

After U.S. Rout in Indochina...

Imperialists Retrench

JUNE 15—What will be the worldwide impact of recent imperialist defeats in Indochina? Will the dominoes in Southeast Asia start falling? Is South Korea next on the agenda? Could the taking of Phnom Penh and Saigon signal the start of a Soviet offensive in Europe? These questions have reverberated through Western capitals during the last month.

The destruction of capitalist rule in Vietnam and Cambodia must be hailed by all class-conscious working people. There is no doubt that the imperialists have suffered a major setback with this victory of the Indochinese workers and peasants. The ongoing Pathet Lao takeover in Vientiane is a direct consequence of the decisive events to the south, and throughout the region former U.S. allies are scurrying to Peking to get Mao's blessing while there is still time.

In Europe imperialist rulers are no less upset than in Washington at the dramatic turn of events in Indochina. The unexpectedly sudden collapse of the U.S.-backed puppet regimes has turned attention toward NATO, the main Western military alliance, which is seriously weakened on its southern flank. Britain's economic difficulties are forcing a cut-back of its Mediterranean fleet. Simultaneously, last summer's blow-up between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus has called into question the participation of both of these former NATO mainstays and the availability of bases on Cyprus itself. As a result, the U.S. Sixth Fleet currently has no port of supply east of Italy, which could hamper it greatly in another Israel-Arab war.

But while imperialist forces are experiencing significant difficulties, it would be dangerous to mistake setbacks for chaos or collapse. In addition to U.S. efforts to restore its military "credibility" (as with the spectacular display of firepower in the Mayaguez incident), the May 29-30 NATO summit meeting in Brussels showed almost no dissension on the central aims of the anti-Communist alliance. Not only Ford, who spoke of Portugal as a "Trojan horse," but many European heads of government lectured Portuguese premier General Vasco Gonçalves, making it clear that a "Communist-dominated" government in Lisbon would not be tolerated.

In terms of global military strategy, the U.S. has had to retreat to a "one and a half war" posture (capability of simultaneously fighting a major war in Europe and a "minor contingency" elsewhere) from its previous "two and a half wars" stance. But this in no way signifies a lessening of Pentagon war-mongering. In

a recent report to Congress, "Defense" Secretary Schlesinger explicitly stated American readiness to undertake a nuclear first strike in a "conventional" battle with Soviet bloc forces in Europe. Although supposedly to be done with "tactical" atomic weapons, "the attack should be delivered with sufficient shock and decisiveness to forcibly change the perceptions of Warsaw Pact leaders," Schlesinger commented (*New York Times*, 30 May). So much for Kennedy's "flexible response"—it's back to "massive retaliation."

Whatever Became of Détente?

Russian Communist Party leader Brezhnev claims that we are only experiencing a slight "zigzag" in détente, and that if good business sense would prevail political stability can be guaranteed. He certainly has lived up to his part of the "bargain." In return for a few nice words from Henry Kissinger the Paris "peace" accords provided a breathing space for the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes and an excuse for the U.S. to extricate itself from its losing war in Indochina.

Nixon and Ford have come across with exactly nothing. The trade agreements have been scotched thanks to Senator Jackson's sudden "concern" for Soviet Jews. The only recent "arms limitation" agreement, last December's Vladivostok pact, actually permitted both sides to drastically increase stockpiles of nuclear weaponry. The Pentagon, meanwhile, has decided to establish a new line of "defense" in the center of the Indian Ocean by building a huge naval base on the island of Diego Garcia. It is evident to everyone that—as we have been saying for years—détente is a hoax.

In Europe there has been a sharp rise of virulent anti-communism encompassing virtually the entire political spectrum to the right of the Stalinists. Social democrats in Portugal center their election campaign on combatting the danger of "communist dictatorship" and the conservative London *Economist* (5 April) wails that "communist parties in a number of European countries may be able to climb to power, and then be undislodged from it..." But West European CP's are no less committed to the pursuit of class collaboration than their Kremlin mentors. From the most "independent" (Italy) to the most Moscow-loyal (Portugal), every one of these abjectly reformist parties has declared that membership in NATO would be no obstacle to their participation in coalition governments.

With Brezhnev and his acolytes



Authenticated News International

NATO jets

doggedly pursuing the chimera of détente, Mao, too, has been carrying out the Stalinist line of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Chinese version is mainly aimed at lining up the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union. Peking shares with Washington the view that, "the main threat remains the imperialistic thrust of the Soviet Union" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 May). To underscore the point, the Chinese ambassador to Belgium recently paid a "courtesy call" on that country's envoy to NATO.

On paper the Maoist bureaucracy is against both "superpowers." In practice,

it "leans to one side," that is, toward the capitalist U.S. Japanese diplomats have reported that Chou En-lai encouraged them to "strengthen relations with the United States" (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 February). Mao & Co. are playing a dangerous game. Should imperialist counterrevolution demolish the historic economic conquests of the October Revolution (which remain intact despite the political counterrevolution which placed a self-serving Stalinist bureaucracy in control of the state apparatus), the

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Ex-Panther Speaks on Black Struggle in U.S.

NEW YORK—At a Spartacist League forum here May 24 an audience of about 90 people heard SL spokesman and former Black Panther Party member Gerald Smith outline a strategy for defense of the black and working-class movements. The forum followed the African Liberation Day march, a once-popular black nationalist event which drew a markedly meagre turnout this year.

Pointing to a recent escalation of racist terror, from the stoning of black school children in Boston to rabid campaigns to deport Latin American immigrant workers, Smith noted that in the context of mass unemployment the ruling class tries to accentuate racial, sexual, ethnic and other divisions in order to keep the workers demobilized. "The defense of democratic rights of blacks, and of working-class organizations against right-wing attacks and government intervention, is going to be a paramount question in the coming period," he added.

To the reformists' treacherous reliance on the bosses' courts and troops, Smith counterposed the need for independent labor/black defense. He cited as an example of such effective action the defense guard recently organized in Chicago by UAW Local 6, which has been guarding a black union brother's home nightly against racist attack. The speaker compared this action to the efforts of the Louisiana Deacons for Defense, who protected SNCC workers against the Ku Klux Klan during the mid-1960's.

Revolutionary Integrationism

Smith also pointed out that the rise and initial enormous popularity of the Black Panther Party was due to its call for black self-defense against the police. Though the subsequent disintegration of the BPP has often been attributed solely to official repression, other parties have sustained such blows in the past, he noted. It is necessary to trace the Panthers' demise to their own programmatic failures, among them the view that the socially powerless lumpen proletariat is the revolutionary vanguard.

The Panthers had the mistaken view

that blacks represent an internal colony, a nation within a nation. Smith pointed out: "We do not have a common area, unless you want to put a fence around Harlem. We do not have a common language, other than English—which everybody else in America speaks. We don't have our own economy—we work in the same places that white workers work. The black question in the U.S. is not only different from the national question, but is diametrically opposed to it. When the Maoists and others go around calling black people a nation, they liquidate the real question—the struggle for social equality."

The speaker emphasized that the historic thrust of the struggle of the black

related an incident where Eldridge Cleaver came to New York and pistol-whipped a member who had put up the nationalist black-green-red flag in the BPP office. But nationalism was nonetheless a major component of the Black Panther ideology, expressed in such things as a call for self-determination of a non-existent black nation.

Panther Program

The BPP never had an explicitly anti-capitalist program—though it had plenty of socialist rhetoric—and at no point categorically opposed black capitalism. That the Panthers contained the most serious and often subjectively revolutionary layers of black militants was true despite their nationalism. Militants were attracted to the party above all because of its opposition to racial oppression and police terror, codified in the Panther slogan "Off the Pig!"

"We do not have a sincere-o-meter to tell if Huey Newton was really on the level," said Smith. But in any case, Marxists must judge a party by objective criteria. Isolated from the proletariat and oriented toward other class forces, the Panthers could neither challenge capitalist rule nor alter that pattern of racial oppression that is so much a part of it. Unable to programmatically link a struggle for social equality to the working-class struggle for socialism, the Panthers were caught in a blind alley. There was no way out: the right wing was ultimately absorbed into the Democratic Party and the left wing gravitated toward the suicidal terrorism of the Black Liberation Army.

RSL Windbags

During the discussion period, spokesmen for the semi-moribund Revolutionary Socialist League insisted on laying bare the aimless opportunism of their program. Ignoring the SL's fight for labor/black defense in Boston, its support to the UAW labor defense guard in Chicago, its history of support to the self-defense actions of the Deacons for Defense, the RSL accused the SL of not being committed to self-defense because we do not call specifically in all cases for armed self-defense.

Smith drew applause from the audience when he pointed out that the methods and tactics of self-defense depend on the situation and need not be telegraphed to the bourgeoisie in advance. This point is evident to serious revolutionists although organizations like the RSL, divorced from serious participation in the class struggle in any arena, might find it hard to comprehend.

The RSL then proceeded to present its main attack, denouncing the SL position of support to busing as a limited but real step toward integration. In response, speaker after speaker from the audience drove home the point that the RSL opposes busing out of capitulation to the most backward prejudices of white workers. What these posturing buffoons are really upset about is white workers' fears of their children going to black schools.

In summary, Smith reiterated the SL program for struggle for full social equality and against discrimination as an essential part of the revolutionary proletarian struggle. Only in this manner can the special oppression of racial minorities be eliminated, through common working-class struggle led by the single Trotskyist vanguard party. ■



SL supporters at May 25 African Liberation Day March in NYC.

masses in the U.S. over the past 200 years has been against racial oppression and for integration. The periodic rise of nationalist sentiment has been in reaction to the defeats of integration struggles, as potentially revolutionary militants despair when faced with a seemingly eternal and unchanging racist capitalist system. The reverse is also true: Smith noted that Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement was wiped out by the upsurge of common struggles of black and white workers during the 1930's, especially due to the efforts of the CIO and the recruitment of several thousand militant blacks to the Communist Party.

The non-existence of a black nation has given the programs of American black nationalists a peculiar character. While their followers were dreaming of a separate state, the practical immediate programs of the nationalists could benefit only a small "black capitalist" stratum whose development depended on the maintenance of segregation. As an example, Smith pointed to the fact that black people in the South couldn't get life insurance, thus leaving an opening for black companies to develop.

This dependence on segregation is the reason why black nationalists in the U.S. have repeatedly capitulated to white supremacy. The speaker pointed to the classic case of Marcus Garvey's invitation to the Imperial Chief of the Ku Klux Klan to speak at the national gathering of his Universal Negro Improvement Association. "Why? Because the Klan was saying, in effect, 'don't bus 'em, boat 'em,' and Garvey wanted to boat everybody. So there was common agreement."

Many Panthers considered themselves Marxist-Leninists, Smith pointed out. He

Uncover the CIA!

U.S. government attempts to whitewash the CIA are not working. The Rockefeller Commission of former high-ranking government officials has done its blue-ribbon best to minimize the importance of the CIA's illegal domestic spying operation. Rockefeller said of the undeniably massive violations that they were "not major" and the report admonishes that the CIA must be given "the support necessary to protect our national security." For the rest, the Commission merely reported some of what was leaked to reporters months ago by disgruntled U.S. intelligence operatives. Far from pillorying the CIA criminals, the report recommends criminal sanctions for one "offense" only: divulging of classified information by employees or former employees to "unauthorized" persons (who might again blow the whistle on the spy agency).

Despite the Rockefeller Commission's expressed "trust" in the CIA, it was forced to officially confirm earlier published accounts of a huge domestic spying operation. Besides widespread illegal bugging and mail cover (affecting over 13,000 individuals), some 300,000 names of suspected antiwar activists, communists, blacks and labor militants were computerized for the CIA's Operation CHAOS with the help of leading universities. So if you thought your phone was bugged and your mail opened, it probably was.

No matter how delicately the commission stepped it could not avoid stumbling into the CIA stock-in-trade: assassination plots, education in torture, sealing a USSR "defector" in solitary confinement for three years and other atrocities. The section of the report dealing with the assassination plots against Castro and other foreign leaders has been suppressed by Gerald Ford as "incomplete." Aware of the political risks of either saying anything about or remaining silent on assassination allegations, Ford dropped this hot potato into the lap of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities headed by Frank Church. Thus Democrat-dominated congressional committees investigating U.S. intelligence operations must "complete" the investigation into charges that Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson were implicated in assassination plots. Already Church has defensively declared that no president has been involved "directly" in any such plots and that he intends to "relate the acts in a manner that will least injure the country" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 15 June).

