

**Take
Vientiane—
For Political
Revolution
in Hanoi,
Saigon,
Phnom Penh—
All Indochina
Must Go
Communist!**



Marines guard evacuation of Americans from U.S. embassy in Cambodia.

L'Express

Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!

MAY 4 On April 30 the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) rode triumphantly into Saigon as leaders of the defeated puppet regime and the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie fled the country by every available means. The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders.

The victory in Vietnam, like that in Cambodia two weeks earlier when the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, belongs to the heroic worker and peasant fighters in Indochina who have struggled resourcefully and tenaciously for

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WV Photo

**Angry Ranks Stop Humphrey
Speech**

**Bureaucrats
Lose Control
of Washington
Jobs Rally.... 6**

Militants protesting Humphrey speech during April 27 jobs rally. For related story see also "SWP/CP Bureaucrats Denounce Disrupters" on page 7.

SWP Gangster Attack on Union Militants

SAN FRANCISCO, May 3—SWP goons assaulted three trade-union militants and ejected them from last night's public Militant Labor Forum on Chile. The attack came as one of the unionists, members of the Militant Caucus of the ILWU, attempted to speak against the exclusion of the Spartacist League.

A week earlier, at a public talk by Fred Halstead, the SWP had announced that there were five allegedly "disruptive" SLers who would not be permitted to attend SWP forums. The SL responded by setting up a picket line outside last night's meeting, with about 20 people chanting slogans such as "Smash Stalinist Exclusionism" and "What Is the SWP Afraid Of—Trotskyism?"

At last night's forum on Chile, one of the ILWU militants raised the question of the picket line outside, pointing out that the SL had been active in organizing a boycott last year to stop the handling of Chilean cargo on San Francisco docks. The chairman responded that first a prepared statement would be read and questions would be permitted only at the end of the forum.

As soon as the chairman finished the statement, the ILWU militant got up to protest. The SWP announced that any questions at that time would be considered a "disruption" and the unionist was immediately seized by a goon squad. When two of his union brothers came to the militant's defense, one of the thugs began choking him with a hammerlock. Then all three were assaulted and shoved toward the stairs. The SWP goons succeeded in disrupting their own meeting, but not in doing much damage to the unionists.

When SL pickets outside the building heard the fighting at the top of the stairs and moved to defend the ILWUers, a violent scuffle broke out with another SWP goon squad stationed at the door. Within minutes four S.F. police cars arrived and the fighting broke up.

The SWP's outrageous statement charged not only that the SL "disrupted" forums given around the country by Juan Carlos Coral, a leader of the Argentine PST, but that we had actually set him up for an assassination! The SWP asserted that the "aggressiveness" of the SL "would have given any assassin a chance to do his work" and that "the intent of the SL [was] to do that!"

This statement is an incredible pack of lies and slanders. In Chicago, when gusano thugs attempted to rush the podium during a forum by Coral, some 20 SL supporters rushed to the speaker's defense. One of our comrades was hurt and another had his glasses smashed in the fighting. And at talks by Coral around the country following this incident, the SL participated in defense squads to protect him—including (e.g., Los Angeles, New York) at the direct initiation of the SWP itself.

What the SWP objects to is not any "disruption" of its forums by SL supporters, but our vigorous political attacks on Coral's stated support for bourgeois law and order. At his final talk in New York the PST leader announced he was not interested in the "intellectual masturbation" of "ideological debates" and walked off the podium rather than face the revolutionary criticism of the SL.

Though goon attacks and "cop"-baiting are a hallmark of Stalinism, they are by no means restricted to apologists for the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies. Moods of paranoia and the use of violence against left-wing opponents have been sweeping through much of the ostensible left, not only the SWP but such diverse groups as the Labor Committee, the Revolutionary Union and the Workers League, among others. While this is doubtless an objective phenomenon growing out of frustration, to the extent that the bourgeois political police are involved they are surely encouraging these antics just as strongly as the SL opposes them.

To those actively engaged in the class struggle, proletarian democracy is a vital weapon in the fight to oust the sellout bureaucracy within the unions. The ILWU militants are to be congratulated for their vigorous defense of their rights and the rights of revolutionary socialists. These unionists—who came to a public meeting of an avowedly "socialist" "workers" organization only to find that all workers are not equal in the eyes of the SWP—have taken a stand in the interests of all the working people. Their courageous defense of proletarian democracy poses squarely before the workers movement the question: are the bureaucratic goons—SWP, Stalinists, etc.—the people you want to lead you?

The SWP's vicious assault against unionists, and the cowardly exclusion of the SL, are part of a new escalation of the SWP's movement into the camp of the nakedly anti-communist social democracy. As the reformists grow more frenzied in their suppression of left criticism, we affirm in principle that any public meeting of the workers and socialist movements must abide by the even-handed practices of workers democracy. We will work toward this end, in the firm belief that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized only by the securing of such proletarian democratic practices, linked with the infusion throughout the masses of the revolutionary Marxist program.

SWP in the Camp of Social Democracy

Over the years we have chronicled the sharp rightward motion of the Socialist Workers Party from Trotskyism to reformism. Breaking with revolutionary Marxism in the early 1960's by supporting Castroism guerrillaism, the SWP endorsed outright class collaboration in the antiwar movement as early as 1965. Its fabled "mass movement" was built on the program of liberal antiwar Democrats and faded away as soon as withdrawals of U.S. troops began. At meetings of its antiwar (NPAC) and pro-abortion (WONAAC) "coalitions," communists of the Spartacist League were excluded in order to make the representatives of the bourgeoisie (Sen. Vance Hartke, Rep. Bella Abzug) comfortable.

At the same time, these "best organizers" of incipient popular frontism have mounted continuous reformist electoral campaigns, complete with two-tier program ("legalize abortion" for the posters, "free abortion" in the fine print). Seeking always to project an image of bourgeois respectability, SWP campaigns have included support for open union-busting (in the 1968 New York City teachers' strike) and appeals for the intervention of the capitalist army (during the current Boston busing controversy).

Commenting on the evolution of this party which was once the strongest section of the Fourth International, we wrote four years ago that, "In the long run, the SWP's competitors are not the other erstwhile Trotskyists, nor the Maoist and semi-Maoist confrontationists, but the ghost of American social-democracy" (*Spartacist*, April-May 1971). This has been the perspective of the SWP leadership for some time, although it has naturally sought to avoid explicitly repudiating the SWP's revolutionary past and still finds bogus orthodox verbiage useful on occasion.

Recently, however, the SWP has geared up its electoral machinery for a "bigger than ever" 1976 campaign, in the process resorting to ever more explicitly social-democratic rhetoric and program. Its appetites to become the mass reformist party in America were underlined in December when it explicitly renounced in court all violence and illegal action (in order to convince a sympathetic judge that FBI surveillance was not necessary). Two weeks later the SWP unveiled a "Bill of Rights for Working People," a classic reformist gimmick pretending to bring about socialism by constitutional amendment. Simultaneously it has undertaken an orientation toward the mainstream social democrats, particularly Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). (For further details see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975; "Socialism through Constitutional Amendment?" *WV* No. 61, 31 January; and "'Socialist' Labor Fakers Back Democrats," *WV* No. 67, 25 April.)

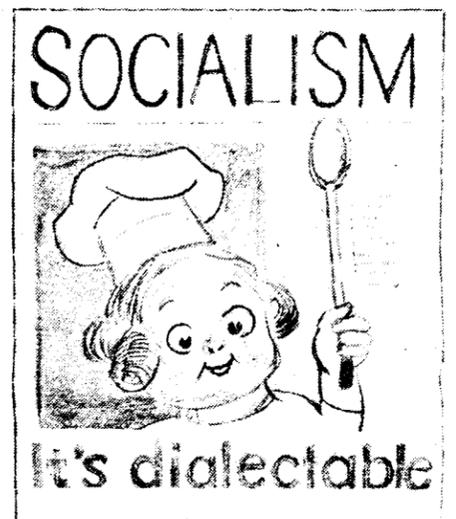
In explaining his party's up-to-date bill of rights (dealing with "new" problems of "present-day" capitalist society which the founding fathers evidently did not foresee), SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo put forward a concept of a "workers government" which bears more resemblance to Fabian "sewer socialism"

than to anything Lenin or Trotsky ever called for. Not only would this creature be the government of a *capitalist state*, but the SWP brand of workers government would behave quite moderately even within the confines of bourgeois parliamentarianism.

Take, for instance, the question of capitalist profits. Unlike the "ultra-left" Trotsky who called for the expropriation of the monopolies without compensation, the "sensible" Camejo demands that profits be reduced!

"Of course the owners of industry and big stockholders would have their profits reduced because they would be paying out more in wages."

Militant, 7 February 1975



VILLAGE VOICE "unsells" socialism.

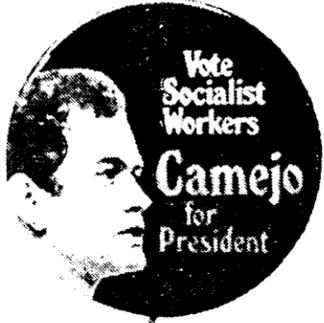
And what about mass layoffs and plant closures—does Camejo advocate workers control of production as proposed in the Transitional Program? No need to be so ultimatic: the SWP workers government would run the plants "by a board of directors elected by the workers instead of appointed by the biggest stockholders and bankers."

Far from conceiving of a workers government as profit-reducing "labor capitalism," Trotsky insisted a workers government means "nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Conversation on the Slogan 'Workers and Farmers Government,'" *Writings 1938-39*). The demand is raised in a correct revolutionary manner in the SWP's 1938 Constitution, which states that the party's purpose "shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers Government to achieve socialism." But today the aspiring social democrats who lead the SWP call for taking over the capitalist state machinery.

Next came the SWP's "appeal" to the readership of New York City's artsy *Village Voice*. Pete Hamill, an occasional *Voice* contributor, stirred controversy in respectable avantgarde circles by an article raising a pale pink flag of "socialism" (*Village Voice*, 13 January). Hamill's "Manifesto," written in response to the suggestion of an ad agency that the image of socialism needs "a major *unselling*," calls for "a single bank, run like the nationalized Bank of England under the Federal Reserve system" which would become "a great symbol of trust" for depositors. And such a socialist

Pete Hamill proposes socialist ticket,
Harrington declines, we're doing it. Join us!

Socialist ticket for '76



Send for the Socialist Workers
'76 action program A BILL OF
RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.

Vote
Socialist
Workers

Reid
for
President



Village Voice

SWP says it is carrying out Pete Hamill's call for a social-democratic ticket (left). These ex-Trotskyists seek to turn Lenin's call for use of parliament as arena for revolutionary struggle into recipe for reformist electoral cretinism (right).



America could institute real "protective tariffs" against Arab oil.

Mr. Hamill, a socialist "due to a misunderstanding" (Trotsky's apt description of Norman Thomas), proposed that DSOC's Michael Harrington and the liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith should launch a third-party, democratic socialist presidential campaign for '76. After all, he remarks, Harrington has "good looks" and Galbraith has "wit." With that kind of packaging, even socialism should be marketable.

