

Strike Wave Sweeps Spain

Franco Dictatorship Totters



Barcelona plant during recent strike.

FEBRUARY 8—During the last four months Spain has experienced the greatest wave of working-class unrest in the 36 years since the end of the bloody 1930's civil war. The bonapartist Franco regime, obviously on its last legs, has been unable to suppress the strikes which have hit every major industrial center in the country. Hardly a day has gone by since mid-October without at least one major plant on strike.

As in the past, the centers of strike militancy have been Madrid construction trades, Barcelona and Basque region metal workers, and Asturias miners. But the scope of the current

upsurge is so great that sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are being drawn in as well. Late in 1974 medical doctors carried out a major strike and on February 5 government officials of five ministries walked off the job in Madrid for the first time.

In part the strikes are a response to the current economic crisis, which has hit Spain especially hard among European countries. In 1974 prices rose more than 30 percent, the highest rate on the continent. There have also been threats of massive layoffs. Most militant of all the plants has been the Barcelona SEAT works, a subsidiary of Italian-owned Fiat, which threatens to

lay off its 25,000 employees for 40 days this spring.

While the capitalist crisis has been a prime cause, the walkouts have not centered solely on economic demands. SEAT workers have issued leaflets calling for a provisional "democratic" government, which would guarantee political and trade-union freedoms.

After Franco, What?

The near-death of dictator Generalissimo Franco last July set off a flurry of political maneuvering among all sectors of society, and has posed the need for a revolutionary perspective clearly in front of the workers movement. Arch-reactionaries grouped around the Falange have sought to muster their forces ever since the death of Premier Carrero Blanco in a Basque nationalist bomb explosion in December 1973. As a result of numerous court intrigues, the hard-line ultras were able to remove several "liberal" ministers, most notably the Defense Minister Diez Alegria.

Some sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie, however, have no particular love for the present archaic regime and are concerned about the strength of the massive strike upsurges. They increasingly feel the need to undermine the workers offensive from within. This has led to speculation about an eventual "popular front" of reformist workers parties and a section of the liberal bourgeoisie, i.e., a reincarnation of the ill-fated Republican government which lost to Franco in the Civil War.

The cravenly reformist Communist Party (PCE), headed by Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri, has made it clear that it is ready to ally with anyone, from liberal generals to sections of the monarchy. Already in 1972 the Stalinists managed to set up a proto-popular front in Barcelona called the Assembly of Catalonia. It included liberal church figures, Christian Democrats and a number of smaller leftist groups (among them the fake-Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, representative of the European majority of the "United Secretariat"). But Carrillo & Co. were after bigger game.

Following Franco's stroke they got their chance. On July 30, Calvo Serrero—political advisor to Don Juan de Borbón, the father of heir-apparent Prince Juan Carlos—announced the formation of a "Democratic Junta" together with the PCE. Seeing that Carrillo had begun to achieve respectability, the Kremlin (which had been pushing a rival PCE headed by Major Lister) moved toward reconciliation. A joint PCE-CPSU communique on October 16 stated that peaceful coexistence "does not hinder the class struggle...."

This was also the policy of the Stalinists during the Spanish Civil War, when the PCE called for "victory now, revolution later." Their program was summed up in a terse communique published by the French CP newspaper *L'Humanité* in August 1936: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public... that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republic." *continued on page 11*

Unemployment Hits 33-Year High

UAW Demonstrates in Washington



UAW rally for jobs in Washington, February 5.

FEBRUARY 9—Some 10,000 auto workers rallied in Washington Wednesday to protest the massive layoffs sweeping the country in recent weeks. Since the beginning of the year more than a million workers have joined the ranks of the officially jobless and hundreds of thousands have withdrawn from the labor force (given up looking for jobs). Two days after the United Auto Workers' demonstration the government announced that unemployment had risen to 8.2 percent, or 7.5 million workers (*New York Times*, 8 February).

At the Washington rally the UAW leaders' message was clear: vote Democratic in 1976. Speakers tried to whip up nostalgia for the "good old days" under FDR. They neglected to mention, however, that under Roosevelt unemployment averaged over 17 percent until well into the Second World War. Mild-mannered Leonard Woodcock,

president of the auto workers union, hoarsely demanded that the government cut taxes, pay unemployment compensation until the end of the crisis, cut the cost of food stamps and not cut back Social Security payments. The same demands were echoed by liberal senators and congressmen, notably presidential-hopefuls Walter Mondale and Teddy Kennedy and ex-McGovernite Bella Abzug.

Woodcock's version of the fight against unemployment is for congressional action to provide two years of unemployment compensation at 70 percent (!) of base pay, plus an "excess profits" tax on corporations. (At the same time, he has repeatedly complained that the profits of the giant auto corporations are *too low*. To remedy this situation, the UAW chief calls for a cutback of anti-pollution devices.) His lieutenant, UAW vice-

president Irving Bluestone, had earlier called for auto workers to shore up the sinking Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund by contributing 10 cents an hour from their forthcoming 15 cent an hour cost-of-living raise. GM, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors can hardly object to such "statesmanlike" proposals.

Protectionism and Layoffs

At the January 24 meeting of the AFL-CIO's general executive board, the top U.S. labor bureaucrats issued a platform to fight unemployment which centers on a ban on imports of Arab oil. Earlier, UAW tops had made a similar call for protectionist legislation to put prohibitive tariffs on the import of foreign automobiles. Thus both conservative and liberal wings of the *continued on page 11*

Auto Militants Hit *Guardian* Red-Baiting

EDITORS' NOTE: We print below excerpts from a letter by the Committee for a Militant UAW to the *Guardian* protesting a recent act of redbaiting by the Maoist publication. The authors are laid-off women auto workers at the Fremont, California, General Motors plant.

To the Editor:

The *Guardian* of January 22, 1975, carried an article on a lawsuit brought by eight women auto workers against GM at Fremont, California. This article was filled with distortions, slanders, lies and some of the most vicious red-baiting we have seen in a long time. We are writing this letter which we hope (without much confidence) that the *Guardian* will print, because we want the readers of the *Guardian* to hear the real facts of the case....

The article, entitled "Women Sue GM on Unfair Layoffs" referred to a recent demonstration against the suit outside a court building in San Francisco as a "counterdemonstration" even though it had been organized and publicized at the plant long before the other, pro-suit demonstration. The entire reference to the anti-suit demonstration was as follows:

"A counterdemonstration by the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) displayed signs reading, 'Oppose the lawsuit.' SL members from the Fremont plant had been released from work by GM to take part in the counterdemonstration."

This statement is a calculated attempt to slander and red-bait our Committee and the other militants from Fremont that supported the Spartacist League demonstration against the suit. Although we have actively opposed the suit in the plant the article fails to mention us at all. Instead it attempts to identify us and the other workers who supported the demonstration as an "outside" organization, thus providing anti-communists and reactionaries of all stripes with grist for their mills to discredit the class struggle program of legitimate union members.

We defend the right of all labor and socialist organizations, regardless of their views, to be legitimate members of the labor movement. Bureaucratic anti-communism must be smashed! The *Guardian* however is clearly trying to aid anti-communism in the unions with its crass baitings. Could it be that the *Guardian* has forgotten the witch hunts of reds and militants in the 1940s and '50s which resulted in a mass purge and in the official anti-communism which continues to victimize militants to this

day? Such "forgetfulness" is unlikely. It is more likely that the *Guardian* seeks to aid those whom it supports in the union—such as the backers of this suit—by providing bureaucratic anti-communists and the company with a weapon against their opponents.

We would like to remind the *Guardian* that the forces it would apparently like to see unleashed against class struggle militants like ourselves will not stop with us. Given the chance, these elements will purge the unions of every militant who wants to fight the company, including supporters of the liberal-Maoist views of the *Guardian*.

We cannot speak for all the Fremont auto workers who attended the court hearings and demonstrations that day and who, incidentally, included supporters of both sides of the question. For ourselves, however, members of the Committee for a Militant UAW can easily disprove the lie that we were "released from work by GM" to take part in the demonstration. Members of our Committee and people from the Local 1364 Women's Committee asked the local President Vern Dias for official time off to attend the demonstration. Dias granted the request and official records will verify this—for those interested in verification (a supporter of the suit Charlotte Casey argued unsuccessfully at the union's Women's Committee against our being given union time off).

We demand an *immediate retraction* from the *Guardian* of this attempt to red-bait and company-bait the members of the Committee for a Militant UAW and the other Local 1364 members who supported the anti-suit demonstration called by the SL.

This however by no means exhausts our complaints against the article. Spartacist League signs at the demonstration did not read, "Oppose the Lawsuit" as alleged by you, implying that opponents of the suit care nothing for the plight of layoffs and discrimination. SL signs read, "Drop the Suit, Save the Seniority System," "No Lawsuits Against the Union," "The Union Must Fight Racial and Sexual Discrimination" and "No Layoffs, Jobs for All." Members of the Committee for a Militant UAW carried signs reading "Drop the Suit, No Government Interference in the Union," "End Women's and Racial Discrimination," "For Union Control of Hiring, Jobs for All" and "No Support to the International's Brief." The latter was a reference to the attempt of the UAW International to enter the case as a neutral "friend of the court," opposing the aims of the suit with however no program to combat discrimination and layoffs. The reformist UAW bureaucracy is pro-company and is completely incapable of raising such a program....

The caption above the picture says: "Auto workers at GM plant in Fremont, Calif., demonstrated recently against layoffs and in support of sex discrimination suit brought by women workers. They also demanded a shorter work week." This is another lie. The demonstration was called by Local 1364. Not only was it not in support of the women's suit, but the only mention of the suit at the rally was made by Joan Putnam speaking for the Committee for a Militant UAW. She opposed the suit and her proposals for a sit-down strike to oppose the layoffs were booed by the suit's backers. Alice Brody, a supporter of the suit, also spoke and didn't even mention it!...

The *Guardian* article implies that the suit enjoys widespread support in the plant. This allegation could not be further from the truth. Leaflets quoting directly from the suit and several copies of the suit itself were widely distributed throughout the plant. Workers were none too happy to see that in addition to calling into question seniority rights, the suit made allegations against some union brothers claiming that maintenance men deliberately do a lousy job cleaning the women's restrooms, including directly



WV PHOTO

S.F. demonstration against Maoist-backed anti-union lawsuit, January 1975.



WV PHOTO

CMUAW at Fremont demonstration last month.

fingering one man to the company thus breaking one of the most elementary rules of trade unionism, that one never turns in a fellow member to the company. Furthermore blacks and chicanos were quick to point out that the very people whose seniority rights would be trampled on by the recall of women out of line of seniority would be minority men who were not hired in significant numbers until 1959. It is little wonder then that the suit is generally resented for what it is—an attempt to use the bourgeois courts to undermine the chief gains of the union itself and divide the work force....

Over 650 Fremont GM workers, including hundreds of women and minorities, have signed the following petition circulated by the Committee for a Militant UAW:

"I. GM has traditionally discriminated against women and minorities in hiring. The UAW must be made to combat this practice.

"II. The court suit filed by eight women from this plant August 28, 1974 will not combat discrimination because it will weaken the union which is the only weapon we have. The suit will open the door to government interference, inviting the courts to rewrite our contract and break the seniority system.

"III. Therefore, we call on the signers of this suit to drop the case, and we demand that the union fight all forms of discrimination, and mount a campaign to end layoffs, not just for women, but for all workers."

... The backers of this suit have consistently opposed proposals from the

Committee for a Militant UAW for fighting layoffs through strikes against layoffs (a motion for which passed in the local during last winter's "energy crisis" layoffs over their objections) and a protest sitdown strike against layoffs. They oppose our slogan of jobs for all through a shorter work week with no loss in pay. Instead, they call for a short work week, with no mention of pay, which workers immediately see as a proposal for a pay cut.