Even this official whiff of the CIA's underground sewage system of spy-terror smelled putrid enough to arouse public opinion to flush it clean. But there is no such thing as a "clean" CIA; its very existence is predicated upon the demonstrated need of U.S. imperialism to have a covert military arm. It is not a question of better "watchdog" committees, or better managerial techniques as is suggested by the Rocke-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Free the San Quentin Six!

"The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson, killed him. Shot him through the head." Coming from Associate Warden Park of San Quentin prison, minutes after the well-known Black Panther was shot down on 21 August 1971, these words give a good idea of the "impartial justice" meted out by the capitalist state. Jackson had already been in jail eleven years on a "one-year-to-life" sentence for a gas station robbery of \$71. Continually in trouble with prison authorities, he became interested in radical politics. Following the killing of one of his close friends by a prison sharpshooter, Jackson was charged, along with two other inmates, with murdering a Soledad guard early in 1970. But with a flimsy case against him (the "Soledad Brothers" were eventually acquitted in 1972) and the prospect of massive public outcries against the hearings, another "solution" was found. Two days before the Soledad Brothers' trial was to begin, Jackson was shot "trying to escape."

But this did not end the story. Six fellow inmates of George Jackson are now on trial in Marin County, California, on murder and conspiracy charges in connection with the deaths of three prison guards and two inmate tier tenders killed at San Quentin the day Jackson was shot. While authorities claim there was an elaborate escape plan, the evidence clearly points to a government conspiracy to "get" Jackson and a subsequent railroading of the "San Quentin Six."

The six have been awaiting trial now for nearly four years. All the men—Fleeta

Drumgo (one of the original Soledad Brothers), David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Black Panther Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez and Willie Tate—have a history of resistance to the pervasive official harassment and terror of the prison system. Drumgo and Spain participated in political discussions organized by Jackson; Johnson and Tate made written statements denouncing the murder of a prisoner by San Quentin guards; others had been through previous frame-ups and were acquitted of charges of assaulting or murdering prison guards.

A recent affidavit filed by Frank J. Cox, Marin County's Chief Public Defender, denounces the judicial/police cover-up of the circumstances surrounding the killing of Jackson and that of his younger brother, Jonathan, who was shot during an attempt to spring George in the spectacular Marin Civic Center shootout of August 1970. Cox asserts that there is a conspiracy going far beyond the walls of San Quentin and requests that CIA, FBI, Los Angeles Police Department and California state criminal investigation bureau files be opened. The highlight of the affidavit is the statement that:

"Two Los Angeles detectives had the plan of the Civic Center bloodbath down pat and told what was going to happen the day before it occurred Aug. 7, 1970."

"[George] Jackson was set up for his attempted San Quentin break Aug. 21, 1971, in which he, two other convicts and three guards were killed, with phony explosives and a gun that wouldn't work."

—quoted in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 March 1975

Cox also asserts that specific information exists "linking a correctional officer at San Quentin on August 21, 1971, with the smuggling of a gun into the Adjustment Center" where Jackson was being held. Since the damaging evidence in this document—corroborated by the report of a California State Bureau of Criminal Investigation and Identification criminologist—could greatly affect the outcome of the San Quentin Six trial, it is not surprising that Cox has met with determined official resistance.

The government report of the August 1971 San Quentin "escape attempt" has always raised suspicion. A book on the several related cases, *The Melancholy History of Soledad Prison*, by Min S. Yee, reports an affidavit by one of the main prosecution witnesses, white inmate Allan Mancino, stating in early 1971 that he had been asked by a Soledad prison official to kill Jackson. Moreover, the official version kept changing as "new evidence" was found to contradict "old evidence." The autopsy was drastically revised a month after its release. While the original claimed Jackson was shot in the head, the revised version claims the bullet "struck Jackson in the middle of his back, broke three ribs and coursed upward, breaking ribs, until it exited at the top of the skull." Inmates claim instead that Jackson was first shot in the back, then blasted again in the head when guards saw he wasn't dead, and that his body was repeatedly kicked following the shooting.

The prosecution story is filled with gaping holes. It charges, for instance, that lawyer Stephen Bingham—who disappeared the day of the murder and hasn't been heard from since—smuggled a gun to Jackson during a visit. Not only was he supposed to have passed the gun through the prison's metal detector, but Jackson supposedly hid the 8-1/2 inch long gun and two magazine clips in an afro wig where it was not detected by guards who searched him after the visit (as they had done many times before)! More contradictions: why should Jackson run into a courtyard in broad daylight when he knew tower guards were there and the

walls were 25 feet high; and why should he attempt to escape two days before a trial where he could have had a courtroom forum to denounce his jailors?

The 26 Adjustment Center inmates were able to smuggle out an affidavit which not only "describes the vicious beatings and harassment which followed Jackson's murder, but also flatly contradicts the official version of the day's events:

"We, the undersigned... state that Warden Louis S. Nelson and Associate Warden James W. L. Park through their agents did on August 21, 1971, kill one George Jackson and conspired to murder the undersigned who refused to join in the state's official conspiracy."

"That officers Doe 1, Doe 2, and Doe 3 did open the cell gates and order the undersigned to come from their cells, thereafter gunshots went off and all went into their cells in the back of the same building to avoid being shot."

—quoted in *People's World*, 29 March 1975

The official railroading has not been

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, has stated its support of the San Quentin Six and sent a contribution to their defense committee to assist with legal fees. Readers of WORKERS VANGUARD are urged to send donations for the defense of these victims of bourgeois class "justice" to: The San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169—16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

limited to prison officials. A 1973 grand jury indictment which charged the San Quentin Six was passed by the minimum vote of 12 and the conspiracy charge was tacked on in order to get those defendants who couldn't possibly be directly linked to the killings. Some grand jury members quit in protest and the initial hearing



George Jackson

judge quashed the indictment on the grounds that the jury was hand-picked, systematically excluding blacks and poor people. (However, the state appellate court later overruled the judge.)

During the current pre-trial hearings which began in March, Marin County Superior Court Judge Henry Broderick has consistently sustained prosecution objections, sealed the Cox affidavit and denied a defense motion for access to official files. He also denied the defendants' request to move the trial because of inflammatory local press coverage, a motion to sever their case from that of the missing lawyer Bingham, and initial appeals to provide medical treatment for Spain (now undergoing hospital treatment chained to a bed and surrounded by four armed guards). During their court appearances the six prisoners are "restrained" by chains which bind the hands, pass under the crotch and then are locked to chairs (which are bolted to the floor). Judge Broderick tells prospective jurors disingenuously that "You must not infer guilt from the fact of these restraints."

The San Quentin Six have filed a civil rights suit which is expected to be ruled on this summer. The suit charges that conditions in the solitary confinement cells of San Quentin's Adjustment Center ("the hole") amount to unconstitutional cruel and unusual punishment. Violations of their Eighth Amendment rights include tear gassing of cells, capricious and arbitrary denial of visitation rights (even with their lawyers), exclusion from work and education programs, deprivation of exercise, mail, books and proper sanitary conditions. All of the six have spent nearly four years in solitary under these inhuman conditions.

Jury selection will take time, since by the end of May from 800 names called only three black jurors turned up. But no matter who constitutes the seated jury, the San Quentin Six will not receive justice from the capitalist courts. An arbitrary hostile judge, chains and shackles, defense witnesses fearful of beatings by the guards when they return to their cells, denial of access to government files—everything adds up to a vicious railroading of the defendants. Stop the official cover-up conspiracy! Drop the charges—Free the San Quentin Six and try the killers of George Jackson in their stead! ■



Fleeta Drumgo

People's World

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A Letter to the Old Mole

Toronto
16 June 1975

To the *Old Mole*:

Last month's "May Day" issue of your irregular "monthly" newspaper contains an article on the second convention of the Revolutionary Marxist Group accompanied by a box announcing "BLT Expulsion." This insert is an elaborately contrived justification for the bureaucratic railroading of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency out of the RMG solely on the basis of our political views (no breach of discipline was even alleged). Its core is the following assertion:

"But the revolutionary unity which democratic centralist norms seek to preserve presupposes agreement on more basic questions. The most elementary of these is agreement that the organization constitutes the revolutionary political instrument which must be built..."

In other words, according to the RMG a centrist organization is justified in dispensing with any pretense of democratic centralism when faced by revolutionary oppositionists! This is a blanket endorsement for purges of leftist oppositionists from the United Secretariat. For an example of the extent to which the USec will go, we point to the case of Comrade Lafitte, a member of the central committee of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, who was recently expelled from the LCR for the "crime" of asserting that the Fourth International must be reconstructed (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 69, 23 May for details).

Nowhere do you present evidence which proves, even on these Stalinist criteria, the assertion of the expulsion motion that we had made "a political declaration of split with the F.I." The motion baldly asserted that the BLT considered the USec "a pseudo-revolutionary obstacle to the building of some new international organization..." But as we pointed out at the convention and in a public statement afterwards, the BLT had made no such statement.

What the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency did say was that "the politics of none of

the major tendencies within the United Secretariat can lay the basis for the construction of a democratic-centralist Trotskyist International," and that "we have not yet made a *definitive* assessment" of the international Spartacist tendency. Desperately searching for a justification, the *Old Mole* account cites our statement that "The Spartacist League has provided a correct and coherent analysis of the crisis within the United Secretariat." We challenge you to provide even one example where a Bolshevik organization has used such political statements as grounds for expulsion.

The convention article went on to assert: "The BLT carried politics that were identical in every respect to those of the Spartacist League. The debate on their rightist sectarian positions was quite peripheral to the central strategic discussion."

We certainly agree that the political positions of the BLT are identical to those of the Spartacist League. However, the next sentence is nothing but a preposterous attempt to slander our politics and thereby avoid a debate.

Do you really think you can get anyone to believe that the issues raised by the BLT were "peripheral to the central strategic discussion." To begin with, the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency was supported by 10 percent of the RMG nationally, whereas the ostensibly main opposition received 17 percent. And does the RMG maintain that the factional war that has raged within the USec for the last six years between the brazenly reformist "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" and the petty bourgeois centrists of the International Majority Tendency is "peripheral" to the organization?

What were these "peripheral" issues raised by the BLT? We called for a break with the LTF, whose Argentine organization (the PST) supports bourgeois "institutionalization" and promises to "fight for the continuity" of the Peronist government. We called for a clear statement against the American SWP's call to bring in the capitalist army to "protect" blacks in Boston. But the IMT

(which the RMG supports) prefers unity at all costs with the PST/SWP, even daring to characterize the latter as "revolutionary with right deviations"!

We also raised the issue of class collaborationist popular fronts in Chile and France. The IMT denies that Allende's Popular Unity government was a popular front, and its French supporters called for votes to the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1973 legislative elections. But although the Chilean popular front paved the way to the bloody massacre of more than 20,000 workers and leftists, the RMG leadership evidently considers this life-and-death question an academic debate. Trotsky had a different point of view: he wrote that "the popular front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch."

In practice, the RMG *does* consider these questions peripheral and secondary, since none of them were addressed by either majority or minority tendencies during the course of pre-convention discussion. In fact, the convention did not have a single session devoted to discussing international questions. Behind this apparent disinterest, of course, is your cowardly fear of confronting head-on the politics of the BLT within the organization, just as you have repeatedly shied from any political confrontation with the Spartacist tendency in public.

The article's assertion that the RMG is to the *left* of the Spartacists is downright laughable. Not only on international questions (such as Vietnam, where the Pabloist RMG applauds Ho Chi Minh while we denounce the murder of several thousand Trotskyists by Ho's followers in 1945-47) are there profound differences between the BLT and RMG, in which the RMG is clearly and consistently on the right.

For instance, the BLT called for communist work in the mass organizations of the proletariat, the trade unions, by constructing caucuses based on the Transitional Program. The RMG in the hope of capturing the eye of its "new mass vanguard" prefers trade-union work based on a program of simple labor

militancy and democracy, spiced up from time to time with a demand or two ripped out of the Transitional Program. Not surprisingly, the supporters of the views of the *Old Mole* in the Post Office repeatedly capitulate to the union bureaucracy. Would you care to explain how this places you to the left of the BLT?