Harrington, of course, demurred, explaining to the rash Hamill that the road to a socialist alternative runs through the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. With both the liberal DSOC and the more rabidly witchhunting Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) firmly wedded to the Democrats, as was their predecessor, the Socialist Party, the social-democratic electoral niche has been empty for some years. Sensing an upsurge in "socialist" sentiment in the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of late and hoping to fill this void, the SWP responded with an ad in the *Voice* pertly announcing: "Pete Hamill proposes socialist ticket, Harrington declines, we're doing it. Join us!" A subsequent television interview of Hamill and the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate, Linda Jenness, revealed no notable differ-

ences between the two hucksters (*Militant*, 28 February).

The latest of the SWP's efforts to present itself as the social-democratic party of responsible reformers was an interview of Camejo by the *New York Times* (21 April). The SWP presidential candidate is quoted as summarizing his program as follows:

"First, cutting the war budget and getting an emergency public works program to put people back to work.

"Second, favoring a cost-of-living escalator clause in labor contracts to fight inflation.

"Third, ending illegal activity of C.I.A. and F.B.I. harassment.

"Fourth, enforcement of laws which protect minority groups and women, I'm for school busing in Boston.

"Fifth, opposition to the present foreign policy which we characterize as imperialist."

This statement has not been corrected, either by a published letter to the *Times* or a notice in the *Militant* (which quoted approvingly from the same article), so we must presume that it represents SWP policy or at least that version of its program which it wishes to be read by many tens of thousands more people than see the party's own press.

This sanitized "minimum program" naturally does not even hint at revolution. It does not breathe a word about a labor party, expropriation of major industry, central planning, a workers government,

factory occupations and strikes against mass layoffs, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, unlimited unconditional unemployment benefits at full union-scale wage levels, or opposition to deportations and protectionism. In short, it is not a *transitional program* pointing to the need for the working class to seize state power and overthrow bourgeois rule, but rather a reform program which could have been raised by a number of left-liberal Democratic congressmen.

The demands raised are clearly intended to be minor modifications within the framework of the capitalist system. Camejo speaks of "cutting" the military budget instead of total opposition to the government's economic program of war expenditures and social service cutbacks. In calling for an emergency public works program (even George Meany and Sen. Henry Jackson support that), he fails to demand union-scale wages and trade-union control. Although mentioning a cost-of-living escalator (already contained in many union contracts), Camejo neglects to specify that a sliding scale of wages must provide *full* compensation for losses due to inflation.

Likewise, while advocating an end to "illegal" CIA and FBI harassment, the SWP spokesman did not mention their *legal* activities (which include assassina-

tions). In contrast, revolutionaries demand the *abolition* of these secret police agencies. As for the reference to an "imperialist foreign policy," this is a classic Stalinist formulation unambiguously stating that the enemy is not the imperialist system, which must be overthrown by the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the present war-mongering administration which must simply be replaced by rational, peace-loving statesmen. This is not only a fundamental rejection of the Leninist theory of imperialism but the most dangerous of illusions in the reformability of the present system. It is precisely this view that was propagated by the SWP's popular-frontist antiwar coalitions which, not surprisingly, largely liquidated into the campaigns of Democratic Party "peace" candidates every election year (Eugene McCarthy in 1968, George McGovern in 1972).

The SWP uses the excuse that it runs independently of the bourgeois parties (unlike the DSOC, SDUSA and CP, all of whom support one or another wing of the Democratic Party) to excuse its openly reformist program, whose aim is to tie the masses to the capitalist system. We cannot object if these renegades from Marxism state ever more clearly their social-democratic appetites. But it is a slander to try to pass this off as Trotskyism. ■

SWP 20 Years Ago:

"No Confidence in the Bosses' Parties! Confidence in a Workers Defense Committee!"

The response of the Socialist Workers Party to the recent wave of fascist-inspired attacks on black families in Chicago has been to support a call on the Aurora city council to curb the Ku Klux Klan, pointing to days past when a liberal sheriff ejected some Nazis from Cook County during an open housing campaign. In Boston, the SWP called for federal troops to protect black people threatened by reactionary anti-busing mobilizations during this past school year. The same demand was raised by the Communist Party, black Democrats and Boston mayor Kevin White.

The SWP has not always supported reformist policies of relying on the bosses' state, however. When it was still a Trotskyist party, the SWP put forward quite a different answer on how to fight reactionary lynch mobs and night riders. In 1954 it replied to racist attacks on black families in Chicago by forthrightly denouncing those who spread illusions about getting protection from the government of the landlords and capitalists,

calling instead for the formation of a *workers defense committee*.

The story of this incident was put forward in a pamphlet, "Racial Terror at Trumbull Park, Chicago," published by the SWP in 1954. The events centered on a previously all-white housing project into which a handful of blacks had recently moved. They were met with a vicious campaign of mob violence instigated by a neighborhood "improvement association" and Klan-like white supremacy groups.

After pointing out that Chicago mayor Martin Kennelly and his cops had done nothing to stop the violence, but had instead arrested its victims, the pamphlet asks what should be done to fight Jim Crow segregation. The CP, it reported, relied on the mayor and "friends" in Washington. "Instead of action by the people, the Illinois Worker called for federal intervention. The Communist Party, looking for an alliance with the Democrats, top trade union brass and NAACP officials, talks against Jim Crow

but does not support a program of mass action to stop the violence at Trumbull Park." This was no answer at all.

The SWP, in contrast, called for independent working-class mobilization:

"The Socialist Workers Party knows the fascist attack can be stopped at Trumbull Park. Not by depending on the bosses' representatives in City Hall but by depending on the workers....

"The time has come for the unions and the NAACP to organize a mass protest demonstration....

"Every local union, every tenants' group, every NAACP branch should elect delegates to a city-wide Congress of Labor, called by the NAACP and the unions. And this Congress of Labor could constitute a permanent defense committee....

"And the Congress of Labor could set up an anti-Jim Crow flying squadron of 1,000. This flying squadron will be on call at all times to go to Trumbull Park, or any other place, to see that peace is maintained. What Big Business Kennelly's cops can't do, a workers' anti-Jim Crow flying squadron will do."

The SWP also pointed out that, "It is not

enough to fight a Trumbull Park here and there.... Capitalism, the breeder of Jim Crow, must go if Jim Crow is to end." It called therefore for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a labor party. The pamphlet concluded:

"No confidence in the bosses! No confidence in the bosses' parties! Confidence in a workers' demonstration! Confidence in a workers' defense committee!"

Today, the SWP and CP both demand federal troops to Boston, and it is left to the Spartacist League to call for labor black defense. But the reformists' confidence in the bourgeoisie cannot stop the class struggle. The recent action by UAW Local 6 in Chicago in forming a volunteer defense guard to protect the house of a black union member from attacks by night riders is an inspiring example of the power of united working-class action and a concrete step in the direction of a class-struggle program to fight racial oppression. ■

Fascists Fight Integration in Midwest

Night Riders and Swastikas in Chicago, Milwaukee

CHICAGO A number of incidents involving fascist-style terror and intimidation against ethnic minorities have occurred across the country in recent months. In Milwaukee, Jewish residences and synagogues have been vandalized while racist Nazi literature is being distributed at integrated high schools. In Chicago, black families that have moved into the overwhelmingly white West Englewood section on the city's southwest side have been subjected to fire bombing, with their windows smashed by rocks and swastikas and racist epithets scrawled on their homes.

Although the National Socialist White People's Party, the largest U.S. Nazi organization, has not taken direct credit for the Chicago incidents, it is openly publicizing them. The "White Power Hotline" (a telephone message recorded by the Nazis) of March 24 complains that the token police patrol "guarding" the houses is an attempt at "preventing us National Socialists from resuming our attacks on the occupied houses."

Coupled with this racist violence is a drive by the fascists to win recruits in the largely East European Marquette Park district. The Nazis recently ran four candidates for aldermen in this area, one of whom picked up 16 percent (1,800 votes) of the total in one ward. Their election propaganda consisted of vitriolic race hate diatribes. One brochure is entitled "Stop the Black Invasion" and states, "The n---rs do not want 'equality'. They want POLITICAL POWER to rule! They want YOUR home, YOUR neighborhood, YOUR woman, and YOUR life!"

The Ku Klux Klan has also begun a membership drive in Illinois and was linked in the press with two fires set at the home of Robert Wesby, a spokesman for Jesse Jackson's PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), an organization which promotes preferential hiring and "black capitalism." At a March 18 rally in Aurora, Illinois, projected site of the Klan's state headquarters, PUSH called on the local city council to take measures to stop the KKK, a demand that was uncritically endorsed by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

For Labor/Black Defense

In contrast to such liberal/reformist pressure politics, a leaflet distributed at the rally by the Spartacist League (SL) called for labor/black defense, stating:

"Increasingly, the racist filth these Klan and Nazi scum spit out will be used to divide black and white working people in their struggle against the common capitalistic enemy. When the capitalists feel their interests sufficiently threatened, they will allow a mass fascist movement free rein to smash the organized workers' movement entirely. They must be stopped!"

The SL leaflet warned that to seek to cajole the bourgeois state, which stands on the same side of the class line as the Klan and the Nazis, into fighting fascism shows a dangerous delusion. The capitalist governments *cannot* eliminate fascist and other right-wing paramilitary organizations for they represent a necessary weapon of their class, to be unleashed when bourgeois democracy is no longer sufficient to control the workers.

(Even when liberal bourgeois govern-

ments pretend to deal with the fascists, the resulting laws against "anti-democratic organizations" are invariably used against the left. Thus the Smith Act, passed in 1940, was ostensibly directed "equally" against the communist left and fascist right. But although the German-American Bund and other U.S. fascist-inspired groups were then at their height, this law was used *only* against the left, in the first instance against the leaders of the then-revolutionary SWP.)

Although the ex-Trotskyist SWP now calls on the armed forces of the capitalist state (federal troops) to protect black people from racist attacks in Boston, and joins Jesse Jackson in calling on the Aurora city council to curb the Ku Klux Klan, even these renegades from Marxism have so far been reluctant to call on Chicago's Mayor Daley to do anything more than "arrest those responsible" for the attacks. And no wonder! Daley's cops killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in December 1969, and a month earlier a burglary of the SWP's local offices was carried out by a so-called "Legion of Justice" acting with (at least) active connivance by the police "red squad."