Although the Committee for a Militant UAW's members are currently laid off, we intend to go on fighting for the kind of program that can unite auto workers and all workers in the struggle against the bosses and their state. Mass layoffs and plant closings should be opposed by sitdown strikes, which pose concretely the question of who should run industry, the capitalists or the workers. This must be coupled with the demand to expropriate capitalist industry. For the immediate nationalization of the oil and auto industries without compensation under workers control! This requires that we have the leadership and organization to stand up to the intervention of the bosses' state through the courts and other repressive arms, and through the class-collaborationism of the reformist bureaucracy. Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! Never has the need been so great for a class struggle alternative in the unions, through the fight for such a program. ■

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Letters

New York

7 February

To the Editor:

The excellent polemic against the Revolutionary Socialist League's muddle-headed misapplication of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution to the American black question in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, entitled "Democratic Rights and Socialist Revolution," did not discuss the one time Trotsky mentioned the possible application of permanent revolution in this regard. This occurred during discussions between Trotsky and Arne Swabeck, a founder of the American Trotskyist movement and veteran communist, in Prinkipo, Turkey, in February 1933. A subsequent discussion between Trotsky and his supporters concerning the black question took place in Mexico in 1939.

Since these discussions have been used both by the Socialist Workers Party to cloak its adaptation to black nationalism with the authority of Trotsky and by the RSL to debase the permanent revolution to "consistent democracy," it is worthwhile to carefully examine these discussions and place them in their historical context.

First, it must be pointed out that both discussions were conducted in English, a language Trotsky did not speak with ease. The only record of these discussions consists of rough, uncorrected transcripts, reprinted by the SWP in the late 1960's in a pamphlet entitled *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*.

An examination of these discussions shows that Trotsky tried to view the American black question through the lens of the Russian Revolution. The relationship between liberation of oppressed nationalities and the proletarian revolution is explained by Trotsky in his chapter on "The Problem of Nationalities" in volume three of his *History of the Russian Revolution*:

"The Ukrainian peasantry had not made national demands in the past for the reasons that the Ukrainian peasantry had not in general risen to the height of political being. The chief service of the February Revolution—perhaps its only service, but one amply sufficient—lay exactly in this, that it gave the oppressed classes and nations of Russia at last an opportunity to speak out..."

When Trotsky admits in his discussion with Swabeck that "I have never studied this [the American black] question and in my remarks I proceed from the general considerations," there is no doubt from the discussions that these "general considerations" followed from the experience of the Russian Revolution and in particular the awakening of the oppressed nations within the tsarist empire. Thus he asks Swabeck:

"I am not sure if the Negroes do not also in the Southern states speak their own Negro language. Now that they are being lynched just because of being Negroes they naturally fear to speak their Negro language; but when they are set free their Negro language will again become alive..."

"The Russian experiences have shown to us that the groups who live on a peasant basis retain peculiarities, their customs, their language, etc., and given the opportunity they develop again."

Elsewhere, Trotsky refers to the "overwhelming Negro territory" where black people might "separate a piece of land for themselves." It is obvious that he is thinking here of the "black belt" in the South. That Trotsky might have seen the black question as primarily an agrarian and peasant question concentrated in the South at least had some objective basis at the time: according to the 1930 census, 79 percent of all black people lived in the South and 57 percent lived in rural areas. It was only the great northern migrations and urbanization of black people during World War II that decisively subordinated the agrarian component of the black question.

Thus when Trotsky says to Swabeck, "Weisbord is correct in a certain

sense that the 'self-determination' of the Negroes belongs to the question of the permanent revolution in America," it is because Trotsky conceived of the black question as analogous to that of the Ukrainian peasantry and the peoples and tribes of Central Asia. Trotsky believed that a great social upheaval in the U.S. would awaken black people to suppressed national aspirations, that their own language, customs and culture would undergo a renaissance. Thus the right to self-determination would be posed.

Given Trotsky's relative unfamiliarity with the black question and the concentration of blacks in the South and on the land prior to World War II, his failure to recognize the black question as that of an oppressed economic caste rather than an embryonic peasant-national question is understandable. For the RSL and the SWP, however, their attempt to reduce the black question to a matter of unfulfilled democratic rights, and therefore to pose a false solution through some sort of "self-determination," represents simultaneous adaptation to black nationalism and liberalism.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

EDITORS' NOTE: We recently received the following unsolicited letter from a perennial gadfly of the British left. While the author is an impressionistic revisionist, he is one who has been known to us for many years as honest within the limits of his understanding. We convey the letter to our readers for the interesting information it contains. A political document of the Thornett group has been published in the *Intercontinental Press* of 10 February.

London
27 January 1975

Dear comrades,

Doubtless you have seen the reports of the split in the WRP [Workers Revolutionary Party, headed by Gerry Healy] which have occurred in the *Intercontinental Press*. I myself went

to the first public meeting of the WSL (or weasels) as I call them of Alan Thornett [a former WRP central committee member and leader of those recently expelled by Healy]. This was held here in North London on Friday last, 24th Jan. I shall give you my impressions, first of all of the situation of the WRP and the next of the meeting and the politics of the WSL.

I believe the WSL when they say that 200 were expelled. They do not claim in conversation to have more than about 140 with them. Healy has lost nearly all his workers, his central committee is composed almost entirely of actors and dramatists now, apart from the old faithfuls Banda and Slaughter. I do not believe he has lost much less than a third of his membership remembering that in any faction fight lots of people leave out of disgust and tiredness. He might have lost more like half. The crucial point is the angels—will they get tired of forking out dough with nothing to show. IF that is the case I do not see how he can continue to run a paper. The first sign of financial crisis will be if *Keep Left* [the Healyites' youth paper] is scrapped. Blick of the OCI [the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste]... tells me that a lot of meetings that the WRP advertises never in fact take place as his people turn up at them to sell their literature and confront the Healyites. So *Workers Press* is fooling its own readers (and angels, more important)! Blick concurs in this estimate of the WRP's numbers as do the leadership of the IS [International Socialists].

At the meeting Thornett spoke first and I thought very well. He concentrated on the use of the tactic of transitional demands to raise the political level and gave several examples of his work in Oxford and elsewhere in the vicinity, Aylesbury and Banbury. He pointed out that they were Trotskyists and ended with the fact that they wanted a youth group and had an international perspective of 'splitting the IC' [International Committee, dominated by the WRP]. I am not sure if he realises the exiguous nature

of the IC.

Next spoke a comrade called Lister who alas had the Mark of the Healyite Beast on him. He raved on announcing that they were going to conduct an uncompromising struggle with the Pabloists, revisionists, Stalinists, etc. etc., and announced that they put great store on the questions of philosophy! Healy's conclusions were right but his method was wrong. I confess this is quite beyond my simple understanding. Also he announced that they intended to do some work in the LP [Labour Party]. Frankly I think it is a bit mad to announce your intention of entry work at a public meeting.

As the meeting ended, Chris Pallis at the back of the hall, who was one of the political undead who turned up, announced in a loud voice that 'This was Healyism with a human face', a *mot juste* I much appreciated.

The IMG [International Marxist Group] with a series of carefully contrived 'spontaneous' contributions from the floor managed to monopolise most of the time available. Thornett summed up, stated that there was no division between him and Lister, their respective speeches were merely a division of labour and went on justifiably to slam the IMG over Ceylon, the Lawless affair and their behaviour at Cowley but failed to answer the question of where he stood on Ireland. He ended very well I thought by saying that they intended to recruit and train workers as cadres who could lead the class. He thought they could do it. Time would tell. The expulsions were just before Xmas. 'We have come a long way in seven weeks', he ended.

My impressions are that Thornett is a very impressive guy and he may well have some good people around him in the factory but that many of the others are pretty lobotomised. There may well be tensions. I think they are a group in motion. Their present historical analysis of the WRP does not appear to go back much further than 1973.

That is about all.

FRATS,
[A Reader]

Savage Anti-Communist Violence in L.A.

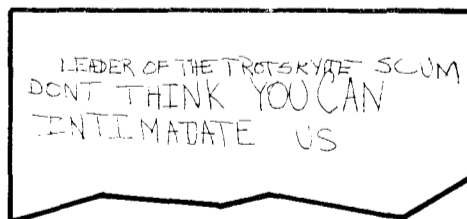
At 8:30 p.m. on February 4 the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was bombed by rightists. At about the same time, another bomb exploded in the East L.A. bookstore of the October League (OL). It is purely chance that no casualties were sustained in the attack on the SWP, as there were about 25 people present in the hall at the time. The 15-inch pipe bomb, hurled at SWP L.A. organizer Lew Jones, exploded with tremendous force, demolishing the entrance door, blowing out a half dozen windows and ripping off part of the downstairs street door.

Two days before the bombings, an indoor rally sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (LACRRC) was tear gassed ten minutes after the program began. No injuries or damages were reported beyond the noxious effects of the tear gas itself.

Los Angeles has a history of right-wing and cop violence against the left. In May 1970 a gang of gusanos, subsequently linked to the CIA, held four campaign workers on the floor of SWP headquarters at gunpoint as they spread gasoline and then ignited it. In the two years prior to that, the SWP experienced six bombing and shooting attacks locally, while arson and bombings were carried out against numerous other left and liberal organizations and gathering places.

There have also been brutal attacks directed against individuals connected with left organizations. Last December an L.A. spokesman of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), Sandy Young,

walked into her living room, having just put her child to bed, to find herself face-to-face with two thugs who proceeded to break a bottle in her face and knock her unconscious. Even then they continued to beat her, breaking



Note left by thugs after brutally attacking L.A. spokesman of RSL.

three ribs in the process. A note was left with the message: "Leader of the Trotskyite scum don't think you can intimidatate [sic] us."

The perpetrators of this atrocity remain unknown. While cop provocateurs or right-wing savages have grown used to committing similar acts of terrorism with complete impunity, the incident also comes in an atmosphere of thug attacks by Stalinist elements, particularly Maoists, against other left groups. Only a few days before the vicious assault against Young, the RSL had written a letter protesting physical threats by the Revolutionary Union (RU) against RSLers attending a forum at the "Long March" movement center.

The response of the legalistic SWP to the bombing attack on its office—like its response to virtually every other question—has simply been to seek

to bring liberal pressure to bear on Mayor Bradley, calling on him to enforce bourgeois democracy's laws and apprehend the criminals. (Neither it nor the OL showed the slightest interest in united-front defense action with other left groups.) Having long since abandoned Marxism, the SWP makes no mention of the fact that socialist and labor organizations must depend on their own strength because they cannot rely on the class enemy, the bourgeois state, for justice.

In fact, liberal Mayor Bradley, the city's first black mayor, has proven to be as dedicated a defender of the L.A. Police Department's gestapo-like methods as his reactionary predecessor, Sam Yorty. Last spring the L.A.P.D. massacred several members of the "Symbionese Liberation Army" in a bloody orgy of heavy weapons fire, which gravely threatened residents of the surrounding black neighborhood. Currently all 7,200 city cops are being given riot-control training in anticipation of *food riots* growing out of the sharp economic slump.

What is needed is not pious appeals to the liberals but a struggle for workers democracy within and among labor and socialist organizations. The repeated use of hooliganism in particular by the RU against its left opponents plays directly into the hands of the reactionaries and must be stopped, as must the rightist attacks, by united-front action of the workers movement. An attack on one is an attack on all! Enforce workers democracy in the left! For united-front action against rightist terrorism! ■

Joe Johnson's Fatal Fusion Maneuver



WV PHOTO

SL marchers in Boston last fall.

The Only Answer: Black/Labor Defense Busing Yes, Troops No!

In the aftermath of the December 14 demonstration in Boston the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been forced to take the offensive against the revolutionary policy of the Spartacist League. At the demonstration—called by various liberal and community groups to protest the wave of vicious anti-black violence precipitated by the school busing controversy—the Leninist approach of the SL was forcefully counterposed to the reformism of the SWP. As the SL-led contingent chanted "No trust in capitalist troops—for a black/labor defense," the SWP countered with its slogan, "Federal troops to Boston."

In preparation for its latest liberal organizational scheme, the National Student Conference Against Racism scheduled to meet in Boston February 14-18, the SWP has churned out several articles defending its call for troops, including a page-long polemic against the SL (*Militant*, 7 February).

The first argument put forward in the *Militant* article is the claim that the SL is inconsistent in demanding the implementation of the (bourgeois) court's pro-busing ruling while denouncing the call for the (bourgeois) army to occupy Boston. This bit of sophomoric "logic" should fool nobody. Revolutionists distinguish between making demands on a bourgeois government and building confidence in that government and its troops. The SWP's argument is analogous to the claim, for example, that workers' demands for laws recognizing their right to strike are equivalent to their calling in the cops during a strike to "protect" them against scabs.