Another example: the BLT and Spartacists see the necessity for constructing a special section of the Leninist party to aid work amongst women. We reject the petty bourgeois notion of an "independent" women's movement, an obstacle preventing the winning of women to the path of proletarian revolution. The RMG, in contrast, feels that the struggle for women's liberation is *not* subordinate to the class struggle, and its co-thinkers in Quebec (the GMR) have recently issued a call for an "autonomous" women's movement. You reached a new low in adaptation to feminism with your chant at a recent Toronto demonstration, "Up from the Kitchens, Up from the Bedrooms, Up from Under, Women Unite!"

As for your charge that we are "sectarian," we will let Comrade Trotsky answer that one: "His shilly-shallying the centrist frequently covers up by reference to the danger of 'sectarianism,' by which he understands not abstract-propagandist passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency, organizational completeness" (from "Centrism and the Fourth International," March 1934).

There is one final point that we would like to address. The disingenuous "explanation" of our expulsion states that, "Several BLT supporters who did not agree with their characterization of the Fourth International, while agreeing with their other political positions, remain within the RMG." Recently, two of these "other supporters" have resigned from the RMG in solidarity with the BLT, condemning your bureaucratic expulsion, both of London and of the BLT, from the organization. We welcome the resignation of these comrades and are now engaging in political discussion and joint activity with the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency.

FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

CSL: Family Life Among the Trotskyoids

The inglorious demise of the minuscule Class Struggle League (CSL), predictable since its founding in 1973 as a rotten bloc of the most disparate elements, has effectively taken place with the departure of the so-called "Bolshevik Faction" (now "Trotskyist Organizing Committee") led

by Harry Turner. Since its inception in a stillborn fusion between Turner's "Vanguard Newsletter" grouplet and part of the "Leninist Faction" of Vukovitch/Stein, the CSL encompassed virtually as many political divergences as it had members. Even their "freedom of criticism" formula, permitting public expression of internal differences, did not enable these homeless centrists to maintain their mockery of an organization. After two years of incessant squabbling Vukovitch/Stein and Turner have separately departed; left in the CSL are now perhaps a dozen members clustered around Turner's former cohort, Henry Platsky.

The CSL's Fred Ferguson aptly described the organization:

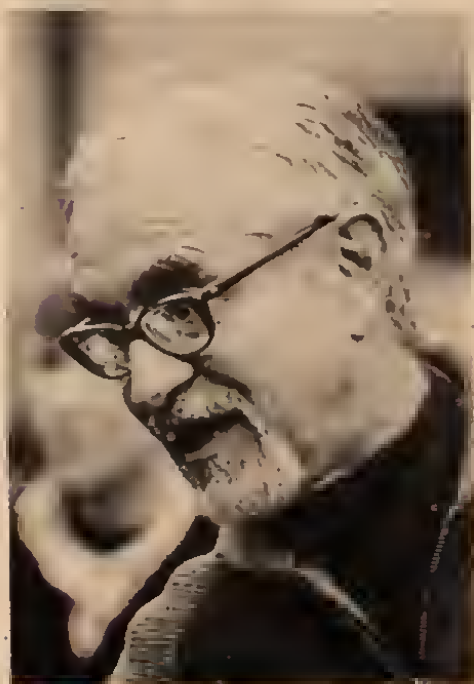
"Comrades, I would contend that we have not *reached* the level of a propaganda group—let's be honest, we are still what Vanguard Newsletter was, a discussion group. Or rather three discussion groups tied together by a common newspaper."

—"The Bolshevik Faction and the Standard of Conduct Expected of Comrades in a Bolshevik Organization"

Three discussion groups? Ferguson is too modest. At least one of the components which until lately constituted the CSL appears to have enough disagreements within itself to make for a very acrimoni-

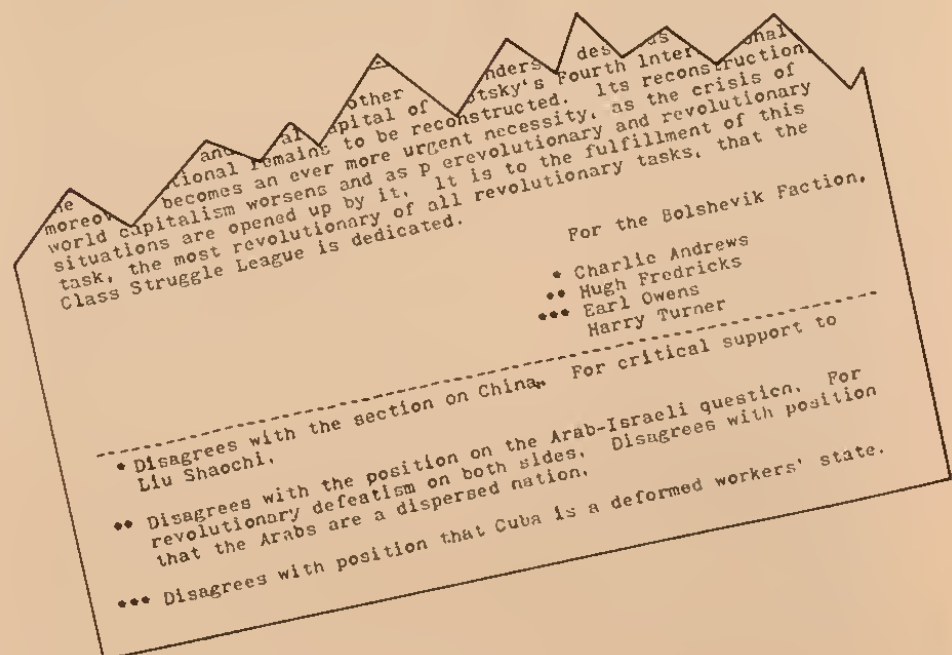
ous "discussion"! Of course, the 41-page document of Turner's "Bolshevik Faction" piously proclaimed that "only in a 'monolithic' organization could all of [a faction's members] be expected to have complete agreement with every word and nuance." But a look at the concluding

page, reproduced below, reveals what these shameless opportunists understand by a "nuance"! This penchant for unstable combinations is all that ever "united" the CSL; the component fragments can look forward only to further decomposition. ■



Harry Turner

WV photo



AT ISSUE: Busing and Labor/Black Defense

Boston Teachers' Union Election

BOSTON—The deep-seated racism of the labor bureaucracy has nowhere been more clearly revealed than in the violent, protracted conflict over the desegregation of the Boston public school system. Most of the unions have maintained an ostrich-like neutrality on the busing question—an objectively racist policy when viewed in light of most unions' past positions of verbal support to desegregation. The Massachusetts State Labor Council let the cat out of the bag in October when it went to lengths to repudiate a mild pro-busing statement (based on existing state and national AFL-CIO resolutions) issued by its own civil rights committee. Other unions have been even more explicit in encouraging the lynch mob atmosphere created by the anti-busing forces. Teamsters Local 25 and the Boston Building and Construction

Trades Council passed motions last fall totally opposing the court-ordered desegregation program.

One union which has stood at center stage over the past year has been the 5,000-member Boston Teachers' Union (BTU), Local 66 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Its significant size—and the fact that it encompasses not only teachers but also the predominantly black and Hispanic transitional aides hired specifically for the implementation of busing—means the union's policies are a major factor in shaping the political climate in which the fight over busing takes place.

More importantly, the BTU's members deal every day with the students who ride the buses. The teachers' union could take the first crucial steps in organizing trade unionists and black community groups into an integrated defense force to deter the racist vigilantes who have upped the ante from marches and school boycotts to mob violence.

Instead, the BTU bureaucracy around outgoing President John Doherty and former Vice President (now President) Henry Robinson has moved step by step from a position of phony neutrality to actively joining forces with the racists. Last fall they were content to issue individual statements making clear their dissatisfaction with the busing plan while not putting the union on record against it. The official union position of "metropolitan integration" (i.e., busing black children to the suburbs) pre-dates the crisis and was implicitly presented not as an extension of the busing but as an abstract

alternative to implementation of the desegregation plan for Boston schools—a slick cop-out.

This capitulationist policy was obviously approved by the national AFT leadership. In a widely reprinted article this winter, AFT President Albert Shanker refused to support the Boston busing plan, drawing numerous irrelevant distinctions between the "de jure" segregation of southern school systems in the 1960's and the "de facto" segregation of northern school systems in the 1970's.

When Judge Arthur Garrity issued an order for "one-to-one" hiring of minority teachers and transfers of teachers, ignoring seniority, to racially balance school faculties, Local 66 sought to reverse the order through a lawsuit. Instead of waging a fight for jobs for all unemployed teachers, black and white, and for union-controlled hiring and transfers with special programs to recruit and train minority teachers, the liberal Doherty/Robinson forces joined with overt racists who oppose forced transfers and quota hiring not because it could weaken the union through increased government intervention but because they oppose integration at all levels.

Throughout the year, while rocks flew through school bus windows and racists mobilized in the streets, courts and lobbies of Congress and the State House, the BTU leadership maintained its sham neutrality and paved the way for elements associated with the anti-busing movement to take the offensive in the union. When last November Doherty proposed a three-month "experiment" during which

the new aides (whom the union was fighting for the right to organize) would hold separate meetings from the teachers (who are overwhelmingly white), reactionaries in the union advanced thinly veiled racist arguments that the "non-professional" aides ought to be in their own separate local. Although Doherty eventually failed to follow through on his proposal after the aides voted not to have a separate unit in the local, it is not surprising that the bureaucrats are somewhat worried by the first significant influx of blacks into the local.

While black children were the targets of racists on the streets, they were also special targets of administration discipline inside the schools. Although they are a minority of about 38 percent of the students in Boston schools—the racist school boycott has had a negligible effect except in certain schools during brief periods of the school year—black students were a majority of those suspended from school this year. While doing nothing to stop the mob attacks on black students, the BTU leadership used the issue of safety in the schools to campaign for increased disciplinary powers in the hands of teachers.

The logic of the spineless liberalism of Doherty and Robinson was played out in May when Local 66 passed a motion by Doherty calling for a year's delay in the implementation of Phase Two of the busing plan. Union lawyers then joined in the School Committee's last-ditch courtroom maneuvers to win a breathing spell

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UNC Backs Busing, Union Defense Guards

DETROIT, June 9—A one-day United National Caucus (UNC) conference on "The Crisis in the Auto Industry" ended here yesterday in a ragged division, replete with screaming personal invective, over the question of organizing defense guards based on trade-union, black and community groups to protect against racist assaults on school busing. (Court-ordered integration is expected to be a major issue in Detroit when schools reopen in the fall.) The "sense" of a motion for labor/black defense was adopted, but referred to the UNC's executive board for implementation. The question, which led to hours of acrimonious debate, was considered only as the meeting was about to end and due to the insistence of a non-member who considers the group too opportunist to join.

The United National Caucus originated in the skilled trades' rebellion in 1968 and is the anti-Woodcock opposition of a handful of lower-level United Auto Workers (UAW) officials who for various reasons oppose the union's International regime. The group has a formal program calling for nationalization of the industry, "30 for 40" and a labor party. However, UNC leaders such as Jordan Sims (president of Local 961), Edie Fox (Local 3), Pete Kelley (Local 160) and Al Gardner (just defeated in a bid for reelection as president of the Tool and Die Unit of Local 600, one of the group's original bases) invariably drop the paper program when they are running for office.

