

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

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Down with the CIA/FBI!

DECEMBER 31—Last week Seymour Hersh, the *New York Times'* CIA expert, revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had been involved for years in massive illegal spying aimed at U.S. antiwar dissidents. That the CIA carried out such domestic operations was widely known. The news was the reported scope of the undercover activities—files on 10,000 U.S. citizens, widespread surveillance of liberals and radicals, "penetration" of antiwar groups—and the authority of the *Times* behind the allegations. Further reported were "dozens of other illegal activities by members of the CIA inside the United States, beginning in the nineteen-fifties, including break-ins, wiretapping and surreptitious inspection of mail" (*New York Times*, 22 December).

The latest round of charges against the main U.S. spy agency are a spin-off of the Watergate investigations. It was

learned more than a year ago that CIA equipment and former agents were involved in the original Watergate incident, as well as in various "bag jobs" including the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

It also became clear that the Nixon administration was using the CIA to monitor a host of its "political enemies," broadly defined. Senator Sam Ervin, one of the "heroes" of Watergate, reported running across evidence of CIA domestic dirty tricks, but deliberately did not follow up his leads. Richard Helms, ex-director of the CIA, claimed during the investigations that the agency was "duped" into Watergate involvement by the White House. But the Nixon tapes give us the U.S. President saying to Haldeman (on 23 June 1972): "Well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things."

The *New York Times'* information

purportedly originates with lower-level CIA loyalists attempting to reform the wasteful and embarrassing "excesses" of officials in clandestine operations. One of their particular targets was James Angleton, an old-line cold warrior who ran the nearly autonomous counterintelligence branch. Angleton, who was convinced that the antiwar movement was run by the Soviet Union's KGB, "resigned" immediately after the release of the recent allegations.

There are several current or planned official investigations of the CIA, involving at least four different congressional sub-committees. Clark Clifford, who was defense secretary during the Vietnam war, is now calling for yet another investigative committee for the purpose of studying domestic CIA activities. Even Vietnam butcher General Maxwell Taylor is bemoaning illegals by the intelligence agency.



CIA director William Colby

Why this sudden concern? Like the Watergate investigations, although on a less spectacular scale, the CIA inquiries spring from a desire to shore up the authority of the widely discredited government, as well as a concern that the CIA has "overstepped its authority." Since even many officials inside the agency do not know what it is doing, much less Congress, the fact that the CIA was muscling in on FBI territory may only be the tip of the iceberg.

What Ray Cline, former CIA deputy director for intelligence, calls "the

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Racist Offensive Continues Despite Impotent Liberal Protest Rally in Boston

YAWF Plays at Confrontationism

BOSTON, December 27—Month by month the black/white polarization over school desegregation draws this city ever closer to full-scale race riots. The legal moves and countermoves by liberal and right-wing bourgeois politicians are being played out against the background of increasingly violent racist mobilizations against court-ordered busing. These culminated in the besieging of South Boston High School by a bloodthirsty mob of whites on December 11.

As the events of the last four months have made abundantly clear, reliance on the capitalist politicians and their armed forces will only lead to disaster for black people fighting for the right to equal education. The independent political intervention of significant sections of the labor movement and the organization of effective defense of the school children by unions and black organizations are essential in order to guarantee implementation of the busing plan and to put a stop to the racist violence.

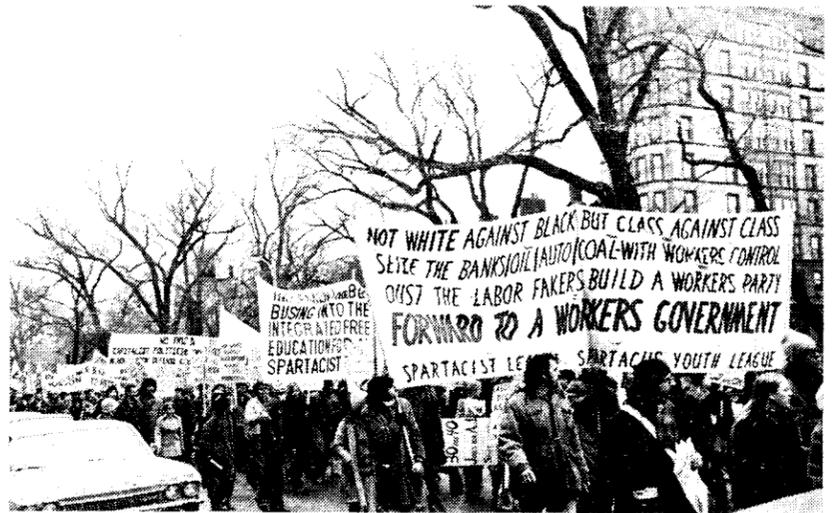
The necessity for mobilizing the forces of the labor movement and black community against the racists has never been more apparent than in the first weeks of December. The fascist, white-supremacist propaganda emanating from the recently opened South Boston office of the American Nazi Party points ominously to the direction which the reactionary anti-busing movement could take.

As certain elements in the School Committee pour their efforts into legal

maneuvers, including a national campaign for a constitutional amendment against "forced busing," others continue to organize mass assaults on the democratic rights of black people. A highly organized and successful Thanksgiving week boycott of the city schools by whites was capped by the transformation of the traditional East Boston-South Boston football game into a frenzied anti-integration rally. Pouring abuse on effigies of liberal politicians, the crowd roared approval as a full-scale replica of a school bus was burned during halftime.

For two weeks afterwards, "Southie" High was the scene of daily clashes between groups of black and white students. The December 11 incident followed the stabbing of a white student by a black youth and saw some 140 black students trapped inside as a racist mob outside the locked doors screamed for blood. Only after four hours of this lynch-mob terror did police rescue the students.

To combat this virulently racist movement requires independent working-class action. However, the reformist Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party call instead for reliance on the bourgeois state, through the slogan "Federal Troops to Boston Now!" The most that can be expected from the guardians of capitalist law and order was shown on December 11. Earlier, in September, the Boston police had brutally occupied the overwhelmingly black Columbia Point Housing Project in response to requests for protection against racist nightriders. The patrolmen's association recently made a substantial donation to ROAR, the



Spartacist contingent marches in Boston on December 14.

main anti-busing organization.

As in all serious social crises the key question is the leadership of the working class. Boston's labor bureaucrats either directly support the anti-busing movement (as in the case of the reactionary craft construction unions), or capitulate to it by doing nothing. The Boston Teachers Union, which calls for discipline in the schools and criticizes the "inequities" of the busing plan, has never said a word against the mob attacks on black children. Leaders of the Meatcutters union speak in favor of integration, but have not lifted a finger even to defend their own union hall in South Boston, which has been attacked by the racists.

In recent weeks certain fake-socialist organizations have leapt into the fray with their eyes looking back to the civil rights movement of the 1960's and their feet firmly planted in the muck of the liberal bourgeois politics of today. On November 30 the Communist Party-backed Committee for Quality Integrated Education led 4,000 people, marching to the strains of "We

Shall Overcome," to a rally in front of City Hall addressed by the usual collection of Democratic Party politicians, preachers and pacifist civil rights leaders. The message of the event was clear: pressure on the Democratic Party—the party of Wallace, Hicks and Kerrigan—and calls for more protection from the racist police.

The December 14 "March for Freedom" in Boston was considerably larger than previous pro-busing demonstrations and represented a different configuration of political tendencies. The two principal left groups involved were Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism and the Socialist Workers Party. YAWF functioned as water boy for Democratic state senator William Owens in the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, seeking to win influence by organizing the buses, providing marshalls, etc. The SWP, frozen out of the Emergency Committee, launched a parallel Student

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SWP Renounces Revolution in Court/6

IT Expels Left Oppositionists for Demanding

"Break with the SWP"

Over the weekend of October 12-14, the Internationalist Tendency (IT) held a plenum of its Steering Committee in Chicago. This was the first national meeting of the IT since its expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) last July 4.

The plenum's first order of business was a purge of the IT's own left wing, two comrades from the Houston branch. Both had a history as active militants of the SWP/YSA and IT: one had joined the YSA in 1970, the other in 1972; both comrades had been elected members of the IT's leading committee, one as full and the other as alternate; one of the comrades had in fact been the organizer of the Houston IT branch.

The plenum was an attempt to reconcile the IT to the "perspective" dictated to it by its mentors, the Pabloist heads of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the United Secretariat, with whom the IT has allied itself in its fight against the SWP. The

IMT wheelers and dealers, abetted by the IT leaders amid some feeble whims of protest, had doomed the Internationalist Tendency to demoralization and decay within the bureaucratic stranglehold of the SWP. At the May 25-27 national IT meeting the IT leadership rammed down the throats of the ranks the policy of remaining in the Socialist Workers Party, simultaneously backtracking from earlier harsh denunciations of the SWP. The maneuver was unavailing; the IT was soon after summarily expelled from the SWP (see *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974).

The purpose of the October plenum was to adopt the IMT's demand that the IT seek "reintegration" into the SWP, justified by an "analysis" that the SWP is still a revolutionary organization. The precondition for this capitulation was the expulsion of members of the IT leadership who sought to deduce tactics from a principled consideration of the nature of the SWP, rather than vice versa.

Our attitude toward and our evaluation of the SWP has been a political question that has racked our tendency for over a year. A number of differing opinions have been expressed: the SWP is centrist; it's not quite centrist yet; the SWP is a right opportunist sect; it's not quite a right opportunist sect yet. These differences are quite serious, because they should, for principled Marxists determine our policy toward the SWP. But to date we have yet to undertake any serious attempts to resolve this question. The seriousness of this question has increased greatly in our relationship with the IMT, which has always had an incorrect analysis of the SWP, and has led to completely inadequate practical conclusions on their part for us and our relation to the SWP.

To date the debate has mostly been a tactical one, the point of departure has been how many recruits we can get and from where. This is insufficient. There are fundamental political issues at stake. If we are serious about winning the proletariat to Trotskyism we will not stand before them and tell them they must join an SWP that is *rotten and reformist*. We were wrong to think this in the past and it would be criminal to continue to function with this position.

If we purport to be Trotskyists we cannot tell workers, we cannot tell any politicized elements we are in political contact with, to join a party of betrayers. The SWP has not merely failed to carry out its revolutionary responsibilities in every arena it intervenes in, not just recently, but for a number of years. Its approach to work in the anti-war, women's and Black movements, its trade union work, work in CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women], its election campaigns, etc., reflects not tactical, secondary political differences, but fundamental political differences of a principled character in each arena. The SWP has functioned as shameless attorneys, defending every kind of bourgeois liberal and mainline trade union bureaucrat.

That Comrade Charles can come here and tell us, as the IMT's representative, that we should "recruit organizationally to the SWP, but politically to the IMT (or FI) [Fourth International, i.e., the United Secretariat]" indicates major political disorientation on the part of the IMT itself, or worse, simply cynicism. There is but one correct political answer to the reformism of the SWP. To build a Trotskyist party in the U.S. it is necessary to counterpose ourselves politically and organizationally to the SWP, whose concrete politics are the antithesis of everything the Fourth International stood for under Trotsky. It is necessary to break completely from the SWP and break

now. It might be argued that the SWP expelled us, we want to expose them and their organizational degeneration. In reality, this is a trivial point. The SWP's degeneration is also and primarily political. A complete political break is both politically justified and necessary.

It has been our (the authors') position for quite some time that the SWP is a reformist party. It constitutes a roadblock to the socialist revolution in this country. It is not a question of centrist confusion or of occasional opportunist deviations on the SWP's part. The politics of the SWP are consistently and fundamentally counter to those of the Transitional Program and the heritage of Leninism. The IMT leadership has long claimed ignorance of what the SWP's policies really are (even though it is their political responsibility at all times to know)—we cannot. We have been implementing their reformist policies for years. We will cite just a few examples.

For many years the SWP pursued a class-collaborationist policy in its anti-war work. This was not primarily because of Vance Hartke's presence in NPAC [National Peace Action Coalition], though this was indicative. In the earlier days of the movement the SWP toyed around with a bloc around "Peace Now", they went through a "Bring the Boys Home" phase. Their call to bring the troops from Vietnam to enforce law and order in Mississippi was despicable as was their publicizing of the slogan "Bring Our Black GI's Back Home".