The fundamental argument put forward by the SWP is the claim that "mass pressure" can force the armed forces of the bourgeois state to intervene on the side of the oppressed:

"Is it possible that the government can be compelled to use armed force to defend the Black students? According to the Spartacists this is out of the question....

"The fact is that the capitalist state—the enemy of working people—can sometimes be forced to make concessions...and the government can sometimes be forced to deploy its armed forces in the interests of working people.

"For example, the pressure of the civil rights' movement forced the government to send federal troops to Little Rock, Ark., in 1957 to protect the lives of Black students desegregating the schools there."

In that case, one wonders why the "mass movement" of which the SWP is so proud—the antiwar movement—did not result in the U.S. army in Vietnam turning itself around and fighting on the

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Early last autumn the Socialist Collective (SC), a small grouping of black socialist militants based in Los Angeles, joined the International Socialists (IS), the "third camp" wing of American social democracy. Commenting upon this, *Workers' Power*, the bi-weekly newspaper of the IS, trumpeted:

"The nature of American society had led the two revolutionary socialists [*sic*] groups to develop separately, one composed of black members, the other predominantly white. The joining together of black and white revolutionaries in a common organization marks a significant step in the process of creating a revolutionary party in this country."

—*Workers' Power*, 1 October 1974

(How shamelessly do the IS reformists label themselves revolutionaries and

syrupey proclamations of unity for what they were—so much eyewash to cover a cheap, cynical maneuver. In fact, the IS/SC mutual admiration society was a fraud from the outset. Many of the Socialist Collective members stood to the left of the IS and considered the latter to be a reformist sewer. The IS/SC tryst, engineered by Joe Johnson, was greeted with surprise and apprehension by many of the SC ranks. To sell the fusion Johnson had to portray it as an entry tactic, a "French turn," which would enable the SC to use the IS as a springboard on the road to becoming a national organization.

In fact, Johnson's maneuver only succeeded in breathing new life into a virulent strain of Stalinophobic left reformism, enabling some latter-day



Joel Geier (left) and Joe Johnson during heyday of the short-lived IS-Socialist Collective "fusion."

bandy about the word revolution! It is both laughable and a sign of the times that such anti-Soviet social democrats now feel compelled to hide behind the banner of "revolution," while in the '50's and early '60's their tendency was among the foremost advocates of State Department "socialism."

Eager to make political capital out of the acquisition of the SC, the IS organized a barnstorming national tour around the theme "Building the Revolutionary Party" and featuring IS National Chairman Joel Geier and SC leader Joe ("L'il Joe") Johnson.

But alas! Joe Johnson's name and photo have recently disappeared from the handbills announcing these meetings. The IS/SC honeymoon, it seems, has ended; the marriage has been annulled before it was ever consummated. Joe Johnson and the former SC membership have quit the IS.

Just four short months ago Johnson, too, described the IS in glowing terms. For example, the SC fusion statement declared:

"... the Socialist Collective saw the International Socialists (IS) as the only revolutionary organization whose commitment to the revolution has been realized by way of consistent political motion, both practical and theoretical—the basis of building a revolutionary party."

—*Workers' Power*, 1 October 1974

The statement goes on to praise the IS for its high level of internal democracy and states the SC's complete agreement with the IS on the question of the relation between party and class. The statement also notes agreement with the conclusions of the IS position on the Stalinist countries and praises IS trade-union work.

The IS/SC split exposes all these

Shachtmanites to pose themselves as a serious pole of attraction to subjectively anti-capitalist militants. Indeed, the IS was as surprised and delighted by Johnson's unexpectedly proffered favors as the SC ranks were apprehensive.

What followed the "fusion" was an elaborate charade in which Johnson and the cliques which make up the IS leadership made move and countermove to determine who would be the horse and who the rider. Political differences broke out early on when Johnson (to his credit) came out in support of busing and opposed calling for federal troops in the Boston busing crisis. By late 1974 Johnson felt compelled to form a new "SC," a Socialist Caucus inside the IS. In the "Preliminary Statement of the Socialist Caucus" Johnson and former SCer Connie H. complain:

"Since our entry into the I.S., several problems have emerged. First and foremost, it is quite clear that the 'old I.S. comrades,' as they call themselves, do not intend to either take seriously the former S.C.er's differences with the I.S. majority nor to respect their ideas. The 'old I.S.ers' are interested only in the 'political assimilation' of the former Socialist Collective comrades. In the process of 'assimilation,' the 'old I.S.ers' have become more and more aggressive in 'laying down the political and philosophical law,' i.e., telling the former S.C.ers the way things are going to be—period! Well, the way things were is not the way things are nor is it the way things will be! Remember all of the old talk about how the Socialist Collective's 'merger' with the I.S. would transform (change) both organizations in the unfolding of a higher unity—i.e., a new organization?"

—Preliminary Statement of the Socialist Caucus

Evidently, in addition to a train ticket to Detroit and seat on the IS Executive Committee for Johnson, the IS made a

strong implicit promise that upon entering the IS the SCers could "do their own thing." But since most of the SCers were to the left of the IS it was necessary to squelch them and prevent them from making their politics public. This was the International Socialists' answer to Johnson's "French turn": take in the SCers promising them everything, chew them up and spit out the unassimilable elements. Unfortunately for the IS, by purging itself of its left wing some time ago it transformed itself into a much more homogeneous, and much more brittle, organization—one incapable of tolerating the "left antics" of dissident SCers. Its "assimilation" tactic was thus doomed to fail.

Johnson's hand may have been forced by the resignation from the IS of those former members of the SC still residing in Los Angeles. Echoing the same complaint as the Socialist Caucus document, the Los Angeles group announced that joining the IS was a political mistake—one based upon political ignorance of IS politics and practice. Rather than see his slim base drift out of the IS and away from him, Johnson probably decided to cut his losses and lead the remnants of the SC out of the IS.

But the SC is not even back at ground zero. A small group previously concentrated in one city, they are now fewer in number and scattered across the country—doubtless very demoralized following their misadventures under the misleadership of Joe Johnson.

To those comrades of the SC who still aspire to be revolutionaries and communists we can only say that we tried to warn you, and our warnings were correct. You may not have been fully aware of the reformist practices and policies of the IS. But we can assure you that Joe Johnson, who has had some years of experience as a self-proclaimed socialist, knew what he was getting you into. He must be held accountable for his misleadership and unprincipled behavior. (Do not be misled when Johnson comes out with his political criticisms of the IS, terming them reformist and guilty of adapting to the class as it is. He has held these criticisms all along.)

Above all, however, what is required is not simply a critical re-examination of the SC's recent history, but a rejection of the "scientific socialism" of Joe Johnson. Johnson rejects the concept of a Leninist combat party of professional revolutionaries in favor of an all-encompassing workers party of the whole class. Johnson claims that the October Revolution of 1917 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Stalinism to him is simply the naked dictatorial rule of state monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, he states that he has no disagreements with the "third campers" on the political conclusions they draw on the Russian question. Finally, Johnson holds that the strategy of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" is the correct strategy for revolutionaries to follow in the colonial and formerly colonial countries—i.e., he explicitly rejects Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

In toto, these positions lay the basis for capitulation to either the Stalinists or social democracy. They fly in the face of the entire experience of the workers movement over the past 75 years. And what is more, their refutation is not only to be found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the documents of the Communist International, but has been demonstrated also by dozens of failed revolutions and the blood of millions of workers and peasants. Johnson's idiosyncratic, eclectic and iconoclastic views are a recipe for defeat and confusion. They make a fitting piece to his pathetic antics in the IS over the past months.

It is also fitting that Johnson now bases himself in Detroit (thanks to the IS). The city is not only the auto capital of the world but also the elephants' graveyard for refugees from Trotskyism. Johnson will take his place alongside the other illustrious (?) eccentrics and has-beens—Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, Art Phillips and others. Welcome home, Joe. ■

CWA Abandons Victimized Militants

SAN FRANCISCO, February 7—The case of ten fired militants in the telephone company here, accused of leading a wildcat strike against the 1974 contract betrayal, was "settled" recently. The end came when the Communications Workers of America (CWA) leadership finally did what it had wanted to do from the beginning: it declared that the Company was right and threw in the towel. To add insult to injury, Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick then purged the victimized militants from the union.

The S.F. phone wildcat last August was a small and ill-advised protest against a series of abuses by the union leadership, beginning with the failure of the International to call a strike when the contract expired on July 18. Similar but much larger protests occurred in Detroit, Cleveland and other cities. In San Francisco the protest action followed Kirkpatrick's refusal to summon a special meeting of the Local to discuss contract issues after he was presented with a petition bearing twice the necessary number of signatures demanding such a meeting.

This unconstitutional and provocative behavior on the part of Kirkpatrick was equalled by the pompous final action on the company firings taken by CWA Northern California Area Director E.J. Cruice. Just prior to what would have been the International-level hearing with the company on the case of the ten victimized militants, he wrote in a letter to Kirkpatrick:

"I, again, completely reviewed each case and all of our documentation, both Company and Union. It was necessary in each case to weigh the negative and positive arguments. In each of the above cases, the negative arguments outweighed those on the positive side; and it was necessary to withdraw these cases without prejudice on this date..." No doubt one of the "negative arguments" in Cruice's mind was the fact

that all ten were members of militant oppositional groupings which had denounced the contract as a sellout!

The International, under the late and unlamented Joe Beirne and his hand-picked successor Glen Watts, had set the goal of eliminating bothersome local strikes over national issues, such as in New York State in 1971. Through a bureaucratic scheme deceptively termed "national bargaining," locals were bound by a national mail referendum on the contract (with local issues handled separately afterward). This had the desired effect of keeping local leaderships in line, while a drawn-out period of working without a contract drove frustrated militants to undertake unofficial actions without union defense.

In the San Francisco and Oakland locals (9410 and 9415), however, the Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group in the CWA based on a class-struggle program, argued against wildcatting because of the danger of victimization. MAC instead raised the demand for a nationwide strike under the slogan, "no contract, no work." At an August meeting of the San Francisco Local attended by 400 angry workers, MAC speakers were alone in raising this demand, despite the presence of members of Workers Action Movement (which is supported by Progressive Labor) and Traffic Jam (a telephone workers group backed by the Revolutionary Union).

MAC subsequently initiated the petition for a special meeting to discuss the contract and strike issues. This was belatedly supported and circulated by WAM and Traffic Jam members, but when Kirkpatrick failed to call the meeting, WAM and Traffic Jam had run out of patience. They formed a Strike Organizing Committee which immediately issued a leaflet entitled, "This Contract Stinks; Let's Take a Walk."

PL's *Challenge* (29 August) described how the action should automatically grow "from 50 to 100 to 1,000 fairly rapidly," but it didn't work out that way. Only 100 to 150 workers in four or five of the smaller buildings in San Francisco went out for five days because union leadership in the key building opposed the wildcat and there was no recognized alternative leadership. The only tangible results of the strike were disciplinary actions, suspensions and the firing of WAM and Traffic Jam members. Also fired was one member of the Militant Action Caucus, Rosalind Benedet, for honoring the picket lines.

Immediately seizing the opportunity to rid himself of troublesome oppon-

ents, the fanatical witchhunter Kirkpatrick ruled that a worker who has been fired by the company will be dropped from the union regardless of whether or not a grievance is being processed and dues kept up! Nowhere in the Local constitution or by-laws is there any official rule on this question, which was just fine for the bureaucracy.

However, Kirkpatrick only felt strong enough to enforce this atrocious mockery of union democracy at the January meeting after the International had withdrawn the grievances. One reason he was able to get away with this at all was that WAM and Traffic Jam refused proposals by the Militant Action Caucus for a united-front defense of all the fired workers.

This knee-jerk, Stalinist sectarianism was merely a continuation of WAM and Traffic Jam's bureaucratic behavior at Strike Organizing Committee meetings during the action, when they expelled MAC from the committee in order to silence its warnings against the danger of isolated wildcat strikes. The Militant Action Caucus continues to insist that the victims be rehired and reinstated in the union and has announced its intention to protest this betrayal at the next International convention.