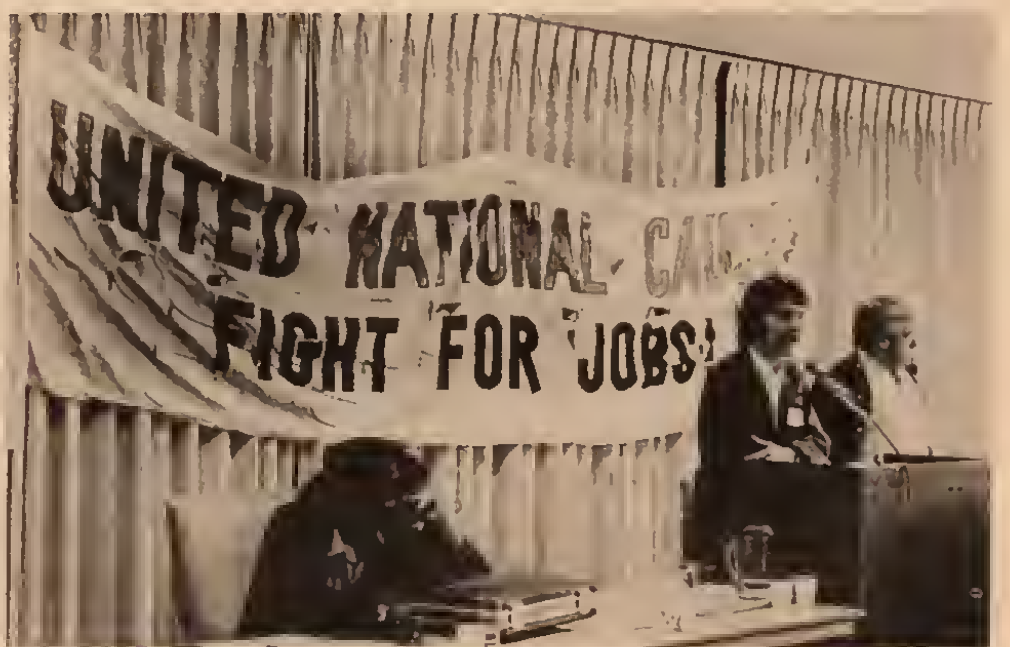
The UNC also contains a more radical faction of members in various locals around Detroit, which receives the backing of the left social-democratic International Socialists (IS). The UNC as

a whole receives ever-so-slightly critical endorsement from *Workers' Power*, the IS newspaper. At yesterday's meeting it was these radicals, by and large, who voted for the motion which their bureaucratic friends considered an anathema to their careerist appetites.

The conference had earlier run into differences over another question concerning racial oppression and the unions: seniority vs. "super-seniority" for blacks, other minorities and women. "Super-seniority," or preferential layoffs, an attack on the unions' only existing form of job protection (seniority), is currently being pushed by various left groups such as the IS and the Maoist October League (OL). In effect calling for taking jobs away from older white male workers, this divisive scheme is a substitute for a united class-struggle fight against layoffs.

The trade-union bureaucracy, which unquestioningly accepts the companies' "right" to lay off thousands of workers in order to protect profits, opposes "super-seniority" in order to defend the status quo of special oppression of minorities and women, traditionally the "last hired and first fired." IS-supported elements, who have been doggedly seeking to keep the UNC amalgam of bureaucrats and radicals taped together despite numerous differences, would not have raised the issue at all, but a Maoist brought it up in a veiled form: a motion to defend the right of women and minorities to stay in the plants.

A member of the UNC correctly saw this as, in effect, a call for preferential layoffs, and objected strenuously. Though the group's leaders indicated they had been discussing the question for six



WV photo

Keith Dodds, UAW Local 600 militant, at recent United National Caucus conference puts forward motion for black/labor defense. Looking on are UNC leaders Jordan Sims (left) and Pete Kelley.

months, they argued that it should be tabled to the executive board because of "complexities of the issue." What is "complex" is not the issue, but rather finding a palatable compromise satisfying both major factions of this unholy alliance.

Edie Fox led the attack for the bureaucratic compromisers, which resulted in tabling the motion; some of the IS-backed radicals drifted to her support. This embarrassed the other side in front of several new black UNC members present at the conference, who had been misled into supporting "super-seniority" as a program against racism. The radicals'

acute embarrassment over this issue contributed to the near-split later, as they sought to redeem the UNC in the eyes of these blacks.

Even more important, however, was the issue of the reactionary anti-busing mobilization in Boston and spreading activities of small but vicious fascist-inspired groups around the country which have made the need for working-class defense against racist attacks impossible to ignore. The capitalist government protects the racists and seeks to keep the working class divided—it is incapable of implementing integration or

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Britain and the Common Market

LONDON—On June 5 the first national referendum in British history was held on the issue of withdrawing from or staying in the European Economic Community (EEC), popularly termed the Common Market. With the leadership of all three major parties (Conservative, Liberal and Labour) and the mass media strongly pro-Market, one third of the voters nonetheless supported leaving.

The Common Market question has clearly polarized Britain along class lines. All significant sections of capital are today strongly, even hysterically, pro-EEC. On the British right only the marginal petty-bourgeois nationalist groups—the followers of Enoch Powell and the fascist-inspired National Front—are “anti-Europe.” Naturally, ruling-class commitment to the Market has extended to the right wing of the Labour Party and the official Wilson/Callaghan leadership. The heart of the opposition to the EEC is the workers movement, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour left.

There are, of course, differing reasons for opposing the Common Market. Among the Labourite masses anti-EEC sentiment reflects a mood of national isolationism, the particular disadvantages for British working people (e.g., higher food import prices) and a gut-level understanding that the Market is run by the international allies of Toryism.

It is important that revolutionaries oppose British membership in the Common Market, but no less vital that they do so for the right reasons. It is not enough to condemn the chauvinist opposition to “Europe,” and it is necessary to go beyond the Labour lefts’ argument based on the immediate economic disadvantages for British workers. For communists, opposition to the Common Market is a principled, not a conditional or empirical, question. We are no less opposed to German or French membership than to Britain’s joining.

While fighting against the mass layoffs and cuts in living standards which the working masses are being forced to suffer in the interests of capitalist economic rationalization, and denouncing the utopian hoax of uniting Europe without toppling bourgeois rule, we oppose the Common Market fundamentally because it is an imperialist alliance essentially directed at the Soviet Union. (By the same token, Maoist China’s enthusiastic support for the EEC stems from the understanding that a German-dominated European bloc must necessarily be anti-Russian.)

Origins and Purpose of the Common Market

Our opposition to the Common Market was well stated some sixty years ago by Lenin in rejecting the slogan of a “United States of Europe”:

“Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between European capitalists... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty against Japan and America...” [emphasis in original] —“On the Slogan for a United States of Europe,” 1915

The EEC, an impotent effort at realizing this slogan, is an alliance directed primarily against the degenerated workers state of the USSR. Europe will be truly united only under proletarian rule, through social revolution in the West and workers political revolution in the degen-

erated and deformed workers states of the East.

Ever since Bismarck created a unified German state in the 1860’s, the central dynamic of West European power politics has been the attempt by France to prevent German dominance, which is warranted by the latter’s economic and demographic strength. Before World War I, the means was a French alliance with Czarist Russia; after 1918 it was the Entente, an alliance with the successor states of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire (e.g., Czechoslovakia). But with the resurgence of Germany under Hitler, France was forced to return to its traditional Eastern alliance, this time with Stalin’s Russia in 1935.

The U.S. was also sensitive to German power, and the Morgenthau Plan which proposed to “transform Germany into a potato field” was the axis of Roosevelt’s plans for post-war Europe. But when in the late 1940’s American imperialism determined upon restoring a strong Germany as a bulwark against the USSR, one of its major problems was reconciling France. In 1949-50, France opposed U.S.-British plans to end the occupation government and permit the reconstitution of a German bourgeois state apparatus. Paris opposed rearming Germany under any guise and the European Defense Community was voted down in the French National Assembly in 1953.

But Truman and Eisenhower set up the Federal Republic and West Germany was rearmed. However, stability in West Europe required that the French bourgeoisie have a degree of control over German industry and a share of German wealth. This was and remains the purpose of the Common Market. Through the European Coal and Steel Community, the embryo of the EEC, France was given some control over the Ruhr coal-steel complex, the key to the German armaments industry and source of cheap fuel for the steel mills of northern France.

The 1957 Treaty of Rome, which established the Common Market, deepened French-German economic ties. France obtained a massive subsidy for its agriculture, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), necessary to maintain the peasant electoral basis of the right-wing parties. In addition, Paris politicians insisted on keeping the EEC small and imposing stiff import duties against the rest of the world. German industrialists, represented by long-time Bonn economics minister Ludwig Erhard, objected to this “Little Europe” protectionism but were overruled by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, supported by Eisenhower and Dulles, for politico-strategic reasons.

Adenauer was not without bargaining power, however. In return for subsidizing French peasants and colonies, and limiting its trade with important markets like Britain and Scandinavia, Germany insisted on taking full advantage of its superior competitive strength within the EEC. Thus the Treaty of Rome is essentially a “liberal” capitalist agreement, preventing governments from seriously interfering with the free play of market forces.

For their part, U.S. leaders constantly stressed the importance of the Common Market as an integral part of the complex of alliances against the USSR. (In fact, it has recently been revealed that some of the early CIA-financed operations in Britain were organizations to promote the Common Market.) John F. Kennedy put the point clearly:

“The success of our foreign policy depends in large measure upon the

success of our foreign trade and our maintenance of Western political unity depends in equally large measure upon the degree of Western economic unity.” quoted in Krause, ed., *The Common Market, Progress and Controversy*

Walter Hallstein, first head of the EEC Commission (after serving as Adenauer’s foreign minister, responsible for diplomatically isolating East Germany until well into the 1960’s), agreed: “European integration is at present limited to economic subject matter, but potentially is a major contribution to the strength of the Free World. That... is the true link between the EEC and NATO” (*ibid.*).

A Sclerotic Imperialism Faces Europe

The French-German EEC was based on strategic political aims going beyond (and capable of overriding) short-term economic considerations. In contrast, Britain’s relation to the Common Market was essentially economic and governed by changing quantitative calculations. In this sense, the seemingly farcical haggling over the tariff on New Zealand cheddar cheese during the recent “renegotiations” truly reflected the Common Market debate in Britain.

Between the mid 1950’s and 1971, three main factors contributed to anti-Market forces in Britain. Sections of the bourgeoisie wanted to retain a trading pattern centered on the old Empire. The trade-union bureaucracy and Labour left feared that the free competition regime of the EEC would limit state interventions needed to prevent large-scale technological unemployment. And both British capital and labor felt the CAP as a deadweight loss, since the U.K. is the world’s largest net importer of food with a politically insignificant farm population.

The Commonwealth versus Common Market debate was won by the latter by default due to the catastrophic decline in strength of British capitalism during the 1960’s. Even with Britain out of the Common Market, the expansion of the West European economy shifted British trade with the EEC from 14 percent in 1958 to 24 percent in 1971 (*Economist*, 1 January 1972). Particularly after the 1967 devaluation of the pound, the “sterling area” became a bad joke. British sterling, 23 percent of world currency reserves in 1948, dropped to only 8 percent in 1969 (*Banker*, October 1971). By the beginning of this decade all significant sections of British capital were for entry into the Common Market.

While the deterioration of the economy strengthened pro-Market sentiment in the capitalist class, it strengthened opposition to the EEC in the labor movement. In general, Britain’s industrial plant is both technically obsolete and badly structured in terms of international comparative advantage. A free market cure for the “British disease” means large-scale technological unemployment (termed “redundancies” in the British labor movement). The union bureaucracy seeks to prevent redundancies through partial nationalizations, state subsidies and price manipulation/import duties (protectionism). The leading bodies of the EEC would certainly oppose this Labour reform program.

Wilson’s Deceit

In 1962 Harold Wilson opposed EEC entry, arguing it was incompatible with socialist economic planning. In 1967, Wilson’s government sought entry into the Common Market, failing only be-

cause of DeGaulle’s veto. In 1972, Wilson denounced the Tory entry for sacrificing British sovereignty to the “multinationals.” In 1975, the Wilson government supported, against a majority of the labor movement, Britain’s remaining in the Market.

No one can believe that the Labour Party leader has actually changed his mind on the Common Market three times. The puzzle disappears when one realizes that in 1962 and 1972, Labour was in opposition. Wilson’s anti-EEC stance was then both popular with the ranks and not the slightest obstacle to entry. The *real* policy of the Labour leadership, which is also the preferred policy of the British ruling class and the U.S. State Department, has for the past 15 years been pro-entry.

Even in 1972 it was evident that



Harold Wilson

Der Spiegel



Tony Benn

Marvin Lichtner

Wilson’s opposition to joining was phony. That year he and Labour leftist Tony Benn maneuvered the Labour Party conference to simply come out for “renegotiation” of the terms. (The TUC voted for straight opposition, an indication not of differences between the politicians and union leaders but the fact that the labor bureaucracy does not administer government directly and can therefore be more generous with its “principles.”) The renegotiations were a complete sham, their main achievement being a reduction of British contributions to the EEC budget by the insignificant sum of £125 million.