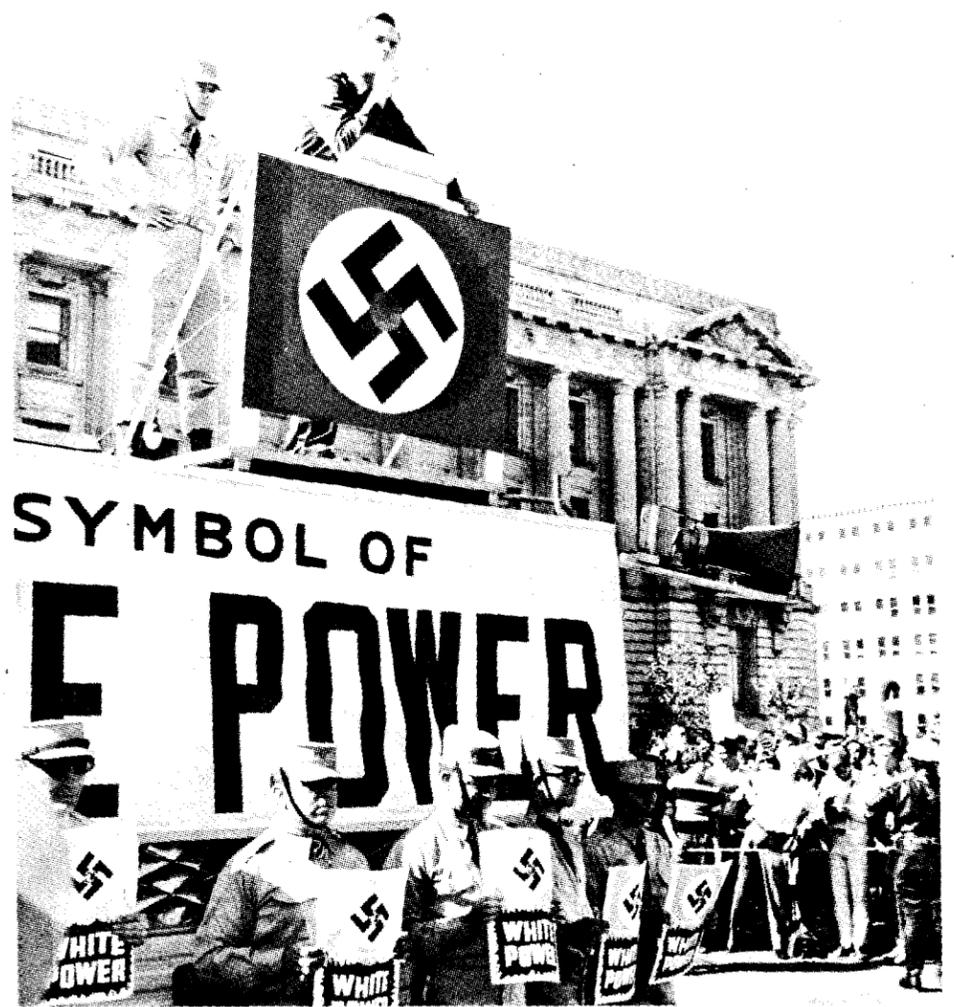
More recently, the *Chicago Defender* (18 February) reported that the Afro-American Patrolmen's League has turned up a "Klan-like cell" operating a racist death squad within the police department. Thus even to liberals and reformists it appears ludicrous to call on Daley and his cronies to protect the black families. However, this does not prevent the SWP from reminiscing about the good old days of 1966 when, during an open housing campaign led by Martin Luther King, Cook County Sheriff Richard Ogilvie "escorted [the Nazis] out of the county," threatening that "the Nazis would be arrested if they returned" (*Militant*, 21 March 1975).

This "strategy" of reliance on the ruling class will reap its bloody harvest if and when troops/cops are called in to preserve "law and order." Far from protecting embattled blacks from racist attacks, the state will smash any attempt at organized self defense. In fact, even the *Militant* notes that police surveillance of West Englewood was non-existent until a black self-defense group, the Deacons of Defense and Justice, began to patrol the neighborhood. To date, token police "protection" of the black families has not led to a single arrest.

Nazis in Milwaukee

In Milwaukee the Nazis have been increasingly active over the last year. When the fascists first started to appear in storm trooper uniforms at a local high school last fall while passing out anti-black literature, a county judge ordered them to stop. However, this decision was quickly reversed due to the efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union, which intervened to defend the Nazis' "right" of free speech (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 25, 30 and 31 October 1974). As opposed to this pathetic liberal "even-handedness," Marxists understand that it is necessary to *crush* the Nazi poison. As the SL leaflet at the Aurora anti-Klan rally stated:

"Such racist, fascist scum must be smashed wherever they creep out of the dirt. There is nothing to discuss with them. They have no rights. They represent nothing but the terrorization of



Late American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell and other fascist filth are jeered in San Francisco in 1966 as he promised to "solve the city's Negro problem."

blacks and other minorities and, ultimately, the destruction of the rights of all working people."

The most visible opponent of the Nazis in Milwaukee has been Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), whose offices were ransacked last Memorial Day weekend and the walls painted with swastikas. YAWF had clashed with the fascists earlier in May when the latter held a demonstration in support of Rudolph Hess, the World War II German Nazi war criminal. Two YAWF supporters were charged in the incident but none of the Nazis.

Again this fall YAWF held counter-demonstrations which ended in brawls with the Nazis. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with YAWF against the fascist scum, but we do not support a policy of endless inconclusive skirmishes. What the Nazi vermin must be shown is *overwhelming power* which will make them fearful to raise their heads publicly. Small-scale confrontations do not accomplish this. Instead it is necessary to organize large united-front demonstrations against fascist provocations (avoiding, to the extent possible, giving them free publicity), even preventing the paramilitary ultrarightists from holding meetings and marching in uniform when the relationship of forces enables us to accomplish this. In particular we must focus on the need for organized labor to throw its power into the struggle.

In at least some cases the YAWF actions in Milwaukee were definitely characterized by adventurism (not uncommon for this group), as in an October 26 incident in front of police headquarters where the Nazis were demonstrating in honor of cops who had been killed and carried a banner reading "Support White Police." A group of YAWF counterdemonstrators reportedly chanted "Nazis and cops work hand in hand" (*Workers World*, 8 November 1974). Given the likelihood that the police would support the Nazis, or their "right to free speech," such actions can easily lead to a rout of the leftists which would give great encouragement to the fascists.

Some Good Advice

In 1934 Leon Trotsky wrote to the Fourth Internationalists in France pointing out the dangers of precisely the kind of adventurist confrontationism engaged in today by YAWF and the Mandeliste wing of the United Secretariat (particularly the LCR in France and the IMG in Britain). When the fascists are weak, he

wrote, it may be possible and desirable to "grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."

He added, though, that when the bourgeois state is not yet firmly committed to the fascists' policies of open terror, and the *working class remains by and large uninvolved*, it is "totally idiotic to want to provoke an armed conflict with the police" since "...the objective, not just for the moment but for the entire coming period...is to get the workers to take up the struggle against the fascists before these elements have become the dominant force in the state..."

Repeated confrontations between police and militant leftists can result only in the isolation of the latter. "After such an experience, a hundred, a thousand workers who would have been ready to teach the young bourgeois bullies a few lessons will say, 'No thanks, I don't want to get my head broken for nothing'" (reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 2 December 1974).

Although in the U.S. today the fascists are a tiny number and do not represent the same immediate threat to the existence of the labor movement as they did in Europe in the 1930's, socialists and labor militants must not be complacent when it comes to dealing with these murderous scum. However, suppressing the paramilitary ultrarightists, like any revolutionary action, requires a correct strategy and tactics. Those attracted to YAWF's adventurist confrontationism would do well to study Trotsky's letter quoted above.

In the case of SWP supporters (or supporters of other groups, such as the Communist Party, which have the same policy of pressuring the bourgeois liberals) who aspire to be revolutionaries, they could not do better than consulting another article, "War and the Fourth International" (1934), where Trotsky writes: "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will." Whether in France in 1934, Boston in 1974 or Aurora and Chicago today, the working masses can rely only on their own forces to defend against the attacks of the class enemy. Any socialist who pretends otherwise is either a fool or a charlatan. ■

Stalinists Cop-Bait Class-Struggle Militants

For the first time in over a decade the reformist Communist Parties of North America are confronted with class-struggle militants who have become a recognized force in several important unions, and CP editorial offices have suddenly become obsessed with the need to "expose" (i.e., cop-bait) these "ultra-lefts." Diatribes echoing the foulest Stalinist lies of the 1930's have recently appeared in the *Pacific Tribune*, West Coast organ of the Communist Party of Canada, and the *Daily World*, East Coast organ of the CPUSA.

The *Daily World* (April 29) published a "Draft Resolution" on its trade-union work for the upcoming Communist Party convention. (The Stalinists can publish the "draft" document before the convention because it is not meant to be changed through democratic discussion by the membership.) The resolution reveals a nervous concern about vulnerability to

attacks on its left flank in the trade unions and warns particularly against the "Trotskyites" of *Workers Vanguard*. (It is noteworthy that the Socialist Workers Party is not even mentioned in the resolution, an indication that the CP has correctly gauged the SWP's weight in the unions.) Dusting off a paragraph from the "good old days" of the Moscow Trials, the resolution cautions CP supporters that "rank and file movements must firmly disassociate themselves" and not "form alliances" with such forces in the labor movement:

"Rank and file unionism has nothing in common with the horde of petty-bourgeois radical groups that infest the perimeter of the working class movement. Revolutionary Union, Workers Vanguard, Trotskyite or Maoist phony 'Leftists' and the CIA-FBI agents in their ranks...are basically the 'left' flank of monopoly attack on honest trade unionism."

Aspiring to recreate the alliance with liberal union bureaucrats which held sway during the early CIO years—and consequently apologizing for or covering up the betrayals of the Woodcocks, Bridges, Chavez and Millers—the CP can only defend itself against class-struggle militants by resorting to the most pernicious slander—lumping Trotskyists with Maoists and calling them all police agents and the "left" hand of the boss.

In Canada the Communist Party aimed its slander at the rapidly growing Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency (CCIST) in the April 4 issue of *Pacific Tribune*, which attacked the "Trotskyite sect" as "splitters and disrupters." The CCIST's crime, it seems, is that its leaflet for a March 21 rally of government employees in Vancouver attacked the leaders of the government workers' union as "sellout artists" and called for a province-wide general strike should Trudeau's Liberal cabinet in Ottawa decide to use strike-breaking legislation against any one of several major strikes then going on in British Columbia.

"Whatever the Greater Vancouver Joint Negotiating Committee decides," the CP writer goes on, "it will do so on the basis of a sober evaluation of the situation..." However, warns the CP, the counsels of the "ultra-left" must be ignored "because they exaggerate the strength of the workers and advance adventurist policies which more often than not end in defeat." As it turns out, after a presumably "sober" evaluation, the local government workers' union leaders decided to do *nothing!* The disputes continue to drag on, with occasional desultory job actions and no plan whatever for securing satisfaction of the members' contract demands.

As to the strength of the workers, more than 13,000 unionists on strike in mid-March may not have impressed the CP but they did worry the bourgeoisie a lot. The *Vancouver Sun* (15 March) said "private and public services in the province" had been "severely crippled," and Trudeau ordered the ILWU dockers back to work under the old contract by threatening jail terms for the recalcitrant. While the CCIST leaflet had called for a B.C. general strike in this event, the ILWU Canadian Area bureaucrats ordered the longshoremen to abandon the strike, a policy fully endorsed by CP supporters in the union leadership. Whose policy, then, led to defeat?

