

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

Stop the Deportations!

NY Times Whips Up Chauvinist Hysteria

Chauvinist hysteria directed against immigrant workers has reached epidemic proportions during recent weeks. Government officials, liberal congressmen, prestigious newspapers and "progressive" union bureaucrats are all chiming in on the same reactionary theme: blame unemployment on foreigners. Arab sheiks and Mexican farm workers are taking jobs away from Americans, they howl.

While these gentlemen profess concern for the plight of jobless U.S. workers, their real aim is to sow ethnic and national antagonisms among working people. With unemployment already above 6.5 million (the highest since the 1930's depression) and slated to go much higher, the ruling class is concerned above all to undercut the explosive potential for united labor struggle against the capitalist crisis.

Along with its campaign to "clean up" the CIA (i.e., to prohibit domestic spying and dirty tricks by the agency), the liberal *New York Times* is currently leading the anti-foreigner chorus. With a recent scurrilous front-page series attacking so-called "illegal aliens," it is resorting to nativistic demagoguery reminiscent of the worst turn-of-the-century propaganda about the "yellow peril."

In an article entitled "Unlawful Aliens Use Costly City Services" (30 December), the *Times* complains that "illegal aliens, including their children born abroad, use schools, hospitals and other public services at will or with little difficulty"; "illegal aliens are receiving welfare and medical benefits"; "illegal aliens are engaged in crime, especially drug trafficking"; "illegal aliens rarely, if ever, file Federal, state, or city tax returns"; etc., *ad nauseam*.

One Million to be Deported This Year

After describing one such case after another, the reporter laments that "Some supporters of illegal aliens... see a racist or bigoted attitude in the criticism of the aliens." Similarly, in a nationwide television special on January 2, an ABC commentator exhorted the audience to stop being complacent, to demand congressional action against "illegals."



SL marches in defense of the UFW and foreign workers. San Francisco, September 1974. WV PHOTO

This sort of chauvinist filth does not exist in a vacuum. In order to whip up support for a crackdown on undocumented foreign workers, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) commissioner (and former Marine Corps commandant) Leonard Chapman has announced that one million jobs could be opened up to American workers by expelling aliens. "I believe it is a national crisis," he is reported as saying, "and it will certainly grow much worse unless steps are taken almost immediately to check the flood of illegals into this country" (*New York Times*, 31 December).

Chapman has the power to do something about it, moreover. Last year some 788,000 foreigners were arrested in the U.S. and deported for the crime of not having legal documents permitting them to stay in the country. This is a 40 percent increase in the last two years and a 1,000 percent increase over

the last decade. For the current year, the INS is aiming for one million deportations.

The methods of "la migra" (as the immigration authorities are known in Spanish-speaking communities) are far from genteel. Gestapo-like raids at factories, bus stops and housing projects during an 11-day period in June 1973 led to the arrest of 7,100 Mexicans in the Los Angeles area alone. In another dragnet, 11,000 were arrested in El Paso last May. Similar methods are widely used in New York, Chicago and other areas with high concentrations of Latin Americans.

In New York a favorite INS tactic is indiscriminate roundups of "suspicious-looking" persons at subway stations in Haitian and Dominican neighborhoods, up to 500 in a single sweep. Unless they can produce documents on the spot the "suspects" are presumed to be "illegals" and immed-

ately booked. A court suit by the American Civil Liberties Union against immigration authorities charged that persons of "Latin appearance" are being indiscriminately and unconstitutionally deported in this manner. Often after a midnight raid in the heavily Chicano *barrio* of East Los Angeles, legal residents and naturalized citizens find themselves being bused to Mexico (without trial) along with the "illegals."