The core of the left Labour anti-Market line is stated in the Labour Party



1972 anti-Common Market demonstration.

research department's pamphlet, "The Common Market: In or Out?":

"Freed from the restraints of the Rome Treaty and its competition policy we shall be able to extend public ownership and advance toward socialism at a pace determined solely by the British people and their parliamentary democracy."

It is here that national sovereignty and reformist socialism merge; here is where Tony Benn and Enoch Powell join hands in celebrating 300 years of British parliamentary rule.

The EEC bureaucracy will certainly seek to curb widespread nationalizations, just as Wilson is now using the pro-Market vote as the occasion to reduce the influence of the Labour lefts in the government and party (most notably by dropping anti-Marketeer Benn from the post of Secretary of Industry). But to paraphrase Stalin's remark on the Pope, how many divisions does the Brussels Commission have? The EEC bureaucracy is intrinsically impotent. DeGaulle wiped his shoes with Commission documents, though this takes a few ounces of political courage and capacity, items noticeably absent among the Labour lefts.

Of course the Benns do not really believe that the Common Market threatens parliamentary sovereignty (nor do they really believe in parliamentary sovereignty). While opposing a weak imperialist alliance like the Common Market, the Labour left firmly supports the most powerful of counterrevolutionary alliances, the "Atlantic Alliance" (NATO). The organizing center of capitalist reaction in Europe is indeed located in Belgium, in the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Europe (SHAPE).

In supporting NATO, the Labour left reveals its own counterrevolutionary policies and the hypocrisy of its talk of a British road to socialism.

Because of the parliamentary cretinism and general cowardice of the Labour Party left wing, Britain's membership in the EEC would indeed tend to limit nationalizations and other state intervention to prevent redundancies. But while the union bureaucracy and Labour Party left wingers oppose the Common Market for this reason, their campaign is firmly ensconced in the framework of U.S.-designed anti-communist alliances, both military and economic.

International Socialists: Professional Tailism

In evaluating the anti-Market campaigns of the so-called "revolutionary left" in Britain, we start with the International Socialists (IS), the largest group to the left of the pro-Moscow Communist Party. The main thrust of the IS anti-EEC propaganda is similar to that of the major British centrist groups claiming to be Trotskyist—among them the Mandelite International Marxist Group (IMG), Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), Ted Grant's *Militant* group.

The IS position on the Common Market has been, to say the least, inconsistent. To be more precise, it has been consistent only with the changing attitudes of the left Labourite masses. In the early 1960's, some IS leaders favored entry while others opposed it. Predictably, a compromise was worked out:

abstention. When opposition to the EEC became a major theme of the Labour left in the late 1960's the IS opposed entry; but after Britain entered in 1973 the IS for some time failed to call for withdrawal.

These shifting positions indicate that the International Socialists regard British membership in the Common Market as neither a principled question nor particularly important. In fact, the main argument advanced by the IS is that the EEC is unpopular with the left wing of the labor movement:

"A NO vote, that is to say a defeat for big business, Tory, Liberal and rightwing Labour on this issue is in our interests. We are part of the left. We can no more abstain in the confrontation than we could abstain in last year's elections."

—*Socialist Worker*, 8 March

This abysmal tailism—the IS is mainly concerned about preserving its credentials as part of the left—is neither a principled nor an adequate reason to oppose British membership in the EEC. Moreover, it is no basis for any kind of serious attack on the Labour lefts. The only IS demand that exposes Tony Benn & Co. is the call for an end to common platforms with the Powellites and other Tories. This is correct and necessary. But what is primarily wrong with the Labour anti-Market campaign is not its "popular-front" tactics, but that it is fundamentally based on national parliamentary reformism and adherence to imperialist alliances. A genuinely revolutionary anti-Market campaign must aggressively link opposition to the EEC and all other imperialist alliances and expose the impotent reformism of the Labour left: "Out of the Common Market—Out of NATO! Expropriate the Bourgeoisie—For a Workers Government!"

Mandel's Common Market Fantasies

The International Marxist Group, British section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, does recognize the NATO connection:

"And for this very reason socialists must couple the demand for British withdrawal from the EEC with the demand that we get out of NATO and break off all such imperialist alliances."

—"No to the Capitalists' Common Market, For a United Socialist Europe"

But while this statement appears in a pamphlet receiving only limited distribution, the IMG's public anti-Market campaign, featuring a tour by Ernest Mandel, ignored the issue of imperialist alliances. An article in *Inprecor* (24 April) on the EEC referendum and the IMG's intervention mentions neither NATO, the U.S. or the USSR. Like the IS, the IMG's main slogans were simply abstract socialist propaganda quite harmless to social-democratic Labourism (IS: "Yes to a Socialist United States of Europe!" IMG: "For a United Socialist Europe!").

The IMG's campaign was somewhat distinctive in incorporating Mandel's theory that the Common Market is the embryo of a European super-state, which supposedly must be aborted before it achieves maturity. The EEC Council and Commission, warns the IMG pamphlet quoted above, "can make legally binding regulations.... The logic of these developments leads toward the creation of a European super-state." Mandel's theory is actually derived from his theory of "neo-capitalism": a European bourgeois state power is needed to coordinate Keynesian counter-cyclical policies across national boundaries:

"As soon as the EEC finds itself in the grips of a general recession... 'European' companies will therefore be forced to demand anti-recessionary policies on a 'European' scale. In other words, they will tend to demand that national governments lose their right to take decisions in critical areas of economic policy and hand these powers to the supranational authorities of the European Community."

—*Europe vs. America*, 1970

But today it is obvious to everyone that the EEC has done nothing in the way of counter-cyclical measures to counter and reverse the present depression. Two and a

half years ago, shortly after Britain, Ireland and Denmark entered the EEC, we predicted: "Such mergers will crumble along with the rest of Mandel's pipe dream... at the first general downturn, as all the European capitalists scurry back to their nation-states for self-protection from each other" ("Labor and the Common Market," *WV* No. 15, January 1973).

This prediction was fully vindicated in the sharp economic crisis of 1974 and early 1975. Italy and Denmark violated the most sacrosanct part of the Treaty of Rome by imposing tariffs on other Common Market members. France and Denmark are directly subsidizing their own farmers in direct violation of the CAP. France has recently physically stopped shipments of Italian wine. As Gaston Thorn, the premier of Luxembourg, put it: "What's left of the Community is an enlarged German customs union" (*Newsweek* [international edition], 23 September 1974).

Underlying Mandel's false prediction concerning the evolution of the EEC is an idealist conception of the state. State power is never simply an instrument carrying out the rational historic interests of the economically dominant class. It is composed of living men who defend their present power and privileges, even if this sometimes contradicts the historic interests of capitalism on a global scale.

Unification and subordination of competing bourgeois state apparatuses can be achieved only through force and threat of force. This was, after all, how the great national states were created in the nineteenth century. The objective need of the German, Italian and American bourgeoisies for a strong, centralized state was not realized through a gradual evolutionary process but through the wars of Bismarck, Cavour and Lincoln.

Where Mandel is wrong is not in believing there is an immanent tendency toward capitalist unification of Europe, but in believing that this can be realized by gradual, peaceful and bourgeois-democratic means. The tendency toward a unified European state power is nothing other than a tendency toward imperialist war, already experienced in 1914-18 and 1939-45. The creation of a capitalist European super-state can only be achieved through the methods of an Adolf Hitler, not those of a Paul Henri Spaak.

Against Abstention!

Two "Trotskyist" groups advocated abstention in the referendum: Workers Fight (WF), which has been a left-critical supporter of the United Secretariat in the past, and the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), which is distinguished by its peculiar theory of post-war capitalism and its academic orientation.

The main argument for abstention is that the Labourite anti-Market campaign is national-chauvinist. This view is summed up in the WF pamphlet, "The EEC: In or Out, The Fight Goes On": "The 'Get Britain Out' campaign has been fought in the way it was bound to be fought: boosting illusions in the importance of parliament... and boosting the kind of patriotic pride that would normally have brought hoots of laughter from a left wing audience."

The program of revolutionary Marxists is determined by the *objective historic interests* of world socialism, not by the attitude of a majority of the workers at any time. Frequently the masses support objectively retrogressive policies out of progressive motivation: for example, many among the Chilean masses who voted for Allende's popular front no doubt believed this was the road to socialism. The opposite also occurs, although less frequently, when mass support for a progressive measure partly reflects backward and even reactionary attitudes. But our policies must be based on objective considerations.

For example, would the WF have American revolutionists abstain on the

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NMU Chiefs Railroad Contract Deal

JUNE 17—Following the pattern of longshore automation pacts which for years have provided profit bonanzas to shipping companies, the leadership of the National Maritime Union (NMU)—representing about 14,000 unlicensed seamen mainly in East and Gulf Coast ports—has just signed a three-year contract that is certain to mean continued massive erosion of jobs in the industry. The reception from the membership has been far from enthusiastic, however. As we go to press, *WV* has learned that at least two ships arriving in the Port of New York have unanimously voted down the pact.

The terms include a 24 percent wage increase over three years, with half coming in the first year (obviously to induce the membership to approve the package), and for the first time there will be a cost-of-living escalator clause. However, the wage increase doesn't even make up for the ravages of inflation suffered by seamen during the life of the last contract (equivalent to a 25 percent pay cut). In addition, the c-o-l doesn't begin for a year and a half and provides for only two-thirds of the percentage increase in prices (calculated every six months). The ceiling on pensions is raised from \$300 to \$400, but the highest bracket is reserved for the most skilled "key ratings"; there is no improvement whatsoever for those with under 25 years' service. Inadequate improvements in medical benefits were also negotiated (while plans are afoot to close the Public Health Service marine hospitals).

A leaflet by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), a class-struggle opposition grouping in the union, points out that there are absolutely no provisions for job protection in the contract: "Not one word has been mentioned about *jobs* or *manning scales*! Items on *work rules* and *conditions* are totally omitted!" (*Beacon* supplement, 6 June). The Caucus also points out that all the "improvements" pale in comparison to soaring maritime company profits. Pointing to "the \$200 billion trade record in 1974," shipping interests spokesman James Reynolds predicted a trade surplus in 1975 and "unprecedented financial opportunities for all of us in the U.S. shipping industry" (*Journal of Commerce*, 3 March).

The financial "soundness" of the maritime industry is based on tremendous technological innovations in recent years such as containerization, large-carrying LASH ships, roll-on/roll-off ships and decreased travel time. As in longshore, this has led to dramatic increases in productivity, amounting to an average of 12 percent per year between 1965 and 1971 and predicted to go higher still in 1975.

But above all the shippers depend on the maritime labor leadership to prevent the kind of anti-capitalist struggle for more jobs and better wages and conditions at internationally uniform levels which alone could spread the benefits of

productivity advances to the workers. It is little wonder that Reynolds attributed the shipping companies' good fortune to the "increasing cooperation of maritime labor."

The policy of the NMU bureaucracy under Joseph Curran and his hand-picked successor Shannon Wall has not been to fight for jobs but to beg for favors—persuading shippers not to "run away" to foreign-flag bases in low-wage countries such as Panama and Liberia and pleading with Congress to enact protectionist legislation such as the Oil Import Quota Bill in order to promote U.S.-flag shipping. As a sweetener, NMU chiefs offer the companies manning-scale reductions, thereby giving up the jobs they are supposedly saving! With some ships already manned by as few as 17 unlicensed seamen, plans are being laid for ships with as few as eight. As a result of the union leaders' impotent class-collaborationist policies some 22,000 shipboard jobs, almost twice the present NMU deep-sea membership, were lost between 1960 and 1972 (*AFL-CIO American Federationist*, April 1973).

The NMU brass has attempted to ram through the contract with as little discussion as possible. (Actually the union constitution does not even require membership approval, so that presumably even a heavy "no" vote could be ignored by the tops—at their peril.) In the Port of New York members were given less than 48 hours to study the terms. According to seamen interviewed afterwards by *WV*, the contract meeting itself was a "railroad job." As soon as one speaker from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus had spoken against the pact, discussion was cut off and a vote taken.

The M-SC, which is increasingly recognized by officials and members alike as the real opposition group in the union, has presented the only concerted opposition to the contract. The Caucus demands a one-year contract, the right to strike, and a struggle for jobs through the "four-watch" system (shortening hours at no loss in pay). The group is organized around a full class-struggle program, including a call for a workers party and a workers government. Unlike the social-democratic "reformer" James Morrissey, the M-SC opposes the bureaucracy's protectionism and demands international organizing to equalize wages and conditions of seamen worldwide, the only real answer to "runaways."