On April 18 the *Pacific Tribune*

returned to this theme, attempting to provide a "penetrating analysis" of Trotskyism in the trade unions which was meant to expose supporters of the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant*, a newsletter put out by ILWU oppositionists for the union's recent convention in Vancouver. The *Pacific Tribune* article was entitled, "Ultra Left Disruption Helps Labor's Enemies" but the Stalinists were unable to demonstrate a single instance of disruption by the class-struggle militants grouped around the *L-WM*. Instead, the article was a wind-bag apology for the real disrupters the ILWU leadership which numerous times during the convention attempted to deprive opposition members of their right to distribute literature, and which tried to brand them as FBI agents, saying that they were "so far to the left they start coming from the right."

The CP paper was particularly angered by the *L-WM* article on Indochina entitled, "No Coalitions with the Bosses For a Workers and Peasants Government." Hoping to deflect the *L-WM*'s biting criticism, the author felt obliged to defend the entire rotten tradition of Stalinist popular front betrayals: "This is the line which in Chile led the ultra-left into becoming a counter-revolutionary force," and which "facilitated the military coup inspired by the CIA."

Those "ultra lefts" who oppose coalitions with the bourgeoisie, we are told, would have had the same "ultra left line" in Spain in 1936-37 and in Chile under Allende. Yes they would! In both cases, the working class was smashed after the Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders of the labor movement managed to abort an upsurge of militant class struggle which, under revolutionary leadership, could have led the proletariat to take power. Instead the workers were led into a class-collaborationist coalition with the bourgeoisie in order to prevent a revolutionary struggle which would overthrow capitalist rule and thereby crush the reactionary plotters.

Incredibly, the *Pacific Tribune* tries to blame the "ultra left" for the Stalinist debacle in Chile! But the sad fact is that no party in Chile carried that so-called "ultra left line" of no coalitions with the bourgeoisie and of resolute political opposition to Allende's popular front. Who, once again, is to bear the political responsibility for the bloody military coup in Chile? Those who, like the Spartacist League, warned the workers to place no confidence in the popular front? Or those who, like the Communist Party, counseled faith in the "constitutionalist officers"?

Just as the article refused to recognize the reasons for the tragic working-class defeat in Chile, it also tries to cover up Stalinist responsibility for bureaucratic betrayals in the unions. With phony "wisdom" the article claims that the "ultras" want "revolution or nothing" rather than the more "sensible" and "flexible" policy of "compromise." So the *Pacific Tribune* "explains" that the defeat of Bridges' sellout longshore contract has put the U.S. section of the union into a "tight box" and that Canadian dockers were ordered back to work by the government. It objects to references to the "Bridges machine" and implies that nothing could be done to fight Trudeau's scab legislation.

Bridges' contract in the United States

further endangers the Pay Guarantee Plan and was voted down by a membership fed up with the massive loss of jobs in earlier "Modernization and Mechanization" pacts. The CP now half-heartedly opposes the latest sellout, but supported or did not criticize the earlier deals in line with its policy of being the left-wing apologists for the "progressive" Bridges' collaboration with maritime employers. And CP supporters in the Canadian Area ILWU not only opposed a struggle against the federal strikebreaking law. They also failed to call on their union brothers in the U.S. to "hot-cargo" (boycott) cargo being diverted from Vancouver during the B.C. strike, and they supported the rotten settlement which was voted down by 55 percent of the Canadian Area membership. In view of the CP's isolation from the angry ranks, it is no wonder the *Pacific Tribune* finds it necessary to red-bait militant trade unionists.

The article studiously ignores the critical question of working-class leadership, and with good reason, since the North American working class would be much further down the road to revolution if it had not been for the false leadership of the CP in tying militant unionists to the Democratic Party in the U.S. and to strike-breaking support for the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War II. In the trade unions false leadership from the labor bureaucracy creates disorienting illusions in capitalism at every turn and encourages defeatism in the ranks by its seemingly endless string of sellouts, continually turning potential victories into abject defeats.

This leadership does not, of course, respond very well to the "constructive criticism" urged by the *Pacific Tribune* since the bureaucrats are not a random group of individuals but rather a petty-bourgeois layer, the agents of the class enemy within the labor movement. The same is true of the Stalinists, and there is a simple reason that both CP and bureaucrats resort to the same kind of cop-baiting and red-baiting to slander militants who oppose their betrayals: it is the only way (along with open gangster attacks) to "defend" the indefensible!

"It is all too easy to brand the leaders of the Longshoremen's union as traitors to the working class," remarks the *Pacific Tribune* sagely, "but if the revolutionary process in North America were that simple, there would have been a socialist revolution a long time ago." The question is, of course, posed backwards: militants must ask if there can be a socialist revolution *without* branding the present misleaders of the labor movement for what they are. Revolutions don't just fail simply because of "circumstances beyond our control." Chile didn't just happen because the CIA exists. Like victories and revolutions, defeats are *organized*. The Stalinist and social-democratic betrayers must be replaced with a class-struggle leadership, forged in the struggle to create the international vanguard party of socialist revolution, if the class struggle is not to end in defeat, as on so many occasions in the past, but to go forward to total victory. ■

ILWU Contract Sellout Rejected Again

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Coast Caucus recently rejected Harry Bridges' proposed sellout contract, bringing the tally of rejections to four. Though the two-year contract covering 12,000 West Coast dockers was negotiated many months in advance of the June 30 expiration date in order to eliminate the threat of a strike and thus undermine the bargaining position of the longshoremen, Bridges has faced unprecedented opposition in his attempts to ram through the sellout.

Following previous rejections Bridges tried to force the Coast Longshore Caucus to amend the union bylaws so that a simple majority, as opposed to two thirds, could ratify a contract. This slimy maneuver was vetoed by the Caucus meeting.

While reformists are urging additional bargaining to "sweeten" the package, the most resolute opponents of Bridges' sellouts, supporters of *Longshore Militant*, call for an entirely new set of demands, including a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, no "steady men" (all jobs to be dispatched through the union hiring hall), full "A" status for all "B" men (the ILWU's second-class citizens), full right to strike on union issues and common expiration dates for all ILWU contracts. *LM* calls for elections for a new negotiating committee and a strike vote, correctly insisting that now is the time for "the first coastwide cross division strike in history."

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Angry Ranks Stop Humphrey Speech

Bureaucrats Lose Control of Washington Jobs Rally

WASHINGTON, D.C. The April 26 jobs rally, the largest labor march on the nation's capital since the 1930's, dramatically demonstrated the widening gap between a hidebound sellout labor "leadership" and the restive rank and file of the trade unions. Early in the rally hundreds of demonstrators from among the giant crowd of unionists swarmed onto the field at Kennedy Stadium and overwhelmed official guards and monitors.

The spontaneous protest was conspicuously aimed against the official leadership and, particularly, the capitalist politician speakers on the podium. Demonstrators succeeded in stopping Sen. Hubert Humphrey's speech, defeating Democrat Bella Abzug's weak attempt to get them to return to the stands, and causing the rally to end with most of a long list of scheduled speeches by trade-union bureaucrats left mercifully unrepresented. However, there was no authoritative class-struggle opposition able to focus and give political leadership to the anger in the ranks, directing it against the capitalist system instead of into reformist dead ends.

Despite unenthusiastic organizing by its main sponsors, the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO, and outright hostility from other sections of labor officialdom, the rally drew 40,000 to 50,000 workers and unemployed to Washington, demonstrating that labor can be mobilized. The largest delegations came from New York-area unions such as District Council 37 of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Hospital Workers (1199) and garment workers unions. The rally was preceded by a march from the capitol sponsored by some of the New York unions, the IUE and several radical groups and rank-and-file caucuses. With over 8 million officially listed as unemployed (it's actually much higher) and nearly 40 percent of industrial capacity in the U.S. lying idle, effective organizing could have easily doubled the attendance.

Disunity at the Top

Disunity was injected into the action from the beginning by the labor tops.

AFL-CIO head George Meany refused to endorse the march or rally, saying "We are not going to man the barricades yet." The IUD refused to endorse the march, sending most delegations straight to the stadium. Meany supporter Albert Shanker of the AFT managed to keep attendance by teachers to a bare minimum and Steelworkers president I.W. Abel, though he is head of the IUD and was the scheduled lead speaker at the rally, suppressed mass attendance by steel workers. USWA locals in Gary, Indiana, and a few other places sent busloads, however.

Also noted by their absence or poor turnout were the Mine Workers and the Auto Workers unions. Despite his promise at a February rally in Washington to return with a quarter of a million, UAW president Leonard Woodcock chose to sit this one out. The UAW held a desultory regional unemployment conference in Detroit on April 26 instead.

This organizational wrangling at the top was not matched by any major political or programmatic disputes, however, as all sections of the labor bureaucracy are firmly wedded to a program of class collaboration. The rally was intended by its organizers simply as a form of mass pressure on the Democratic Congress, to provide a few jobs and relief measures in order to mask the system's inability to solve the economic crisis.

Their demands included "massive" public works, like the starvation-wage WPA during the Great Depression of the 1930's; "genuine" tax reform; mass transit and rail improvement; and reduction of interest rates. Standing out in the official program was a call for restrictions bans on imports of foreign goods, i.e., blaming foreign workers for unemployment in the U.S. Not spelled out at the rally, but actively being pushed by AFL-CIO leaders, is the campaign to round up and deport foreign-born undocumented workers ("illegal aliens"), who are also blamed as the cause of unemployment.

Oppositionists Present

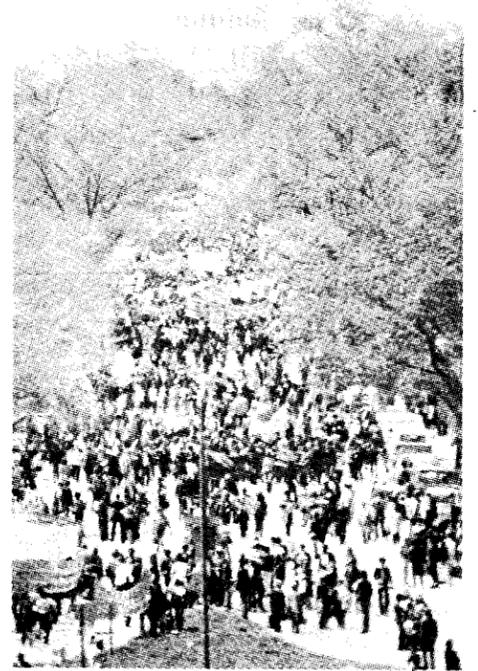
The march preceding the rally was the first indication of widespread support for at least some demands well to the left of

the AFL-CIO leadership's program. Opposition to the deportation of illegal aliens was everywhere: one worker carried a sign saying, "GM took my job, not 'illegal aliens'." Demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and for a labor party were also raised by some groups on the march.

For the most part, however, this opposition was partial and flawed. There was little opposition to the many signs (especially in the garment workers union contingents) for restrictions on imports. The reformist Communist Party urged participation in the march and rally on the basis of demands aimed at pressuring the Democrats and which barely went beyond the official program: support for the Reuss Hawkins Humphrey jobs bills, cutting (but not eliminating!) the military budget, and significantly failing to defend the undocumented workers the AFL-CIO wants to deport.