It's been said many times in our tendency that there were two tasks for revolutionaries on the Vietnam question: 1) to build a mass anti-war movement; and 2) build a left wing within this movement. It's been further stated that the SWP did an admirable job in one respect and failed dismally in the other; then somehow we conclude since they carried out one they can't be so bad. This approach is wrong, comrades, terribly wrong. What were the politics of

The pretext for the exclusion was the expelled comrades' expressed solidarity with an oppositional tendency within the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Canadian affiliate of the IMT. The real motive, however, was a document submitted in August (reprinted below) which characterized the SWP as reformist. Although substantial sections of the IT had in the past rejected the IMT's view of the SWP and opposed remaining within it, the open expression of such a view within the IT was deemed so dangerous that the IT leadership completely suppressed the document, just as they appear to have suppressed the motion made by the expelled comrades at the plenum.

The main agenda point scheduled for the plenum was the nature of the SWP and the IT's perspectives toward it. But first things first: after counterposed reports and a brief discussion, the motion was made to expel the dissidents, who made the countermotion that "The SWP is finished as a revolutionary

force." The motions were voted: one full and one alternate member of the IT Steering Committee found themselves driven out; and the IT was on record for the position that the SWP is revolutionary—even before the main discussion!

In the period since the expulsion, the situation of the IT has gone from bad to worse. Many of the ranks, in open revolt against the suicidal "perspective" of crawling back to the SWP, are solidizing around the worst aspects of the IMT's petty-bourgeois "third worldist" line. Only a clear perspective based on the struggle for the Trotskyist program and against both the centrist IMT and reformist SWP wings of the "United" Secretariat could have opened for the IT a future as a component of a proletarian vanguard party. The IT leadership has instead chosen backroom maneuvers, SWP-style purges and the duping of its own membership—a course which can lead only to disintegration.

this mass anti-war movement? They were bourgeois pacifism and bourgeois defeatism.

The two cannot be separated. On what basis do we build the anti-war movement, except upon the same basis that we would build the left wing—upon class struggle politics? How do we put the mass movement together, to have something in which to build our left wing? Do we have demands for the movement and separate demands for a left wing?

The demand of "Out Now", outside the context of a revolutionary program, was easily twisted in the hands of the "dove" bourgeoisie. The SWP lent itself to this end. It's often been said that "Out Now" was a principled demand. That is true in the abstract, but that's not how we approach the question. There are instances where the demand for a constituent assembly will be a principled demand. But if a party in a revolutionary situation in a colonial country raised this "principled" demand and failed to raise all the other demands flowing from the concrete situation we would hardly praise their actions as exemplary. They would be betrayers despite their raising of one isolated "principled" demand.

The SWP blocked with any and all and raised no politics. This wasn't just a mistake of a secondary nature. It was a conscious political act on their part, they raised no politics precisely to create such a bloc. This is where their class collaboration really came out. Because NPAC openly sought an ongoing class bloc with the bourgeoisie on its terms it lent itself to the subversion of the anti-war movement. This is why the ruling class by pulling American troops out of Vietnam could completely undercut the mass anti-war movement. Yet American imperialism's counterrevolutionary struggle against the Vietnam revolution has not ceased and the question of the Vietnamese revolution retains all its significance for revolutionaries today, even if the SWP's

"defense" of the revolution has ceased.

If we have learned anything from Lenin and Trotsky, it is that every struggle *must* be linked to the general struggle of the proletariat for power. Every struggle must be used to raise the consciousness of the participants of the true nature of class society and the necessary road forward, led by the working class and its vanguard; because the reformists will use every struggle to triumph with their line. A left wing is merely an embryonic base to reach out to with our politics, to fight against other tendencies, to broaden itself, and vie with the reformists for leadership of the movement, on the basis of a revolutionary program.

The SWP's work in WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Coalition] was no different. At one time the SWP stood for free abortion on demand. But their program had to be lowered in order to bloc with NOW [National Organization of Women] and Congresswoman Bella Abzug. The point here is not that you cannot march with bourgeois liberals to obtain a democratic demand but that the SWP chose their issue precisely to obtain this bloc.

On the abortion question this amounted to betrayal on the SWP's part. The heart of the abortion question focused around the working women and women of the ghetto subject to the butchery of illegal, back-alley abortions. The "democratic right" to abortion has little content for them. Only the demand for "Free Abortion on Demand" had any relevance to the vast majority of women the abortion issue affects.

At the national CLUW conference in Chicago the SWP did nothing about the rotten compromise arranged by the union bureaucrats to keep the conference from backing the Farmworkers. In Houston we've been following a series of sellouts in CLUW by Debby Leonard on a nurses' struggle at Jefferson Davis Hospital. A resolution calling for rehiring the nurses was tabled to a committee set up by Leonard, composed of herself, 2 AFSCME [American Feder-

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ation of State, County and Municipal Employees] bureaucrats and 2 independents, to be approved without being subject to rank and file approval and this most elementary demand ("rehire the nurses") was deleted, on objections from the AFSCME leadership. We could cite numerous other examples of the SWP's treachery in their Black work, trade union work, election campaigns, etc.

It's often said, "Well, their day to day politics may be lousy, but on paper they are still for revolution". What are the SWP's politics if they are not what they call on the workers to do in the class struggle? These are not just practical mistakes, divergences from their program, in each case they have been theorized by the SWP and flow from their political analysis.

It's been said that the SWP still defends revolutionaries around the world. But what kind of defense? They vehemently opposed any attempts to raise slogans that would have taken sides in the civil war in Vietnam within NPAC, they refused to raise any such slogans themselves. Another good example is their defense of the [Argentine] ERP-PRT [Revolutionary People's Army-Revolutionary Workers Party] and more recently the Spanish section. Their "defense" was to publicly denounce them. How did the SWP defend the Internationalist Tendency from attacks in the bourgeois media? Can we expect better in the future? And what of their "exemplary" defense of the MIR [Revolutionary Left Movement] in Chile.

Some comrades feel that as long as the SWP continues to talk about Trotskyism you can't say they're reformist; it has not yet met a definitive test. This is ridiculous, the SWP is not a mass party; its opportunities for real betrayals are limited. If it occasionally exhibits what appears to be centrist traits it is only because it has yet to find the final vehicle for its betrayals. Occasionally it may be able to come off sounding very left in the abstract on some questions but only because it has nothing going for it in the particular arena. On the evidence, it is only because it does not constitute enough of a force for the bourgeoisie to worry about that prevents it from betrayals such as entering into popular fronts. The idea that the SWP has not yet met a definitive test was introduced by Comrade Langston at the December 1973 IT national steering committee meeting. It was totally rejected by the leadership then and rightly so. Yet when the IMT's representative in June imposed this incorrect idea on us we all passively accepted it.

The IMT's perspectives for the IT raises real questions about its motives. Comrade Charles says the SWP is "revolutionary with right deviations". It is quite clear that this is the IMT's analysis. Yet at the same time they "have no illusions about the SWP leadership being reformable". Further, most of the ranks are not reformable. This is a very obvious contradiction to anyone with any basic understanding of Trotskyism. If the SWP is "revolutionary with right deviations", then we should view it as our party, further we should really believe that we can win this party over. The truth is the SWP is reformist; a complete political break is a clearcut necessity.

We are caught up in a game on an international scale and as things stand, we are only passive, observer-victims. Before the May conference it was often said and the opinion was overwhelmingly held that a long term perspective within the SWP would mean our destruction. That was our political evaluation. Yet when Comrade Charles came and gave us the IMT's incorrect perspective for us we capitulated.

The four-point motion introduced by the comrades from D.C. at the May conference and which passed overwhelmingly was somewhat diluted by our leadership shortly afterward and the whole sense, the whole spirit behind the motion at the conference, which was to take a hard stance on the question of our perspective was lost. We chose to be "diplomatic". But diplomacy does not

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Mandelites Falsify History to Attack SL

"... they have consistently maintained principled positions on such issues as feminism and nationalism; they have established a generally commendable record of support for other left tendencies under attack from the bourgeois state and have refrained from the use of violence against other left groupings (itself not a minor achievement in light of the record of most other left formations in the U.S.). In a period in which other ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies have been characterized by bizarre deviations and hysterical excesses... the Spartacist League has presented a sober, solid, down-to-earth tone that is refreshing."

An excerpt from a Spartacist League pamphlet? No, the above quotation comes from an "Education for Socialists" bulletin (June 1974) nominally published by the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) in the interests of its American co-thinkers, the Internationalist Tendency (IT), formerly of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Entitled "Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect," the very existence of the pamphlet gives the lie to its characterization of the SL as an isolated sect lacking any real influence.

The 50-page document, which obviously cannot be answered in any detail here, is divided up into several major sections. The first deals with the pre-history of the SL—i.e., the anti-revisionist wing of the Trotskyist movement which emerged in opposition to Michel Pablo and his "new world reality" in the early 1950's. This is indeed a good place to start, since in that struggle, which destroyed the Fourth International as a revolutionary organization, the SL critically solidarizes with the "International Committee" wing, then led by the SWP, while the IT/RMG is in solidarity with the continuators of the opposing wing, the "International Secretariat" of Pablo (later to become the "United Secretariat," or USec, in 1963).

Yet the reader of the pamphlet will be hard pressed to find a clear statement of the issues of the 1951-53 fight. What will be found instead is a series of criticisms of the anti-revisionists (in large part lifted straight from the SL's own clear-eyed assessment of the weaknesses of the fight against Pabloism) combined with an offhand dismissal of what was in fact the essence of Pabloism. Thus:

"Pablo's major error was a theory of economic catastrophism in which the capitalist states would be forced into launching a global war against the workers' states. This economic catastrophism gave birth in practice to *entryism sui generis* which, in retrospect, can be seen to have led [in] certain instances to organizational opportunism. This—coupled with hyperbureaucratism in the organizational sense—was the real error of Pablo, rather than any project of liquidationism on the part of Pablo personally or the leadership of the FI in general."

And the pamphlet notes that:

"Pablo's arguments in 'Where Are We Going?' (written in January 1951) that 'the Communist Parties retain the possibility in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation' was ceaselessly cited [by anti-Pabloists] as the final, damning quotation."

Pabloism was (and remains) precisely the theory that non-Trotskyist mass formations, including the Stalinist parties, could be forced by pressure from below to pursue revolutionary policies. The application of this "theory" was deep entrist, which was characterized by the anti-revisionists at the time (and not just "in retrospect," as the pamphlet grudgingly grants) as the *political liquidation* of the leading role of independent proletarian Trotskyist parties in the revolutionary process. "Pabloism," far from being an empty epithet having its roots in demonology, means precisely the United Secretariat's continuing

search for substitutes for the Trotskyist vanguard. It reduces the role of revolutionists to cheerleaders for other formations, from Ben Bella in Algeria to Piaget, left-Catholic leader of last year's Lip strike, in France.

The next section of the pamphlet deals with the origins of the SL as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, concentrating on the question of Cuba. Nowhere does the pamphlet make an explicit defense of the position which the RT opposed: that Cuba was a healthy workers state "lacking only the forms of workers democracy" and that Castro was "an unconscious Marxist." It simply characterizes as "Shachtmanite" the Spartacist view that deformed workers states are "qualitatively inferior to healthy workers states." The purpose of the section is to raise the bogeyman of "Shachtmanism," which is vitally necessary for the Pabloists who seek to cover their own political accommodation to the Stalinist bureaucracies by labeling the Trotskyist position—i.e., defense of these states against imperialist and domestic counterrevolution combined with the struggle for *political revolution* against the ruling clique—as "third camp."

This brings us logically to the next section, which deals with the antiwar work of the Spartacist League. This is perhaps the most dishonest part of the whole magnum opus, as required by the need to portray the SL as sectarian, abstentionist and "Stalinophobic." The IT/RMG rushes to the defense of the SWP's liberal-pacifist policies, separating antiwar action into two independent components and arguing that the SWP succeeded in its intention "to mobilize the masses in as broad and powerful a movement as possible to objectively aid the Vietnamese and other revolutionary forces in their fight against American aggression" even though it did not "educate the masses of people to the nature of and reasons for the American war of aggression, including the need to politicize an anti-imperialist wing of the movement and to recruit the most advanced layers to the task of building a revolutionary party in the U.S."

In fact, no such separation can be made. The program under which the SWP (and the Communist Party) "mobilized the masses" to "objectively aid the Vietnamese" guaranteed that the antiwar movement would remain in the pocket of the antiwar liberals, who recognized that a continuation of the losing war in Indochina was not in the best interests of U.S. imperialism.

The SWP's policy from the outset was to seek an alliance with the defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie, and toward that end to unashamedly block the development of class consciousness among antiwar militants. The SL's policy of opposing the class-collaborationist approach to the bourgeoisie (at which the pamphlet sneers) was the concrete axis around which an anti-imperialist wing (for which the pamphlet wistfully yearns) could have emerged.