Following the vote in the New York union hiring hall (it "passed" with the aid of Wall's strong-arm tactics), official union "patrolmen" have raised the contract for a vote in the special meetings that are held aboard each ship when it arrives in port. These seamen have not heard anything about the pact when the patrolmen come on board, and a number of crews have been angered by the fact that the contract was already rammed through in the port meeting.

Generally union officials are able to get a desultory "yes" vote for their motions

after one-sided presentations in such shipboard meetings. However, according to a *Beacon* supplement distributed this morning outside the union hall, in recent days M-SC oppositionists visited two ships before the contract vote was taken. Despite the fact that Caucus members were not present at the meetings (run by the NMU officials), both of these ships—the Mormac Altair and the LASH Italia—voted *unanimously* to reject the contract.

These votes are clear indications of what would happen if members were permitted to hear both sides and discuss the contract thoroughly. Not surprisingly, then, union officials have tried to squelch opposition by blatantly undemocratic means. Returning to the Altair and Italia after the voting, M-SC members were ordered off by ships' officers who had been summoned by the union patrolmen, despite requests by crew members that they be allowed to stay. The Caucus is vigorously protesting this use of company officers to "sanitize" internal union discussion by removing opponents of the bureaucracy.

The opportunist Morrissey has not even opened his mouth about the contract. He has never taken an interest in fighting inside the union, preferring the capitalist courts and the pages of anti-labor newspapers such as the *New York Times* as his "battlegrounds." Morrissey has reportedly not been seen since winning a court case against the union earlier this year in which he was awarded \$303,500, of which \$103,500 is payable to him directly from the union treasury. The M-SC denounces the use of the courts and government against the union as an attack on the independence of the workers movement from the class enemy and as being no different than the bureaucracy's reliance on management and cops against the opposition.

NMU seamen need not fight alone. The Seafarers International Union (SIU), representing an equal number of seamen and involved in merger talks with the Wall regime earlier this year, has just ratified a new contract; the West Coast ILWU longshoremen's contract expires just two weeks after the June 15 NMU deadline; Boston ILA longshoremen are still out in a local strike; and Canadian East Coast dockers have recently been forced back to work by government strikebreaking legislation. Yet none of these unions' misleaders have done anything to truly unite maritime workers in struggle against the companies.

The bureaucracies' automation deals have caused seamen and longshoremen to suffer some of the worst job losses of any industry in North America and the new NMU contract is one more step down the same road. Only the internationalist program of groups like the Militant-Solidarity Caucus points toward another road—to victory in the class struggle and the elimination of capitalist exploitation. ■



Militant-Solidarity Caucus leafletting against bureaucrats' sellout contract at New York NMU hall this month.

Imperialists Retrench

(continued from page 1)

days of the Chinese deformed workers state would be numbered.

The East Is Not Quite Red

The servile treachery of the Stalinists of all stripes is not limited to licking the boots of powerful imperialists. Any two-bit dictator or pro-American "democrat" will do. And while the rout of the utterly rotten Thieu and Lon Nol regimes in Indochina could easily have resulted in a revolutionary upsurge throughout Southeast Asia, this is *not* occurring—thanks to the efforts of Peking and Hanoi to prove their utter lack of proletarian internationalism.

In Rangoon unrest has recently broken out among students and workers protesting against the Burmese military strongman Ne Win. This "anti-imperialist" petty tyrant is "building socialism" on the basis of anti-communism, extensive graft and the construction of golf courses (a game he greatly enjoys). He is, however, "open" to Peking, which in turn controls the Burmese Communist Party and the guerrilla movement it leads. The one-strong BCP has recently suffered repeated serious, if not fatal, defeats. In analyzing the causes of Ne Win's success, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (23 May) concludes that the BCP's "one mistake was its subservience to a foreign power—China—from which it hoped to garner military aid."

In North Korea, meanwhile, the great exponent of *juche* (self-reliance), Kim Il Sung, is anxious to apply pressure against the despised and increasingly isolated Pak regime in the South. However, worried about the precarious position of its man in Seoul, the U.S. has been rattling its rockets frequently and loudly ("tactical" nuclear weapons are ready for use there against "northern invaders"). When the North Korean leader made a pilgrimage to see Chou En-lai this spring, in hopes of getting a guarantee of military backing against the U.S., he came back empty-handed. The *Economist* (24 May) reported that "the Chinese sent Mr. Kim home from Peking last month with the flea of 'peaceful unification' in his ear."

Even in the sugar republic of the Philippines the victories of Indochinese insurgents have made an impact, in combination with protests against corruption at home and a Moslem separatist movement. This has led the most servile of all American lackies, Ferdinand Marcos, to seek alliances with the USSR and China as a bulwark against social revolution. Both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists have responded with declarations of undying friendship.

The pro-Moscow Philippine Communist Party and its guerrilla front, the Hukbalahap, have since last October liquidated all armed struggle for the first time in 30 years, thus permitting the government to focus its repressive actions exclusively on the Moslem rebels. As a result, the CP was granted legal status, in return for which it immediately offered to avoid "any personal anti-Marcos stance" since some features of his rule are now found to be "positive" and "worthy of support" (*Daily World*, 25 October 1974). Not to be outdone in this contest of seeing who can grovel the most ignominiously before whatever inconsequential imperialist stooge, Peking feted the entire Marcos family in the Great Hall of the People!

From the Authors of Chile and Indonesia

For every honeyed phrase of "détente" the working masses must pay with blood and tremendous suffering. When Moscow and Peking pushed through the 1954 Geneva agreement on Indochina—and Ho Chi Minh accepted it, despite the overwhelmingly favorable military situa-

tion of the Viet Minh—this meant literally *millions* of deaths of Vietnamese workers and peasants and another 20 years of struggle to expel the imperialists. Even scant hours before marching into Saigon and Plinom Penh the Stalinists were still trying to set up coalition governments in an effort to avoid taking power in their own name. But they found nobody to coalesce with, as the extremely weak and servile bourgeoisie preferred to flee with its imperialist masters.

There is nothing particularly new in all this. The current abject submission of the Portuguese CP to the Armed Forces Movement only mirrors the action of the French and Italian Stalinist leaders following World War II, when they entered governments of "national union" and ordered CP-led resistance movements to turn in their arms; when the bourgeoisie had sufficiently stabilized the situation, the Communists were unceremoniously dumped from the ruling coalitions.

Nor are there substantial differences between the several Stalinist bureaucracies. The pro-Moscow Communist Party paved the way for the bloody 1973 Chilean coup with its popular-front policies of confidence in the "democratic" bourgeoisie and "constitutional" officers. Fidel added his blessings to this "peaceful road to socialism," telling Chilean copper miners to work harder and demand less. While the Maoists generally posture to the left of Brezhnev's acolytes, by their policies of support for the nationalist Sukarno the Peking bureaucrats were instrumental in lulling the revolutionary will of the Indonesian masses and thereby preparing the massacre of hundreds of thousands of militant peasants and workers in 1965.

The imperialists have suffered an important defeat, but one battle is not the war. As inter-imperialist rivalries prepare the way to a new imperialist war, the bourgeoisie is still capable of plunging

humanity into a nuclear holocaust in order to preserve its oppressive rule. The course of world history continues to hinge on the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

Repeatedly it has been shown that it is above all the class-collaborationist policy of the misleaders of the workers movement which permits a historically bankrupt social system to retrench. The urgent task of revolutionaries throughout the world is to forge a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution, capable of defeating the Stalinist bureaucrats and mobilizing the proletarian masses for the conquest of power. Such a party must be steeled in the fight against all manner of reformist illusions and can only be built through relentless exposure of the betrayals perpetrated by the Brezhnevs, Maos, Ho Chi Minhs and Castros.

The fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," however, has exactly the opposite perspective. By tailing after such counterrevolutionary fakers, apologizing for and covering up their crimes, the USec hopes to bask in their popularity and seduce unwary left Stalinists. In Portugal this has meant supporting the Communist Party's drive to impose state control on the unions, voting for the CP despite its presence in a blatantly class-collaborationist coalition "government" and deepening illusions in the "progressive" wing of the Armed Forces Movement.

In Vietnam the USec (or at least its European majority, led by Ernest Mandel) goes even farther, labelling the Vietnamese Stalinists "revolutionaries" and hailing "the first victorious 'permanent revolution' since the victory of the Cuban revolution" (*Inprecor*, 8 May 1975). Nowhere do they even mention the massacre of thousands of Vietnamese Trotskyists by the followers of Ho Chi Minh in 1945-47!

The rout of the bourgeoisie in Indochina is attributed by Mandel & Co. to a "new rise of world revolution":

"...the counterrevolution has shown itself incapable of halting the Indochinese revolution, notably as a result of the political autonomy of its leaderships, an autonomy that is itself conferred by the strength of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses."

—"General Political Resolution" of the USec "Tenth World Congress," *Intercontinental Press*, 23 December 1974

In a recent commentary on the world situation following the taking of Saigon, USec gnome Pierre Frank goes even farther, alleging that "for the moment" a "shift in the worldwide relationship of forces between the classes, especially in the major imperialist countries themselves" has made it "politically and socially impossible for imperialism to take the initiative again" (*Inprecor*, 8 May).

This dangerous objectivism is nothing but an excuse for the USec's decisive abandonment of the Trotskyist perspective of building an authentic revolutionary leadership. It is the same reasoning which in the early 1950's led Mandel and Frank to conclude that European Stalinist parties could no longer betray, and that the job of revolutionists was therefore to make a "deep entry" into these parties in order to pressure them to the left. Though the sets change—from Tito to Castro to Ho Chi Minh—the script is the same: tailing after non-proletarian leaderships who because of a "new world reality" are miraculously able to substitute for the conscious Trotskyist vanguard.

This capitulationist policy led to the organizational destruction of the Fourth International and time and again has sacrificed the development of potential revolutionary militants for the fools' gold of a short-cut to achieving mass influence. Only by politically defeating such Pabloist liquidationism can the Fourth International be reformed and the road opened to extend the conquests of the anti-capitalist revolutions in Vietnam, Cambodia and elsewhere, through political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states and social revolution in the capitalist countries. ■

U.S. Refuses to Admit Reds

Open the Borders to All Persecuted Chilean Refugees!



Workers' Power

Chacabuco, one of the main torture centers and concentration camps of the bloody Chilean junta.

The U.S. government has announced it is prepared to admit into the country political refugees from Chile. Having successfully relocated tens of thousands of Vietnamese reactionaries in a few weeks' time, the State Department has deigned to turn its attention to the question of asylum for victims of the Chilean military junta—a problem which has been "under discussion" since 1973! The reason for the delay, we are informed, is that the U.S. "did not wish to encumber its relations with the Santiago government" of General Pinochet. We can be sure that should the Chilean workers follow the example of the Indochinese masses and overthrow the reactionary butchers who rule in Santiago, asylum for the fugitives from a Chilean revolutionary regime would be far more speedily effected by the American government.

Lest domestic right-wingers should misunderstand, Assistant Secretary of State William D. Rogers, in "secret" testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, explained that "Chilean prisoners would be screened to assure that no Communists were admitted" (*New York Times*, 14 June). This little precaution is undoubtedly responsible for the fact that *only 19 Chileans* have been admitted into the U.S. since the coup! Chilean workers are, virtually to a man, associated with one or another "socialist" organization. Small wonder that among the many thousands of Chilean militants who have been savagely beaten, starved and tortured by the junta, only a handful can be found who are deemed worthy of asylum by the "humanitarians" of the U.S. government.

While the Hitler-lovers, opium dealers and black marketeers from Saigon are welcomed into the U.S. with open arms, our class brothers from Chile are to be refused refuge. For U.S. revolutionaries and class-conscious workers this cannot be a matter of indifference. Return the Vietnamese reactionaries to liberated Saigon—Open the borders to the persecuted victims of the Chilean junta!

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UNC Backs Busing...

(continued from page 5)

defending black people. An effective answer has, however, been provided by UAW Local 6, at an International Harvester plant outside Chicago, which set up a union defense guard to protect a black member's house that had been fire-bombed by racists.