The CWA officials' bureaucratic capitulation to the arbitrary injustices of Ma Bell comes at a time when the chief weakness of Watts' contract is becoming daily more evident. As pointed out by MAC last August, the contract contains absolutely no protection against layoffs. Hundreds—possibly close to 1,000 according to some rumors—are due to be laid off from California Bell in the next two months. This is part of a pattern of spreading layoffs in the phone company. A total of 4,000 workers at Western Electric (AT&T's wholly-owned equipment subsidiary) were laid off in 1974.

The Militant Action Caucus, which is not a makeshift group appearing only at contract time or during union elections, is continuing its struggle against bureaucratic capitulation by agitating for union action against layoffs. Among its demands are a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to make jobs for all. A recent leaflet calls for union committees to defend jobs by building support for a strike against layoffs.

MAC also demands that the financial books and all secrets of the telephone company be thrown open for public inspection by workers committees in order to reveal how the parasitic monopoly is raping the public. The MAC also exposes the government's phony anti-trust suit against AT&T as a reactionary fraud (and denounces the CWA tops' predictable

defense of the company). MAC calls for workers control and nationalization of the profit-bloated telephone company without compensation to present owners, and for labor to break with the class collaborationism of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and form a workers party to fight for a workers government.

MAC's warnings last August of the dangers of isolated wildcats, coupled with its principled action in honoring the picket lines, and its call for an effective, nationwide strike and the building of an alternative, class-struggle leadership within the union, sounded a responsive chord among wide sections of the membership fed up with both bureaucratic betrayal and hopeless adventurism. No confidence is warranted, however, in the ability of WAM or Traffic Jam to learn from their sorry experience.

These frustrated reformists commit themselves to stupid, losing tactics in order to accommodate to what they think is the current level of the workers' consciousness. Usually, however, the rank and file is at least one step ahead of such capitulators. The task is not to tail after but to raise the consciousness of the ranks. That is why genuine class-struggle militants fight to remain in the unions with the workers, rather than allowing the company and union bureaucracy to get rid of them for isolated two-bit adventures born of impatience. ■

Vietnam in Crisis: Why the War Goes On

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Speech Backing Perón Falsified

SWP "Translates" Juan Carlos Coral

The wave of rightist terror which engulfed Argentina following the death of President Juan Perón last July 1 has resulted in more than one political murder per day, a total of 227 in 1974. Many, perhaps most, of these assassinations are carried out by special squads of plain-clothes military and police officials.

In this perilous situation it is vital for revolutionaries not only to call for united-front defense of left and militant trade-union organizations, but also to warn the masses against placing any confidence in the treacherous anti-working class Peronist regime. The Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) has done precisely the opposite, seeking to protect itself by repeated expressions of support for the "process of institutionalization" and for the "continuity" of the government. While seven of its

own members were gunned down by pro-government thugs last year, the PST continues to proclaim that the main danger is a coup d'état!

Workers Vanguard was the first publication outside Argentina to publicly call attention to the scandalous behavior of the (purportedly Trotskyist) PST which issued, together with the local Stalinists and six bourgeois parties, a declaration calling for bourgeois law and order on the occasion of a meeting with Perón last March 21 (see "PST Caught Redhanded," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). The declaration supports "in all instances the institutional process" and condemns "all those who in one way or another attempt to change it."

This expression of support for the capitalist state is a betrayal of the most fundamental Marxist principles so gross that even the professional hypo-

crites of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," of which the PST is a sympathizing organization, finally made a public protest. However, for appearance's sake, the USec "acknowledged" the PST's cock-and-bull story that its representative, Juan Carlos Coral, did not sign the document even though the PST newspaper (*Avanzada Socialista*) reproduced the document as having been signed by him. This "editorial error" was not corrected by AS for a full three months!

Moreover, only a few days after this "correction" was published the PST attended another meeting of "the eight," this time with the General's wife (and vice president) María Estela, as Perón lay dying. A second declaration was issued, declaring the participants' "support for the process of institutionalization..." Challenged by the USec leadership, the PST again answered that

Coral had not actually signed the statement.

The PST supported the declaration's content, however, with the excuse that "the word 'institutionalization' has acquired a meaning in Argentine politics different from the one given in the dictionary. It has become a synonym of fighting to defend or win democratic rights" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 4 July 1974). In fact, "institutionalization" in the mouths of Argentine liberals and the PST social democrats has been used to mean support for bourgeois law and order, as against the terrorism of the police... and of left-wing Peronist and supposedly Marxist guerrillas.

Unable to stay away from these prestigious "summit" meetings of the bourgeois parties, the ubiquitous Coral attended yet another such gathering, called "the multisectorial," on October 8. As we reported in *Workers Vanguard* No. 57 (22 November 1974), he told President María Estela de Perón that the PST "will fight for the continuity of this government, because it was elected by the majority of the Argentine workers and because it permits the exercise of some democratic liberties..."

Coming less than two weeks after the regime's new "security law" outlawing strikes (a measure the PST leader failed to criticize, although he "applaud[ed] without reservation" many clauses of the government's labor legislation), and given his "categorical"

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Joseph Hansen



Ernest Mandel



Juan Carlos Coral

JVP Trials Conclude

Harsh Sentences for Ceylonese Youth Rebels

by Edmund Samarakkody

EDITORS' NOTE: We reprint below an article on the recently concluded trial of militants accused of leading a 1971 uprising. The article is translated from the current issue of *Vimukthi* (*Class Struggle*), newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon. Comrade Samarakkody, the author, is a long time Trotskyist as well as a lawyer who was involved in the defense of the JVP.

COLOMBO—The outcome of the main trial of 32 young persons before the Criminal Justice Commission for their alleged participation in the April youth uprising will not be a surprise to anybody. Barring four persons, all others have been found guilty, and have been sentenced to long jail terms, while the leader of the JVP [Janata Vimukthi Peramuna—Peoples Liberation Front], Rohana Wijeweera, was sentenced to life imprisonment or 20 years.

The trial and convictions of these defendants, and the long jail sentences in the case of the leading members of the JVP, were the continuation of the savage repression of the militant youth who dared to oppose and fight against the capitalist coalition government, when it had exposed its capitalist aims and proved its bankruptcy in relation to their pressing problems. This repression of the youth was also the testing out of the machinery for the coming repression and suppression of the working class and toilers when they reach out, sooner or later, to win their own emancipation from capitalist oppression and rule.

The government achieved these convictions by the use of draconian legislation which it rushed through in Parliament with the full backing of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] and CP [Communist Party], two working-class based parties in the coalition alliance. This was the notorious Criminal Justice Commission Act—a special law of criminal procedure for the express purpose of trying these and other defendants alleged to have been implicated in the April 1971 youth uprising. It was when the government found that, despite the known ingenuity and ability of the police to fabricate cases, and despite its learned law officers, there was no possibility in terms of the ordinary criminal law [of convicting] these defendants [for] the offences of attempting to overthrow the government, etc., that it resorted to this device.

We have in this so-called Criminal Justice Commission Act what is called in legal language "retrospective legislation"—law passed after the commission of an act, which was not an offence at the time it was committed in terms of prevailing law. And while bourgeois justice is always class justice, this type of retrospective legislation is, even according to bourgeois norms, a negation of justice.

In a trial before a commission appointed under this act, the investigator of the alleged crime or crimes, the prosecutor in the court case and the judges are the same. It is not difficult to see that a trial of accused persons under such circumstances becomes farcical and turns into a miscarriage of justice and a crime against those very defendants.

Under the ordinary law in Sri Lanka [Ceylon] confessions of accused per-

sons made to police officers are not admissible, because it is a notorious fact that the police in this country obtain such confessions through assault and, invariably, torture. But under the Criminal Justice Commission Act this salutary provision is thrown aside, and confessions made to police officers have been made admissible. It is precisely by such alleged confessions alone, that these defendants were found guilty. This meant that the defendants were forced to admit crimes they never committed, and it was through such confessions to police officers that most of these defendants were given long jail sentences in this case.

What is more, the rights of a defen-



Rohana Wijeweera



Government troops arrest suspect during 1971 Ceylonese youth uprising.

dant in a trial before a commission are severely restricted. Their lawyers have hardly any chance of defending them, as the commissioners (the judges) could impose time limits to submissions and cross examination of witnesses. They could even decide on a secret trial—excluding the public.

However, apart from this monstrous Criminal Justice Act, which virtually made the defendants guilty of the charges before the trial was begun, these defendants received a stab in the back by their own comrades. This was the treachery of the defendants Loku Atula, T.D. Silva, Somasiri Kumanyake and W.T. Karunaratne, who pleaded guilty to the charges at the very commencement of the trial.

Political, Not Legal Defence

In all the circumstances of this case—the political nature of the trial,

the purposes of the government and the disabilities arising from the notorious Criminal Justice Act (the judgment and sentences being foregone conclusions)—the defendants could gain nothing from legal defence, through legal arguments and submissions on the interpretation of the law, as [they might] in cases before the ordinary courts. What was therefore possible and necessary was a political defence. It was necessary in the real interests of the defendants, and the cause for which thousands of youth sacrificed their lives, that they develop a political defence, as against a fruitless legal battle.

And it was precisely a political defence that was launched by eight of the defending counsel, who in agreement with their clients staged a protest and walked out of the court when the commissioners (judges) refused to give a ruling on important objections raised by them in regard to the trial at its very commencement.

The defendants responded by denouncing [with] slogans the Criminal Justice Commission Act and the government. The reaction of the attorney general, the chief law officer of the government, was to immediately denounce the lawyers and their defendants for their protest action, and to make allegations that these lawyers had conspired with their defendants to insult

times, to win the good will of the commissioners, some defendants attacked their erstwhile comrades. Even JVP leader Wijeweera expressed confidence in the Commission.

Any attempts by leader Wijeweera and some defendants to talk in terms of Marxism in regard to the charges against them failed to change the character of the defence, which was generally a pleading of innocence of the defendants by their counsel.

Tampoe's kowtowing before the Commission and his betrayal in dissociating himself from the protest of the lawyers brought him only temporary glory. Very soon some of the defendants who understood the part Tampoe was playing dropped him as their lawyer. Tampoe was left with only two or three of his former clients. And what was worse for Tampoe, the Commission, having tolerated his antics and mock heroics, dismissed him. The commissioners refused to hear him and ordered him out.

JVP Disintegrates

With the long-term jail sentences for the erstwhile leaders of the JVP movement, and also the imposing of suspended sentences on about 2,500 other youth who had pleaded guilty to charges in their cases relating to the April uprising, the government has completely crushed this youth movement.

However, long before the end of these cases, and in fact even before the end of 1971 (the year of the uprising), the JVP movement had disintegrated due to inherent political weaknesses.

The Uprising

There cannot be any doubt that with all their weaknesses, mistakes, blunders—both in regard to the struggle they launched and in regard to their defence and conduct of their trials—the youth of this movement, a large number of whose leaders will languish in jail for long periods, and hundreds of whom lost their lives in this struggle, did wage a just struggle against the capitalist government in what they believed to be a struggle for socialism. And undoubtedly this struggle of the youth to overthrow a capitalist government is unprecedented. Undoubtedly, also, the youth of the JVP who participated in this struggle showed rare courage, determination, self sacrifice and heroism.

Contrary to the false allegations of the LSSP, CP and SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party], the armed uprising was not by reactionary rightist forces but from the left, from the side of the workers and toilers. Police investigations over a long period have not been able to report anything to support the allegations of the coalition parties. The reality in this regard was that it was a just struggle of the exploited and oppressed—of the youth, largely of poor peasants and of workers who had been denied their right to proper education and employment at the hands of all governments including the coalition government.

Thus, the place of revolutionary

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Suspects rounded up in Anuradhapura, Ceylon, during JVP revolt.

MILITANT

Maoism Without Mao?

Chinese Old Guard Patched Up

FEBRUARY 9—After ten years of postponement and five years of false starts, more than 2,000 bureaucratically selected delegates finally met in Peking in January for the fourth National People's Congress. A colossal portrait of Mao Tse-tung rose 30 feet above the speakers' rostrum, his image dominating the congress visually and his "communist" household homilies lacing the main speech delivered by Chou En-lai. Nevertheless, the life-sized Mao was not present, although that month

he entertained several bourgeois notions at his home in Hunan. His absence, and the problem of his successor, was the unstated but ever-present question at the congress.