The left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) supported a "Rank and File Coalition" of caucuses, including the United National Caucus (UNC) in the UAW, Rank and File Team (RAFT) in the Steelworkers, and others. The coalition called for "30 for 40," a labor party and a one-day "work holiday," but failed to include opposition to protectionism. This was not surprising, since the UNC, a clique of careerists which the IS tails after, supports restrictions on the export of capital—a form of protectionism. Contingents backed by Maoist groups, particularly the Revolutionary Union and October League, protested deportations but their key slogan on numerous banners, "Fight Don't Starve," was meaningless play-acting incapable of providing a class-struggle alternative to the sellouts of the union brass.

Despite the limited character of most of the oppositional programs on the march, the official leadership was keenly aware of the opposition. As the IS-backed Rank and File Coalition contingent approached the stadium entrance, official monitors tried to keep it out. They were quickly overwhelmed as marchers pressed forward. This weak and ineffectual attempt to bureaucratically exclude



WV Photo

Unionists march from capital demanding jobs.

leftists from the rally was typical of official handling of the entire affair.

"50,000 Paul Reveres"

The leadership should have expected trouble when the first speaker, Steelworkers' secretary-treasurer Walter Burke (who was reading Abel's speech since the latter was reportedly kept away by a death in the family), droned on for 30 minutes with such banalities as,

"Two hundred years ago, Paul Revere rode to warn the patriots of New England of imminent danger. Today, we have more than 50,000 Paul Reveres right here in this stadium. You have come here to warn this nation of the dangers of a sick economy...."

Burke had the audacity to denounce as "reactionary" the same employers with which the USWA top leadership preaches "partnership" and signed the ENA no-



WV Photo

UAW Militant Solidarity Caucus (Local 906) called for a break with the bosses' parties.



WV Photo

Protectionist "Buy American" slogans were pushed by union bureaucrats.

strike deal (which went unmentioned in his speech).

Needless to say, no one was paying any attention to this drivel. As Burke was defending the dead and unmourned oil import quota bill and calling for a federal waste metals reclamation project, somebody ran out onto the field with a sign and was chased by a stadium guard. A roar of approval went up from the crowd. More individuals did the same, until there was a running Keystone Cops comedy absorbing everyone's attention and rendering Burke inaudible.

When official denunciations ("this is not a playground") failed to clear the field, Sen. Humphrey came on. Opposition banners and many individuals with union signs had by this time poured onto the field, and now they approached the podium. While official slogans draped around the top tier of the stadium called for federal programs and denounced imports, banners on the field demanded organizing of the unorganized, defense of undocumented foreign workers, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a labor party.

"We have an opportunity to get a message over to the White House. Mr. President, are you listening?" began Humphrey. Few in the stadium were listening. Humphrey was soon forced to stop speaking and direct his remarks to the protesters in front of him, who were chanting "Jobs Now!" Hardly "representing radical groups rather than labor

unions," as charged by an unnamed AFL-CIO official quoted in the *New York Times* (27 April), the front ranks consisted primarily of many workers from AFSCME DC 37.

Humphrey soon surrendered the microphone. He was followed by desperate appeals for quiet, and then Bella Abzug. Her request that the demonstrators return to the stands in order to "join with us in the Congress" in a struggle for reforms fell on deaf ears. The rally organizers had lost all control. There were a few barely intelligible speakers at the microphone before the rally was officially dispersed. One of them, a woman who identified herself as "a rank and file worker...from the Progressive Labor Party," yelled some vague appeals to "fight racism" and a few sharp



Senator Humphrey attempts unsuccessfully to address rally. WV Photo

denunciations of the officials, but made no attempt to clearly present a class-struggle program.

Thus 50,000 workers left the rally essentially leaderless. The protest had demonstrated a generalized lack of confidence in the program and leadership of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, but it did not have a systematic program to oust that bureaucracy and put the workers movement on the road of class struggle.

One large banner on the field stood out in contrast, however. On one side it read: "No Deportations - Jobs for All! Shorter Workweek and Higher Pay! For Strikes Against Layoffs, Occupy the Plants!" The other side contained the demands "Dump the Labor Bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats and Republicans! For a Workers Party, Forward to a Workers Government!" This banner was signed by the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah, New Jersey), one of the few Auto Workers locals that turned out in some strength for the rally. After the rally had been officially ended, the banner was attacked by two IBEW officials, who temporarily tore it down. Immediately 20 to 30 people rushed to defend the militants and the officials withdrew.

A leaflet by the Militant Solidarity Caucus at the rally called for a full class-struggle program, including a workers government, which alone can eliminate depressions through expropriating the capitalists and reorganizing and planning the economy to produce for social needs not private profit. Only caucuses which organize the workers for such a program can escape the trap of apolitical "rank-and-fileism," which in reality is merely a means of pressuring the existing bureaucracy. Only by building a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class can the road be opened to proletarian revolution and a real solution of the economic crises which are endemic to capitalism. ■

SWP, CP, Bureaucrats Denounce "Disrupters"

When more than 1,000 angry workers drowned out Sen. Humphrey by chanting "Jobs Now!" at the April 26 jobs rally in Washington, an AFL/CIO official tried to blame it on "outside radicals." The *New York Times* (28 April) added that the "disruption" proved that "the whole idea [of the demonstration] was a mistake." Naturally it surprises no one that Meanyite bureaucrats and the leading capitalist newspaper should oppose mass labor demonstrations and condemn the shouting down of a leading bourgeois politician.

But they are not the only ones who recoil in horror at the anger of the ranks. The Socialist Workers Party published a full-page article in the *Militant* (9 May) denouncing the "disrupters...[who tried] to drown out Hubert Humphrey...[and] took it upon themselves to decide for [the] majority who would be allowed to speak"!

The entire article is an appeal to the union bureaucracy to utilize the experienced SWP in controlling such "disrupters." "Anyone with the slightest experience organizing mass demonstrations," writes Cindy Jaquith, knows that putting thousands in a stadium with nothing to do is "an obvious invitation for trouble." Want to know how to deal with militants who are fed up listening to vacuous inanities from representatives of the bosses? Just keep reading.

"The rally organizers...hadn't organized a marshaling system of trade unionists that had authority with the thousands of demonstrators. Nor did they address themselves to the masses in the stands, using the pressure of the majority to allow the rally to proceed."

Elsewhere the article comments that the PA system was no good.

Get the picture? If George Meany needs some professional crowd controllers, don't rely on rent-a-cop agencies. Go to the SWP. It's called pimping for the labor czars. (In the case anyone didn't catch on right away, Jaquith proceeds to finger the "sectarians" involved. The CP's *Daily World* (29 April) denounces the disturbance, she notes, but "the Coney Island Young Workers Liberation League was also among the disrupters.")

The Communist Party did, of course, denounce "disrupters," adding its own special touch with the suggestion that a "Watergate 'dirty trick'" was being pulled. Asked later how he felt about being called a cop, one of the Communist Party supporters who was on the field at the time replied lamely, "Sometimes the Party makes mistakes." Not this time, though. Both SWP and CP are doing just what's called for to prove their reliability to the bosses and their agents in the labor movement.

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Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
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Box 6471, Main P.O.,
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The Crisis in the United Secretariat and the Struggle for Revolutionary Trotskyism

Speaker: Murray Smith

- Founding member and ex-central committee member, Revolutionary Marxist Group of Canada
- Former member League for Socialist Action
- Founding member of Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, RMG

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...Vietnam

(continued from page 1)

decades in order to break the grip of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation on the peninsula. But while a victorious social revolution has occurred, the struggle to establish revolutionary and internationalist workers states in the region is far from over. A phantom coalition with venal rightist generals and a playboy "neutralist" continues to "rule" in Vientiane, although it is clear to all that it could be quickly eliminated by a resolute offensive of the Pathet Lao.

Meanwhile, in Cambodia and Vietnam (both North and South) political power is not in the hands of the working masses, expressed by democratic rule through soviets (workers councils) as was achieved by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Nor is there in Indochina today a Bolshevik party which could lead the revolutionary struggle forward by extending it internationally to the centers of world capitalism. The new Stalinist rulers in Phnom Penh and Saigon are as committed to the treacherous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as those in Moscow and Peking, or Hanoi and Havana.

Instead, what has been created in South Vietnam and Cambodia are *deformed workers states*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated workers state which emerged in Russia with the

consolidation of the Stalin-led bureaucracy. The ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states are narrowly nationalist in outlook, attempting to balance precariously between imperialism and the working class. Based on the property forms of a workers state, they occasionally put up a limited and distorted defense of the social conquests achieved by the overthrow of capitalism in order to preserve their own privileged position.

But because their rule is based on the political expropriation of the working class, these petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes are incapable of mobilizing the proletarian masses for an international revolutionary assault on the bastions of world capitalism, since it would simultaneously mean their own demise. The Stalinist rulers in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh must be overthrown by a workers' political revolution led by a Trotskyist party in order to establish the organs of proletarian democracy and open the road to socialism. All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Military Victory and Social Revolution

The cost of these momentous victories in terms of human suffering by the toilers of Vietnam has been tremendous. The barbarous policies of the cynical mass murderers of U.S. imperialism and French colonialism the "free fire zones" subjected to saturation bombing by B-52's, the "pacification programs" consisting of the assassination of all political

opponents of the puppet regimes, the "strategic hamlets" which sought to eliminate the insurgents' popular support by locking up peasants in concentration camps - have produced millions of dead and maimed.

But still the Indochinese workers and peasants fought on, driven by a burning desire not only to be rid of the pimps and butchers who sat in air-conditioned offices in Saigon, but also to remove the daily oppression inexorably caused by capitalist exploitation. At a tremendous disadvantage in terms of firepower and sophisticated weaponry - the result of the refusal of the USSR and China to deliver adequate military supplies - they were able to militarily defeat the cream of the French army, the largest U.S. expeditionary forces since World War II (over 500,000 American military personnel in Vietnam at one point), and the most mechanized army in Asia.

However, the program of the bureaucracies in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow who led, controlled and supplied the insurgents was not to carry out a social revolution through defeating the bourgeoisie. Justifying their appetites for class collaboration by the Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution," they sought to achieve "democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) governments of national reconciliation of all classes save the imperialists and their most direct lackeys. This was expressed in programs (such as those of the South Vietnamese NLF and Cambodian FUNK) which called for popular-front coalition governments

with the bourgeoisie, omitting demands for agrarian revolution and guaranteeing the "right" of capitalists to continue to exploit their wage slaves; and in repeated sellouts at the bargaining table (especially 1945 and 1954).