The motion for labor/black defense in Local 6 was put forward by a class-struggle opposition group, the Labor Struggle Caucus (see *WV* No. 67, 25 April). However, a number of opportunist radical groups have tried to falsely take credit for the Local 6 action and cover up the action (or inaction) of their own supporters. The IS' *Workers' Power* (24 April-7 May) reprinted the entire LSC motion without indicating who put it forward. The June issue of the OL's *Call* blatantly lied, claiming that the Chicago Workers Solidarity Committee organized the defense guard and got the motion passed. Actually, this group has no supporters in the plant, had nothing to do with the resolution and has refused to deal with the Local committee in charge of the defense guard.

Consequently, when a motion for labor/black defense was raised at the end of yesterday's conference, Jack Weinberg, leader of the IS-backed wing and its representative on the UNC executive board, found it impossible to let the motion die for lack of support from a UNC member. To do so would have been too compromising even for these professional social-democratic compromisers.

It was not one of the UNC "radicals" who introduced the motion but Keith Dodds of the Dearborn Assembly Unit of Ford Local 600. Dodds was recently a candidate in Local elections, where he ran for unit president on a class-struggle program including support to busing and labor/black defense. Like the Labor Struggle Caucus of Local 6, which had an observer at the conference and presented a motion condemning the "Buy American" protectionism to which the UNC capitulates, Dodds is not a member of the UNC because, he says, it is "an unprincipled swamp" whose main aim is to put a new clique of bureaucrats in office.

Since the UNC executive board, to which the motion was referred, is dominated by the bureaucratic elements who tried to duck the issue, *Workers Vanguard* may be the only paper to print the motion for which the auto workers' group has nominally gone on record:

"Whereas the racist right wing forces have made the anti-busing campaign their focal point seeking to drive back even the limited gains of black people, and

"Whereas working class unity can be achieved only by the most militant defense of minorities' rights to equality in jobs, housing and education which can only be achieved by labor struggle for integration, and

"Whereas busing represents at least a minimal step towards integration of the schools; and

"Whereas the anti-working-class forces of repression—police, national guard, and federal troops—cannot be relied on to protect black people against vicious racist attacks,

"Therefore be it resolved that this meeting of the UNC commits itself to a broad united front mobilization for: 1) defense of busing; 2) extension of busing to the relatively more privileged and largely white suburban schools; 3) a fight to make the UAW take leadership and responsibility for the formation of city-wide defense guards based on the UAW, other labor unions, black and community organizations to ward off and defeat racist violence against blacks and all school children."

Weinberg insisted that this motion be discussed and voted upon, although it could have been "safely" ignored. This sent the bureaucratic leaders into a frenzy, using every kind of underhanded argument and baiting against their radical "allies." Sims, who is black, race-baited Weinberg by claiming he was sick of guilty white liberals who "stick their

noses halfway into our business." Calling Dodds a hypocrite for proposing a motion to a group he disagreed with, Sims castigated Weinberg for backing the motion of "that Johnny-come-lately from Ford's." "You make me sick, Jack," he raged at Weinberg. "You make me sick."

Fox, Sims and Kelley sought to prevent the motion from passing primarily by accusing Weinberg and his supporters of hypocrisy rather than by outright opposition. But it was the substance they objected to. A serious mobilization by the UNC to promote UAW-organized labor/black defense would endanger their bureaucratic positions, leading to an all-out battle with the gang in Solidarity House which the UNC is neither willing nor able to fight. The radical faction, on the other hand, is increasingly feeling pressure because the rightward drift of the UNC leadership is becoming more pronounced while the group's popularity stagnates or dwindles.

With such fundamental issues as seniority/preferential layoffs and labor/black defense wrenching apart the already tattered UNC coalition, official proposals coming from yesterday's conference, notably a campaign for a special UAW convention to combat unemployment, are doomed to limited life-expectancy. It remains to be seen if the fractured and squabbling UNC will use its position as the largest UAW opposition group in Detroit to implement the labor/black defense resolution it has so tenuously adopted. ■

Boston Teachers' Union Election

(continued from page 5)

during which it could plan further sabotage of desegregation.

In the BTU election held on June 4 the convergence of liberals and racists was underscored by the banal campaign statements of the candidates. While a number of candidates referred ominously to "challenges," "problems," "turmoil," and other synonyms for busing, none presented the semblance of a program or openly discussed their position in campaign literature. From George McGrimley, a successful Executive Board candidate who opposes busing unconditionally, to Robinson, the new President who favors "metropolitan integration" but wants to derail integration in Boston itself, all the candidates stood on various combinations of "integrity, experience, loyalty" and other modified versions of the Boy Scout oath.

The only notable exception to this pattern was a high school teacher named Robert Pearlman, who ran in several delegate elections. Pearlman has a good record of challenging the racist policies of the Local 66 leadership. He has introduced a number of motions over the year supporting busing as a minimal step toward equal education and calling for the formation of integrated defense committees based on the unions and black organizations (labor/black defense) to protect black school children. He also fought the BTU bureaucracy's complicity with city attempts to force a rotten contract on the union through foot-dragging arbitration and renegotiations to whittle down even the meager 9.5 percent salary increase recommended by government mediators. (Local 66 has gone through the entire year without signing a new contract.) This militant teacher was the only candidate to attack the insipid and racist "professionalism" of reactionaries who proposed segregating the aides in a separate unit of the union.

Pearlman's campaign for delegate to the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers; AFT and AFL-CIO conventions and the Greater Boston Labor Council centered on busing, the key question which all the other candidates sought to ignore, and on the social service cutbacks

and projected layoffs of public employees. His election statement, which included a broad program for class-struggle unionism and independent political action, stressed the organic connection between the democratic rights of black people and the gains of organized labor:

"The racist anti-busing ROAR forces must be defeated! While today that movement is directed against the rights of black people, tomorrow it will line up with their friends on the School Committee against the BTU and the entire labor movement. The anti-black, anti-semitic, anti-labor scum of the Nazis and the Klan have come to Boston to feed on and encourage this movement. It is the elementary duty of the BTU to defend the democratic rights of black people for equality in education, to defend citywide busing and its extension into the suburbs, and to initiate a defense of black school children against racist attacks.

"...The BTU and AFT must forge ties of solidarity with state workers, welfare recipients, oppressed minorities and all sections of the labor movement—otherwise this union will find itself isolated and defenseless when our rights and livelihood come under attack."

Pearlman's program also opposed government intervention into union affairs, calling for union control of hiring and transfers, improved schools and desegregation implemented by worker-student-teacher committees. He called for dumping the class-collaborationist Shanker/Meany union bureaucracy and the building of a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. While the BTU bureaucrats have clearly indicated their intention to allow layoffs of aides, provisional and non-tenured teachers (those with less than three years' seniority) in return for paper assurances against layoffs of tenured teachers, Pearlman's program called for strikes against layoffs and reduced class size and teacher load at full pay to provide jobs for all.

In an election where the new black union members, alienated by the policies of the bureaucrats, generally did not vote, Pearlman finished at or near the bottom of the list for the various delegate positions. He did succeed, however, in winning an average of 150 votes for each post, was elected delegate to the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers convention and came within eleven votes of election to the state AFL-CIO convention. This small block of votes in support of a clear anti-capitalist program is an important beginning. As the economic crisis eats away at all the past gains of the union and as the policies of the BTU leadership feed the racial conflicts that are tearing the Boston schools apart, a class-struggle opposition must be built in the union which is capable of giving the leadership and program for working-class unity that the present racist and defeatist bureaucracy is incapable of providing. ■

Britain and the Common Market

(continued from page 7)

question of Vietnamese refugees (accurately described by a State Department official as "the rich, prostitutes and killers") because much of the opposition to them reflected chauvinist prejudice and outright racism? The Spartacist League/U.S. did no such thing. We opposed asylum for Indochinese counterrevolutionaries, while criticizing the chauvinist component of the widespread opposition to Marshall Ky and his friends.

The other main argument for abstention is that the anti-Market campaign was a diversion from real class struggle. Thus the RCG writes: "A brief inspection of the left-reformists has shown that they divert the attention of the working-class away from the real issues facing it—issues such as unemployment and inflation—into the thoroughly bourgeois arena of the EEC 'debate'" (*Revolutionary Communist* No. 2). This view of the "real issues" facing the working class is thoroughly economist. Apparently Britain's imperialist alliances are purely a question for the bourgeoisie. Does even NATO qualify as a "real issue" for the RCG?



L'Express

British Tory leader Margaret Thatcher at pro-EEC rally.

To be sure, it might be preferable for the TUC and the left wing of the Labour Party to mobilize against the "social compact" (state wage control), for extensive nationalizations or for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. But sometimes important class battles are fought over secondary, though principled, questions. Jules Guesde and his wing of the French Socialist Party (except for Paul Lafargue) considered the Dreyfus affair—the victimization of a Jewish officer of the general staff in the 1890's—to be a monstrous "diversion," and therefore abstained. But the Dreyfus "diversion" led to the brink of a rightist coup and possible civil war.

Communist tactics do not consist in waiting for the "perfect issue." On the contrary, Leninists seek to use every major political struggle to attack the ruling class and reformist misleaders of the workers movement. No one can deny that the EEC referendum was a major split between the capitalists and the workers movement, as well as between the right and left wings of the workers movement.

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Portuguese Maoists...

(continued from page 12)

arrests was the discovery, by militants of the MRPP and soldiers sympathetic to it, of evidence that an official in the general staff of the armed forces was involved in the counterrevolutionary attempted coup on March 11. After interrogating a suspect (a marine) for two days, the Movement turned him over to soldiers of the First Light Artillery Regiment (RAL-1), also known as the "red regiment" because of the influence of the MRPP among its soldiers. (RAL-1 was the object of the reactionaries' military action on March 11 and one of its soldiers was killed by the plotters.) The regiment set up a commission of inquiry to try the suspect, but COPCON forces arrived to take him away by force (*Le Monde*, 6 June).

There is in fact considerable unrest among the rank-and-file Portuguese soldiers and sailors, who are without influence in the MFA. Far from representing in any way a body similar to the soldiers' committees in the Russian Revolution, the Armed Forces Movement represents the officer corps of a bourgeois army. No amount of "leftist" or "socialist" rhetoric will change its character as a bourgeois formation. One of the principal tasks of revolutionaries in Portugal, as we have insisted for over a year, is the formation of *soldiers committees* as a step toward the destruction of this military arm of the capitalist class. This, in turn, requires a sharp struggle against the MFA which must seek above all to maintain discipline in the ranks—its only source of power.

The tremendous popularity which this slogan could arouse was indicated by an incident last last year when cadets at an infantry school in the town of Mafra saw the Russian film "Battleship Potemkin." Following the film they drew up a list of demands for better food, freedom of assembly and discussion; when eight of the militants were arrested, 400 of the cadets went on strike. The "Mafra revolt" was violently condemned by the MFA as "a veritable crime against the esprit de corps, the cohesion and discipline" of the armed forces (*Rouge*, 10 January). Unfortunately, the MRPP (which

reportedly has influence in some army and navy units) has not attempted to organize such soldiers committees, but rather seeks to build only cells of its sympathizers in the military.

More generally, the MRPP has been under attack by the MFA leaders because it is one of the few groups to declare openly that the Armed Forces Movement is a bourgeois enemy of the working masses.

"The neo-revisionist grouplets, with their opportunist policy of 'being on the side of the MFA as long as the MFA sides with the people,' in addition to rejecting... the essence of Marxist theory—namely the scientific theory of the state and the role of the bourgeois armed forces—crawl on all fours in front of the 'progressive officers,' imploring them to provide leadership and reject... the Leninist thesis that the working class must exercise hegemony in the revolution."

—Luta Popular, 23 May

Compared to groups like the Socialist Left Movement (MES), which is constantly explaining in its press that its slogans really are 100 percent in line with the MFA's program (even when they aren't), or the "Trotskyist" LCI which has called on the "progressive" officers to join the workers, this clear statement is a breath of fresh air. The MRPP is one of the few groups whose militants have not been educated in cowardly grovelling before the MFA's threats. Consequently it is frequently denounced by more "mainstream" Maoists (e.g., the *Guardian's* Wilfred Burchett) for sectarianism (*Guardian*, 30 April). To be sure, the MRPP is indeed sectarian (refusing to undertake joint demonstrations with other left groups, even in their own defense) and has engaged in many adventurist actions (such as kidnapping soldiers being sent to Africa last May). But the MRPP draws the ire of the *Guardian* at bottom, not for its mistakes, but for its leftist impulse to oppose the bourgeois MFA. And that is more than one can say of most of the Portuguese "far left."