Linking the struggle against imperialist war to the class struggle in the U.S., the SL sought to turn a wing of the antiwar movement toward the working class—the only social force capable of taking decisive action against the war—

with a propagandistic struggle for *political strikes*. This aspect of our intervention is deliberately ignored by the pamphlet's author—and indeed it could not be otherwise. For how could one square the characterization of the SL's antiwar work as "criminal abstentionism" with the fact that only the SL had a perspective for turning empty middle-class protest marches into a real mass movement based on the power of the working class itself?

Nor can the pamphlet square the SL's initiation of and participation in anti-imperialist contingents and our calls for NLF victory with the portrait of a Stalinophobic sect. For the IT/RMG, as for Stalinist apologists in general, the only way to "defend" the deformed workers states is to alibi the treacherous bureaucracy. Therefore, since the SL did not cease to expose the past betrayals of the NLF and to warn of future ones, the SL cannot possibly have called for NLF victory. So the pamphlet must alter reality to suit its schema, including ignoring the SL's slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist" and inventing the outright lie that the SL called for "conditional support" rather than unconditional military victory to the NLF.

This section also resuscitates an old prejudice inherited from the SWP: that the SL "tailed" Progressive Labor. No "evidence" is adduced for this slander, except for two sentences which slyly give the impression that the SL covered up for PL's Stalinist gangsterism against the SWP:

"it [the SL] saw nothing wrong at all in arguing that the PL thugs who attacked the SWP and YSA were not Stalinist. After all, demanded the SL, how could PLP be considered Stalinist when (according to them) it attacked the Student Mobilization Committee from the left?"

Let us simply note that the SL's alleged "tailing" of PL consisted of entering the PL-led wing of SDS with an openly Trotskyist program and forming an oppositional caucus with its own newspaper which, among other things, sharply denounced PL's Stalinist gangsterism against opponents within the left movement. For example, a front-page article in the September 1970 *RMC Newsletter* (headlined, interestingly enough, "Stalinism in Boston") denounced PL for physical attacks on the SWP/YSA/SMC and proposed a resolution condemning them. Again, the IT/RMG is unable to understand the Trotskyist policies of the SL. Recognizing that PL was indeed to the left of the SWP in that period, the SL pursued an orientation to PL, which was in no way synonymous with "tailing" PL but was in fact based on principled *programmatic counterposition*.

The section on trade-union work castigates the SL for refusing to support the Mine Workers' Miller and the

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Preferential Layoffs: A Dangerous Hoax

During the past decade many areas of employment traditionally restricted to white males were partially opened to women and minorities. In part this was a concession to civil rights/women's liberation movements, and partly it was due to an expanding job market. These limited gains, however, are now being reversed by the massive layoffs which are sweeping U.S. industry, eliminating many recently hired workers.

This has hit women and black workers particularly hard. Since December 1973 the jobless rate for blacks has shot up from 7.7 percent to 11.7 percent. In November statistics showed 3.9 percent of white males out of work compared with 6.6 percent of women.

In the past many liberals, black nationalists, feminists and reformists had called for "affirmative action" plans for "preferential hiring" (quotas) as the only way to overcome historic discrimination patterns. The current sharp economic crisis is graphically demonstrating what's wrong with these divisive schemes.

Obviously, hiring quotas have very little effect when the bulk of the workforce is out on the street anyway. For many urban ghettos unemployment rates are already at depression levels. In Detroit's "inner city," for instance, the jobless figure was 26.5 percent even before the latest massive layoffs of Chrysler workers and is predicted to go to 40 percent or worse by the spring (*Detroit Free Press*, 21 November).

Faced with the prospect of layoffs eliminating most of the women and minorities hired over the recent period, quota advocates from the federal government's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) to would-be radicals are now carrying their position to its logical conclusion. Rejecting the possibility of a united labor offensive to stop all layoffs, they have sought a method to distribute job cutbacks more "fairly": "preferential layoffs."

Far from representing an attack on capitalism, preferential hiring quotas mean relying on the good will of management and the bourgeois courts. Rather than serving to unite the working class in a struggle against discrimination by the employers, they institute a new form of "reverse discrimination."

But if, in certain particular cases, it may sometimes be necessary for revolutionaries to give critical support to hiring quotas in order to oppose the racist status quo, the same is not true for "preferential layoffs." These are a direct attack on the jobs of presently employed workers and, no matter what the motivations of their proponents, are rapidly becoming the spearhead of a union-busting assault on the seniority principle, a mainstay of the labor movement.

A Dagger Pointed at the Heart of the Unions

There is no such thing as fair employment under capitalism. With trade and industry in private hands, some will be hired and others will necessarily be unemployed. Unemployment provides a ready pool of desperate workers (Marx called it the "industrial reserve army") which employers use to drive down wages and break strikes. It is usually concentrated among certain sections of the laboring population, such as blacks in the U.S. and Mediterranean immigrant workers in West Europe. This is a chronic and permanent feature of the capitalist system.

The reactionary trade-union bureaucracy is the partner of the capital-

ists in fostering the racial and sex divisions in the workforce which prevent united class struggle and bears responsibility along with them for perpetuating discriminatory hiring practices and oppression by sex or race. The racist and chauvinist policies of this bureaucracy include its protection of "job-trusting," which often excludes anyone from a trade except close relatives of present workers.

The bankruptcy of these venal fakery, who often owe their cushy positions to the liberal use of graft and physical violence against oppositionists, has led many militant black and women workers to write off the unions altogether. Therefore they feel justified in resorting to anti-union schemes such as court suits against the unions and preferential layoffs in a misdirected attempt to fight discrimination.

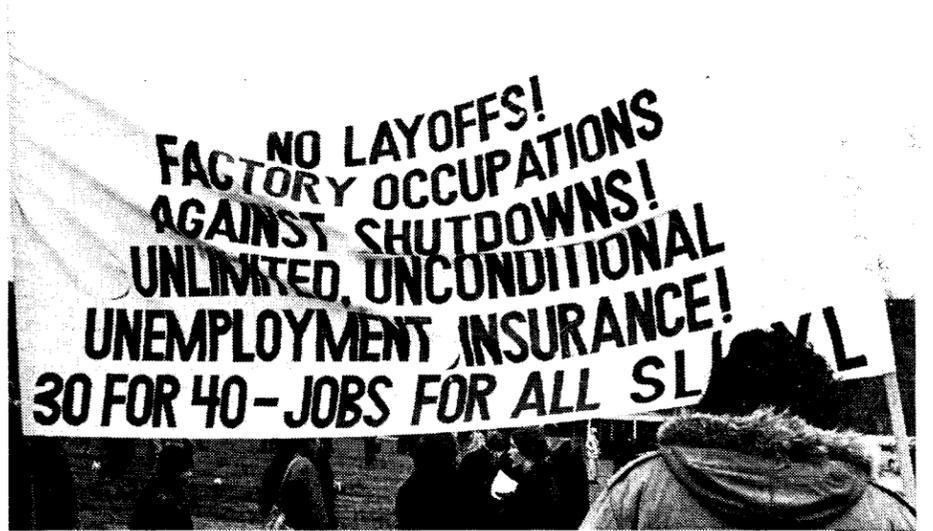
The Spartacist League has consistently warned against divisive preferential hiring and advancement schemes. What is needed, we have pointed out, is a class-struggle program for union action against discrimination, to make the employers pay. In particular, the SL calls for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to create more jobs, for a union hiring hall and union-controlled upgrading and training particularly geared for those traditionally excluded from certain skilled jobs (see "Preferential Hiring Is Not the Answer," *WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973).

Almost every "affirmative action" scheme involves appealing to the capitalist state, whether through the courts, Labor Department, EEOC or another agency. We have warned that those who appeal to the government to adjudicate disputes within the labor movement are in reality handing the bosses powers which will be used to smash independent unionism. This is particularly true of "preferential layoffs" schemes which attack the seniority principle, the only form of job security now available to unionized workers.

Under most seniority systems, those with the least time in the plant or workplace would be laid off first. Supporters of preferential layoffs correctly point out that since minorities and women hired under quota programs during the last decade generally have the least seniority, they are still "last hired, first fired."



Unemployment demonstration in Chicago last year by Rev. Jesse Jackson's PUSH. In late 1960's Jackson was head of community group which received \$1.5 million from Chicago banks and Ford Foundation to organize demonstrations for job quotas for blacks. Jackson's fire was directed at unions but banks who paid him were responsible for construction job cutbacks.



The seniority principle, however, is a major gain of the union movement, one that protects all workers (including union militants, minorities, socialists, etc.) against arbitrary victimization. It takes little imagination to envision what would happen to the unions if the seniority principle were thrown out of the window. Yet that is precisely what the quota advocates are doing.

Seniority is often calculated on a departmental (rather than plantwide) basis, thereby tending to confine minorities and women to lower-paying and/or more dangerous job categories. This forms a basis for "job-trusting" by certain relatively more privileged workers, usually male and white. But it is job-trusting and discriminatory departmental classifications which perpetuate discrimination in hiring, not the seniority principle itself.

Moreover, the consistent application of race and sex quotas to layoffs would rapidly produce unexpected results. Thus in Detroit's Dodge Main plant, preferential layoffs would mean putting black workers on the street in order to maintain the present percentage (quite sizeable) of Arab workers. At the Mahwah, N.J., Ford plant it could mean replacing U.S. blacks with Haitians and Dominicans, since the latter have entered the plant more recently.

And what about the group most directly discriminated against by seniority: young workers? Preferential quotas for young workers would put

hundreds of thousands of older workers (usually with families to support) out of a job. Yet this is only the logical consequence of the consistent application of the principle of preferential layoffs.

This kind of quota system almost inevitably heightens ethnic tensions. In the Bethlehem Steel plant in Lackawanna, New York, the issuing of a court order last year calling for quotas in hiring and advancement allowed racists to play on the fears of white workers that preferential hiring was a threat to their jobs (a very real danger in the chronically depressed steel industry, particularly in the job-short Buffalo area). The result: a "Rights for Whites" group was formed in the plant.

Government Intervention to Smash Seniority

Courts and federal agencies have recently taken long steps toward enforcing preferential layoffs and outlawing seniority systems. In one case, a federal court in Richmond, Virginia, ruled explicitly that an employer might be required to *replace* some presently employed workers with blacks or women if necessary to reach a specified sex-race ratio (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 September).

In an important Louisiana case the federal judge declared that *seniority-based layoffs are illegal*. The employer, Continental Can Co., was required to rehire laid-off black workers in order to maintain the percentage of non-whites in the workforce at the same level as prior to the cutbacks. While the ruling forbids the company to eliminate white workers in order to make room for rehires, the court destroyed the seniority principle for future layoffs. Both employer and the union (United Steelworkers Local 2369, a co-defendant in the case) have appealed the decision, and many observers expect this to become the key test case on reverse discrimination and layoffs.

In a ruling last August, however, one judge put his finger on the meaning of this trend. The Seventh Circuit Court held, in a case involving International Harvester and the Bricklayers' union in Wisconsin, that abandoning seniority would be "tantamount to shackling white employees with a burden of past discrimination created not by them but by their employer" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 November).

There is some dispute within the government about how hard to push the anti-seniority drive, the Labor Department apparently edgy about a possible backlash. The head of the federal EEOC, John Powell, however, makes it clear that he intends to "tighten up" on seniority, boasting that "we have a big club" (*New York Times*, 10 November). "In

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Gotbaum "Cooperates" as Beame Lays Off Thousands in NYC

NEW YORK—In the first mass city layoffs since the 1930's depression, Mayor Beame's office announced last month the dismissal of up to 7,935 employees. Other state and municipal workers have also been hard hit. Cleveland recently cut back 10 percent of its workers, while in Atlanta city employees are being forced to take five unpaid holidays in 1974. Massachusetts officials are projecting across-the-board payroll slashes which would mean 1,800 layoffs in the state colleges alone and an enrollment cut of 9,000 students (*Wall Street Journal*, 24 December).

