese government, which had long dissociated itself from Washington's Vietnam policies, firmly supported the U.S. attack, even apologizing for the landing of Marines in Thailand ("maybe the United States did not have enough time to think about Thailand," remarked its spokesman according to the 16 May *New York Times*).

In the U.S., the fact that President Ford violated the vaunted legal prohibitions on involvement in military hostilities in Indochina to carry out the "Mayaguez operation" has, of course, been quickly swept under the rug. (So was the illegality of the mass evacuation of more than 130,000 Vietnamese reactionaries, exploiters and war criminals, their families and their gold.) Liberals in the U.S. Senate are deciding not to call for a reduction of U.S. troop strength in West

Europe. In short, it is being made crystal clear that objections to the Vietnam adventure by imperialist doves were based on the fact that it was a losing gamble, tying up resources urgently needed elsewhere to defend the same class interests. The Mayaguez incident was a chance to reaffirm their class loyalties.

The Spartacist League warns that the imperialist butchers of Indochina, both "doves" and "hawks," are prepared to plunge civilization into a nuclear holocaust in order to preserve their exploitative system of class rule. They seek always to reverse the tremendous social and economic conquests of the Russian Revolution and the revolutions which have destroyed capitalism in the deformed workers states, from East Europe to Vietnam and Cambodia.

While both Peking and Moscow seek "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, Marxists warn the workers that a life-and-death battle with the bourgeoisie is inevitable. Without placing any political confidence in the architects of détente and the advocates of coalition governments with the bourgeoisie, we call for unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. Only by a political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, which overthrows the parasitic bureaucracy and establishes organs of democratic working-class rule (soviets) can the revolution be extended and a real defense against counterrevolution be mounted, through world proletarian revolution.

—U.S. Hands Off the Indochinese Revolution!

—Extend Soviet/Chinese Nuclear Shield to Cover Phnom Penh, Saigon and Hanoi!

—For a Communist United Front Against Imperialism—For Political Revolution Against Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule!

—Take Vientiane!

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capture the imagination of thousands of workers, youth and unemployed in Harlem and elsewhere before it disappeared, it also promoted a virulently anti-union brand of "black capitalist" ideology. Class collaboration with its "own" bourgeoisie is inherent in all forms of nationalist ideology, and this has been true of Baraka's career from the anti-communist baiting of the "white left" through "community control" strike-breaking to his current anti-union "socialism."

Facing the Future... And the Past

CAP's turn toward Maoist Pan-Africanism is relatively recent, and for some time the membership (many of whom are subjectively revolutionary, but with their political development distorted by the cultism around Baraka) seemed to be in political flux. The article "CAP: Going Through Changes!!" (*Unity and Struggle*, October 1974) which announced the organization's embracing of Mao Tse-tung Thought also said:

"...we have made mistakes, undoubtedly we will make more. But we will be testing all dogmas, policy, &c., reorganizing all our work along revolutionary lines and practicing ruthless self criticism in order to unite our theory and practice, and contribute to the building of a socialist society."

Last fall members of the Spartacist League were told that many CAPers now felt that Baraka's support to Gibson in 1970 was "a mistake." But more recently we have been told that it was a "necessary stage" in the struggle for black liberation. This argument is false to the core: the liberation of the oppressed masses depends on the political independence of the proletariat from the class enemy; support for bourgeois politicians (black or white, and no matter how "progressive") is always a betrayal of the struggle against capitalist exploitation and racial oppression.

"But Addonizio was a racist and had to be defeated at all cost!" a CAPer will protest. Leaving aside the fact that Baraka sided with Addonizio, and even arch-reactionary racist Anthony Imperiale, against the ghetto rebellion of 1967, this is the same type of rationalization the reformist Communist Party gave for its

backhanded support to Roosevelt in the 1930's and 1940's. That the class collaborationism of Maoism/Stalinism is reflected in the policies of CAP is evident in its "Strategy for 76" published in the March issue of *Unity and Struggle*:

"Progressive forces should deal with the enormous crisis that 1976 will usher in by launching a campaign, running a presidential candidate and holding a national people's convention in the Spring of 1976. And that campaign will be an anti-democratic, anti-republican, anti-depression and anti-repression movement to combat the rising threat of fascism in the U.S. and imperialist wars abroad."