Electronic sensing equipment, the same previously used along the "Ho Chi Minh Trail," is currently deployed by the INS along the Mexican border. Some of *la migra's* other methods are also reminiscent of Vietnam: a government investigation revealed that leaded gloves were being used in manhandling suspects during the interrogation of aliens. Conditions in INS detention centers in the Southwest are so wretched that even the Mexican foreign minister

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West Coast ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops... 2

Union-Busting Attack in Oakland

ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops

UNION CITY, California, January 10—Strikers at a small glass plant here are facing the kind of direct union-busting employer attacks that the entire working class can expect much more of in coming months. The company has been emboldened by the widespread unemployment and massive layoffs (making it easier to recruit scabs), and by a catastrophic defeat recently suffered by the union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), in the Borax strike. The union leadership's passive, do-nothing policies now threaten to pave the way for yet another defeat.

What could make this strike a break in the general pattern, however, is that militants in Local 6 (the Bay Area warehouse division) have refused to lie down like whipped dogs before the employer offensive. They have brought about mass picketing and initiated union boycotting of products going to and from the struck plant. As a result, the company attack has been checked, at least temporarily. If the union can go on from here to win the strike through militant action, an important precedent will have been set for turning the tide against the employers with class-struggle methods.

Workers at the KNC Glass Company have been on strike for 10 weeks. From the beginning, there were ominous signs. The company made a paltry wage offer and brought in Richardson Security guards, a gang of professional strikebreakers noted for having broken a Teamster strike at Pepsi and Coca Cola in 1972 by both working in the plants and "guarding" them. The current strike is critical to Local 6 despite the small numbers involved—only 25 workers directly—because KNC Glass pays substandard wages which help hold down the wages of all warehouse workers in the Bay Area.

To the union leadership, however, the strike was simply a routine matter. Lunch money was given to the pickets, a union tradition. Turkeys were handed out at Christmas. Since Local 6 elections were held during the strike, Local president Curtis McLain and another official put in a token appearance on the picket lines. Their pictures on the inside pages of the Local's paper were about all that the Local 6 membership—embracing warehouses, distribution centers and small manufacturers throughout the Bay Area—heard about the strike.

At the beginning of January KNC management escalated its attack. A letter was sent to all employees with the following ultimatum: either accept a slightly improved wage offer and return to work without a contract or be replaced. The company letter went on:

"Unfortunately, the downturn in business makes it impossible at this time to take everyone back. If we are forced to hire a permanent replacement for your job, the most we will be able to do is place your name on a rehire list for a position that may or may not be available in the future."

Lesson of the Boron Strike

This threat had a familiar ring. The whole union is still reeling from a defeat this fall in Boron, California, a mining town in the middle of the Mojave Desert. A bitter four-month strike there by ILWU Local 30 was decisively smashed because the union failed to keep scabs from going in and out of the plant and failed to stop shipments of scab borax. This was despite the fact that *ILWU longshoremen* were doing some of the shipping. The company, U.S. Borax, achieved record production using salaried employees and scabs recruited from Los Angeles,



WV PHOTO

San Diego and other cities. Recruitment was made easier by the soaring unemployment rate—7.5 percent in southern California at the time and since gone higher still. The Boron strike defeat has been made a model for union-busting employers everywhere through a "how-to-do-it" feature article in the December issue of *Fortune* magazine.

In the Boron strike, management also sent out an ultimatum to its striking workers, threatening them with permanent replacement if they did not capitulate. The union was forced to accept all the employer's terms in the end, including the permanent replacement of some 400 workers out of an original workforce of a little over 1,000. In addition to reducing the workforce by hundreds, the company combined job classifications and wiped out other historic union gains.

The Borax defeat sent shock waves throughout the union, leading to rumors of acrimonious arguments on the International executive board and demoralization at the top. Drastic loss of jobs in the longshore division, the approach of a new longshore contract betrayal and scandalous links with the real-estate maneuvers of S.F. mayor Alioto and alleged underworld crime figures had already caused rapid erosion of confidence in the leadership of Harry Bridges and Co. (see "Crisis in the ILWU," *WV* No. 58, 6 December 1974).