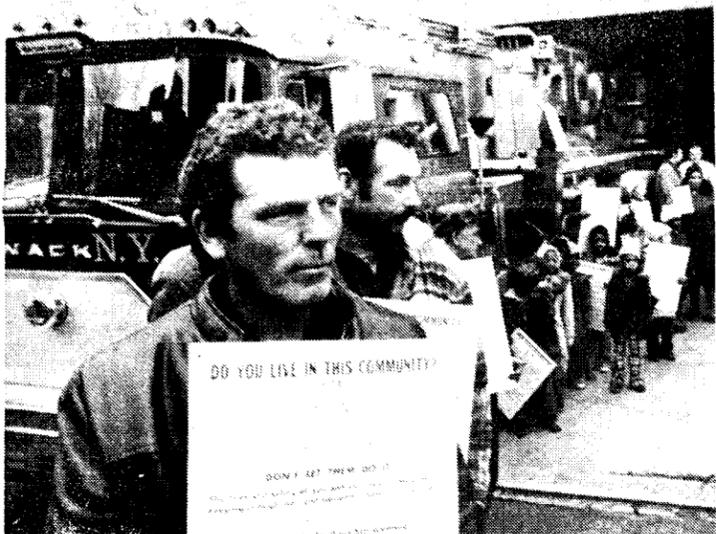
The NYC layoffs have hit all categories of city employees, including office workers, teachers, firemen, sanitation men, parks maintenance personnel and hospital workers. Also included are some cops and "corrections" officers whose role in the state repressive apparatus puts them outside the labor movement.

Hardest hit in these cutbacks has been District Council 37 (DC 37) of the

December).

The announcement of municipal payroll cutbacks, and the unions' evident acquiescence, touched off a scramble over who will *not* be hit. Immediately, every conceivable component of the workforce was pitted against each other—black vs. white workers, men vs. women, old vs. young, paraprofessionals vs. professionals in the schools, etc.

The Policemen's Benevolent Association suggested that the budget be cut not by getting rid of (white) cops, but through dealing with "widespread welfare fraud," i.e., by launching an attack on welfare recipients, specifically the minority poor. In other words, shove the havoc wreaked by the capitalist crisis onto the defenseless unemployed, already among the most oppressed victims of the system. The fire department proposed closing down its stations in Harlem and other ghetto areas which are the worst firetraps in the city. Firemen, however, organized demonstrations together with commu-



New York firemen and community residents protesting planned closing of fire stations in Harlem.

JOHN PEDIN, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the city's largest union, with 110,000 members. Layoffs are catastrophic for public employees, since they are presently ineligible for any form of unemployment benefits.

While city workers have seen their illusions about civil service job security rudely shattered, they have received no protection whatever from their union "leaders." DC 37 executive director Victor Gotbaum and the Central Labor Council instantly capitulated in the face of Mayor Beame's opening shots.

Confident that the loss of nearly 8,000 jobs could be forced on the city labor movement without a fight, the *New York Times* reported December 19 that negotiations began in "an atmosphere of optimism" based on "the political relations surrounding the meeting." (What was meant by this is that every major union in the city backed Democrat Beame for mayor in 1973.) The optimism was, in any case, justified, for the terms of the layoffs are still open and may be linked to wage cuts, payless work days or the four-day week at four days' pay.

Gotbaum was guest of honor at Beame's Christmas party later in the week where the mayor praised him for his cooperation in handling the budget crunch. "I don't blame the mayor," responded a DC 37 administrator at the party. "He didn't start the Vietnam war, he didn't ruin the economy, and he didn't create the recession. He just walked into this mess" (*New York Post*, 21

nity residents fighting to keep the stations open.

DC 37 leaders countered Beame's suggestion of payless work days with the suggestion of forced retirement of older workers, arguing that a cut (often substantial) in their pension benefits was preferable to laying off young workers who will get no compensation at all. When Labor Secretary Brennan reluctantly ruled out forced retirements (because they are patently illegal), Gotbaum pledged to seek "voluntary" retirements. One can imagine the vicious social pressure this will generate against older workers who refuse to give up their means of livelihood.

The DC 37 leadership's "plan" is nothing but a paltry excuse for refusing to use the one effective means to combat burgeoning unemployment: a citywide strike of municipal workers against the layoffs. The organized power of 350,000 city workers could put a stop to Beame's vicious cutbacks in jobs and services.

In addition, the labor movement must take up a fight for unlimited, unconditional unemployment compensation. At present only about half the six million jobless receive government unemployment insurance. The system, which is partly financed by tax funds, does not cover thousands of workers employed by small businesses whose owners do not pay into unemployment funds. Nor does it cover the 30 percent of black youth who are ineligible because they have never held jobs. All benefits stop after one year, and even under the bills



NEW YORK TIMES/TYRONE DUKES

Speaking at news conference are, from left: (seated) Victor Gotbaum (AFSCME DC 37) and Richard Vizzini (firemen); (standing) John Maye (transit police), Morton Barr (CWA), Ken McFeeley (police) and Harold Brown (prison guards).

now before Congress to extend coverage to city workers and other categories, the new additions will only be eligible for 13 weeks.

One scheme being bandied about is for preferential treatment of certain categories traditionally subjected to job discrimination, as opposed to strict seniority. The city is also interested in getting rid of seniority, it appears. On the desk of the Commissioner of Sanitation, a reporter recently discovered two layoff lists—one based on seniority and the other on "productivity considerations," which would let go those who are "absent or seem less inclined to work" (*New York Times*, 23 December). Under the guise of protecting jobs of women and minorities, it is clear that "preferential layoffs" will simply become a weapon for eliminating hard-won union seniority systems.

While the union bureaucracy is cynically telling its membership to "bite the bullet" in the face of sharp economic crisis, various reformists are now calling for public works as the answer to unemployment. The Communist Party's *Daily World* (14 December), for instance, recently called for a "massive program of federal construction," to be financed by taxing the corporations.

There is, in fact, a vast need for social services, and unemployed workers need jobs rather than enforced leisure at starvation-level compensation. But such programs raise many questions. Who will pay for them? The CP's pitiful proposal for taxing the corporations should be countered with the demand for their expropriation without compensation. In particular this should apply to parasitic monopolies such as the power company (Con Edison) and telephone company, bloodsuckers who yearly drain hundreds of millions of dollars from the pockets of working people in order to assure their guaranteed profits. The labor movement should also demand the expropriation of the banks, who last year took 1.6 billion dollars (4 times the reported budget deficit) in "debt service" on loans to the city government.

There is also the question of what kind of public works is needed. Thus, Beame recently cancelled work on a much-needed water tunnel (laying off 1,900 construction workers in the process) while plans are afoot to construct new jails in order to compensate for the closing of the notorious Tombs (itself a product of "public works" programs of the last depression). In order to ensure that socially necessary projects are undertaken there must be systematic planning of public works under the control of the labor movement.

In addition to strikes against layoffs, a class-struggle leadership of the unions would call for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40"), in order to provide jobs for all. Threatened with its own disintegration, the labor movement cannot permit the transformation of increasingly large numbers of workers into chronic paupers.

The fundamental need is for a militant new leadership of the workers

movement which is unafraid to mobilize the organized strength of labor against the corporations and their lackeys in government. The need for a political program of labor action is particularly evident in the "public" sector, where the unions immediately come up against Democratic Party politicians whom they have helped put in office.

The present misleadership, epitomized by the pussyfooting Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, can only capitulate to the employers. When pressure was building for a general strike by state and city employees against budget cuts in 1971, Gotbaum called a token two-day bridge tenders' strike as a publicity stunt to head off sentiment for more militant action. At that time he stated unambiguously: "Our union has never threatened a strike against layoffs" (*Workers Action* No. 9, July-August 1971). While Gotbaum was assuring the city fathers of his undying loyalty, it took police intervention to head off attempts by city workers to cut off the water supply to Rockefeller's Manhattan office and to Wall Street!

As in 1971 the union bureaucracy is the main obstacle to a victorious struggle by city workers against Beame's anti-labor budget cuts/layoffs plan. The gross collusion of the labor tops with city hall (and bourgeois politicians generally) is key to labor's paralysis. The common thread running through the labor movement in the capitalist countries is its ever closer ties to the imperialist state, its subordination to the class enemy as a means for disciplining the workers.

Rather than simply rejecting the unions—the only mass defense organizations the workers have—or passively knuckling under to the sellout bureaucrats, it is necessary to forge a new militant leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

—Strike against layoffs! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! For unlimited, unconditional unemployment compensation!

—For massive public works programs, planned and executed under workers control! Expropriate telephone and power monopolies, banks and insurance companies without compensation!

—Break with the Democrats! Oust the bureaucrats—For a Workers Party Based on the Unions! Forward to a Workers Government! ■

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SWP Renounces Revolution in Court

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has just written another episode in the ongoing saga of "civil libertarian socialism." The *Militant* (24 December) claims a great victory with a federal court ruling on December 13 enjoining the FBI from spying on the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) national convention in St. Louis. YSA national chairman Andrew Pulley hailed the decision as "a powerful precedent curbing the FBI's blank check to spy on unions, Black organizations, and other groups fighting for basic social change." This "powerful precedent," however, was quickly reversed by an appellate court in plenty of time for the FBI to make it to St. Louis. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall also upheld the FBI.

Revolutionary socialists are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights. Any real restraint on the secret or regular police of the capitalist state could be supported. Wouldn't it be nice, for instance, if the Supreme Court were to outlaw the activities of the FBI, CIA and the red squads as is earnestly wished for by the less cynical (and more gullible) of the SWP's supporters? "But in politics," said Trotsky addressing British left social democrats in 1935, "nothing is more dangerous than to mistake what we wish for what is possible." For the reformist civil libertarians of the SWP, it has become more than wish—it is their basic political strategy.

While revolutionists would certainly not shrink from using the courts, as well as other means, to defend themselves from repression (and while they might at times use the halls of bourgeois "justice" as a platform of socialist propaganda, as James Cannon did in the 1941 Minneapolis Trial of 18 SWP leaders), we do not use the courts as a platform to aggressively denounce socialist principle. But the SWP does. Arguing in its press that the "socialist court case" will further expose the repressive instruments of the government, the SWP has only further exposed

its own insatiable appetite for bourgeois respectability.

Reformism on Trial

These reformists had little difficulty in convincing Judge Griesa of the U.S. District Court that the SWP/YSA was indeed "non-violent." In his ruling the judge highlighted his "review" of a recent issue of the *Militant* in which "there is in my view not the slightest hint of any present violent threat or any such threat in the near future." He was particularly impressed with the SWP's prime exhibit, a telegram sent by Farrell Dobbs (then national secretary of the SWP) "extend[ing] our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy" at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. The Dobbs statement goes on: "Political terrorism...violates the democratic rights of all Americans... Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision...."

In *Spartacist* No. 1 we condemned this cowardly statement as being "the words of...Social Democrats and bourgeois liberals...." For those who in the past have criticized the Spartacist League for exaggerating the importance of this telegram, see now how it is being used by the reformist SWP to ingratiate itself with the ruling class.

The core of the SWP's presentation before Judge Griesa is contained in a few treacherous statements by Barry Sheppard, the SWP national organizational secretary, in his affidavit to the court: "The specific methods used by the SWP to educate and organize are electioneering, distribution of literature, public speaking and other legal activities.

"The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity...."

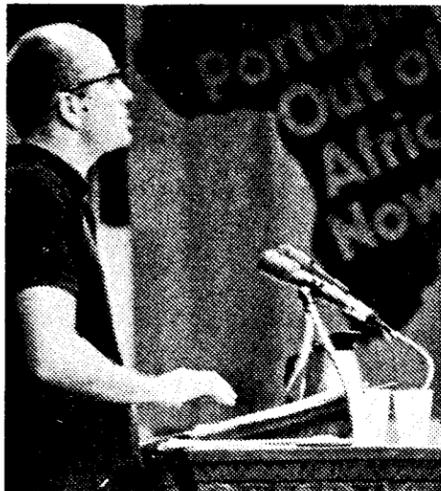
"The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel

"The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity."

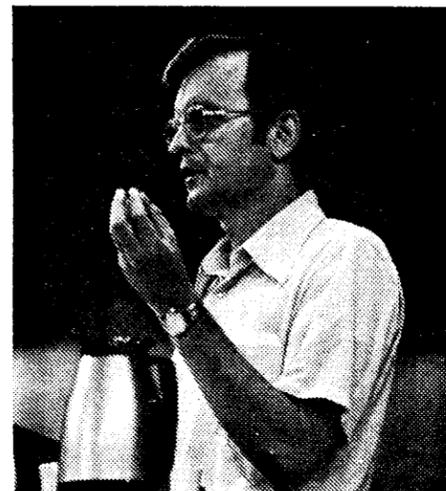
—Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party, statement to the Southern District Court of New York, 12 December 1974

"Those features of their previous work which Kautsky now wishes to make permanent—self adaptation, repudiation of "illegal" activity, repudiation of the open fight, hopes placed in democracy as the road to a painless revolution—all these fell into dust."