This is classical popular frontism, an old standby of the CPUSA. From Henry Wallace to Benjamin Spock, the Stalinists have promoted "third parties" and "peoples candidates" in order to obscure the need for a class opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism. In contrast, the Trotskyists call for the formation of a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government.

CAP's inability to draw the class line means that it has no program for revolutionary struggle in the trade unions, no answers for black workers in the heart of American heavy industry. (This is not surprising, of course, since CAP's program for the Newark Teachers Union is evidently to break it!) It has also meant that CAP seeks to control killer cops with...community control. When police clubbed down scores of Puerto Ricans, killing two, last fall in Newark, Baraka denounced Gibson's regime as "blackface fascism" while proposing as a solution a "civilian review board."

"Necessary Stage"... For What?

CAP defends Baraka's strikebreaking by claiming that the NTU strike was "anti-community." Naturally government workers' strikes always hurt the oppressed first, because they are most dependent on public services. But it was precisely the inner-city "community" of workers and unemployed whose children attend Newark's public schools that had a vital and direct interest in the victory of the strike. It was the suburban "community" of Prudential executives and government bureaucrats who send their children to private schools that screamed

the loudest about "the public interest" and fought to smash the strike.

The importance of trade unions is not that of "just another pressure group." Unions are an elementary attempt to suppress the competition between workers engendered by wage slavery, enabling them to organize around their common interests. Of course, unions by themselves are not sufficient to emancipate the working class, much less the rest of the oppressed. But what is needed is to build a revolutionary vanguard party and a class-struggle leadership inside the union to defeat the pro-capitalist bureaucracy which is the major obstacle to the construction of such a party. By joining the capitalist state in its assault on the NTU, Baraka reinforces the present misleaders of labor.

Workers need to fight for political as well as economic organizational independence from the bourgeoisie—they need their own party as well as their own unions. CAP defends Baraka's support for Gibson's first mayoral race on the basis that this was a "necessary stage" that the masses had to go through, and that the masses had to learn from their experiences. What did the masses learn when they resoundingly re-elected "fascist" "enemy of the people" Gibson for a second term?

The "theory of stages" of Stalin and Mao, here applied to Newark's Chiang Kai-shek, reduces every sellout and betrayal to a "necessary stage." Martin Luther King calls for troops to put down the Watts rebellion? King was a "necessary stage." Gibson uses the cops to ruthlessly break up a Puerto Rican festival? Gibson was a "necessary stage." Chiang Kai-shek, honorary member of the Comintern Executive (at Stalin's invitation), crushes the Shanghai uprising? That, too, was a "necessary stage." The blood of the blacks murdered in Watts, the Puerto Ricans murdered in Newark and the workers murdered in Shanghai is on the hands of every apologist for these betrayals and defeats. Without conscious intervention of the revolutionary vanguard, organized in a Trotskyist party and fighting for proletarian independence, the oppressed will have to suffer many more such "necessary stages." ■

march cheered our banners and joined our contingent. As the contingent turned in toward the Commons, at the corner of Arlington and Boylston, a group of perhaps two dozen young black militants wearing parade marshals' arm bands approvingly greeted our militant hanners and slogans.

The marchers' response to a small counterdemonstration by a band of Nazis was instructive. As the SL and others moved to deal with the racist scum, SWP and NAACP marchers linked arms to keep the indignant crowd from getting at the fascists. The police moved immediately to protect the Nazis.

The Maoists' policy was a nearly total boycott of the demonstration. An October League spokesman explained that "This march represents the assimilationist wing of the black bourgeoisie led by the NAACP, whereas the December march represented more of the nationalist wing, exemplified by [black Democratic State] Representative Bill Owens. The NAACP bus plan is forced assimilation and denies the democratic right of Third World people to attend the schools of their choice" (*Guardian*, 21 May 1975). Unable to find a militant-talking black bourgeois politician like Owens to tail, Maoist groups like the OL chose abstentionism, leaving the masses to their misleaders.