But while the Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party is quite left within the Maoist spectrum—particularly these days, as these erstwhile "left" opponents of the pro-Moscow Stalinists dutifully fall into line behind NATO—it has nonetheless failed entirely to break with its Stalinist heritage. (The MRPP is, in fact, aggressively pro-Stalin, denying that he ever made *any* mistakes.) It claims that "revolution is on the order of the day" and the "dominant class is now unable to govern," but at the same time "the working class is not yet in a condition to take power."

"In the case of Portugal, the actual phase of the revolution is the Democratic and Popular Revolution and not, as the Trotskyists and other opportunists would have it, already the phase of socialist revolution."

—Luta Popular, 6 June 1974

With this line, the MRPP cannot provide a clear class opposition to the MFA. It is constrained by the "logic" of its politics to look for an alternative alliance with bourgeois forces for the first stage of the two-stage revolution. And while it is looking in vain, the lash of counterrevolution will fall on it and the class-conscious workers it *refuses* to organize for proletarian revolution. This is the road to abject defeat, comrades.

Right Maoists Capitulate to MFA

There are a number of right-Maoist groups in Portugal, among them the Party of Popular Unity (PUP) and the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), an electoral bloc of three smaller groups. Both the PUP and UDP campaign exclusively on "democratic" slogans, favor a broad unity for "Marxist-Leninists" and in general are in no way to the left of the Moscow-line Stalinists. Typical of the attitude of the right-Maoists toward the MFA was that taken by the UDP toward the pact endorsing the bonapartist role of the officers' movement. It was up to the MFA to choose: "...either you defend the interests of the proletariat fighting against the bourgeoisie or you defend the interests of

capital fighting against the working masses.... Either you play on one side or another" (*Diário de Notícias*, 7 April).

The largest of the right-Maoist groups is the Portuguese Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (PCP-ML). Like the MRPP, the PCP-ML has run afoul of the MFA on several occasions, notably when several union leaders who are members of its labor front group, the Worker-Peasant Alliance (AOC), were arrested by COPCON troops in early March. The AOC was also thrown off the ballot in the April elections by the officers. Its reaction, however, has been exactly the opposite of the MRPP. In the elections the PCP-ML called for a vote to the social-democratic SP, and shortly afterwards the AOC, in a cravenly class-collaborationist move, announced it would request that the MFA let it sign the pact (*Diário de Notícias*, 28 April).

Another key issue in Portugal is the question of NATO. All the Maoist groups in one way or another denounce NATO, this being necessary in order to maintain any kind of credibility with the masses. The attitude of the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking is quite different, however. "We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle" against "superpower control" said Chou En-lai to the Chinese National People's Congress earlier this year (*New York Times*, 8 February).

In Portugal the group which has hewed most closely to this Chinese line of de facto support for NATO is the PCP-ML, which states: "German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism..." (*Unidade Popular*, 16 January 1975). This is interesting in light of the recent trip to China by leaders of the MRPP and the PCP-ML, to negotiate over who should get the official Maoist franchise for Portugal. Apparently the PCP-ML got the nod, for *Hsinhua Weekly* of 19 May reprints excerpts from *Unidade Popular* which "urges the European countries and people to get prepared against a war which the two superpowers may unleash." This is the first time that the Chinese have mentioned any Portuguese group in their news agency dispatches.

For a Trotskyist Party in Portugal

The Portuguese Maoists are caught in a dead-end. Every move to the left of the PCP must bring them into conflict with the Armed Forces Movement. The MRPP responds with impotent adventurism and sectarianism; the PCP-ML and the rest of the right-Maoist coterie respond by capitulating to the MFA's threats. Neither are able to mobilize the mass of the militant workers around their class interests because this does not fit into the class-collaborationist schema of "popular-democratic revolution."

The Maoists can denounce the MFA as a representative of imperialist interests, but so long as they are tied to the interests

of the parasitic bureaucracy which commands the Chinese deformed workers state, they will be unable to separate themselves from the imperialists. To take a simple case in point: not one Portuguese Maoist organization has demanded independence for the colony of Macao. The reason is simple: when MFA officials visited Peking last month, the Chinese *opposed* the return of this center of the international opium trade to China, just as they have consistently favored the maintenance of the British "crown colony" of Hong Kong. Submitting to the dictates of such narrow, nationalist bureaucracies means to renounce all pretense of proletarian internationalism.

To find a way out of this dead-end, aspiring revolutionists among the Maoist groups must directly confront the Trotskyist bogey they fear so much. Without the Trotskyist perspective for proletarian revolution they cannot hope to prepare class-conscious workers to defeat the attacks by the military.

—Down with Press Censorship! Down with the Anti-Strike Law! Down with the Trade-Union Regulation Law! Down with the Anti-Democratic Laws of Associations and Parties!

—Immediate Independence for Angola! Portugal Out of NATO!

—For the Formation of Democratically Elected Factory Committees! For Soldiers Committees in the Army and Navy! Toward a National Council of Workers Commissions, Factory Committees and Soldiers Committees!

—Expropriate Industry, Finance and Large Landholdings—No Compensation!

—Break with the Bourgeois Parties and the MFA—For a PCP/SP Government! Toward a Workers Government Based on Democratically Elected Workers Councils (Soviets)!

—Break with Maoist Class Collaboration! Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

CIA...

(continued from page 2)

feller report. It is a question of imperialism itself.

All the congressional committees like the Rockefeller Commission have one objective—to streamline the CIA in order to avoid further exposures. So the CIA's important friends have begun an anti-red campaign hoping to protect it from more exposure and claiming the spy agency is needed to defend against the "Communist bloc." Some members of the House investigative committee are now trying to scuttle its work on the grounds that the committee has been "taken over" by those unconcerned with "national security," etc. Averell Harriman said that the Soviet intelligence and secret police outfit, the KGB, must be "dancing with glee." To the extent that exposures of the CIA make it more difficult for the CIA to carry out its filthy work, revolutionaries the world over can also applaud.

Capitalist politicians certainly will not fully expose—much less dismantle—the murderous, anti-communist covert operations required by the imperialist foreign policy they shape and administer. Fostering no illusions in the present three-ring cover-up, communists demand a ruthless, thorough investigation including those areas which never seem to be examined: We demand to know the full story of the assassination of Malcolm X, the counterrevolutionary terror campaigns in Indochina and U.S. subversion of trade unions around the world. We demand that all "classified" CIA/FBI/Pentagon documents and files be disclosed fully in open televised hearings and that all criminals thus exposed be prosecuted.

Only the victorious proletarian revolution which smashes the capitalist state can sweep away the CIA, a justly despised instrument of imperialist tyranny. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Free the MRPP 500!

Dead End for Portuguese Maoists



MRPP militants and soldier supporters demonstrate at Light Artillery Regiment No. 1 in Lisbon following defeat of March 11 reactionary putsch. Luta Popular

JUNE 16 Following sham elections for a phony "constituent assembly" on April 25, the first anniversary of the overthrow of the rightist Salazar, Caetano dictatorship, the political situation in Portugal remains chaotic and without direction. The leftist leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) want to play a role "above" the classes, arbitrating between competing political factions while imposing order and discipline. But there is not the slightest consensus among the officers on what policies to impose. The MFA continues to oscillate sharply in its day-to-day conduct, first attacking and then conciliating the Socialists, at one moment nationalizing various important trusts and on the day after guaranteeing private property. In the prevailing atmosphere of confusion, a new right-wing coup attempt from within the armed forces is possible at any moment.

The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) has banked everything on being the most unconditional supporter of the MFA, yet it is under heavy pressure from its proletarian base to move against the bourgeoisie. Their weak electoral

strength clearly shown in the elections (where the PCP received 13.9 percent and its petty-bourgeois satellite, the MDP, won 4.3 percent of the total vote), the Stalinists must repeatedly take to the streets to demonstrate their continued ability to mobilize masses of workers at crucial moments. At the same time, the PCP has sought to use the state against its left opponents, having Maoists arrested and militant unions put under military control. On several occasions it has itself directly assumed the role of cop and strikebreaker.

Above all, there is in Portugal today no clear-sighted Marxist leadership capable of exposing the PCP's treacherous role as the guardian of capitalism and of drawing to its banners the most advanced elements of the several tens of thousands of class-conscious militants who place themselves to the left of the PCP. Widespread syndicalist sentiment in the factories is reinforced by workerist groups, while the Maoists wander aimlessly, unable to unite due to bureaucratic organizational squabbles and incapable, because of their Stalinist ideology, of taking a consistent class stand against the bourgeois MFA.

While the situation cries out for an aggressive policy of revolutionary regroupment through putting forward a sharp programmatic alternative to the treacheries of the present misleaders and the lack of a coherent perspective on the part of the many smaller leftist groups, the main "Trotskyist" organization in Portugal, the Internationalist Communist League (I.C.I., a sympathizing group of the "United Secretariat"), insists on acting as a totally impotent and inconsequential left cover for the PCP and "progressive officers."

Institutionalizing Bonapartism

The April 25 elections only demonstrated the existence of a confused "moderate" majority. The largest vote totals were received by the Socialist Party (SP), the most right-wing of the workers parties, with 41.5 percent, and the "liberal" capitalist People's Democratic Party (PPD), with 28.8 percent. (Both the SP and PPD refer to themselves as social-democratic and work as a mini-coalition.) Two left-socialist groups, the FSP and MES, together received 2.4 percent; three right-Maoist groups won 88,000 votes, or 2.1 percent, between them; and the LCI got 13,000 votes or about 0.3 percent (*Diário de Notícias*, 28 April).

Ignoring the election results, the MFA is continuing its attempt to institutionalize a bonapartist position for itself. The main content of the "constitution" to be worked out by the "constituent assembly"—conceding power to the officers for a "transition period" of three to five years—was already laid down in the so-called MFA/parties pact signed in early April. Some of the more "militant" MFA leaders, however, are now talking of junking the parties altogether and setting up "Cuban-style" committees for the defense of the revolution directly linking the masses to the armed forces.

An important confrontation over the role of the parties and Armed Forces Movement came with the closing of the newspaper *República* in late May. A bourgeois paper with an SP editor, *República* was originally shut down by its CP-led printers who objected to an article concerning confrontations between the Socialists and Communists on May Day. The MFA then moved in, occupied the premises and officially closed the paper pending court settlement of the "labor dispute." Marxists must oppose such arbitrary restrictions of freedom of the press by the bourgeois state, even if the newspaper in question is a capitalist

paper. The same laws used to repress bourgeois opposition (even when it is more rightist than a left-leaning regime), will be used against socialists and the workers movement with infinitely greater ferocity. (As a result of protests by the SP, *República* was reopened earlier this month.)

The most dramatic expression of the MFA's determination to preserve capitalist "law and order," however, came with the massive arrests of 500 militants of the left-Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), the largest political party in the country to the left of the PCP. In coordinated

RALLY AND PICKET LINE

*Free the MRPP
Political Prisoners!
Full Democratic Rights
for the Portuguese
Workers Movement!*

**Saturday, June 21
12 noon**

**PORTUGUESE CONSULATE
3298 Washington Street
SAN FRANCISCO**

Sponsor:
Committee to Free the MRPP 500



Portuguese President General Costa Gomes greets U.S. Admiral Ralph Cousins, supreme commander of air and naval forces of NATO. The "Supreme Council of the Revolution" awarded Cousins a medal late last month. Diário de Notícias

nationwide raids before dawn on May 29, troops of the Continental Operations Command (COPCON)—an elite unit of shock troops loyal to leftist leaders of the MFA—struck at the central and neighborhood MRPP offices, arresting all present and confiscating files and equipment. The Maoist militants are currently being held at the same Caixas prison where many of them spent time as political prisoners under the Salazarist regime.

MRPP Under the Gun

The military authorities have given several explanations for their action. One report speaks of MRPP "assassination plans," others speak of "criminal aggression against the public order" and still others raise the need to prevent embarrassing anti-NATO demonstrations planned for May 31 when U.S. president Ford visited Spain. Clearly all of these are pretexts. The immediate cause of the

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