—Leon Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism*, 1920



Jack Barnes



Barry Sheppard

Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

If this last sentence means anything at all, it is that whatever Marx, Lenin and Trotsky may have said in support of revolutionary violence (and they were unambiguous on this point), the SWP still "does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity...."

Compare this with Trotsky's attack on the pusillanimous "pacifism" of social democrats like Kautsky who were denouncing the "red terror" of the

Russian Revolution: "The man who repudiates terrorism in principle—i.e., repudiates measures of suppression and intimidation towards determined and armed counter-revolution, must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship" (*Terrorism and Communism*).

The showpiece of the government's case for surveillance was the Internationalist Tendency (IT) of the SWP, which it accuses of being "in favor of

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Anti-Fascist Demonstration in Austria

VIENNA—A nighttime rally at Vienna University was called recently (November 28) by a fascist student group around the slogan "Victory to Nationalism." Although the neo-Nazis could muster only 40 motley supporters and their meeting was eventually banned by the police, a leftist counterdemonstration pointed to the need for working-class action against the fascists.

A leaflet of the Bund Nationaler Studenten (League of National Students) calling for the reactionary rally attacked abortion, preferring a "limitless abundance of children for the glowing future [!] of our German land." The BNS also opposed the right of foreign students to vote in university elections (except for "brother Germans of non-Austrian citizenship").

The fascist meeting was intended to further a regroupment process currently going on within the traditional

right. In particular it was directed at those dissatisfied with the new liberal-rightist course of the conservative student organization Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten (Circle of Freedom-Loving Students). This heightened the importance of preventing the rightists from openly demonstrating and gaining new forces for their racist, anti-labor poison.

The Austrian left has a tradition of obstructing fascist demonstrations. Vienna is a social-democratic bastion and the university population is generally leftist. The last couple of times fascists have tried to hold public meetings in the city their plans have collapsed ignominiously.

On this occasion a call for a counterdemonstration brought out approximately 400 leftists. The police, too, were present in force, with about 200 men including many from an elite anti-riot unit. Though the meeting was pro-

hibited by the authorities, a scattering of fascists showed up anyway, in order to prove that "German spirit is stronger than Jewish intellect."

Small-scale scuffling resulted when a shabby-looking crew of 15-20 (equipped with a couple of ancient army helmets and no weapons) charged the defense cordon of the leftist demonstration. They were easily repulsed and promptly arrested. Another small group of student elements ineffectually chanted reactionary slogans but were soon dispersed by the police.

The Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), sympathizing group of the international Spartacist tendency, called for a workers' united front and independent working-class self-defense as the only means to smash the fascists. In an "Open Letter" (24 November) to the labor movement, it reminded unionists of the destruction of all working-class organizations under the Nazis and called on the Austrian Labor Federation to actively prevent the BNS meeting.

At a planning meeting for the leftist counterdemonstration, the ÖBL proposed a united-front action in which all participating organizations would have the right to bring their own leaflets, banners and slogans. It called for "rejecting...all appeals to the bourgeois state and its police," instead putting forward the need to challenge the organized labor movement and mass workers parties to join efforts to stop the fascists.

The other participants' orientation

consisted of reliance on the bourgeoisie rather than the labor movement. The main planners of the meeting—the Gruppe Revolutionärer Marxisten (GRM—Revolutionary Marxist Group), section of the "United" Secretariat of Mandel and Hansen—held that socialists should call on cops to ban the fascist demonstration, referring in particular to provisions of the Austrian constitution. Though the GRM claims to be Trotskyist, Trotsky wrote in 1934 that, "To turn to the state, that is to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions..." ("War and the Fourth International").

The reformist perspective of appealing to the government to ban the meeting was agreed to by the other organizations present, including the social-democratic Free Austrian Youth and the Communist Party. (The CP youth, however, backed out at the last minute on instructions from their party. The leaflet for the leftist demonstration, which had been entrusted to them, never appeared.) The Maoists, however, opposed a counterdemonstration, maintaining that this would create in "the people" an impression of "leftist terror".

The fake lefts' rejection of its Marxist proposals did not prevent the ÖBL from mobilizing for the anti-fascist protest and participating in defense arrangements. Its leaflet, the only one distributed at the demonstration, emphasized once again that the workers can rely only on their own organized strength to crush the fascist scum. ■

Scab Training in Houston Refineries

HOUSTON—Scabs are being systematically trained in refineries here as the oil companies gear up for a strike next week. Under the direction of shift foremen, scabs are literally following workers around the floor of the control room, trying to learn their jobs. Meanwhile, the union (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) does nothing.

This blatant provocation is having the intended demoralizing effect, but it has also produced a lot of anger among the ranks. A worker at Shell's Deer Park, Texas, refinery threatened to "remove" one of these strike-breakers-in-training from the operator's desk. "Why can't OCAW ever win a strike?" exploded another militant during a recent union meeting.

Meanwhile, the companies are continuing to run the plants at dangerously high output levels, far beyond their theoretical capacity. This fact is well known within the plants, but it has not been widely disseminated beyond them.

Since the 1962-63 strike, OCAW has found itself less and less able to prevent scabbing. That strike, which lasted over a year, saw the mobilization of clerical and laboratory personnel to run the refineries. The major issue of the bitter dispute was "running



A. F. Grospiron, OCAW International president.

maintenance," or whether the company could assign operators to do plant maintenance. Unable to stop production, the union went down in defeat, losing hundreds of jobs across the board.

The sorry precedent of 1962-63 was played out once again in the 1972-73 Shell strike. Local bureaucrats here even refused the offer of ILA longshoremen to man the picket lines and defend against scabbing. At a recent union meeting, the secretary-treasurer of

the OCAW Shell group in Houston, Roy Barnes, replied to questions about picketing, stopping scabs and hot-cargoing with the bland statement that he would not advocate "anything illegal."

Given the pathetic record of legalistic misleadership by OCAW bureaucrats in the past, it is hardly surprising that they are doing nothing about the apprentice scabs today. The companies are now openly mocking the union, with Arco (Atlantic-Richfield) sending out a letter last month to "interested" non-union staff in the Houston area "who want to work during the strike."

Another important source of scab labor has developed with increased "contracting out" of plant maintenance. The companies use both non-union and craft union labor to perform this work that should be done by OCAW members. In the past, non-union contractors continued to do new work during strikes, while the AFL-CIO craft unions "only" maintained work already completed.

In all cases the union brass has done nothing. At a recent local meeting of Shell Deer Park refinery workers, a motion for mass picketing of the contractors' gate was ruled out of order by the leadership.

Another major attack on job categories, bidding and transfer procedures

has been launched recently by Shell. The Operator Development Program is being used to build up a labor pool of lower-paid workers to do the operators' jobs. In order to drive down wages, the company is willing to throw untrained workers into highly dangerous jobs such as running the stills.

At the same time the company is trying to freeze workers in their present positions by doing away with "free job transfers." At the Houston Arco plant, the "flexibility clause" is being used by management to employ operators on plant maintenance, as Shell has done since 1962.

The criminally negligent attitude of management toward safety conditions and the current employer offensive against job categories and transfer rights clearly pose the need for democratically elected union safety committees, with the power to shut down production, and for union control of hiring and training programs. Such demands are not raised by the OCAW leadership because they are an attack on the property rights of the companies. But without a militant class-struggle policy, defending jobs and safety standards, the union will once again suffer massive setbacks, despite all the phony talk of "cold hard muscle." ■

Macmillan Strike Defeated



On the picket lines at Macmillan.

NEW YORK—On December 16, after two months on the picket lines, the union organizing committee at Macmillan Publishing Company voted to end their strike. By that point most of the employees who walked out in October had long since gone back to work. To compound the defeat, when the dozen or so militants who stuck out the strike reported the next day they were told that their jobs had been filled.

The October walkout was in response to the "Columbus Day Massacre," when the company fired 189 workers, ostensibly due to a "financial crisis." A number of those sacked, however, were members of the Macmillan Women's Group, which had initiated legal action against management on charges of sex discrimination in hiring and promotions. The other main target of the purge was the organizing committee of Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 153. Only two days before the company's action, the OPEIU had filed for a representation election with the National Labor Relations Board.

High on the list of grievances of Macmillan workers is low pay. The bottom job categories still earn less than \$100 per week before taxes. Concerning discrimination, in the complaint filed by the Women's Group with the state attorney general's office on September 5, it is charged that "women comprise 94% of the lowest three levels of editorial positions while men

comprise 76% of the highest three levels of editorial positions."

Trying to head off a drive toward unionization of the publishing industry, begun last spring when Harper and Row employees won recognition of District 65 as their bargaining agent, Macmillan suddenly discovered an economic crunch. The figures, however, tell a different story. For the first nine months of 1974 the company reported income of \$9,295,000, down only slightly from \$9,378,000 for the corresponding period of 1973 (*New York Times*, 15 October).

Faced with the firing of most of the union organizing committee, the OPEIU filed an unfair labor practice suit with the NLRB. It charges that the dismissals were not due to declining revenues but rather to Macmillan's efforts to keep out the union. The labor court ruling is due early this month.

Spartacist League members walked the picket line with the Macmillan workers and the Partisan Defense Committee, legal arm of the SL, sent a contribution to the OPEIU-sponsored Macmillan Strike Fund.

Much has been made in the pages of the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* of the Macmillan Women's Group. However, according to some Macmillan employees active in the strike, the Women's Group was never a moving force for unionization and increasingly backed off from the drive. Reportedly, in a recent meeting of the

group, when one worker brought up the subject of supporting the strike the response of many of the women was limited to concern about their own jobs.

While this group may inconvenience the company to an extent, as with all feminist organizations it cannot see its interests in common with the rest of the workers. One obvious reason is that from the very beginning the Women's Group included management (and still does). In fact, it was set up by a vice president of the company, Janet Schulman.

What is needed to win union recognition and to regain the lost jobs at Macmillan is militant united labor action, not reliance on the government or big business interests. The need for broad union support is particularly acute when organizing relatively peripheral sections of the working class (editorial employees in publishing, farm workers, etc.). What Macmillan workers got was just the opposite.

When approached last year District 65 showed little interest in organizing Macmillan. After the strike broke out, Teamster representatives visited the picket lines a couple of times, hinting that they could close down Riverside Press (Macmillan's printing division), but only in exchange for a raid on the OPEIU. Deliveries continued unabated.

The response of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, supposedly a pan-union group to promote the interests of women workers, was little better. When workers from the OPEIU organizing committee at Macmillan went to a November 23 meeting of CLUW in New York to present a motion for support to a rally two days later, they were told that they had no rights in a CLUW meeting since they were not union members! As one Macmillan union activist remarked, "CLUW is getting all tied up in the union bureaucracy."

From the beginning CLUW has been a bureaucratically controlled outfit, tied to the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. Militant proposals are regularly ruled out of order and the union brass refused to permit the CLUW national convention to support the Farm Workers against scab raiding by the Teamsters last year. CLUW president Olga Madar is a former vice president of the United Auto Workers and helped organize a mammoth goon squad of union officials to crush the Mack Avenue wildcat sitdown strike in August 1973.

The lesson of the defeat of the Macmillan strike is the need for militant working-class action. Neither feminism nor support for the union bureaucracy nor reliance on the government can win victory. The only alternatives are class-struggle politics or bitter defeat. ■

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SWP Renounces Revolution in Court

current violence." U.S. attorney Steven Glassman also made references to the resolution on armed struggle in Latin America passed by the 10th Congress of the United Secretariat.

Purge Guarantees "Respectability"

However, Barnes/Sheppard and Co. had an answer to this as well. The *Militant* notes that "The IT members were removed from the membership rolls of the SWP and YSA on July 4 of this year." No doubt the assembled Kautskyites sang the Star Spangled Banner while carrying out this patriotic act! This point was not lost on Judge Griesa, who appears to have taken the measure of the SWP. "There was never anything, in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States," he wrote. "In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

The government, however, was not completely convinced and insisted on digging up quotations from the SWP's past in order to demonstrate its violent proclivities. One particularly valuable quote was from James P. Cannon when he was being tried under the anti-communist Smith Act in 1941. In his presentation to the court Cannon attempted to formulate the principles of Marxism in a defensive manner, avoiding phrases which could be distorted by eager government prosecutors. But when pressed by the government on the question of violence he did not reject Marxism, unlike the SWP of today. "It is the opinion of all Marxists," he said, "that it [social transformation] will be accompanied by violence."

What Fourth International?