The response to KNC's blatant strikebreaking threat came from the ranks. Three Local 6 members, Bob Mandel (who recently won election to the Local's general executive board on a class-struggle program), John Dow and Pete Farruggio distributed a leaflet in English and Spanish (most of the KNC strikers are Spanish-speaking) entitled, "Defend the KNC Glass Strike! Mass Union Pickets Against Scabs! Don't Handle Scab Goods!" Warning that "The Distributors [employers' association] undoubtedly hope to make KNC into another Boron," and that the union leadership was doing "virtually nothing," the leaflet demanded that the stewards' council, which was to meet Thursday, January 9, institute mass picketing and a boy-

cott by ILWU members of goods going to and from the plant and of the scab trucking line servicing the plant. The leaflet warned of the danger of government intervention and called also for a new, class-struggle leadership of the union.

"To prevent the unemployed from being used as scabs, such a leadership would fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay to create jobs for all. It would organize workers defense squads to protect picket lines. It would face the threat of government interference squarely, calling on all labor to defend our right to strike."

The leaflet went on to denounce the alliance with Alioto and call for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Mass Picket-Line Defense

The response to the leaflet's call for defense of the strike was massive and immediate. It was distributed in Local 6 and Local 10 (longshore) hiring halls, and that afternoon a steward in Associated Grocers brought 18 mem-



WV PHOTO

Above, cops manhandle militant picketer during KNC Glass strike, Oakland. Below, Bob Mandel.

bers off the job to the picket line. A business agent also showed up. As a result of these initial efforts, the word got out that KNC intended to run scabs through the lines on Thursday and that members—with no organization from the official Local 6 leadership—were already mobilizing to prevent this. Consequently there were 75 to 100 pickets yesterday, some armed with baseball bats. They came off the job from nearby St. Regis Paper Company and other locations, as well as from ILWU Local 10 and Local 34 (the clerks' local).

But response to the leaflet didn't stop there. Local 6 President McLain managed to make it to the Thursday picket line, despite the fact that he was not running for office. Nervousness over the Boron defeat and loss of confidence in the leadership also caused the entire national longshore bargaining committee to show up, minus only Harry Bridges himself. One member remarked it was the first time he had ever seen International Vice President Chester on a picket line.

Police were mobilized from Union City and the California Highway Patrol,

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"Anti-Terrorist" Repression in West Germany

On November 9 Holger Meins died in prison in the West German town of Wittlich. According to an official autopsy the cause was "consumption," the result of almost two months of a hunger strike protesting his solitary confinement.

Meins was one of five prisoners, in jail since 1972 under "investigative detention" but not yet tried, accused of being members of the "hard core" of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof Gang." The other are: Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Ulrike Meinhof and Jan-Carl Raspe.

The prisoners are members of the "Rote Armee Fraktion" (Red Army Faction) which has been accused of responsibility for several bombings and bank robberies in the spring of 1972. Although the actual membership of the RAF was quite small, federal authorities have arrested more than 200 persons (of whom 89 are still in jail) accused of various degrees of support for "Baader-Meinhof."

The mass hunger strike involving at least 73 of the prisoners was initiated in September by Ulrike Meinhof in order to publicize the solitary confinement to which all the "BM" detainees are subjected. The response of prison authorities, far from abandoning this form of torture, was to institute another one: forced feeding through a thick stomach tube that causes violent spasmodic reactions when forced down the prisoners' throats. Several of the hunger strikers remain in physical danger due to their weakened condition and such injurious medical treatment by prison doctors.

In the wake of Meins' death leftist demonstrations occurred in several West German cities. More than 800 protesters were reported in Hamburg, 1,000 in Frankfurt and 500 in Heidelberg. In Berlin more than 800 gathered on the evening of November 9. A police baton charge left a number of injured and 13 arrested.

The next day negotiations for joint action took place between various socialist organizations in Berlin and on Monday, November 11, several attempts were made to hold a mass demonstration. In the working-class district of Moabit cops managed to

clear out about 500 demonstrators early in the day. Subsequently several thousand gathered on the downtown shopping street Kurfürstendamm. As the rally was breaking up police attacked again. That evening a large meeting at the Free University resolved to undertake a limited hunger strike in solidarity with the RAF prisoners (DPA dispatch, 11 November; *Arbeiterkampf*, 3 December).

"Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt

Despite continued agitation, particularly among students, the initiative quickly passed to the government, which launched a wave of repression throughout the country. The pretext for this crackdown was the shooting, on November 10, of the chief justice of the Berlin court of appeals, Günter von Drenkmann. Who is responsible for this act is unclear, although the bourgeois media universally interpreted it as revenge for Meins' death. News agencies reported a phone call from the "RAF/Aufbauaktion" and a note from the "July 2 Movement" both taking credit for the attack. The note accused von Drenkmann of responsibility for turning down the prisoners' request for ending their solitary confinement.

For the next few weeks the government, opposition Christian Democrats and conservative press vied with each other in drumming up a witchhunt atmosphere around the "terrorist threat" to "law and order." When an Austrian journalist said in a televised panel discussion that RAF prisoners should not abandon their hunger strike, opposition parliamentarians demanded the resignation of the talk show's host. Karl Carstens, Christian Democratic leader in the Bundestag (lower house) said prisoners who go on hunger strikes should be allowed to starve to death.

Then on November 26 federal and state police staged raids on 96 "suspected terrorist hideouts" in 15 cities. A total of 28 persons were detained as a result of "Operation Winterreise" (Operation Winter Journey), but nothing of substance was found by the authorities. Most of the "hideouts" turned out to be political or semi-political communes, and the only person arrested having anything to do with the RAF was one of the group's former lawyers, whose office was thoroughly ransacked.

The next day the coalition government of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and FDP (Free Democratic Party) in Bonn announced that it was altering the Penal Code in order to eliminate the right of confidentiality between prisoners and their lawyers whenever there is suspicion that the legal defense is aiding illegal activities. Henceforth, lawyer and client could communicate only in the presence of a judge.

In addition the number of lawyers permitted to participate in a criminal case would be limited, and trials could be ordered in the absence of the accused if the prisoner is unable to participate due to "planned action" (such as a hunger strike). The government tried to give the impression that the RAF protest was aimed at preventing a trial, although the prisoners' lawyers had been trying for months to get the state to come to trial. (There is no legal right of *habeas corpus* in West Germany.)

What is the RAF?

During recent weeks virtually every imaginable form of terrorist activity has been blamed on the Red Army

Faction in order to whip up "law and order" hysteria. In a collection of material allegedly authored by the RAF, the Federal Criminal Office claims to have found plans for assassinating leading politicians, military training of cadres in Mozambique and the establishment of an "air force" based in Sweden which would carry out bombing raids in West Germany (DPA dispatch, 22 November)! The "Baader-Meinhof Gang" had also been charged with an attack on a politician in his sauna in Bavaria and with a bomb explosion in the Bremen train station.

This is part of a consistent pattern on the part of the authorities who have sought to use the "threat" of a terrorist conspiracy in order to widen police powers. Earlier last year the RAF was supposedly going to attack the Munich stadium with SAM-7 missiles during the World Soccer Cup match, and in August the Hamburg edition of *Bild* (a sensationalist tabloid owned by press magnate Springer) announced the discovery of "Baader-Meinhof" plans to poison Stuttgart's water supply. The authorities' scare tactics are designed to convince the more gullible that the RAF planned large-scale violence against the general population.

In actual fact, the actions for which the RAF has taken credit are uniformly cases of classical individual terrorism directed against symbols of bourgeois rule. In 1968 Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin were tried and convicted of burning down a warehouse in Frankfurt as a protest against the Vietnam war. They were paroled in 1969 along with a number of other political prisoners on the condition that they return to jail the next year. In early 1970 the two skipped parole, but in April Baader was picked up in Berlin for driving without a license.

The very next month he was liberated by an armed group from the library at the Institute for Social Research, where he had been assigned to work on a book together with Ulrike Meinhof, a journalist for a left-wing political-porno magazine. In June the group reportedly went to Jordan to train with Al Fatah. Back in Berlin in September the RAF "expropriated" three banks for a total of \$75,000. It then became dormant for a period, until the "heat was off."