The Chinese bureaucracy is desperately attempting to organize an orderly succession to replace the mythologized 81-year-old "Great Helmsman." Faced with a deteriorating economic situation, all the cliques in the clique-ridden Communist Party fear that more disruption may mobilize

the working class to throw them out of their privileged bureaucratic positions.

"Poisonous Weeds" Flower in Mao's Garden

So the theme of the congress was "unity and victory." Now present in positions of authority, were such former non-persons as Teng Hsiao-ping, who in the days of the "Cultural Revolution" was reviled as "a renegade and a freak." The not-so-distant echo of the "number one capitalist roader" himself, Liu Shao-chi, was heard as the durable Chou En-lai gave an address stressing the theme of production, in order to make China a leading industrial power in ten years' time. Even Mao reportedly called for an end to the economically disruptive "Cultural Revolution" campaigns, bidding the Chinese people to "settle down."

If a paper peace reigns at the top, the presence of many rehabilitated Liuists in top party-state positions provides dramatic evidence that the clique warfare among Chinese Stalinists is far from over. While all Chinese leaders ritually praise Mao Thought and proclaim the Cultural Revolution "a great victory," there is no evidence of a clear victory for any of the contending groups.

During the bureaucratically sparked turmoil of the late 1960's Mao relied heavily on his designated heir-apparent, Lin Piao, who controlled the army. Now Lin is branded a "bourgeois spy" and various top army generals have been shunted off to areas where they could not develop dangerous "autonomous military regions."

The 1966-67 highpoint of mass mobilization of the first "cultural revolution" ended with the formation of so-called "three-in-one" committees including representatives of the party, the army and the "rebel" mass organizations. Now, as the campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao winds down, a new version of these committees has arisen. The fourth People's Congress issued a revised constitution stating that "every leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young." This is reflected in the Political Bureau itself, with the old being those over 70 (Mao, Chou, Teng), a group of 60-to-70-year-old middle-agers and...the "youth" consisting of Wang Hung-wen, the only member under 60.

The Constitution Revised

Just as the Cultural Revolution did not reform a fundamentally unreformable Stalinist bureaucracy, the "anti-Confucius" campaign has in no way defused the explosive clique warfare in the party, state apparatus and army. Unchecked by democratic control by workers soviets, the bureaucracy is rent with powerful centrifugal tendencies.

The revised constitution "adopted" without public discussion by the delegates at the congress pretends to homogenize party control over the political life of China. It does away with the position of head of state, puts the army under the command of the chairman of the central committee and eliminates the legal right of citizens to choose their place of residency. Such clauses indicate above all the extreme



Mao Tse-tung



"Big character" wall newspaper in 1974 anti-Confucius campaign.

DER SPIEGEL

Wildcat Strikes in Hong Kong

Peking Props Up British Colony

As China proceeds to build "socialism in one country" through "cultural revolutions" bureaucratically orchestrated by the Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army, Hong Kong, now the world's most populous colony, remains one of capitalism's worst sweatshops. Suffering under conditions reminiscent of those prevalent in the early nineteenth century, its working class lacks the protection of maximum-hour or meaningful child-labor laws and unemployment compensation.

These deplorable conditions are now rapidly deteriorating. Grinding inflation caused real wages to drop 11 percent in the year preceding March 1974, while unemployment has soared past the 100,000 mark. (Hong Kong has just over 4,000,000 people.)

Mass demonstrations in Hong Kong during the 1967 "Great Cultural Revolution" showed that the Maoists dominate the local left and have the power to

shake the foundations of British rule at will. Yet recently they have failed to mount a *single significant strike*—even in the face of the current economic catastrophe—although they are the major force in the trade-union movement, controlling the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions. Instead, one of the major campaigns by the Maoist press during the downturn has been to call on the British Education Department to correct the errors in Chinese history and geography in textbooks used by the colony's schools!

Hong Kong workers have not been content with fighting Confucius. Tremendous economic pressures and the inertia displayed by the Maoist trade-union bureaucrats have led to hundreds of wildcat strikes by desperate workers. In virtually every case these strikes end in defeat, sold out by the "communist" union leaders (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 5 October 1974).

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Hong Kong slums: the Kowloon Walled City.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW



DER SPIEGEL

Dam construction on Chinese commune.

nervousness with which the fragmented ruling caste views the not-distant departure of its bonapartist arbiter, Mao.

Of course, behind the new Constitution are all the old Stalinist policies of "socialism in one country," peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the touting of such "progressives" as the Shah of Iran as "anti-imperialist." Chou still recites Lin Piao's phrase that the "third world" is "the main force combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism" (what about the international working class?). Eager to find partners for China's nationalist border war with the USSR, Chou exhorts "Western European countries to get united in the struggle (against the superpowers)" (*New York Times*, 20 January).

Although the new constitution includes the right to strike (reportedly at Mao's request)—a "right" the workers are already making use of even without legal permission—it does not loosen bureaucratic control of the Chinese working masses one iota. As against those fake lefts who supported Mao and the Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution," the international Spartacist tendency has consistently called for the ouster of the parasitic party/state/army caste which today rules the Chinese deformed workers state. Not reform but proletarian political revolution is necessary to put the Chinese workers in power. ■

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Nationalists Conciliate Vorster Regime

Pax South Africana?

The unprecedented flurry of diplomatic maneuvering which has swept across southern Africa in the past two months represents a serious effort by both the white-supremacist South African government and neighboring African nationalist regimes to reach a *modus vivendi*. New political alignments precipitated by the Portuguese coup of last April—in particular the scheduled independence under majority rule of Mozambique and Angola by the end of 1975—have prompted the unreconstructed Boertrekkers who rule in Pretoria to improve their relations with black Africa.

The South African bourgeoisie, along with its senior partners in Britain and the U.S., has long recognized the dangers of being surrounded by hostile African regimes. More recently, faced with increasing economic difficulties and "the responsibilities of power," a number of erstwhile Pan-Africanist heads of state now appear anxious to establish a *détente* with capital-rich South Africa. The major obstacle at this point is Ian Smith's minority regime in Rhodesia.

Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia and long-time benefactor of independence movements in Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique, has set two preconditions for normalizing diplomatic and economic relations between Pretoria and the rest of the subcontinent: a settlement leading to majority rule in Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia) and, secondarily, independence for Southwest Africa (Namibia), which South Africa has ruled since World War I.

While the suddenly "enlightened" defenders of apartheid may be quite liberal in bargaining away white supremacy north of the Limpopo, and although Kaunda may be flexible about "timetables" for majority rule south of the Zambezi, it is not likely that African guerrillas and white settlers in Rhodesia itself will come to such a friendly understanding. But if the present negotiations are destined to break down, they should at least help to dispel the gross misconceptions many leftists have had concerning the capacity of so-called "revolutionary" nationalists and Pan-Africanists to break the stranglehold of imperialism.

Vorster's "Peace Offensive"

South African Premier Vorster, who along with Kaunda has been the major architect of the Rhodesian deal, publicly launched his "peace offensive" in a speech on October 23, stating: "South Africa has come to the crossroads. I think southern Africa has to make a choice... between peace on the one hand or an escalation of strife on the other." His offers did not fall on deaf ears.

Vorster announced shortly afterwards, on November 5, that he had received "assurances" from Frelimo leaders that the new Mozambican government would honor agreements with South Africa concerning the use of harbors, railways, power from the new Cabora Bassa dam and labor supply to South African gold mines. (Taken together, these account for the bulk of Mozambique's foreign exchange and are also crucial to the South African economy.) Four days later Kaunda also responded, characterizing Vorster's speech as the "voice of reason for which Africa and the world had waited."

Vorster, who is a former Nazi sympathizer (detained by the pro-British South African government during World War II), was as Justice Minister during the early 1960's a notoriously brutal enforcer of apartheid pass laws against the oppressed African population. His "voice of reason" does not extend to the black majority in South Africa. Ra-



South African Prime Minister Vorster (left) and Rhodesian leader Ian Smith.



Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda



Zimbabwe African People's Union guerrilla fighters.

ther it is a part of the "verligte" (outward-looking) foreign policy he has followed since 1967. His aim: a southern Africa co-prosperity sphere dominated by Johannesburg capital.

This policy has the support of the key sections of the local bourgeoisie as well. Thus the *Johannesburg Star* (16 October) commented even before the "peace offensive" was announced: "Can we still afford to bail out Rhodesia?... Black rule in Mozambique makes the 'white buffer' less important to us strategically. Economically she is largely a burden."

Vorster's plan calls for a gradual transition to majority rule in Rhodesia. A constitutional conference would be held on a franchise including Africans over 21 years of age and having at least one year of secondary school. This would produce an electorate of roughly equal numbers of black and white voters, though whites would retain a parliamentary majority since educated Africans are concentrated in under-represented urban districts. After five years new elections would be held on a franchise allowing an African majority.

In return, Zimbabwe nationalists would give up guerrilla warfare, South Africa would remove its 2,000 police from Rhodesia and the UN would drop its economic sanctions. Trade in the region would increase as a result and South Africa would prosper as the dominating power of a southern African common market. The remaining potential trouble spot, Namibia, could be easily dealt with (from Pretoria's point of view). Vorster proposes a national conference dominated by traditional leaders of various tribes and ethnic groups to decide the territory's future.

Reluctant Rhodesians

Ian Smith's Rhodesian government has been a reluctant participant in this

bargaining. On the one hand, Smith cannot simply refuse to talk, as he is highly dependent upon South African and British capital which, in turn, is far more concerned with South Africa than the puny Rhodesian market. The Salisbury regime is also feeling pressure from guerrilla activity in the northeast and growing support for the nationalist groups throughout the African population. In addition, there is the danger that Mozambique might deny Rhodesia use of its ports.

On the other hand, the 270,000-strong white minority that is the social base of the Rhodesian Front government (there is not a single opposition member of parliament) is not likely to give up legally enforced job trusting, legal exclusion of Africans from choice agricultural land and other privileges which would doubtless be eliminated under even the most pusillanimous African government. The Rhodesian white population is proportionately one of the largest European minorities in black Africa.

These conflicting pressures have moved Smith to adopt apparently contradictory postures toward negotiations with African nationalists during recent weeks. The initial breakthrough was marked by his decision to release from prison Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, head of the rival Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). They were flown to Zambia, where they conferred with Kaunda, President Nyerere of Tanzania and representatives of the Rhodesian government.

The tentative agreement arrived at in the Lusaka negotiations provided for a ceasefire, release of 300 African political prisoners, removal of South African police and the convening of a constitutional conference. However, to date there is no deadline for the conference,

and the ceasefire has been only partially implemented, while Smith continues to assure the Rhodesian white electorate that there will be no drastic changes in the franchise. Even the tenuous unity between ZANU and ZAPU in the "African National Council" seems far from stable. Thus the current debate among bourgeois commentators is whether negotiations will break down before or during the projected constitutional conference.

Bourgeois Nationalists Cannot Accomplish National Emancipation

If the recent negotiations over Rhodesia demonstrate the extent to which national interests supersede even racial solidarity for the South African bourgeoisie, they underline the same point with respect to the supposedly "anti-imperialist" nationalists in power in Zambia, Mozambique and elsewhere. The deal being worked out between Kaunda and Vorster will almost certainly fail to liberate the African majority in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, but it will facilitate a rapprochement between Lusaka and Pretoria.

It is a fundamental thesis of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution that the bourgeoisies of the backward countries are too weak vis-à-vis imperialism and feudalism—and too threatened by the proletariat—to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution, notably national emancipation, agrarian revolution and bourgeois democracy. This is being amply confirmed in Africa today.

For instance, the Mozambique government headed by Prime Minister Joachim Chissano (a leader of Frelimo) is a coalition with the Portuguese armed forces movement; it has declared its commitment to defending the "legitimate interests" of Portugal, continues to supply South Africa with hundreds of thousands of contract laborers, has outlawed strikes and said nothing about suppressing forced labor or expropriating the large plantations owned by Portuguese corporations. As to the fate of South African blacks, Chissano remarked soon after taking office: "We do not pretend to be saviors of the world. We will not be the saviors or reformers of South Africa. That belongs to the people of South Africa" (*New York Times*, 18 September 1974).

"Anti-Imperialist" Zambia?