The SWP "socialist court suit" comes in the context of continuing sharp factional struggle within the United Secretariat between the centrist European majority, which supports

guerrillaism in Latin America, and the legalist/reformist wing led by the SWP and its Argentine co-thinkers, the PST. The PST has several times in the last year made scandalous statements in support of bourgeois "institutional order" and in favor of the "continuity" of the legally elected government (see "PST Caught Red-Handed," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). This latest incident makes evident that between the PST and SWP there exists a common bond of social-democratic legalistic cretinism.

The ill-starred IT, under instructions from its mentors of the pro-guerrilla European majority, is still trying to get back into the SWP. What kind of reception the IT would face in the party of Barnes and Sheppard can be gleaned from the fact that the SWP apparently never objected to the use of its internal bulletins on the IT expulsion by the government as evidence in the YSA convention surveillance suit. On the contrary, SWP leaders were obviously quite happy to have the evidence that the IT was no longer with them introduced in court. (The bulletin includes, among other things, a list of pseudonyms used by ITers.)

Capitalist Courts Rule for the Capitalist Class

The reformist ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party believes that great things can be accomplished by its "socialist Watersuit" and hailed Judge Griesa's ruling as a "big step forward." Yet it should be pointed out that even this isolated judge ruled not in favor of the SWP but in favor of what he saw as the interests of the bourgeoisie. He saw "not the slightest indication of any mass action...to expropriate property..." Were there any such indications, he would have ruled differently.

If Judge Griesa was moved by the "political climate" of Watergate exposures, the appellate court was not. In reversing his ruling, it pointed out: "Recent instances where national security has been inappropriately invoked, should not obscure that...the government safeguards its own capacity to function" (*New York Times*, 25 December). This was meant to set Judge Griesa straight about the function of the FBI. It may also hold a lesson for those who, like the SWP, believe in the reformability of the capitalist state. ■

Continued from page 1

Boston Protest Rally...

Committee.

This Student Committee organized a large teach-in at Harvard the night before the march which consciously featured bourgeois politicians, plus the SWP's Maceo Dixon for the Committee. Requests for speaking rights from the Spartacist League, the Anti-Racist Coalition (i.e., the Party for Workers Power) and the Youth Organization for Black Unity were all denied.

The demonstration the next day served above all to further the personal career of Bill Owens, the only black member of the Massachusetts senate. During the last few months Owens has adopted a phony militant stance in order to garner publicity and outdistance the more cautious members of the state legislature's Black Caucus. In late September he was the main speaker, along with his political crony John Boone (former head of the state prison system), at a white-baiting community rally at the Elma Lewis Center in Roxbury. A few weeks later Owens issued a call for a march of pro-busing forces through South Boston.

From the beginning, Owens made it crystal clear that his willingness to lend his name for the December 14 demonstration was dependent on re-

ceiving total control over key decisions (literature, speakers, route of march, etc.). YAWF and the SWP were more than willing to comply. (The Spartacist League, however, refused to endorse the march, pointing out that it was undemocratically controlled by Owens and that its slogans were nothing but liberal platitudes.)

The subordination of the march to the ambitions of a bourgeois politician, backed up by a fake-left outfit with proclivities to stupid adventurism (YAWF), very nearly led to a disaster. The Emergency Committee had requested a march permit to use Boylston St., a shopping street lined with expensive stores. Local merchants, however, succeeded in getting the police to issue the permit for a route along nearby Commonwealth Avenue, a residential street.

Although there is not the slightest political difference between the two routes, Owens decided to contest the police decision. Having sold out politically and built illusions in Owens, YAWF was only too willing to engage in a little macho display, regardless of the tactical situation and the absence of any political issues.

The Emergency Committee marshals repeatedly refused to inform representatives of organized contingents of what they planned to do, and after more than an hour's wait at the assembly point the SWP-led Student Committee led about 2,000 down the route for which a police permit had been granted. About 45 minutes later, the YAWF-led Emergency Committee took



Police car overturned by racist mob surrounding South Boston High on December 11. UPI



Massachusetts state senator Bill Owens speaks at December 14 rally. WV PHOTO

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the rest of the marchers up to the intersection of Boylston St. and Massachusetts Ave. where they were faced with a barricade of police cars. At this point, more than 6,000 people were sandwiched into a two-block area, penned in by the police in front, a row of shops on one side and a steep dropoff onto the Massachusetts Turnpike on the other side.

With the situation set up perfectly for a police trap, and with racist cops itching to show the folks back home in "Southie" where they really stood (having been forced to "protect" black students for the last ten weeks), Owens proceeded to argue with the police commander, who made it clear that any amount of force would be used to stop the march from proceeding down Boylston.

In a staggering display of cynical careerism, Owens climbed on top of a car and shouted, "We'll go down Boylston Street at any cost!" The undisciplined crowd moved toward the police lines, only to be brutally beaten back, with a number of arrests and bloodied heads. The gravity of the confrontation was underlined by the arrest of one of the Emergency Committee marshals, allegedly for clubbing a cop with a loaded .45 pistol! For this action, which smells of provocation and could easily have led to a slaughter, we blame Owens and his Marcyite camp followers who set up this trap in order to play at idiot and criminal confrontationism.

Having satisfied themselves with their "street action" against the police, the Emergency Committee did an about-face and led the march down the Commonwealth Avenue route. Meanwhile the "militant" Senator made an unsuccessful effort to get himself symbolically arrested walking down Boylston Street.

At the rally Owens demagogically announced that "neither [Mayor] Kevin White nor any other white man is going to prevent me from walking in my district." Reformist charlatans like Dick Gregory and Ralph Abernathy rubbed shoulders with black Democrats and some ostensible leftists. It fell to the lot of Imamu Baraka, former beat poet and black nationalist demagogue, to be the only speaker to even obliquely criticize bourgeois politicians.

Having substituted criminal confrontationist tactics for revolutionary politics—in the process lying to the marchers (not only were they not warned that a confrontation was planned, but Emergency Committee marshals repeatedly announced that they were going on the "official" route)—the Marcyites announced that the liberal protest rally was "a smashing success" (*Workers World*, 20 December), and roughly doubled the attendance figure to 25,000 for the benefit of their readers.

The SWP, for its part, also hailed the rally, headlining one report "There should be more of these marches" (*Militant*, 27 December). The *Militant's* criticism of the YAWF/Owens adventurism reeks of the ultra-legalist social-democratic/pacifist politics which characterize the ex-Trotskyist SWP. "The majority of the demonstrators," it claims, "wanted to put the spotlight clearly on the violent, lawbreaking actions of the racist mobs. . . . They knew that a confrontation with the cops would give opponents of desegregation an excuse to denounce the probusing forces as 'violent'."

In contrast, the Spartacist League organized a disciplined contingent of supporters calling for working-class defense and no confidence in the bourgeoisie. Other SL slogans called for implementing the busing plan and extending it to the suburbs. The attack on democratic rights of black people in Boston was tied to the current economic crisis through demands for no layoffs; factory occupations against shutdowns; unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance; and 30-for-40, jobs for all.

The Spartacist contingent was led by a large banner proclaiming "Forward to a Workers Government," emphasizing the crucial point that only by overturning capitalist rule can the special oppression of the black minority intensified by economic crisis, be overcome. ■



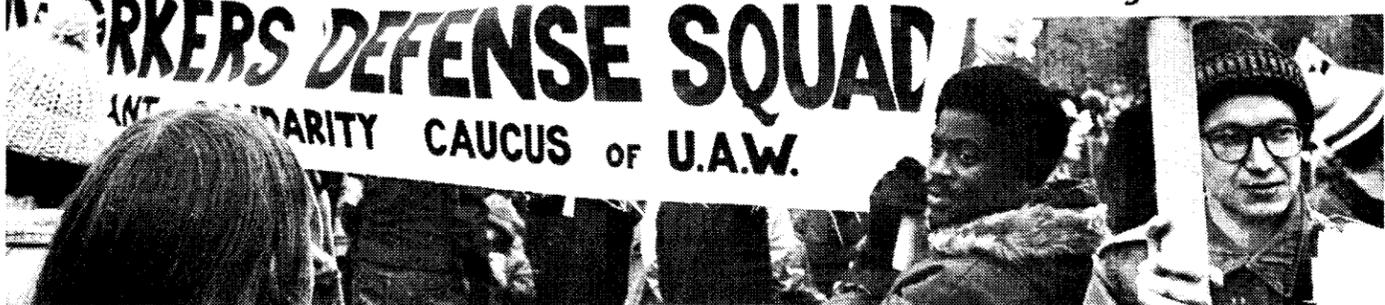
Rev. Ralph Abernathy



YAWF-led participants clash with police at December 14 march in Boston.

**AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS:
NOT U.S. TROOPS, BUT INTEGRATE!
WORKERS DEFENSE SQUAD
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**NO
FEDERAL
TROOPS**
MILITANT SOLIDARITY
CAUCUS OF U.A.W.



Marchers from the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906.



Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU demonstrates in Boston.

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Down with the CIA/FBI!

present attacks on the intelligence community" are merely an effort to clean up "excesses," to reform the CIA and make it more effective in its filthy work for U.S. imperialism. The liberals, of course, are trying to shove the blame for the CIA's clearly illegal domestic operations onto Richard Nixon. The *New York Post's* editorial of December 23, for instance, claims:

"In retrospect it seems plainly inconceivable that such dismal exercises could have been staged without the advice and consent of Richard Nixon. They clearly reflect the mentality of siege and contempt for the Bill of Rights that pervaded his White House."

This is pure claptrap. Richard Nixon is far from the first president to ignore the Bill of Rights, and the heyday of CIA domestic surveillance and disruption was evidently under the regime of Richard Helms, appointed in 1966 by Lyndon Johnson. The current effort to clean up the CIA actually began in 1972, under Nixon, when James Schlesinger took over as agency director. Schlesinger revealed some of the domestic operations and trimmed the agency by about one-tenth of its personnel.

Revolutionary socialists, of course, are happy to see the exposure of even a small part of the crimes of the capitalists' secret police. But we have no confidence that the bourgeoisie will fairly or fully investigate itself. Some of the agency's most murderous programs are quite well known, yet nothing is done about them. For example, the Phoenix Project, whose assassination squads have killed thousands of Vietnamese political activists (mainly, but by no means exclusively, NLF), is still continuing. Only a victorious workers revolution can ensure that these blood-stained butchers receive their just desserts.

Part of the present hoopla appears

to be an interbureaucratic squabble between the CIA and the FBI over which branch of the secret police can legally harass "troublemakers" inside the U.S. But at the political center of the liberal attacks on the CIA is the stench of the most insidious jingoism.

It has always been clearly understood by everyone that the CIA was to be a center for covert military operations against the international "red menace." But the 1947 Congress (which set up the agency) feared, correctly, that U.S. citizens would oppose such an operation within their own borders. Some senators complained that they wanted "no Gestapo" in the U.S. Moreover, J. Edgar Hoover had long since carved out domestic red hunting as his own private "turf." And, in any case, to the extent that there is a distinction between the methods used "at home" and those reserved for "foreigners," it is clear that this would quickly disappear were the bourgeoisie to perceive a "clear and present danger" to its class rule.

Unlike those bourgeois reformers who argue against "domestic spying," proletarian internationalists do not think it is better to be tortured in Guatemala or Laos than to have your phone tapped in New York City. The CIA must be abolished, not streamlined, and so must the FBI. Socialists must seek the destruction of all the capitalist Gestapos.

The imperialist bourgeoisie needs "covert" operations and will not give them up. Consequently, demands for "accountability" are a hoax. Likewise the bourgeoisie needs the domestic secret police, standing army, professional officer corps, police and the rest of its specialized repressive state apparatus. The abolition of the CIA/FBI, officer corps, police, etc., is the task of the socialist revolution.

Besides the torture business, the military coup business, the spying business, the "free unions" business, the doubling and dummy business, the CIA is in the estimates and evaluation business. The vanguard of the working class also makes evaluations. It is vitally im-

portant to estimate correctly what the CIA can and can't do, to appreciate its ability to mobilize reactionary terror. It is just as important not to exaggerate its influence. And in order to form a correct evaluation of the capabilities of



Demonstrators support CIA-backed truckers' strike in Chile, 1971.

U.S. imperialism we have an advantage which outweighs all the computers at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia: the scientific method of Marxism.

There is a pervasive conception in radical/liberal, New Left and Stalinist circles that the CIA is an all-powerful force in political affairs. The flip side of this radical myth is the neo-liberal view that the CIA is composed of a bunch of incompetent bunglers. This is the thesis of Victor Marchetti's currently popular book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*.