But while the Stalinist leaders remained committed to a strategy of betrayal and class collaboration, they were also confronted with fundamental historical and social realities. The extreme weakness of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie which prevented it from rebelling against French colonial and U.S. imperialist domination made that coterie of drug traffickers, rice merchants, rack-renting landlords, corrupt military mercenaries, textile sweatshop bosses, rubber plantation managers and Honda salesmen doubly afraid of any mobilization of the exploited masses. Although the NLF and FUNK continued to call for the formation of coalition governments until scant hours before they marched into their respective capitals, the fabled anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie never materialized. To the lasting benefit of the Indochinese laboring masses, the Paris "peace" accords were never implemented.

Though DRV/NLF military forces fought well and defeated the puppet troops in the only two real battles of the last six weeks (Ban Me Thuot and Xuan Loc), the fall of Saigon came not as a result of a successful insurgent offensive, properly speaking, but because of the complete collapse of the Thieu regime and army. A single defeat in the Central Highlands produced a panicked retreat

No Asylum for Indochinese Reactionaries!

Send the Anti-Communist Butchers to Saigon!

Open the Borders to Chilean Refugees!

Seven years ago Americans sat horrified before their TV sets as they watched a Saigon police chief, General Nguyen Ngo Loan, laugh as he shot at close range a young Vietnamese prisoner as a "suspected Vietcong sympathizer." Today all the General Loans are gathering at U.S. military bases in preparation for their government-sponsored entry into U.S. civilian life.

Who are "our allies" recently delivered by helicopter, ship, and airplane to their asylum in the U.S.? Of course, among the 100,000 thus far evacuated are some wives and dependents of U.S. soldiers. Also, some of those fleeing have special training, like the seven doctors and six nurses who arrived at Fort Chaffee (they should have remained in Vietnam, and the SL would defend the right of the new government to hold them there where their skills are urgently needed.) But in the main "our allies" are the despicable bourgeois collaborators with British, French and particularly American imperialism. They are the military officer corps and secret police which have for years "saved" the pay of foot soldiers in their own personal Swiss bank accounts for just this eventuality: the native capitalists, large landowners, drug traffickers and war profiteers who have, according to the Swiss government, created a glut of gold bars in that country.

To justify President Ford's demagogic "Operation Baby-Lift" - the kidnapping of several thousand Vietnamese orphans (and some who aren't) in order to whip up anti-communist sentiment in the U.S. - full-page newspaper ads talked of "ferrying the children to freedom." The media in the U.S. cannot pretend that "our allies" are poor peasants running from the "red menace" to the "land of the free"; they arrive at the quonset huts with their matched patent leather luggage, wearing silk suits and dresses and gold bracelets from wrist to elbow. Among the Vietnam-

ese heading for U.S. shores are such notorious imperialist war criminals as Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, well remembered in the U.S. for his "outspoken" praise of Hitler; he is also well remembered in the villages of Vietnam for the murderous bombing missions he flew, first for the French and then for the U.S.

These vicious professional anti-

bombers be judged by the survivors of their mass savagery, and that the architects of tiger cages now come face to face with the tigers!

Bourgeois Hypocrites Save Their Friends

It seems that the last terrible hypocrisy of an imperialist intervention which

tradition for the evacuation of defeated class enemies after a social revolution. The U.S. brought Chiang Kai-shek and his nationalists to Taiwan where they have maintained an island of anti-communism ever since. Cuban gusanos have remained as a source of anti-communist terror against Cubans (the Bay of Pigs) and other CIA "enemies" (including leftists and unionists in the U.S.).

The staggering hypocrisy of all the moralizing about "commitments" (secret or otherwise) and the "humanitarian" need to bring Indochinese "refugees" to the U.S. is demonstrated by the revealing fact that the U.S. government has refused to admit even *one* persecuted Chilean after the bloody military coup of 1973. Legislative bills which would admit the persecuted Chileans to the U.S. lie inactive before the U.S. Congress which is providing millions in so-called "humanitarian aid" to the Indochinese counter-revolutionaries. The "humanity" of the U.S. Congress, however, is extended only to those who should be sitting now in jails in Vietnam and Cambodia.

The Spartacist League does not base its hostility to these war criminals on the fear of communicable disease, increased competition for jobs in the U.S., or on the racism against Asians that has unfortunately characterized so much of the sizeable opposition to opening U.S. borders to the evacuees. But we solidarize with the disgust expressed by millions of Americans at the idea of living with U.S. imperialism's cowardly professional torturers. Our compassion is also class-determined - aid the victims of right-wing repression, not the butchers who are the perpetrators of that repression!

From Bangkok to Paris to New York, wherever this fleeing pack of poisonous rats goes, they will become a center of the most dangerous and vicious anti-communist activity. Worse than the gusanos who left Cuba, "our allies" will be used by the CIA for the dirtiest of tricks against communists, labor and blacks. Socialists and the labor movement must demand: No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals! ■



Saigon police chief General Nguyen Ngo Loan shoots "suspected Vietcong sympathizer." Now the General Loans will reside in the U.S.

communist killers should not be allowed to escape punishment for their heinous crimes against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia. The criminals must be tried and punished! The NLF and FALN have set back the defense of the Indochinese Revolution by allowing them to flee. Indochinese collaborators in high places no more deserve asylum than did the Nazi High Command after World War II. Rather than flying out that murderous crowd around Thieu and Lon Nol, they should be flown back - together with the U.S. war criminals from Calley to Nixon, Ford and Kissinger - to Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh so their victims could try them for their barbarous acts. Justice would demand that the defoliators would be brought before the hungry, that the napalmers be confronted by the burned and maimed, that the terror

"destroyed" villages in order to save them must be Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger posing "moral" and "humanitarian" questions. The most rabid national chauvinists who scream for the scalps of the "illegal aliens" now rush to make votive offerings to the Statue of Liberty. Ford's press secretary, Ron Nessen, tells the media not to worry about the "legal niceties" of the illegal evacuation; the President, he promises, is acting out of moral commitment. And Gerald Ford lectures the Congress, which has offered only tepid opposition to his evacuation program: it "is not worthy of a nation of immigrants."

The pious responsibility felt by the bourgeoisie for "our allies" is not moral, but political. They simply want to preserve their core of anti-communist friends for future use. There is a modern

that put DRV NLF forces within 50 miles of the capital in two weeks, practically without firing a shot.

The scenes of this jumbled collapse dominated the news from Vietnam during the last days of the puppet government. The wild looting and chaotic terror unleashed in Da Nang by drunken bands of ARVN soldiers was succeeded by the desperate clawing of Saigon merchants and collaborators to get into the U.S. embassy and join the select circle of those who would get a ticket to America from President Ford. While Thieu and Lon Nol sent off a final shipment of \$16 million in gold bullion to Switzerland, well-connected prostitutes and wives of military officers began arriving in Guam by the plane-load. The predominance of air force families among the early passengers was explained by a threat from Saigon fighter pilots to shoot down the C-130's if their relatives were not included.

Subsequent news reports are extremely sketchy. Some reports quoted official broadcasts from Saigon as "announcing the nationalization of banks and virtually all other business and industrial enterprises" (*New York Times*, 2 May); administrative authority was reportedly being exercised by the Saigon-Gia Dinh Military Management Committee. In any case, it is clear that the ignominious collapse of the U.S.' puppet government was accompanied by the flight of the bulk



WV Photo

of the devastated bourgeoisie. The fall of Saigon was the fall of Vietnamese capitalism as a political force.

45 Years of Struggle Against Imperialism

The struggle of the Indochinese masses against colonial oppression and the yoke of capitalist exploitation goes back well past the end of World War II. The Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) was formed in 1930 and led an important peasant revolt in central Vietnam during the same year. During the late 1930's, however, the Stalinist ICP faced considerable competition from two

Trotskyist groups, particularly in southern Vietnam. One, the International Communist League (ICL) led by Ho Huu Tuong, was founded in 1931, while the second, larger, group around Ta Thu Thau was in a common front with the southern Stalinists from 1933 to 1937. As the ICP was obliged by Kremlin dictates and its program of class collaboration to give support to French colonialism during the period of the popular-front government in Paris, the Trotskyists were able to greatly expand their influence. In 1939 Thau's group swamped the Stalinists in colonial elections, winning 80 percent of the votes, as the masses decisively rejected Ho Chi Minh's support for "progressive" colonialism.

In August 1945 the Stalinists (now known as the Viet Minh) moved together with bourgeois nationalists to take over the French-Japanese colonial government apparatus as the Japanese surrender was announced. However, when British troops entered Saigon they were greeted by the Viet Minh, in line with Stalin's policy of alliance with the Western "democratic" imperialists during World War II. In contrast, the Trotskyist ICL called for opposition to the imperialists, agrarian revolution, expropriation of the bourgeoisie and a workers and peasants government.

The ICL's call did not remain simply on paper, but found a mass response as scores of "people's committees" were formed in the Saigon area, the dominant influence in them being that of the Trotskyists. Although the Stalinist police succeeded in arresting and shooting most of the leaders, a working-class uprising broke out a few days later in response to British-French moves to take power from the popular-front "government." While the Viet Minh negotiated, to no avail, the Trotskyist-led resistance went down fighting.

The Trotskyists had also been active in

Letters

Oakland, California
28 March 1975

To the Editor:

There was a minor factual error in your article, "Boston CLUW Slams Door on Unorganized Workers." [*WV* No. 64, 14 March]. At the Houston CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women] meeting last June where nurses fired from Jefferson Davis Hospital for organizing a "sick-out" to protest the abysmal conditions at the hospital presented their case, requesting help from CLUW in their struggle to be rehired, the chairman was not former SWP [Socialist Workers Party] gubernatorial candidate Sherri Smith, as stated, but Peggy Swann, a Paperworkers Union bureaucrat.

Not only was discussion of the proposal to defend the nurses by undertaking an organizing drive among hospital workers blocked by CLUW hacks—on the grounds that Houston CLUW was not yet officially chartered and therefore could not take positions on anything—but the meeting became a forum for AFSCME staffers Liz Kimmel and Wilma Oliver to viciously attack the nurses for undertaking an "illegal" action and failing to "go through channels."

SWPer Sherri Smith made her contribution to the sabotage of the nurses' struggle primarily as chairman of a separate do-nothing "defense committee," which, partly in reaction to Smith's organizational maneuvering, wound up devoting its energies to ousting radicals from the group.

Smith's colleague Debbie Leonard, a former SWP mayoral candidate who now heads the Houston CLUW chapter, gained legitimacy in the eyes of national CLUW by currying the favor of local trade-union bureaucrats like Peggy Swann and Liz Kimmel. In exchange for Leonard's demonstrated willingness to sell out the hospital workers' struggle Kimmel agreed to run for office in local CLUW. The election of Leonard and Kimmel to CLUW leadership was followed by the exodus of virtually all of the militant young black nurses who had originally approached CLUW for support.

In solidarity,

Ruth Ryan
Committee for a Militant UAW
UAW Local 1364

Toronto

Dear Comrades:

The Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency was most happy to see your excellent article "Canadian RMG Expels Trotskyists" (*WV* No. 66, 11 April 1975) regarding our expulsion. However, there are a few factual errors that we would like to draw to your attention:

1.) At the time of our expulsion, the B-LT had five (rather than the reported six) members. However, at the convention one sympathizer of the B-LT (a former RCTer [Revolutionary Communist Tendency] and a founding member of the RMG) declared his solidarity with the B-LT's reports to the convention, and was subsequently expelled with us.