The Stalinists argue that the fundamental division in backward capitalist countries is between "revolutionary nationalists" and "neo-colonialist" stooges of imperialism. Kenneth Kaunda's Zambia belongs, according to this myth, to the "anti-imperialist" category.

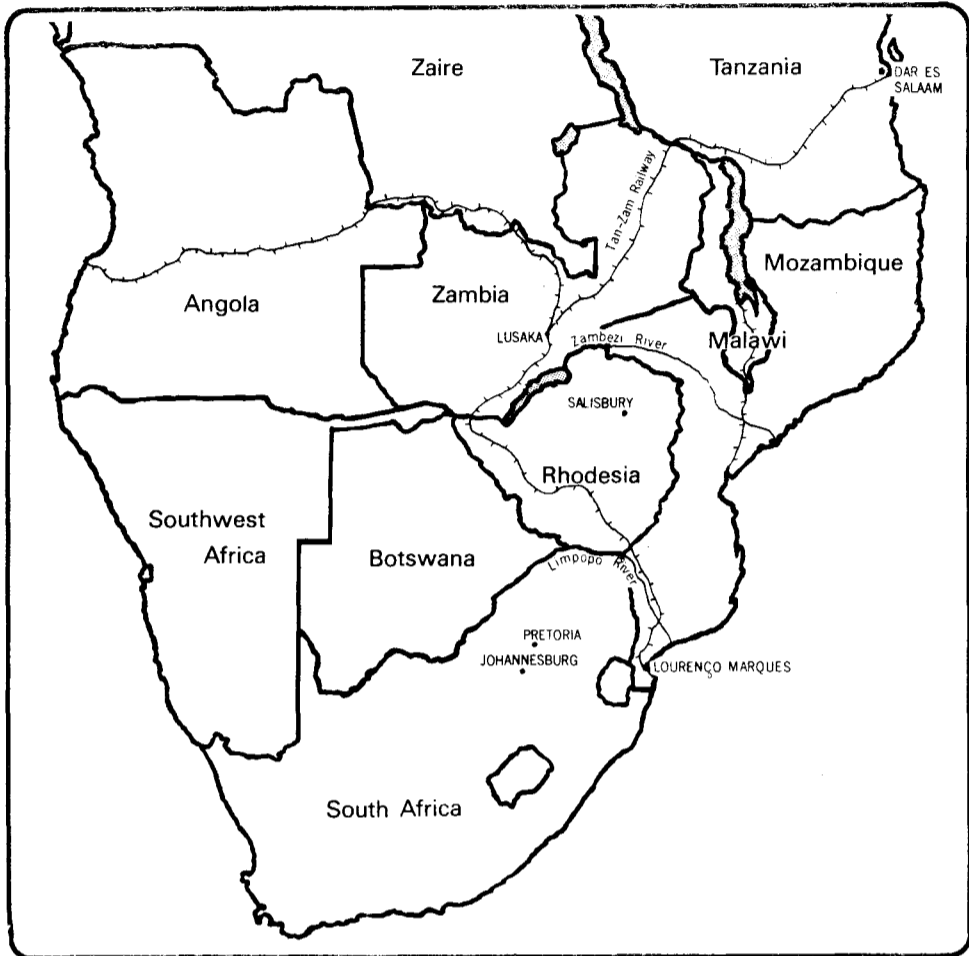
However, the reality is different. The Zambian economy is dominated by the copper industry (90 percent of all exports), which from independence on

has been controlled by the giant South African trust, Anglo American Corporation and a Rhodesian firm controlled by American Metal Climax (Roan Consolidated Mines). Although Zambia became majority partner in the copper mines in 1970, the South African/American monopolies have continued their control through "management agreements" which have enabled them to siphon off substantial profits far beyond their nominal 49 percent share.

Kaunda's current initiatives are clearly motivated by a desire to maximize copper profits. Cut off from secure access to the sea for many years by Rhodesia's "unilateral declaration of independence" and Portuguese control

ceptiveness to South African diplomatic proposals. This, in turn, has certain implications regarding "anti-imperialist" Zambia's attitude toward the black liberation struggle in South Africa. The government-owned Lusaka *Daily Mail* (19 October) wrote last fall:

"In hard economic terms any improvement in relations between South Africa and black Africa would be enormously beneficial to both sides. The closure of the border between Zambia and Rhodesia has cost South Africa millions... in export and other business. And it has cost Zambia millions... because of the costly rerouting operation it has entailed... And countries such as Zambia which now import a large range of



ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo (left) and Ndabani Sithole of ZANU

of Angola, Kaunda went along with Nyerere's plan for a railway line, financed by China, linking Lusaka to Dar es Salaam.

The "Tan-Zam Railway" is China's biggest foreign aid project in Africa and was intended to have the same impact as Russian financing of the Aswan Dam in Egypt. However, neither Peking nor Moscow has been noticeably lucky with their chosen "revolutionary nationalists."

The Tan-Zam Railway is now nearing completion, but Zambia is already looking for other outlets. For several years it has been shipping tens of thousands of tons of copper to Dar es Salaam by truck. Once the shipments arrive at the Tanzanian port, however, they sit there for weeks and even months because of incredible congestion in the harbor. On the other side of the continent, the Benguela railway through Angola has been hit by repeated strikes as independence draws near. Thus Kaunda has been concerned to find some other outlet to the sea.

His chance came with a recent offer by the "neo-colonialist" Malawi government to build an extension of its rail system (financed by a loan from South Africa) to hook up with the Tan-Zam inside Zambia, thereby providing access once again to Mozambican ports. Kaunda hastily accepted the offer.

Politics is concentrated economics, as Marx said, and Zambia's concern to guarantee a stable access to the Indian Ocean is reflected in Kaunda's new re-

goods from Europe would be able to make considerable savings in exchange by taking South African goods."

There can be no doubt that these "considerable savings" will be realized only as part of a deal which guarantees that black African states will give no aid to insurgents in South Africa. (Kaunda has already declared: "The people of South Africa face the primary task of shaping their own destiny.") And there is likewise no doubt that the only road to national emancipation, agrarian revolution and the achievement of democratic rights for the masses lies not in the Stalinist policy of support for the bourgeois nationalists of the Kaunda stripe, but in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. For the formation of Trotskyist parties in black Africa! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Continued from page 12 KNC or Boron — Victory or Defeat?

the KNC strike and the fraudulent censure of Mandel cannot be swept under the rug by the leadership. The Militant Caucus declares in its newsletter its intention of carrying the fight into the March Constitutional Convention of Local 6. In the current bargaining it calls for common expiration dates on all Local 6 contracts, strike support committees, bringing standard houses (like KNC) up to standard and the unlimited right to strike. It also demands a union-wide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to make jobs for all. It concludes,

"The actions of the Union City police, the court injunction limiting picketing, and the NLRB order against boycotting scab goods make it clear that the government is of and for the bosses. We cannot look to the capitalist government as being 'neutral'; we must depend on the strength of organized labor. That goes for cleaning our own house as well. We are opposed to any government interference in the union and oppose the use of court suits to resolve internal union issues. We need a workers government. As a step towards achieving that we need a workers party. No more Fords or Operation Zebra Aliots!"

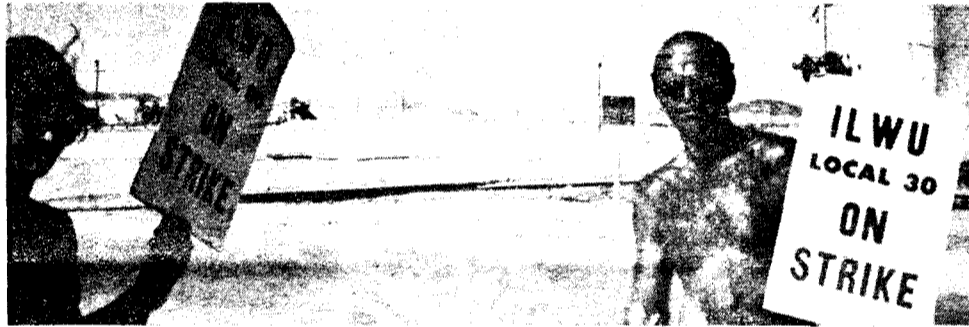
The outcome of the struggle in ILWU Local 6 is of clear import to all workers in the current economic downturn. The employers grow more brazen by the hour. Those workers that aren't laid off are forced by union misleaders

to cough up concessions to the employer for the "right" to continue being exploited. The bourgeoisie holds up Boron as the model for how to break the union in a period of mass unemployment, when scabs are easy to come by. But KNC demonstrated that the unemployed (who came down from the hiring hall to the picket line) can be mobilized to defend, not break strikes, and that militant methods can stop scabbing.

Build Class-Struggle Caucuses!

The union leaderships, including the "progressive" Bridges regime in the ILWU, are committed to pro-capitalist business unionism which worships every letter of bourgeois legality. Under such leaderships, unions scab on each other (AFL-CIO craft unions crossed picket lines at Boron) and tamely they will submit to injunctions against mass picketing or proscriptions against "secondary boycotts."

The labor bureaucracy dooms the unions themselves to an ignominious end unless it is uprooted and replaced with class-struggle leadership. Knowing this, it is the organizers of defeats such as Boron who seek to snuff out every voice which speaks for a militant course. Through class-struggle caucuses, however, militants can turn one voice into many and build an alternative leadership capable of defeating such bureaucratic witchhunts and ousting the misleaders who perpetrate them. The Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 represents a beginning, a step in the direction of future victories rather than defeats for the ILWU and all unions. ■



ILWU DISPATCHER

ILWU Local 30 strikers picket U.S. Borax mine in the Mojave Desert town of Boron, California, last fall. The strike went down to a crushing defeat in its fifth month, losing hundreds of jobs permanently to scabs, because the "progressive" Bridges leadership of the ILWU refused to organize "hot-cargo" labor boycotts of scab borax. Even ILWU longshoremen at Borax's Wilmington facility shipped the struck product! The December issue of *Fortune* magazine ran a "how-to-break-the-union" feature on the Boron fiasco.

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...Ceylonese Youth

Marxists in this struggle was the side of the oppressed youth who were being massacred by the government. And in this regard, this is what the Revolutionary Workers Party [RWP] resolution on the JVP armed struggle stated:

"...as this struggle was between the oppressed youth on the one side and the forces of capitalism on the other, the side of the revolutionary Marxists is the side of the fighting youth, meaning thereby, that they should defend the fighting youth against the actions of the capitalist state. Concretely, this meant that revolutionary Marxists should oppose and fight the government in its attempts to kill, torture, imprison and harm the fighting youth, their supporters and relatives."

But consequent to the disorientation resulting from coalition politics the working class—the organised trade unions—not only failed to come to the defence of the youth when they were being beaten and killed by the police and the armed forces, but some trade-union officials organised by the LSSP and CP rushed to the defence of the police stations!

Of the left parties and groups, only the RWP categorically denounced the massacres and called upon the working class to rally to the defence of the youth. Here are some relevant quotes from the RWP to the prime minister: "I am directed by the Bureau of our party to vehemently protest and strongly condemn the murderous campaign that your government has launched against the youth of our country." And here were some of the demands made of the government in the same letter:

- "that you stop forthwith the massacre of the youth";
- "stop the mass murder of innocent people by the armed forces";
- "that you release forthwith all persons detained without trial."

The RWP followed up by a circular letter to all trade unions, and raised with them the urgency of taking trade-union action to stop the massacre of these youth, etc., and the urgency of a trade-union conference in this regard. The RWP failed to receive any response from the trade unions. In regard to Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the CMU [Ceylon Mercantile Union], he said he did not favour a trade-union conference but informed [us] that his union was writing a letter to the prime minister in that regard.

Of the other left parties the CP (pro-Peking), whose leader, Shanmugadasan, was himself under detention on suspicion of complicity with the uprising, did nothing in regard to the question of this murderous campaign against the youth.

With regard to the LSSP(R) [Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary)], Tampoe failed to do anything in defence of the youth against this repression. There was not even a word of protest in his letter to the prime minister. This document was an appeal to the prime minister to be merciful, and not to order a concerted action of the armed forces, which she announced would become necessary if the fighting youth did not surrender.

Subsequently the CMU, under the leadership of Tampoe, adopted a resolution in which it obliquely lined up with the prime minister and the coalition government in "their fight against imperialism."