The alternative to Uncle Tom liberalism will not be found in the social-democratic SWP or the mush-headed Maoists, but in the revolutionary Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League, which struggles to become the vanguard of the workers and the tribune of all the oppressed. ■

LCR Purge...

(continued from page 3)

of the Fourth International represents the potential for a qualitative step forward in the fight to build a Trotskyist organization in France as part of a regenerated Fourth International. The expulsion of Lafitte comes a year after the resignation of Lesueur, another central committee member of the USec's French section (then called the FCR), to join the Spartacist tendency. Both Lesueur and Lafitte played a leading role in the 1973 bank strike and were instrumental in building the LCR's bank workers' fraction. In 1973 Lafitte was an FCR candidate in elections for the French National Assembly, and as a member of the national leadership of Tendency 4, he was elected alternate member of the CC at the LCR founding conference last December.

Although its documents contain a few ambiguous formulations, the political positions of the B-LF represent a qualitative break with both the infantile/degenerate centrism of the IMT and the bold-faced reformism of the LTF, and a return to authentic Trotskyism. Unlike a number of eclectic left Pabloists (Tendency 4 in the LCR, the "third tendency" of the USec, German Spartaeusbund) who continue in endless maneuvering and intrigue with the USec minority and majority, the B-LF declares its determination to struggle to reforge a politically homogeneous, democratic-centralist Fourth International.

The international Spartacist tendency is committed to waging the "difficult, long, and, above all, uneven" struggle for the rebirth of the FI ("Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency," W/V No. 49, 19 July 1974). An essential part of this struggle will be the regrouping of valuable forces from ostensibly revolutionary organizations through a process of splits and fusions. In a number of countries this is already occurring and we hope that the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction will follow the path taken by the RIT, B-LT and individual comrades in Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Germany and the U.S. who have broken with Pabloism to make common cause with the international Spartacist tendency.

—For a Trotskyist Organization in France!

—Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

...Boston Busing

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and their capitalist/cop oppressors—is illusory and even suicidal. The working masses must rely on their own organized strength. This was the theme of trade-union oppositionists from the UAW and National Maritime Union who participated in the march with signs calling for labor defense squads to stop racist attacks.

The demonstration was steeped in symbolic displays of respectability and patriotism—from the red, white and blue-draped speakers' platform to the Shriners' band playing the Marine Hymn and Star Spangled Banner. The NAACP's Atkins provided a folksy political rationale: "We are here today to commemorate the removal of the monster [racism] from the cradle of the confederacy and to celebrate the removal of the monster from Boston's cradle of liberty. I am glad to tell you that Boston is finally on C.P.T.—Constitutional Protection Time." He called on the demonstrators to work "to save the country from the consequences of unchecked moral insensitivity and deviation from the country's fundamental law."

The theme of the rally was reliance on the benevolence of the bosses' government. Nowhere was this more explicit than in the speech by Maceo Dixon, representing the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). Only a day after the vicious imperialist assault on Cambodia, Dixon remarked, "If Ford can send troops and tanks and bombers to Cambodia...he

should be able to send troops to Boston to enforce the law." Yes indeed, but just what will the butchers of Indochina do in Boston?

At a Spartacist League forum that evening, former Black Panther Party member Gerald Smith answered that question by noting, "Malcolm X had a saying, 'You can't demand that a chicken lay duck's eggs.'" Despite a flawed and above all partial political analysis, Malcolm X understood what the SWP and their reformist cohorts work to obscure: the state is a body of armed men that exists to protect the rights not of the masses but of their oppressors. Smith summed up the counterposition: "While the SWP considers itself the democratic doctor of capitalism, the SL considers itself the grave-diggers of capitalism."

The subservience of the SWP to reformist coalitionism was never more evident than at the Boston demonstration. There was hardly a single SWP banner or sign in sight. NAACP signs predominated, with slogans such as "Schools Are for All Children" and "Quality Education—Let's Do It Together."