2.) Of the three founding members of the B-LT, two (and not the reported three) had been members of the RCT and founding members of the RMG. The other founding member of the B-LT was recruited to the RMG after its inception. One of the two people who later joined the tendency had also been a member of the RCT and a founding member of the RMG.

Fraternally,
Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

Editor's note: In the article we also neglected to mention that a B-LTer was one of three candidates presented by the RMG in the 1974 Canadian federal parliamentary elections.

CORRECTIONS

Two technical errors in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 67) have been brought to our attention. In the article "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution!" a line on page 10 was dropped. The concluding sentence of the first paragraph on that page should read: "Likewise, the programs of the Stalinist-led insurgent movements in Indochina (as elsewhere) call not for socialist revolution but for 'democratic' coalition governments uniting all classes." Secondly the article on Nazi terrorism in Chicago—referred to as "in this issue" in the back-page article "UAW Local Sets Up Labor Black Defense Guard"—appears in this issue. See "Fascists Fight Integration in Midwest," page 4.

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the north, but there the domination of the Viet Minh was unchallenged. As Ho was preparing to sign an agreement permitting the reintroduction of French troops in early 1946, the witchhunt against Trotskyists was intensified. Ta Thu Thau was murdered on orders from Stalinist leaders at that time, as were virtually all remaining Trotskyist cadre. Thus, if since 1946 the Stalinist leaders have been dominant in Vietnam, it is not because of a revolutionary line but rather because of the efficiency of their assassination squads.

After the reintroduction of colonial troops (with the assent of Ho Chi Minh), the Stalinists were forced to abandon the cities and retreat into guerrilla warfare. However, by 1954 they had been able to inflict a military defeat on the French army, not only in the north but throughout Indochina. While Russian and Chinese pressure was instrumental in inducing the Viet Minh negotiators at Geneva to abandon everything below the 17th parallel (as well as Laos and Cambodia), decisive victory was within reach. Thus Ho's agreement to the Geneva deal was another sharp blow against the struggle of the Indochinese masses.

With the change in the imperialist paymasters from Paris to more affluent Washington the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem was able to partially stabilize South Vietnam for a couple of years through the use of ruthless terror. Peasants were driven off their land, suspected Communists were "tried" by special tribunals and murdered by the hundreds. Sporadic resistance sprang up, often led by underground former Viet Minh cadre who had stayed behind. But not until 1960 when the National Liberation Front was formed did Hanoi give any appreciable aid to the southern rebels. Ho's concern was above all to scrupulously respect the terms of the Geneva sellout, vainly hoping that the butcher Diem would allow "free elections!"

The subsequent intervention of large numbers of U.S. troops represented a major setback for the NLF and DRV. But with the massacre of several hundred thousand workers and peasants in Indonesia, accomplishing an important objective of imperialism in the area, and given the absence of any prospect of victory for the Saigon regime, and the active hostility to U.S. intervention among large sections of American youth and increasingly in the working class, the basis was laid for the development of widespread bourgeois defeatism. This was not confined to peace demonstrations or McCarthy/McGovern left liberals, but became the dominant position of decisive sections of the ruling class. As economic problems multiplied and the U.S.' inability to continue playing the role of hegemonic world policeman became clearer, the Nixon regime moved toward negotiations finally resulting in the so-called Paris "peace" accords of 1973.

These accords did not lead to peace in Vietnam, and represented the extortion of concessions by the imperialists in return for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. While declaring "No Support to the Robbers' Peace!" the Spartacist League also recognized an important difference from the 1954 sellout, the "ceasefire in place," i.e., the continued presence of large numbers of DRV/NLF troops in the south. We judged that the ceasefire "could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South," but pointed out that this was a gamble and did not represent a change in the Stalinists' strategy of betrayal. When the NLF victory finally came, two years later, it was because of the military collapse of the puppet regime. Finding no substantial force with which to make a coalition government, the Stalinists finally were forced to take Saigon on their own.

Where Are the Two Stages?

Thus the history of the struggle in Vietnam, far from demonstrating the

continued on next page

...Vietnam

(continued from page 9)

validity of Stalinist conceptions and "strategy" in fact reveals a series of attempts to sell out gains won on the battlefield in return for a compromise with imperialism. The recent events in Indochina fully confirm the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which holds that in the backward countries even the democratic tasks of national emancipation and agrarian revolution can only be solved by the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry. The weak bourgeoisies of these areas, closely linked to domestic feudal reaction and imperialism, are incapable of carrying out a bourgeois revolution.

The Stalinists claim that their calls for coalition governments, popular fronts, a "bloc of four classes" and so on correspond to the first stage of "national-democratic," "popular-democratic," or "new democratic" revolution. Now they claim the victories in Vietnam and Cambodia as validation for their line. This is a fraud.

The NLF, for its part, was quite clear what it stood for. Wilfred Burchett, writing in the 2 April issue of the Maoist *Guardian*, reported an interview with PRG representatives in Paris: "Asked why the PRG did not aim at taking over completely in the South, in view of the wholesale collapse of Thieu's armed forces, Dinh Ba Thi said, 'We are for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreements which call for national reconciliation and coalition government.'" He added only that Thieu must go.

Thieu went, "Big Minh" was brought to the presidential palace, but there was no coalition government. And official announcements by the PRG no longer mention the Paris peace agreement. Where, then, are the two stages?

One group which believes there is some truth in the "two-stage" theory is the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. In a front-page National Committee statement in the *Militant* (9 May), the SWP hails "the victory of the Vietnamese rebels" and announces that "The objective conditions also exist for a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit."

This last sentence evidently means the SWP believes that a capitalist state still exists in South Vietnam. Not only does this ignore the powerful social revolution which has taken place, and the fact that capitalist rule can only be restored by a violent counterrevolution, but it fundamentally revises the Leninist theory of the state. Presumably if it decides next week or next month that nationalizations reportedly carried out by the PRG include the key sectors of the economy, then the SWP will declare South Vietnam to be some kind of a workers state. (It holds that China did not become a deformed workers state until the major nationalizations were carried out at the time of the Korean war.) But this amounts to a "peaceful transition" to a workers state!

The expropriation of the decisive sectors of the economy is indeed a key element of a workers state. But the state is at bottom an armed body of men committed to defending certain property forms. Thus Russia became a workers state in 1917, when the Bolsheviks took power and established soviet rule. The nationalizations came later.

The situation is different when the leaders of the revolution are not a proletarian Marxist party but a Stalinist bureaucracy based on a peasant guerrilla army. Neither the peasantry as a class nor the Stalinists as a political force are committed to establishing a workers state. The NLF has stated as much, on many occasions, and given ample proof of its intentions. But having taken power alone, without an alliance with significant bourgeois forces, and faced with the massive exit of the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie, the Stalinists are forced to

establish the property forms of a workers state in order to revive production and above all to defend their rule against imperialist attack.

Toward a Communist Indochina

The victory of the Cambodian and Vietnamese Stalinists and the overthrow of capitalist rule in those two countries have occurred under exceptional circumstances: extreme disorganization of the native bourgeoisie, economic and political difficulties of the imperialists which have prevented renewed U.S. intervention, and above all the absence of the working class organized to fight in its own interests.

The regime which they establish does not, and cannot, base itself on organs of proletarian democracy, but rather on the fiat of a bonapartist bureaucracy. The task of Marxists in Vietnam and Cambodia today is to take forward the revolutionary struggle by fighting for a workers' political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, demanding the creation of democratic workers councils as the basis for the new state apparatus, and freedom for all parties which defend the revolution against counterrevolutionary attack. Above all, the struggle to go forward to final victory over capitalism requires the construction of Trotskyist parties, in Indochina and throughout the world, as part of a reborn Fourth International.

- Immediate Recognition of the Khmer Rouge and NLF PRG Governments in Cambodia and Vietnam!
- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Forces from Southeast Asia!
- Extend the Soviet Nuclear Shield to Cover Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh!
- Take Vientiane! For Political Revolution in Cambodia and Vietnam (North and South)! All Indochina Must Go Communist!
- For Trotskyist Parties in Indochina! Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

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SYL Demonstrations Call for Communist Indochina



WV Photo



WV Photo

Among recent Spartacus Youth League-sponsored demonstrations expressing solidarity with the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia were those pictured above. The top photo depicts an April 25 demonstration against President Gerald Ford at Yale University Law School called around the slogans, "Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops and Aid from Southeast Asia!"; "Military Victory to the NLF and Cambodian FALN!"; and "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Despite rainy weather 200-300 protesters demonstrated outside as Ford blubbered inanities about the "disregard for law" to assembled dignitaries.

Though contingents of Ukrainian and Greek students held adjacent separate demonstrations and the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League aided a separate "media event"—a Salvation Army-style soup kitchen to dramatize the economic crisis—the lure of militant slogans, as opposed to apolitical antics, attracted the majority of protesters to the SYL picket line. The small Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) endorsed and attended the demonstration.

The Los Angeles rally, below, took place at L.A. City College April 17 and was attended by about 75 students. Though the Revolutionary Union-supported Revolutionary Student Brigade formally agreed with the slogans around which the demonstration was built, "U.S. Imperialism, Hands Off Indochina!" and "Take Saigon!", it refused to endorse the rally, in keeping with its self-defeating sectarian policy of refusing joint action with Trotskyists. The RSB explained that despite equal speaking time for all participating groups, Trotskyist politics would dominate—a rationale amounting to a confession of political weakness.

After the first SYL speaker the microphone was opened to questions, comments and statements from the crowd. An RSBer spoke to denounce the SYL as "counterrevolutionary swine" and defend the Maoists' call for a coalition government in Vietnam. But had the Paris "peace" accords been implemented, as demanded by the RSB, Ford and Kissinger, the workers and peasants of Vietnam would continue to face miserable bloody defeat at the hands of the imperialists and their lackeys. As feared by the RSB, Trotskyist politics predominated, and the rally ended with an enthusiastic call for a communist Indochina.

...Boston Busing

(continued from page 12)

organizations in order to launch a real attack on racial discrimination.

Liberals Sound the Retreat

Phase II will consist of Judge Garrity's revisions of a proposal submitted in late March by four court-appointed "Masters." The so-called Masters' Plan signifies a gross capitulation to the racist sentiment whipped up by leading white bourgeois politicians through the busing protests last fall. While Garrity may temper some of the more blatantly unconstitutional aspects of the plan, the retreat on busing by virtually every prominent bourgeois liberal ensures that the final program will fall far short of complete city-wide desegregation.

The Masters' Plan attempts to comply with the provisions of the Massachusetts 1965 Racial Imbalance Act by reducing the overwhelming concentration of black students in ghetto schools without fully desegregating white schools. This is to be accomplished by closing 21 predominantly black schools, thereby ensuring that the great majority of students bused will be black. Not surprisingly, the plan was endorsed by the attorney of the racist Boston Home and School Association, who commented: "Within the court's guidelines, they have minimized busing as much as they could."