"The general council accordingly calls upon the government...to consult all mass organisations of the people and not only those whose leaders are subservient to the government, as to all other measures that may be necessary to break Ceylon free of the stranglehold of imperialism upon it, and thereby to enable the people to set about the establishment of a genuine socialist Democracy in Ceylon." [our emphasis, E.S.]

As for the Revolutionary Communist League (the Healyite group), it failed to make any relevant intervention. Their inaction amounted to abstentionism.

While it was the duty of all those who claim to be revolutionaries to come

to the defence of the JVP youth against the murderous campaign by the government, it was their imperative [task] to point out that devotion, heroism, self sacrifice alone cannot lead to success in the struggle for socialism; on the contrary, it was imperative to show that the experience of the masses in struggle both in Sri Lanka and elsewhere has proved that the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers from capitalism [and] imperialism cannot be divorced from Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism.

However, the truth was that the leaders of the JVP movement, while claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, rejected Marxism, i.e., scientific socialism. This is why their movement ended in hopeless failure, and this is why this movement disintegrated so soon after the April uprising. Here is what the RWP stated in regard to the politics of the JVP in the resolution "Revolutionary Workers Party and the armed struggle":

"The JVP claims to be Marxist-Leninist in political orientation. They sought to decorate their politics with Maoist slogans.

"They did not accept the vanguard role of the working class and have completely discounted the Tamil Speaking plantation workers. In this regard, they have failed to publicly explain what they meant by 'Indian Expansionism,' to which they said they are opposed....

"The socialism of the JVP is petty-bourgeois socialism, meaning thereby that they are severely critical of capitalist exploitation and capitalist society, but do not call for the anti-capitalist struggle."

The resolution says this on the armed struggle:

"The rebels did not make any attempt to win the participation of the working class or any other section of the oppressed either before or after the armed struggle began. They had no plans for mass mobilisation. They relied entirely on their own forces for success in the struggle against the forces of the capitalist state....

"It was thus that the armed struggle was only a courageous but reckless undertaking, without any hope of success from the very outset."

In contrast, Tampoe (LSSP[R]) and the United Secretariat, by their uncritical support of the politics of the JVP, must bear some responsibility for the adventurist April uprising of the JVP.

Here is what Tampoe reported to the Eleventh Delegates Meeting of the CMU on 27 November 1970 regarding a joint meeting they held, to protest the shooting of an estate worker in "Keenakele" Tea Estate, with a JVP leader and another reformist, Tamil communalist trade-union leader Illangecheleyan:

"A historic feature of the meeting was the coming together on the same platform of the most well-known leaders of the Dravidian Progressive Movement (DMK) and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, Illangecheleyan and Rohana Wijeweera. Each has been described as a racist, the one Dravidian and the other Singhalan, but both spoke in terms of Marxism-Leninism."

Nor could we dismiss all this as just Tampoe's own irresponsibility and opportunism, which cannot be [foisted] on the leaders of the United Secretariat. The statement issued by the United Secretariat when the uprising took place is no less irresponsible and no less opportunistic, and therefore anti-Marxist. Here is the relevant passage:

"The government had failed to consider even the most meagre measures for the problems of high prices and the continual erosion of the living standards of the masses. Unhappily for the coalition leaders, they had now to take account of another factor—the emergence of a single revolutionary front between the JVP, the LSSP(R), Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, and the Young Socialist Front, the new revolutionary nucleus formed among the plantation workers."

Thus not only Tampoe but his mentors of the United Secretariat—the Mandels and Pierre Franks—solidarised themselves politically with the petty-bourgeois Sinhalese chauvinist politics of the JVP. Thus the Tampoes and the Mandels must bear responsibility for disorienting the Sri Lanka

youth and pushing the JVP movement headlong to its doom.

Outcome of the JVP Armed Struggle

The killing and torturing of hundreds of youth, the long jail sentences for the leaders of the JVP movement including life imprisonment for Rohana Wijeweera are not the only outcome of this struggle.

The struggle debunked the theories of bourgeois reformists, the Stalinists



Ceylon Prime Minister Bandaranaike

and the reformist LSSP and petty-bourgeois politicians in Sri Lanka that no armed struggle is possible, because it is a land where people are predominantly Buddhists, where violence is against their tradition and culture.

However, thanks to the adventurist nature of the struggle and its failure to draw the working class and toilers behind it, and thanks to the treachery of the LSSP and CP and the reformist leaders of the trade-union movement, the capitalist state in Sri Lanka has been strengthened as never before. The capitalist ruling class led by the SLFP leader Sirima Bandaranaike has modernised and streamlined the repressive apparatus of the state, both organisationally and technically. The armed forces, the army, navy, air force and the police have been expanded and equipped with the most modern armaments for the effective suppression of the working class and toilers.

Repressive laws never before known in this country have been passed as regulations under the Public Security Act, including the notorious Criminal Justice Commission Act.

Thus the capitalist state in the hands of bourgeois leader Sirima Bandaranaike is in the process of establishing its strong state—the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class to crush the trade-union movement and the working class, and to destroy the left movement by a bloodbath as in the case of the suppression of the youth, if that becomes necessary.

But this catastrophe for the working class and the left movement is by no means inevitable. This could well be averted if only the working class, the youth, the poor peasants and exploited break from coalition politics, and those treacherous leaders of the LSSP and CP, and speedily take the road of class struggle, and at the same time take meaningful steps to build the new leadership—the revolutionary Marxist party. This is the only road that could smash all repressive legislation and the murderous apparatus of the state, free all political prisoners, end capitalist rule and open the road to socialism. ■

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In this atmosphere it is not surprising that various left tendencies have begun to mushroom, including anarchist, syndicalist and quasi-Trotskyist groupings. At times these have reportedly been able to lead strikes while defeating the bankrupt Maoist leadership.

Among the new formations is the Daily Combatting Bulletin (DCB) group, which is under the influence of the majority faction of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The DCB claims to have a certain amount of mass support, having reportedly organized last year a May 5 demonstration against inflation which attracted 5,000 participants. It has also demonstrated against the deportation of 118 Vietnamese refugees to Saigon, a protest which received no support whatever from local representatives of the China-first Peking regime. This chauvinist attitude should be no surprise to anyone who has followed the Mao-Chou dé tention politics, which was a key element in inducing the North Vietnamese to accept the 1973 Paris "peace" accords. The DCB group also organized demonstrations supporting "the Korean mass struggle," a focus which apparently stirred the Maoists' ire, since Kim Il Sung is not on Mao's list of "progressive" personalities

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(such as the Shah of Iran and Yahya Khan).

It is criminal that Peking, in its efforts to seduce the bourgeois governments of the world, props up one of the last, and most lucrative, outposts of British imperialism. In its drive to line up "non-superpowers" (e.g., Japan, European NATO countries, etc.) against the "number one enemy"—"Soviet social-imperialism"—the Maoist bureaucracy deliberately supports the continuation of colonial rule. Thus the struggle of Hong Kong workers for their liberation from Britain and capitalist exploitation has as its foremost and most immediate enemy... "People's China"! It is not possible to lead these struggles forward to victory without a clear policy toward the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state. The fake Trotskyists of the USec unfortunately do not have the stomach (or the principles) for a fight against Maoism, as militants in the DCB group will soon discover.

In the 1950's the International Secretariat (now the USec majority) hoped to reform the recently triumphant CCP through friendship (rather than calling for political revolution), and so its leaders "forgot" to champion the cause of hundreds of Chinese Trotskyists languishing in Mao's jails. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" the USec supported the Mao clique in the intra-bureaucratic struggles that were going on, trying as it normally does to operate as a left pressure group on Stalinist forces. Because of the dynamics of the Hong Kong situation, the DCB group finds itself forced to confront the Maoist union bureaucracy; it nevertheless al-

ready recapitulates the USec tradition. To disillusioned Maoists it explains that "the compromise policy of the Hong Kong Maoists... is a consequence of the degeneration of the Chinese Revolution" (*Inprecor*, 6 June 1974).

But the Chinese Revolution was deformed from its very inception! There were no Chinese soviets in 1949, or since; there are not even germs, let alone vestiges, of workers democracy in the land of Mao Tse-tung thought. In fact, the same elements which constituted the bureaucracy of the CCP in its supposedly "undegenerate" (i.e., revolutionary) period are still, in various combinations, the leaders of the CCP today.

The very methodology of the USec is to substitute maneuver and pressure for the principled programmatic struggle of revolutionary Trotskyism. Little Hong Kong lies sandwiched between China and the sea. Historically it has been a key juncture between Western and Japanese imperialisms and China. Only a fiercely internationalist movement can have any hope of carrying out a proletarian revolution under such conditions.

A Hong Kong workers republic is unimaginable—in the absence of revolutionary uprisings in China or Japan a Hong Kong Commune would have, at best, a few days of life before it would be smashed by one or several of these powers. At the same time, however, a revolutionary Trotskyist movement here could serve both as a catalyst and a crucial link between the powerful Chinese and Japanese proletariats. The USec has demonstrated its inability to build such parties. ■

have been agitating for a "democratic" (i.e., liberal bourgeois) government, presumably on the model of the Chilean Popular Unity or the current military-Stalinist-social democratic coalition in Portugal. And just as the popular-front regime in Chile prepared the way for a bloody coup by preaching faith in the "constitutional" military, just as the Stalinists today suppress strikes in Lisbon, so such a "democratic" government would be a noose around the neck of the working class.

We warn that, given the chance, Carrillo will repeat this infamous treachery tomorrow in Spain. Only by raising the need to break with the Assembly of Catalonia and the Democratic Junta, only by openly fighting against the class-collaborationist policies of popular frontism can revolutionaries show the way forward to the working masses. The struggle for a workers government, based on democratically elected bodies representing the working class, is crucial if the tragic fate of the Spanish Republic is to be avoided. ■

nounces that "all inhabitants of the country should bear the consequences equally" if there is a grave national emergency, equates guerrillism to coups d'état ("although the aims are different"), etc.

But when we come to the section in which Coral announces that the PST "luchará por la continuidad de este gobierno" ("will fight for the continuity of this government"), this is rendered as: "... will fight to keep this government's term of office from being cut short illegitimately...". This is something quite different. Apparently Joseph Hansen, like Coral & Co., feels that dictionaries are inadequate to interpret what the PST is saying.

Lenin and Trotsky repeatedly stressed the need to defend democratic rights and oppose bonapartist coups. However, the PST "translates" this into supporting "bourgeois democracy," "institutionalization" (including against leftist guerrillas) and the "continuity" of the present government. Aside from the fact that the "democracy" of the bonapartist Peronist regime is in any case quite limited, such a statement can mean nothing but political support for the government and for the parliamentary form of bourgeois class dictatorship. ■

Continued from page 4

Busing...

side of the social revolution and against U.S. imperialism!

Of the SL's call for the formation of a bi-racial defense force based on the trade unions and black community organizations, the SWP has this to say:

"Such a defense force would be an ideal solution, but unfortunately it does not correspond to the level of organization or consciousness...."

But to paraphrase a remark of Eugene V. Debs which the SWP's J.P. Cannon was fond of quoting, it's better to call for what you want and not get it than to call for what you *don't* want and get it. In other words, if the SL's call for organized self-defense and proletarian class solidarity is not now taken up by the masses (thanks in part to the calculated misleadership of reformists like the SWP), it nonetheless is what is urgently needed. But the SWP's demand for federal troops, far from "pav[ing] the way for the movement, as it gathers strength, to take further measures," is *counterposed* to the development of class consciousness and militant organization.

The bourgeoisie has demonstrated that it will sometimes grant the SWP's demand—but only to intervene on the side of the racists and reactionaries *against* the embattled black masses! In Detroit (1943), Little Rock, Ark. (1957), Birmingham, Ala. (1963), Selma, Ala. (1965), Uncle Sam's troops went in to crush nascent movements of black self-defense (see *Young Spartacus* No. 27,

December 1974). The SWP now prates about Little Rock where federal troops were supposedly sent in "to protect the lives of Black students." But in fact the purpose of the intervention was to suppress armed blacks who had begun to fight back in defense of their community. As the bourgeois *Amsterdam News* headlined (28 September 1957), "Ike Moves As Negroes Hit Back."