It is true that the CIA sometimes bungles spectacularly (just look at the Bay of Pigs), and that it is less experienced and smart than its British counterpart. But the CIA is neither all bunglers nor all-powerful. It is serious and dangerous, but it is not indomitable.

Behind this myth of the CIA hides the

miserable opportunism of the fake-socialist left. To take the single case of Chile: the CIA bankrolled the liberal Christian Democrats, the right-wing National Party and the fascist Patria y Libertad organization, supported several opposition newspapers, and financed the truck owners' "strikes" during the left-wing Allende government. On more than one occasion it tried to foment a military takeover.

So when the Chilean military finally took power in September 1973, various imposters on the left cried, "The CIA did it!" Of course, this was partly true. The SL said from 1970 on that U.S. imperialism would "aid and abet" the overthrow of the popular-front government in Chile. But unlike those who supported the popular-front policies of class collaboration, we showed how Allende's attempted alliance with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie paved the way to disaster and allowed for the strengthening of a domestic base for counterrevolution. And we pointed to an alternative program of Marxist class independence which could have led to victory. The September 11 coup was made in Santiago, not Washington, although with a lot of help from Pinochet's friends.

U.S. imperialism and its covert police/spy arm are not a sometime thing in world politics. It would be a sorry mess indeed if revolutions were doomed to failure simply because of the presence of the CIA. In Chile the working class was politically and militarily disarmed by those who now yell "CIA!" the loudest. They obviously hope the noise will distract from their own political responsibility for the tragic bloodbath in Chile.

After all the myths are dispelled, the question remains: How can the CIA be defeated? In the Socialist Workers Party or Michael Harrington version it is the courts which will stop the CIA. For the Communist Party, it is the "anti-monopoly coalition" with liberals like Bella Abzug or Father Drinan. In fact, however, only the revolutionary might of the working class will put an end to the bloody secret police of the capitalist class. ■

Continued from page 3

Mandelites...

NMU's Morrissey. (We wonder how this sits with the IT now that Miller has pulled off a sellout rivaling anything Tony Boyle ever did.) It presents the usual opportunist caricature of programmatically based trade-union work as "shouting their pure 'Marxist' slogans to the rafters." What this conveniently overlooks are the many campaigns led by SL trade-union supporters for such things as union democracy; rights for young, minority-group and immigrant workers; concrete acts of solidarity with embattled workers like the Farm Workers; boycott of war materials to Chile.

The key to the pamphlet's analysis of SL union work is:

"The Spartacist 'full program' caucuses today are several vast steps removed from the needs and hopes of the American workers—as they perceive them—and therefore represent a purist sectarian abstraction."

The sentence is extremely revealing: its crux is the phrase "as they perceive them." For the author has managed to reduce to gibberish—or perhaps to "sectarian abstraction"—all of Lenin's and Trotsky's insistence that the work of revolutionists must begin from the objective needs of the class and not from its present backward consciousness. The IT/RMG has now redefined the "needs" of the class as their needs "as they perceive them"! Once the existing backwardness of the working class is taken as the measure of what revolutionaries should raise, unmitigated opportunism is the only possible result.

The pamphlet then proceeds to a discussion of SL criticisms of other USec sections and to an attack on the

SL's international work. A section on our struggles within and against Gerry Healy's "International Committee" concludes with some speculations on "what would have occurred if" the Spartacist group had been accepted into the IC:

"If the SL considers the Fourth International today to be an 'opportunist rotten federated bloc' what possible term could have described the political zoo of which the SL would have been a constituent member?"

The whole history of SL-IC struggles is there for the pamphlet's author to see: the 1962 split in which we refused to avow that the SWP was still a revolutionary party, while agreeing to the tactic of remaining in the SWP (does the dispute ring a bell, comrades of the IT?); the fusion negotiations in which the SL insisted on clarity with regard to past and present differences; the refusal to capitulate in 1966. The typically Pabloist objectification of "what if" ignores the simple fact that the Spartacist tendency did not become part of the IC precisely because we refused to paper over our political differences or to become part of a unilateral "discipline" which permitted a federated relation between other IC affiliates.

The pamphlet then proceeds to a discussion of subsequent SL international work. This section is notable for its unseriousness. Thus the SL's principled defense of the Cuban Posadists against repression is passed off as "an early infatuation with Posadas," while Edmund Samarakkody's charges against the USec's Bala Tampoe in Ceylon (which were so serious that the USec's "Ninth World Congress" decided to suppress the reports of its own Commission) are characterized as "personal squabbles."

The pamphlet concludes with some verbiage about sects, buttressed with

quotes from Marxist classics. In the midst of this appears the passage:

"The pages of the SL press are filled with articles in which a worker militant (and even more politically conscious elements) could not have the slightest interest—esoteric articles filled with attacks upon other left groups (about which he or she knows nothing and is less interested) and rebuttals against similar attacks from other groups directed at the SL."

As our conclusion, then, let us explain to the many workers who regularly read *WV*: yes, it is true that the IT is a very small group about which you know little and possibly care less. But the IT is not as insignificant as its small numbers and lack of roots in the mass movements would indicate.

The IT is the reservoir of left oppositionists which has emerged from the SWP in the recent period. The struggles of the Marxists against such centrists are important not only because crucial questions of revolutionary orientation are fought out on this small battlefield, but also because of the present and potential dangers of the intervention of centrists into social struggle.

Over the past months the question of defense against racists in Boston, for example, has found the SWP reformists on one side calling for the U.S. imperialist army to "protect" blacks and the SL on the other fighting for union/black militias to defend working people. The IT's impulse is to ally itself with the reformists against the Marxists over this issue where the lines are posed most clearly. The exposure of the IT and the winning of subjectively revolutionary militants to the authentic program of Trotskyism is an issue of importance to the building of the vanguard party and should therefore be of interest to working-class militants, regardless of how understandably little interest they have in the IT. ■

Continued from page 12

Bridges Plans to Decimate ILWU Ranks

"parasites who live on the Pay Guarantee."

They went on to brag that they had purged the B-list in 1963 and would do so again. The ILWU leadership has much to be proud of indeed, when it comes to liquidating the union. Last fall Bridges attempted to pull off an elaborate swindle involving the forced sale of Local 10's hiring hall to land development/speculation interests connected with the family of his friend, San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto.

Among the "accomplishments" of the December Caucus meeting was endorsement of Bridges' latest atrocity, a no-strike scheme whereby economic issues are to be settled before expiration of the contract on June 30. According to the bureaucracy's logic "inflationary pressures and... possibility of reimposition of wage controls" make it advisable to settle early and rule out the possibility of a strike in 1975 (*Dispatcher*, 20 December).

Bridges has promised the companies to commit any non-economic issues unresolved by the time of contract expiration to arbitration. As in 1973, the strike, the longshoremen's key weapon for struggle, has once again been thrown out the window by a union leadership interested only in feathering its own nest. The continued erosion of jobs in longshore and warehouse is leading to the total dissipation of the once formidable strength of the ILWU in favor of prostration before the companies. ■

Continued from page 4

Preferential Layoffs

some cases," he says, "people in jobs will no longer keep the jobs."

Preferential Layoffs Suit at Fremont

Powell's ominous remarks suggest how appeals to the courts and government agencies can impose serious new legal restrictions on the unions and pave the way for a major employer offensive. One such suit (calling for "preferential layoffs") which has caught the attention of the bourgeois media concerns women at General Motors' Fremont, California, assembly plant. During the "energy crisis" layoffs last winter, all 500 women production workers at Fremont lost their jobs. The reason: none had been hired before 1968.

In February some individuals then in the Brotherhood Caucus (which holds power in the Local) called for "inverse seniority" layoffs and special treatment for women workers. This reactionary divisive position was opposed by militants (who later formed the Committee for a Militant UAW) calling for an industrywide strike against layoffs. The latter presented a motion to a meeting of UAW Local 1364 which stated:

"There is no substitute for the mobilization of the union membership to fight for our needs.

"'Preferential layoffs,' 'inverted seniority layoffs' and other such schemes accept the companies' employment cycle and result in unfair treatment of one section of the work force. This pits worker against worker, instead of all workers against the company."

The motion was passed, over objections from the opportunist elements.

The motion also labeled the government a tool of big business and condemned use of government agencies and courts against the union as an anti-labor act (see "West Coast Auto Local Rejects Preferential Seniority," *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974). As if to confirm all the warnings in the motion by the CMUAW militants, several Fremont women workers subsequently filed a suit calling for: 1) rehiring women to restore the pre-layoff percentage in the plant workforce, and 2) "an affirmative action program requiring population parity for women to be fully implemented within four years of the filing of the complaint."

The argumentation in the suit condemned seniority as the vehicle for GM's discrimination and in effect asserted, correctly, that affirmative action could never be implemented as long as the seniority system remained. The statement that no men should be laid off was a cheap cover (and, significantly, was not made one of the suit's principal aims). Under present conditions, there is no other way the courts

could implement quotas.

After reporting the women's suit, a *Wall Street Journal* (5 November) article notes that there has been opposition in the plant: "Recently circulated petitions and handbills urge: 'Drop the suit.'" These were published by the CMUAW, a class-struggle opposition caucus in the Local. The petition states:

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

"II. The court suit filed by eight women from this plant August 28, 1974 will not combat discrimination because it will weaken the union which is the only weapon we have. The suit will open the

up the available work among the entire labor force. But when the resolution for a nationwide strike against layoffs ("for shorter hours with full cost-of-living paid, to make jobs for all") came up at Fremont last February, quota advocates voted against it. Perhaps the reformists believe that it will only take a court suit to eliminate layoffs; in any case that is what they imply. Such dangerous illusions can prepare the way for disaster.

The OL is not alone in supporting divisive "preferential layoffs" schemes. The cravenly reformist Socialist Workers Party also hails the court suit. For the record, in a recent article in the *Militant* (27 December) the SWP notes



Unsold Plymouths and Dodges being stockpiled in the Michigan state fairgrounds in December.

door to government interference, inviting the courts to re-write our contract and break the seniority system.

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

The caucus reports that this petition (whose initiators are themselves women) has been signed by 650 Fremont workers, including many women and minorities, and a dozen committeemen (*UAW Militant*, 15 November).

The Left and Layoffs

Both "inverse seniority" and the women's court suit have been supported by various "left" groups, in particular the reformist Maoists of the October League. According to the tortured reasoning of the OL, "This is not an attack on the seniority system, but an attempt to strengthen it..." (*Call*, October 1974). So, according to these "revolutionaries," asking the bosses' state to determine who gets laid off will strengthen the unions!

The OL approvingly quotes a leaflet by the initiators of the court suit which claims, "There's plenty of work for everyone." This would only be true if the union forced the company to divide

that these quota schemes are "not enough," and even talks about a shorter workweek. But nowhere in the article do these supposed Trotskyists even pretend to demand that male workers not be laid off as a result of quota programs. Instead they offer up meaningless platitudes: seniority should be supported, says the article, but not the "discriminatory aspect." How this is to be accomplished is not specified, but the article implies that a shorter workweek can be achieved under capitalism through peaceful means: "The pressure of united mass action by the labor movement could force implementation of a shorter workweek, with no reduction in pay..."

An economic downturn of massive proportions is now staring the working masses of the entire capitalist world in the face. In such periods the employers are emboldened to mount new attacks on the workers. Scabs are easier to recruit, wages can be reduced, unions can be smashed. When whole industries are laying off tens and hundreds of thousands of employees, it is obvious that preferences in layoffs will benefit only a very few, and do nothing to alleviate discrimination against the bulk of women and minorities. But calling on the courts to overturn seniority can very well help to destroy the unions.

What is needed is union action to enforce full equality in hiring and advancement, and in particular at present a mobilization of labor's ranks to stop mass layoffs and plant closures through sitdown strikes and the demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Hardly something that can be achieved in capitalism by peaceful pressure, a sliding scale of wages and hours will have to be fought for with the most militant methods and linked to the other demands of the Transitional Program (written by Leon Trotsky in 1938 with particular emphasis on demands growing out of the last depression).

Factory committees must be formed, in order to organize the occupation of the plants. To the demand for a shorter workweek with no pay cut, the employers would no doubt respond, "we are already unable to make a profit. These measures will force us out of business entirely." The workers must respond to such pleas of poverty with the demand for workers inspection of the corporations' books, with calls for nationalization of bankrupt companies/industries without compensation and with the imposition of workers control of production. This, in turn, must be linked to the demand for planning of the entire economy under a workers government.