However, the government still needed its "terrorist threat," so in July 1971 the rest home of the "Socialist Patients Collective" (SPK) in Heidelberg was broken into by 300 police armed with machine guns. The SPK, a group of mental patients which discovered capitalism to be the cause of mental illness, was accused of being part of the "BM" gang. 20 "terrorists" were arrested, of whom several are still in jail awaiting trial!

The only serious actions by the RAF took place in the spring of 1972. On May 11 a bomb destroyed the officers' club at the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Frankfurt. An American colonel was killed and 13 other officers wounded. An RAF leaflet linked the bombing to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The next day police headquarters in Augsburg and offices of the Bavarian state police in Munich were damaged by bombs in retaliation for the police killing of Tommy Weissbecker, an RAF member, earlier in the year. On May 15 the car of a judge in Hamburg who was in charge of RAF-connected prisoners was blown up and his wife seriously injured.

Then on May 19, a Hamburg skyscraper belonging to the Springer concern was seriously damaged by the

detonation of two high-explosive bombs. (The rabidly anti-communist Springer press has frequently been the object of student protest demonstrations for its witchhunting demagoguery.) Three telephone warnings were ignored and consequently 17 persons were injured. Finally, on May 24 two bombs exploded in the car park at the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Europe, in Heidelberg, killing a captain and two sergeants and wounding five others.

The end came only a week later when Baader, Meins and Raspe were arrested in a massive police raid on an apartment in Frankfurt. The group had apparently been betrayed by an informer. On June 7 Ensslin was arrested in a boutique in Hamburg and eight days later Meinhof and another RAFer were captured in Hannover.

"Guerrilla War Means Not Being Demoralized"

The "Red Army Faction" published a manifesto ("The Concept of the Urban Guerrilla," available in English in a pamphlet entitled *Armed Resistance in West Germany*, published by the Stoke Newington Defence Group, 1972) which clearly reveals the nature of this anarcho-terrorist group. Although politically primitive, the group is not another SLA. The manifesto is obviously inspired by such figures as Eldridge Cleaver, Franz Fanon, Mao Tse-tung, Regis Debray and Wilhelm Reich (all of whom are quoted)—in short, by the heroes of the German New Left of the late 1960's.

After a critique of the impotence of the student movement, the authors reach the despairing conclusion that mass organization is impossible and socialist theory simply useless dogma: "Under the present conditions in West Germany and West Berlin we doubt the possibility of developing a unifying strategy for the working class and of creating an organization which could be the expression and initiator of the necessary unifying process. We doubt that the union of the socialist intelligentsia and the proletariat can be reached either by dogmatic explanations or by demands for unity from proletarian organizations."

"Urban guerrilla war means not to be demoralized by the power of the system," write the authors, only revealing that it is precisely their demoralization, their lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class, which led them to terrorism. In short, the political complexion of the RAF is similar to many other spontaneous anarcho-Maoist groups in the U.S. and West Europe (Weatherman, Gauche Proletarienne).

The Response of the Left

The response by the East and West German Stalinists to the death of Holger Meins was immediate and predictable: they ostentatiously "distanced themselves" from the RAF prisoners, just as the bourgeoisie requested. Fearful that anyone might associate respectable "Communists" with terrorism, the East German weekly *Volksarmee* announced that individual terrorism cannot be considered anti-imperialist and its perpetrators are objectively agents of the ruling class (DPA, 15 November). In West Germany, the pro-Moscow DKP (German Communist Party) issued a leaflet in Hamburg announcing that, "The DKP condemns those who, in the Federal Republic and everywhere in the world, plant bombs and use

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Workers' Protests Erupt in Egypt

JANUARY 8—Egyptian workers who have recently borne the brunt of a tremendous inflation, resulting from denationalizations and the "economic opening" to foreign capital initiated by President Sadat, as well as from the 1973 war, rampaged through the streets of Cairo last week. The protesters, many reportedly from the Helwan iron and steel complex, demanded that Abdel Aziz Hegazi, Sadat's economic czar, be removed from his post.

This demonstration should help to dispel the myth prevalent in liberal and "left" circles that the Arab people are united as one with their leaders by the struggle against Zionism. Similarly, the demonstrations by Hebrew workers in Tel Aviv last November showed that although rampant nationalism may blur class contradictions for periods of time it cannot make them disappear, even in fortress Israel.