The current *Militant* article leans heavily on the example of black nationalist Robert F. Williams whose book *Negroes With Guns*, describes the organization of a black self-defense grouping in Monroe County, North Carolina. The SWP is attempting to show that self-defense and appeals to the bourgeois armed forces for protection went "hand in hand." In fact, the SWP succeeds only in showing once again that it was only the threat of armed blacks organizing which pushed the city officials into banning the Ku Klux Klan.

The root of the SWP's call for federal troops to police Boston goes deeper than naïveté over the efficacy of asking the U.S. imperialist army to "protect lives." The SWP's entire strategy is based upon an attempt to prove itself "respectable" enough to be of assistance to the liberal politicians and non-violent black "leaders" who are calling for troops. Accordingly, the SWP presents the capitalist state—the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie—as an institution which in effect can transform its class character if only sufficient "mass pressure" is mobilized. The SWP's fundamental revisionism on the *nature of the state* is a decisive link in the chain which it is eagerly forging—the chain which ties it to the bourgeoisie. ■

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Franco...

can order while respecting private property."—quoted in Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*.

For a Workers Government

The Stalinists' defense of private property and the bourgeois order has not changed from 1936 until today. Peaceful coexistence and the Democratic Junta are simply the current expressions of their policies of class collaboration. Until recently in Spain this policy was expressed by sharply limiting the demands put forward by Stalinist-led workers commissions (the clandestine trade unions) to purely economic demands. Even demands for legal trade unions independent of the state and for the right to strike were too "advanced," they argued.

Now that such enforced apoliticism is no longer possible, these betrayers

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UAW Demo...

union bureaucracy have the same program for layoffs: support your local capitalists and rely on the federal government.

This is also the program of Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young, who endorsed the UAW Washington demonstration remarking that, "The people this time want the government to provide jobs..." (*Daily World*, 9 January). While calling on "higher-ups" in Washington to allocate more money to job programs, Young had just laid off 1,500 city employees!

In addition to the labor bureaucracy and liberal Democrats, many supposed socialist and militant trade-union organizations have the same perspective of pressuring the capitalist government. At a recent (January 17) Detroit city council hearing on unemployment, the United National Caucus (UNC) of the UAW put out a leaflet entitled "Jobs Not Jive" which apologized for Young: "We must recognize that neither the Common Council nor Mayor Young has the kind of power needed to deal with a disaster of this magnitude."

While the UNC, like the present Woodcock leadership of the UAW, called for better unemployment compensation and decreased military expenditures, the Maoist Communist Labor Party (CLP) came up with an even better gimmick: declare Detroit a "national disaster area" and fully implement the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973! CLP spokesmen at the city council hearings called for transforming CETA into a weapon in the hands of the workers.

Jobs for All!

The reformists have no answer to layoffs. Their entire program is to give support to the left wing of the capitalist class while masking their capitulations in "revolutionary" rhetoric. But in their desire to become one with the labor bureaucracy they are often led to unwillingly expose their own capitulation. Thus at the Detroit city council meeting Hank Wilson, president of the Dearborn Assembly unit of UAW Local 600 (River Rouge), spoke

for the CLP-led Workers Action Coalition for Jobs, saying to the council: "We elected you. We have confidence in the Council. Now join us in this fight!"

As against such fake naïveté, speakers for the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League at the January 17 unemployment hearings stressed the need for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie. "The city government and Coleman Young have already given us a clear indication of how they intend to deal with the problem of massive unemployment," declared Ron Anderson of the SL, pointing to the recent hiring of cops and firing of city workers. Revolutionary socialists support the demand that there be no cutbacks in government-funded jobs programs, he continued, and call for unconditional and unlimited unemployment compensation, as well as public works programs at union scale and under union control. "But the fight for *jobs for all* is the key fight!"

The Woodcock bureaucracy occasionally makes noises in the direction of social-democratic reformism, for instance its support for Canada's New Democratic Party. At the recent convention of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), several auto union officials were prominent participants, including former vice-president Victor Reuther, vice-president Doug Fraser, Chicago district International representative Carl Sheir and others. And at the February 5 Washington rally, UAW vice-president Bannon even mumbled something about planned production.

But while Bannon and Co. call on workers to give up cost-of-living pay in order to maintain supplemental unemployment benefits, the Spartacist League calls on the government to take over the SUB fund and merge it with unemployment and welfare programs. As for planned production, the SL/SYL spokesman at the Detroit unemployment hearings pointed out: "Neither Democrats nor Republicans will fight against the ravages of unemployment because they are tied to the coattails of the corporate magnates. What is necessary is the routing of the present labor leaders and the construction of a workers party to fight for the expropriation of industry, without compensation, and the planning of production under a workers government." ■

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... Coral

denunciation of "terrorist and guerrillaist forms of violence," it is not surprising that Coral's speech to the "multisectorial" was widely interpreted by press and television as support for the government. However, according to the 15 October *Avanzada Socialista* the version of the speech distributed by the government's press office contained "omissions" which altered its meaning; therefore AS published a "textual reconstruction" of Coral's words.

As a "fraternal service" to the PST, its ally in the factional battle raging in the USec, the SWP recently published an English version of Coral's statement (*Intercontinental Press*, 13 January). However, *IP* apparently did a little "reconstructing" itself in order to spruce up the key passage.

For the most part the English translation accurately reproduces the Spanish text. Coral repeats his "firm condemnation of the death of the latest victim of the terror, who happens to be an officer of the armed forces," an-

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU Bureaucrats Censure Strike Militancy

KNC or Boron—Victory or Defeat?

OAKLAND, February 7—Only a few days after rank-and-file militants managed to snatch a limited victory from the jaws of defeat at the KNC Glass strike in Union City, the leadership of the union—Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—has launched a divisive, self-serving attack on one of the militants most responsible for defeating the company's union-busting plans. The General Executive Board of the Local voted last week to censure one of its members, Bob Mandel, for "provocative actions" and "anti-union attacks" in connection with the strike.

It was Mandel who, together with other militants, initiated the mass picketing and "hot-carguing" of shipments bound for the plant that led the employer to abandon attempts to bring in scabs and be rid of the union forever. Ironically, even the International paper, the *Dispatcher* (24 January) agrees that militant action was the key: "Due to large mobilization in front of the plant January 9, the company backed off its threat to bring scabs in...."

The KNC strike was important because it demonstrated the power of militant class struggle to prevent the

6 members Bob Mandel, John Dow and Pete. Farruggio) contained nothing "provocative" or "anti-union." It was the exposure of the bureaucracy's do-nothing, defeatist policies and the militant actions sparked by the leaflet that were the targets of the Local's top leadership.

Militant Caucus Formed

Following the executive board's censure of Mandel, the first act of the militants who had put out the KNC leaflet was to organize as the Militant Caucus and publish issue No. 1 of a caucus newsletter, the *Warehouse Militant*. The newsletter declares, "No more Borons—let's get on with the business of winning strikes decisively!"

It also announces the purpose of the Militant Caucus: "We must build a new leadership in Local 6 and throughout the entire union based on a class-struggle program and a militant strategy." The newsletter invites all ILWU members who agree with a ten-point program to join the caucus. The "Program in Brief" includes demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, international class solidarity and



Mass picketing stopped scabs, union-busting at KNC Glass strike last month.

wage a militant defense of the KNC strike."

Asked by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter about the charges published in the *Warehouse Militant*, Local 6 Secretary-Treasurer Keith Eickman said he was aware of a group that had been formed by "a member who is dissatisfied" with current union policies. He said the censure motion against Mandel was for "unwillingness to cooperate with the membership," whatever that means, but he vigorously and repeatedly denied any intention to expel Mandel from the union.

The slanders leveled against Mandel at the Executive Board meeting have all the earmarks of a Stalinist-style purge of the left, in which charges of collusion with the class enemy are raised against militants in order to cover up for the bureaucrats' own cravenly sellout policies. And, in fact, the Local 6 leadership is one of the last remaining strongholds of influence of the reformist Communist Party in the ILWU. The signs are, however, that the membership—and KNC strikers in particular—are detecting this onslaught for what it really is, a tissue of lies.

KNC Workers Back Militant

The *Warehouse Militant* reprints a statement by Paul Rosenberg, chief steward at KNC, confirming this. While noting that "Brother Mandel and I have differences," Rosenberg declares, "Rather than censuring Brother Mandel, the General Executive Board ought to have applauded him," and he goes on to list seven reasons, including: "...helping to defend the picket line against the attacks of the Union City police on the morning of January 9th ...conducting himself as a responsible union member..." and "helping to strengthen unity between English- and Spanish-speaking workers from KNC." The chief steward also states flatly that "...all the provocation was done by the owners of KNC and the Union City police."

The Rosenberg statement praises Mandel for insisting that the union do everything possible to stop shipments of glass from the docks to the plants, and says that the action, once undertaken, "contributed greatly to our victory." It notes, however, that it was Local President McLain himself who actually, together with others, visited the docks and halted glass shipments.

In fact, all such actions (mass picketing, hot carguing) were carried out through official union channels.

The leadership did, in fact, show up at the lines on the crucial day (January 9). An article in the *Dispatcher* (24 January), brags of "the presence of International officers Louis Goldblatt and Bill Chester, the entire longshore negotiating committee, and the Northern California regional staff, as well as local officers." The article failed to mention the fact that one member of the longshore bargaining committee, ILWU President Harry Bridges, did not come down to the picket line. It also did not mention the failure of the same officers to turn out for the Boron strike lines, or the fact that the chief initiator of the mass picketing had just been censured by bureaucrats in Local 6!

In its conclusion, the Rosenberg statement condemns the Local 6 Executive Board action and vehemently defends the class-struggle tactics used at KNC:

"... The motion of censure by our Executive Board against Brother Mandel does not strengthen our union, it weakens it. It weakens it because it encourages the employers and their various government agencies to believe that our union opposes the very kinds of militant actions that brought the union an important victory at KNC.

"Therefore I call upon the General Executive Board to drop its motion of censure against Brother Mandel and to drop as well any talk of expulsion. Further I urge that the General Executive Board pass a motion giving support to and encouraging those forms of militant union action that were exhibited during the strike at KNC."

This ringing indictment of the cowardly and divisive Executive Board act was subsequently endorsed by *virtually every worker at KNC*. Such a stinging rebuke robs the Local 6 leaders of any pretense for charges of "provocation" or "anti-union attacks" on the part of Mandel.

KNC or Boron?

As the *Warehouse Militant* states: "... the union officials who were dragging their feet during the strike are attempting to prevent the strategy that won at KNC from being used to win further strikes. The people who lose strikes are trying to crush the people who win strikes! The question is being posed for the entire union: Which way to run strikes? KNC or Boron?"

The issue of the militant methods of

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Militant ILWU warehousemen raise class-struggle program.

kind of crushing defeat suffered last fall by ILWU Local 30 in Boron, California, in which 400 jobs were lost to strikebreakers brought in by U.S. Borax Co. In that strike, dedicated scabs living in the plant achieved victory for the company because ILWU leaders allowed borax to be shipped (some by ILWU longshoremen!) and refused to organize anything but token outside support.

In contrast, when KNC management in Union City issued a Boron-like threat to replace striking workers, it was met with a mass picket composed of Local 6 members from surrounding warehouses, as well as members from the longshore and clerks locals and other unions. These workers turned out because of a leaflet they had received calling for "no more Borons," warning them of the danger of scabs and demanding a militant response from the union leadership. The leaflet, entitled "Defend the KNC Glass Strike! Mass Union Pickets Against Scabs! Don't Handle Scab Goods!" (signed by Local

breaking with the class collaborationism of the official union leadership, through breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and building a workers party "based on a class struggle program to fight for a workers government."

The *Warehouse Militant* points out that the censure motion against Mandel was no isolated act but rather a confirmation that "the leadership is rejecting those tactics which prevented another Boron at KNC and which could have been used to win a good contract: mass picketing and refusing to handle scab goods." It also reports that wild, scandalous charges and threats to expel Mandel from the union accompanied the censure motion:

"BA [Business Agent] Joe Figuerdo called people like Mandel 'provocateurs sent in by the companies.' BA Ramos said he was 'scabbing for the bosses.' International Rep. LeRoy King demanded his expulsion from the union. Mandel's only crime in the eyes of the bureaucrats is that he helped to