Aggressively cutting through the morass of liberalism, pacifism and chauvinism, an impressive Spartacist League contingent of about 150 marched with slogans such as "Not White Against Black, But Class Against Class," "No Trust in Capitalist Politicians, Troops and Cops—For a Labor and Black Defense Against Racist Anti-Busing Vigilantism" and "For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government." Some small centrist groups effected an ad hoc united front with the SL marchers, while unaffiliated militants all along the

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Union-Busting Coalition Pits Unemployed Against Employed

Bloody Battle Over Construction Jobs at CCNY

NEW YORK—A dispute over quota hiring at a City College of New York (CCNY) construction project exploded into a violent clash on May 14. Groups claiming to represent "the community," organized into the Manhattan North Coalition (MNC), had closed down the \$90-million building project site at the Harlem campus for several days. On Wednesday the construction unions decided to re-open the site and a pitched battle broke out pitting construction workers against the MNC and its student allies, mainly Maoists. The fighting raged from 9 a.m. well into the afternoon. Workers hurled large nuts and bolts from the skeletal construction while numerous skirmishes took place below with both sides wielding clubs, pipes and wrenches.

The burden of unemployment which is presently escalating to disastrous proportions falls especially hard on minority workers. In some cities unemployment among black youth is approaching 50 percent. What is needed to answer the current economic crisis is a program for class struggle which unites the employed and unemployed workers in a militant fight against the common enemy, the boom-bust system of capitalism which produces mass unemployment and oppression of racial and ethnic minorities. But instead the increased competition for



Demonstrators at CCNY construction site charging police lines last week.

New York Times

jobs has brought about demands for "solutions" which pit one section of the working class against another, i.e., protectionism ("Buy American"), preferential hiring and firing. Moreover, such schemes frequently involve using the capitalist state against the unions.

The MNC, a main component of which is the "Fight Back" organization, is an assortment of "community" politicians attempting to channel the just anger and frustration of non-white unemployed into an attempt to destroy the construction

unions and set up a job trust of their own. The original name of the coalition, the "Manhattan North Coalition for Employment, Business and Housing," reflected its class-collaborationist thrust—its intention to unite "minority workers, contractors, community agencies, political figures, community people and CCNY students."

The demands of the coalition, which was formed last October when the construction of a new academic complex was begun, were: 50 percent of the jobs on

the site to go to community workers; 25 percent of the contracts to non-white contractors; and the election of a non-white "site coordinator" by the community. By this month, however, 40 to 50 percent of the workers were minority. The coalition is now demanding that half the minority workers be from its organizations. Thus the MNC's pork-harrelling demands would actually mean *laying off* black and Spanish-speaking workers who

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Impotent NAACP March Supports Constitution As

Court Retreats on Boston Busing



SL contingent at Boston demonstration, May 17.

WV

BOSTON—The May 17 NAACP march here mobilized some 10-15,000 people to "support quality desegregated education and the Constitution." While the march was a carefully orchestrated part of the liberals' strategy of pressuring the bourgeoisie to be more democratic, many young black militants showed an appetite to go beyond the tame reformism of the NAACP and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But without a revolutionary leadership that can carry the struggle for democratic demands and the rights of black people forward to the fight for a workers government, the black masses will remain chained to the impotent protest politics that dominated the Boston march.

The march took place only days after Judge Arthur Garrity issued the Phase II Plan for desegregating Boston's schools. It was intimately linked to the NAACP's legalistic policy. Abandoned by its white liberal allies, who cringe before the virulent racist reaction to busing, the NAACP intended the march, as Boston NAACP head Tom Atkins said, "to show that Judge Garrity does not stand alone in

saying that Boston schools must be desegregated."

The Phase II Plan itself represents compromise with the racists. While several thousand more students will be bused than under Phase I or the earlier "Masters' Plan," and busing has been extended into school districts previously untouched, the new plan leaves a major area of the city, East Boston, almost totally white. In addition Garrity's order to close 20 schools with virtually no new school construction ensures the overcrowding of existing schools. The Spartacist League's call for "No Retreat! Extend Busing Citywide and into the Suburbs!" remains very much on the agenda.

The liberals' half-hearted policies are not an accident. A real struggle against segregation and for full social equality for black people would threaten to break through the boundaries of this deeply racist, capitalist society. Such a struggle, centered above all in the labor movement, must begin with the recognition that the perspective of class collaboration—the spurious "unity" of the working people

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