In other words, what is necessary is a broad offensive against capital, which also requires an independent political expression against the government and parties of big business, a workers party based on the trade unions. While the Woodcocks and Meanys may occasionally express dissatisfaction with the Democrats, there is no doubt that the struggle for a labor party is necessarily part of a fight to oust these misleaders of the unions. Only the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party can successfully take the struggle forward to the accomplishment of these goals.

While vigorously combating all forms of discrimination, a united class struggle will not be built by divisive palliatives such as preferential layoffs. Oppositional caucuses must be built in the unions which, like the Committee for a Militant UAW at Fremont, struggle for equality in hiring and against all layoffs. A simple defense of seniority as put forward by the trade-union bureaucracy, without a fight for jobs and against discrimination, would indeed ignore the legitimate grievances of black and women workers and thereby undermine class unity. But smashing seniority is not the answer either. Only a militant offensive against the employers and the construction of a new class-struggle leadership of the unions can save the organized labor movement from destruction in the coming period. Not two-bit reforms and discriminatory quotas, but an end to capitalist exploitation is the only way to overcome the historic wrongs of racial and sexual oppression. ■

Continued from page 3

Break with the SWP!

solve political problems. When our leaders accompanied Comrade Charles on his national tour of the IT a couple of weeks later, they did not represent the position we had taken at the conference, they were there to reinforce the IMT's position.

We were saved from our death then, not by our own doing, nor by the IMT, but by the SWP, through our expulsion.

We've known for some time Comrade Germaine's perspectives for us. Sell INPRECORS [magazine of the USec majority] and do nothing else while a control commission spends months investigating and the USec tries to pressure [SWP National Secretary] Barnes into taking us back. We have all generally agreed this will destroy us. At the recent expanded PC [Political Committee] meeting (all but 6 members of the national steering committee were present) the position taken was that come hell or high water we will become

an independent organization. But the PC has since taken a position that opens the door for our capitulation to the IMT once more.

A recent letter from Comrade Charles to the IT called our response to the SWP's split document remiss and weak. Further, we should admit and self-criticize ourselves for:

- 1) being too highly structured;
- 2) being too forward on the May 11th actions (The IMT denies any responsibility for the distribution of the USec statement on Chile);
- 3) not telling the SWP we were dealing with outside groups;
- 4) not long ago declaring ourselves a faction.

These charges are unbelievable! The IMT has politically condoned all these actions and when the question of a faction was posed to the International Majority *Tendency*, they opposed the idea. The PC met and voted to accept the essence of Charles' letter before our representatives went to Europe. This is in sharp contrast to the position taken at the expanded PC meeting.

It's often been said the IMT does not know the truth about the SWP. How many

plane trips do Comrades Massey and Barzman have to make to Europe to explain? Comrade Charles' comments in June (political line didn't count in France in '68, what counted was apparatus and in the U.S. the SWP has the apparatus) clearly indicate the IMT wants to keep the SWP in the USec, for its apparatus, to preserve the unity of the Fourth International. Why is it the IMT continues to subordinate fundamental political questions to organizational "unity"? If the IT goes down the drain, so what! If we're dedicated revolutionists, we'll take it all in stride. The IMT's attitude can be summed up very clearly as *better more, but worse*.

The IMT's position is that:

1) a working class radicalization will go through the SWP, therefore, that is where the IT belongs;

2) If there is not a working class radicalization in the foreseeable future, then the problem is one of preserving Trotskyist cadres and the SWP is the most viable place for this.

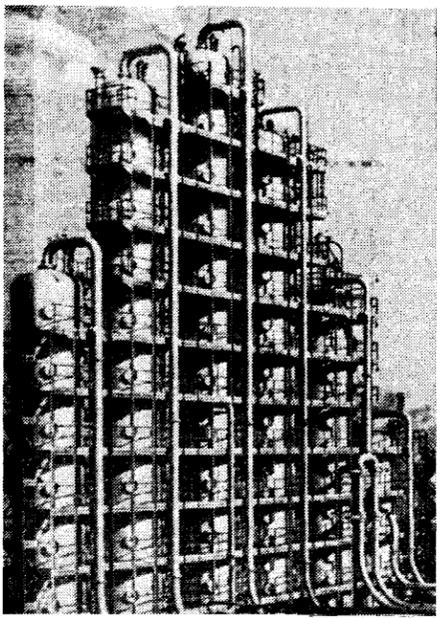
This approach is totally incorrect. They seek unity through diplomacy, politics be damned. Diplomacy will not solve the political problems.

Our differences with the IMT at this point can not be called organizational. They are very clearly political. The key difference being on our analysis of the SWP. Our own political position on this in the past has reflected our diplomatic relations with the IMT (which have been somewhat analogous to those of the IMT with Barnes) more than political reality. We must take the correct position on the nature of the SWP; that it is a reformist party, a roadblock in the path to socialist revolution. *We must split openly, publicly, completely with the SWP*. That is the only correct political conclusion. We do not want to imply that there is a common political outlook between ourselves and the Jebrac or Ali groups in the FCR [Revolutionary Communist Front, French section of the USec] and IMG [International Marxist Group, British section of the USec] respectively, we do not agree with their basic strategy. But we wholeheartedly agree with them that a revolutionary international can not include the SWP! That is the political reality. *We must split now, immediately and put the political onus on the IMT to act as principled Trotskyist internationalists!*

R. and C.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Oil Profits Gush OCAW Tops Prepare Sellout



NEW YORK TIMES

"SCAB TRAINING
IN HOUSTON
REFINERIES"

see page 7

DECEMBER 31—Contracts between the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and the oil industry "majors" will run out on January 7. During the past two years, OCAW members have watched their bosses amass spectacular profits as a result of the Arab oil price hikes and Nixon's doubling of the price ceiling for U.S.-produced petroleum. Meanwhile, massive inflation gutted workers' paychecks. Oil industry workers are now earning less in real wages than they did in 1966!

Already in 1973 the oil majors posted profits up 40-60 percent over 1972. This year, earnings for the first three quarters are more than 100 percent above the 1973 level. In part this is the result of sharply higher gasoline prices. Oil workers' wages have not done so well. In 1966 the average OCAW member earned \$3.45 an hour. In terms of constant dollars (adjusted for inflation), the average oil worker today makes only \$3.27 hourly, a distinct decline.

Consequently one of the main demands in the current contract bargaining is for higher wages. The OCAW National Bargaining Policy Committee is asking for an increase of \$1.50 an hour in each year of a three-year contract; a no-ceiling cost-of-living clause; 50 cents per hour as "catchup" pay; full company-paid hospitalization and medical insurance; and improvements in pension benefits and vacations.

The Grospron leadership of the 60,000-member union has been talking "tough" lately in a vain attempt to impress the membership. "It will take cold, hard muscle" to win the union's demands, says OCAW *Union News* (December 1974). But there is no reason to expect anything from the bureaucrats other than their usual flabby misleadership.

Their defeatist actions in the 1972-73 strike show what can be expected from these gutless "labor statesmen." They could not even negotiate a single national contract, as even Woodcock and Fitzsimmons manage to do. When Shell Oil refused to accept a labor-management health and safety committee (part of the "pattern agreement"

with American Oil), OCAW struck its refineries. However, the bureaucrats failed to extend the strike worldwide (in particular to the key Caribbean area) and to call for hot-cargoing of Shell products. Instead, they appealed to consumers, advocating a boycott of the company's gas stations and the return of all Shell credit cards! With scabs operating the refineries (stopping strikebreakers is just as illegal as hot-cargoing) the strikers were worn down and eventually crushed.

Meanwhile the OCAW bureaucracy was waving the stars and stripes, attacking Shell for its "foreign ownership" by British and Dutch capital. One local bureaucrat in Louisiana summed up the pitch of the union leadership: "The Queen is going to try to tell us Americans what to do?"

In addition to its groveling before anti-labor laws and disgusting national chauvinism, OCAW has a special consumerist/environmentalist orientation. This reflects the fact that refinery workers have some of the most dangerous and unhealthy jobs in the U.S. But the anti-union liberals who write for the OCAW *Union News* (such as environmentalist Barry Commoner or economist Sylvia Porter) do not have any answers to these dangers.

Rather than labor-management committees, it is vitally necessary for oil workers to have union safety committees with the power to shut down plant operations if necessary to ensure safe working conditions. For workers regularly exposed to the fumes of benzene and other deadly chemicals, such committees are an immediate life-and-death matter. But the Grospron leadership is not fighting for such a demand any more than it did in 1973.

What the OCAW bureaucracy wants is a cozy relationship with the companies. This was underlined in its recent newspaper advertisement (*Wall Street Journal*, 16 December). Although attacking the titanic profits of the petroleum giants, its central argument is that they invest too much in "other companies"! Oil monopolies should get out of the department store business, the ad protests. It does not even raise

the demand for opening company books so the workers can determine what the profits really are.

Attacking the oil companies for having "policies contrary to the national interest," these super-patriotic fakers also fail to demand the expropriation of the industry. Considering what working people have had to endure in the last two years in the way of artificial shortages and incredible price-gouging, this could be a vastly popular demand. But the cowardly OCAW leadership could not even bring itself to echo the bourgeois liberal (such as CBS-TV) call for "nationalization" of the oil cartel.

The answer is not to tack a couple of militant demands onto a reformist bargaining program which fails to go beyond the limits of simple trade unionism. In the face of the rapidly deteriorating situation of the working class it is necessary to raise a full class-struggle program which can respond to the immediate needs of the working people and generalize them into an assault on capitalism itself.

In addition to a substantial wage increase it is necessary to have full c-o-l protection (a sliding scale of wages) based on calculations by union price committees; a shorter workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40") to provide more jobs; democratically elected union safety committees with the power to stop production; union control over hiring and training; workers inspection of the companies' books; expropriation of the oil companies without compensation and workers control of production.

The battle is not simply economic, moreover, and requires a political break with the capitalist parties. The fight for a workers party based on the unions, and for a workers government, is a necessary part of the struggle against the overall policies of class collaboration of the labor bureaucracy. Without a militant opposition based on such a class-struggle program to oust the Grospron crowd, oil workers will continue to be sold out at the bargaining table and defeated in their strikes as they have been consistently over the last decade. ■

What's Left to Sell Out?

Bridges Plans to Decimate ILWU Ranks

Deregistration of B-Men Proposed

SAN FRANCISCO—The betrayals of the leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have recently reached a new low with a shameless attempt to axe a section of the union from the membership rolls. This is Harry Bridges' response to the accelerating job loss faced by waterfront workers, as well as the entire working class, in a period of spiralling economic decline.

At a December 9-18 meeting of the ILWU's Pacific Coast Longshore, Ship Clerk and Walking Boss Caucus the International unveiled an agreement it had made in a joint union/company labor relations committee to begin deregistration hearings for Bay Area B-men (the group of second-class union members at the bottom of the seniority list) on the lower half of the B-list depending on the number of hours worked in 1973. According to this agreement, those B-men (who in order to remain in good standing must be available for work 70 percent of the time) able to get enough work to meet an

arbitrary standard, set by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) employers' group, will be required to show why they should not be deregistered.

In San Francisco's Local 10 this program could result in the deregistration of 150 ILWU members. The failure of the Local 10 leadership to mobilize the ranks against this attack is not simply a betrayal, but is a violation of the contract as well. The last contract includes an explicit provision that by the end of 1973 all B-men will be A-men, primarily through a process of attrition. No steps have been taken to implement this provision, however.

Once deregistered, B-men will be dropped from union membership, losing all seniority, and will not be allowed to work on the waterfront again, even as casuals. In contrast, laid-off auto workers with at least a year in the plant have the right to be recalled according to seniority. The maritime companies and ILWU leadership are openly collaborating in the most obscene manner to shaft longshoremen, denying them the fundamental right to a livelihood.

Furthermore, during this period of massive layoffs Bridges could well



The ILWU Coast Caucus meeting last October in San Francisco.

decide to go even further and move to deregister A-men as well, as he did in 1946.

At the Coast Caucus meeting a number of B-men from Port Hueneme, a small military port near Los Angeles, were present, petitioning to be allowed to transfer into ILWU Local 13 in L.A. in order to get work. Many of these men have been relegated to the B-list for over nine years. As in almost every port B-men are chronically

underemployed and forced to rely on the \$90-per-week pittance provided under the contract's Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP).

In Port Hueneme, however, work is so desperately short that even A-men depend on the inadequate PGP guarantee. Yet the response of the ILWU International bureaucrats to the B-men's petition was to attack them as

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