While Garrity expressed dissatisfaction with the proposed racial composition of the school districts, he has already indicated willingness to exclude East Boston elementary schools from the plan and has not challenged the key element the closing of predominantly black schools. Nor has he objected to the fact that the Masters propose no new construction and the purchase of only one building for the city's already overcrowded schools. Such an approach only aids the racists' attempts to counterpose "quality education" to integration.

Meanwhile liberal Democrats have mounted a campaign to pressure Garrity into accepting the Masters' Plan. The new governor Michael Dukakis, who conspicuously avoided taking a position on busing during his campaign last fall, is using Paul Parks, a prominent black

politician, to push for acceptance. And the *Boston Globe*, mouthpiece for the liberal wing of the local bourgeoisie, issued an editorial "Plea for Compassion" with the same message. One of the plan's authors, former state attorney general Edward McCormack, has uttered comments which speak volumes about the nature of the scheme cooked up by the liberals. "If you accept the NAACP's stand on the mixing of races," he says, "then this plan does not conform with respect to a numbers game."

Liberals and Reformists

The step-by-step retreat by the liberal bourgeoisie has both encouraged the anti-busing forces in their campaign of violent obstructionism and increasingly isolated black liberals such as the Black Political Caucus and the NAACP. It is a measure of this isolation that the staid and respectable NAACP has opted to build the May 17 demonstration together with the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

If anyone should think that the Boston busing crisis has shaken the traditional NAACP tactics of court suits and pressure politics, however, this illusion was quickly dispelled by Boston NAACP president Tom Atkins (a former aide of mayor Kevin White) who said, speaking at an NSCAR rally in February: "We know how important it is to show elected officials that racism is not the guiding force in this country.... We will be forming a coalition here of those who wish to work with us to plan for the May 17 rally in support of school desegregation and the Constitution.... this is the way to begin the national drive to protect the Constitution (*Student Mobilizer*, March 1975).

The NAACP is not only a black organization; it is also deeply tied to the capitalist order. It is historically rooted in the frustrated ambitions of black professionals for equal social status with their white counterparts, ambitions which have simultaneously defined the organizational strength of the NAACP and its political impotence. Having no perspective of independently mobilizing the black masses in alliance with a class-conscious labor movement, its only answer to racist violence is the time-worn

appeal for federal intervention, as if the racist butchers of Detroit and Vietnam could become the protectors of black people in Boston! And in the face of a court setback, the NAACP now calls a token protest rally to support the Constitution, a document written by slaveholders, codifying the property rights of the capitalist class and legitimizing the structure of bourgeois political dictatorship.

A telling indication of how far the SWP has retreated from revolutionary

U.S. army, and for a class-struggle defense of black people, received support from a significant number of independent black radicals. But by trading on the endorsements by prominent black Democrats, the SWP YSA was able to effectively squelch opposition and put through a motion to build the NAACP march.

The SL SYL will not permit the impotent liberalism of the NAACP and reformist treachery of the SWP to prevent us from fighting for our program



Boston Globe/Tom Landers

Police occupation of Columbia Point last fall did not protect black school children and residents from racist marauders.

Trotskyism into a smug reformism is the treacherous role it has played in the Boston busing crisis. Looking desperately for a new angle to mount yet another of its class-collaborationist "mass movements," it poured scores of activists into Boston during the fall and winter. But this effort was directed solely toward tailing after the black liberals and preaching confidence in the capitalist state. "We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston," declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. This demand was also raised by the Communist Party and Mayor White.

Now the SWP is eagerly doing the organizational donkey work to build student support for the NAACP's May 17 march to support the Constitution. For the NAACP, supporting the bourgeois state order is only the logical consequence of its liberal belief that racism can be eliminated under capitalism. For the ostensibly socialist SWP, this support for the dictatorship of the class enemy is treason to the working class. But given its past practice of building popular-frontist blocs with antiwar liberals (Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, NPAC) and bourgeois feminists (WONAAC), the ease with which it forms a class-collaborationist coalition with a black liberal pressure group should not be surprising.

A Class-Struggle Program

The SWP has not been able to propagate its reformist illusions with impunity, however. Not only has the Spartacist League's call for labor/black defense and no confidence in the bosses' government received world-wide publicity, but the SWP has had to contend with the support these slogans have received from among non-affiliated activists committed to fighting for school desegregation in Boston. The SWP YSA had to precipitously withdraw from the student-based Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights last November after they were forced to share a platform with the SL, which received broad support from black militants for its opposition to federal troops. After splitting the committee, which they had largely initiated, YSA members slandered it as an SL front group.

Again at the February 14 NSCAR conference, the Spartacist League and its youth group, the Spartacus Youth League, represented the clear left pole among the participants. SL SYL calls for no reliance on capitalist politicians or the

of independent, integrated working-class action on May 17. We will be marching under banners calling for: Labor Black Defense Against Racist Anti-Busing Vigilanteism; For Complete City-Wide Desegregation and Extend Busing to the Suburbs; and For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government. We invite class-conscious militants to join our contingent.

This program for class struggle is no utopian "pie in the sky," as the SWP claims. While the reformists and liberals preach pressure politics and reliance on the armed forces of the capitalists, the members of UAW Local 6 in Chicago have actually organized a Civil Rights Defense Committee to protect the house of a black member against attacks by racist marauders. This defense guard was set up after a membership meeting unanimously passed a motion introduced by the Labor Struggle Caucus, a militant grouping in the Local which opposes the Woodcock bureaucracy with a class-struggle program.

The reformists and liberals seek to seduce people into believing that racism can be fought without attacking the capitalist system which spawns it. The task of the Trotskyists is to fight these illusions by telling the truth to the masses. This means struggling against reliance on the class enemy and for independent working-class action; linking the struggle for the democratic rights of black people and other minorities to the fight against the capitalist economic system and its crisis (strikes/factory occupations against mass layoffs; shorter workweek with no loss in pay; unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance; full cost-of-living escalator; expropriate industry and finance; workers control); and fighting for a political alternative to the bosses parties—calling for a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. Not white against black, but class against class! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Boston NAACP March

No Retreat! Extend the Busing!

BOSTON The reactionary mobilization here by opponents of school integration was front-page news throughout the world last fall. Pictures of a black worker being assaulted by a lynch mob and stories of racist gangs roaming the streets of South Boston, stoning black children in school buses, drove home the message that an end to formal Jim Crow segregation has not eliminated the deep-seated oppression and persecution of racial minorities in the U.S.

While the tense situation cried out for working-class action in defense of the endangered black population of Boston, liberals and reformist "socialists" instead relied on pressuring the bosses' government and called on the racist Ford to send in federal troops. A mass march on December 14, called by black Democrat Bill Owens and supported by the Socialist

Workers Party (SWP) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), was nothing but an impotent liberal protest rally (which narrowly missed being turned into a massacre by the grandstanding adventurism of YAWF and Owens).

Now this tragic scenario is about to be repeated as the second phase of a city-wide court-ordered desegregation plan is being readied by Judge Arthur Garrity. Another liberal march, called and politically dominated by the NAACP, is being built around the demand "Support Quality Desegregation and the Constitution." But the main lesson of the Boston events of the last year is precisely the futility of placing any confidence in the bourgeois state. Militants must demand independent action by a class-conscious labor movement in alliance with black *continued on page 11*



WV Photo

SL called for black/labor defense squads to protect endangered school children in Boston.

Build the UAW Labor/Black Defense Guard in Chicago!

CHICAGO, May 2 A squad from the Civil Rights Defense Committee of UAW Local 6 continues to stand guard nightly at the house of black union member C.B. Dennis. The Dennis home had been fire-bombed and repeatedly stoned by night-riding racists trying to prevent the family from moving into the all-white suburb of Broadview. But ever since the union guards began patrolling three weeks ago, there have been no further attacks on the house.

The defense committee was set up by unanimous vote at the monthly meeting of Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park) on April 13. Since then a steering committee has been actively signing up volunteers for the defense squad and contacting other union locals and black organizations, including the NAACP and PUSH. Already, individuals from UAW Local 59 (Stansdyne), Local 688 (Broadview Parts Depot) and Local 719 (GM Electromotive) have taken part in the guard.

In addition, an official of Amalgamated Meateuters Local 500 has offered the active support of his local and several members of the West Side Coalition, a black community organization in Chicago, have been involved in the defense. According to steering committee member Marc Freedman, the guards will remain at the Dennis home as long as they are needed to prevent the attacks. (Freedman, who introduced the motion setting up the defense committee, is a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle grouping at Harvester.)

As we reported in the last issue of *WV*, these attacks are part of a pattern of terror against blacks living in predominantly white areas of Chicago, a cam-

paign to which Nazis and the KKK have been linked. At a time when these gutter demagogues are finding a growing audience for their race hate filth and treacherous reformists preach reliance on the armed forces of the capitalist state as the answer Broadview represents a call for action by the labor movement. The UAW militants' response is the answer to racist mobilizations such as in Boston!

Because the militant defense of the Dennis home by Local 6 stands in such striking contrast to the usual inaction of the labor movement in the face of racist attacks, it received considerable attention from the local news media. It has also led to harassment by the cops, company and fascists.

- Broadview police, who earlier refused Dennis' request for full-time protection against the attacks, are now busy checking out the license plates of members of the defense guard, allegedly looking for "unauthorized individuals."

- At the International Harvester Parts Depot in Broadview, the company fired two workers for distributing copies of *Workers Voice* (a syndicalist newsletter) calling for support to the defense committee. The two militants were only reinstated after they filed a suit with the NLRB against this blatantly illegal victimization.

- Workers arriving at the union hall last week found the words "N----r Beware" scrawled on the front door. The fascist preachers of race hate aim at the total destruction of the organized labor movement, and Local members are becoming increasingly aware that defense of the Dennis home is also defense of the union.

The major stumbling block to a wider mobilization for defense until now has

been inaction on the part of the union leadership. Despite the clear mandate of the membership, it is reported that Local 6 president Norm Roth has not contacted other union locals about the defense. Furthermore, the Local executive board has so far refused to recognize the Civil Rights Defense Committee as an official union body, overriding the unanimous

points out, labor/black defense is counterposed to reliance on the cops, who do not protect working people but their enemies—the corporations, banks and fascist scum.

Only by strengthening and extending the Local 6 defense guard, winning support from other union locals and black organizations, can the nightriders



WV Photo

Members of UAW Local 6 at meeting to set up union defense squad last month.

request of the steering committee.

Conservative elements in the Local leadership together with the reformist Roth (a leader of the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy) are attempting to funnel widespread sentiment to defend the Dennis home into reliance on the capitalist state. But as Freedman (who is running for executive board member-at-large as candidate of the Labor Struggle Caucus)

be stopped. And only by linking this exemplary labor black defense to a full program for independent working-class action such as put forward by the LSC for factory occupations against mass layoffs, for a workers party based on the unions, for a workers government can it become part of a class-struggle offensive which will put a stop to racist terror by overthrowing the capitalist system which breeds it. ■