Strikes, although they are illegal, are not unknown in Egypt. However, the government-controlled press normally fails to report them. When Nasser's coup d'état deposed King Farouk in 1952, 10,000 textile workers, encouraged by the apparent liberalization, struck for higher wages. The walkout was promptly smashed by the military rulers, who proceeded to hang the strike leaders. There was another strike upsurge in 1964 and a working-class near-revolt in November 1968, the year following Egypt's ignominious rout in the "Six Day War."

The workers of the Helwan complex also played a leading role in the strike wave during 1972. Sadat's desire to dampen this labor militancy by fueling up nationalist sentiments was an important consideration prompting him to embark on the 1973 Arab-Israel war. Describing the situation at that time Sadat later stated, "Our economic situation reached zero point... we had no alternative but to go to war" (*New York Times*, 27 August 1974).

The deteriorating economic conditions in Egypt which intensified after the October War have led to a dramatic increase in working-class agitation over the past six months. Although a thin stratum of the population is profiting handsomely off foreign-aid bribes from the U.S. and oil-rich Arab states, the majority of the population has seen consumer prices nearly double in the last year while incomes have changed little.

The recent Cairo demonstration has led the local press to demand a crack-down on "communist influence" in the trade unions. Although the Soviet Union for many years regarded Nasser and Sadat as "anti-imperialist," the government repeatedly used the bogey of a "communist menace" to cover up and suppress the legitimate demands of working people. Egyptian Communist Party members were in and out of prison until Nasser succeeded in breaking up the party, inducing its remnants to bury themselves in his "Arab Socialist Union." But the Russian bureaucracy nonetheless continued in its cynical praise for Egypt's "non-capitalist road."

It would not be surprising to see Sadat again pick up the banner of the crusade against Israel in order to distract popular unrest, especially since he has been subject recently to attacks both from the religious right and the nationalist left for his inattention to this "holy cause." The Nasserite weekly *Rose el Youssef* responded to the January 1 demonstration by claiming

that "no leftist organization worthy of being called such would try to disrupt national unity at this stage and attack a government that had proved it knew how to fight a war of liberation against Israel" (*New York Times*, 6 January).

Stalinist tendencies have made themselves the apologists for the anti-working-class Arab regimes, subordinating themselves to the bourgeois "socialist" parties (Algerian FLN, Egyptian ASU, Ba'ath in Syria and Iraq, etc.). The same has been true of the supposed Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat," particularly following the entrance of its one-time leader Michel Raptis (alias Pablo) into the government of Algeria's Ben Bella in 1962. This renegade from Trotskyism actually wrote the law subordinating the workers "self-management" councils to the bourgeois FLN regime.

Late last year the United Secretariat announced the formation of a group in Egypt, the "Mustafa Khamis" Revolutionary Communist Group. (Khamis was one of the leaders of the 1952 strike who was hanged for refusing to inform on other participants.) Egyptian newspapers have attributed the recent Cairo demonstration to the subversive activities of "Trotskyites," evidently referring to the RCG.

In a manifesto issued last fall, the "Mustafa Khamis" group has taken a left posture, sharply criticizing those "communists" whose "mystification [s]... have prevented our working class from understanding that what is presently going on in Egypt is simply the natural consequence of the Nasser era..." "The interests of the working class," it goes on, "will not really triumph until the workers themselves take power" (*Inprecor*, 12 December 1974).

But the United Secretariat itself has played no small role as one of the leading "mystifiers" among ostensibly revolutionary forces. With its Pabloist policies of relying on non-proletarian forces, the USec has promoted the myth of an "objectively anti-imperialist Arab Revolution," announcing that Algeria was soon to become a workers state (*Quatrième Internationale*, No. 19, 3rd quarter, 1963), liquidating into the bourgeois nationalist Algerian FLN and speculating about the "formation, for example, of a workers state in Egypt in a relatively cold way, without the active revolutionary intervention of the masses at the crucial moment" (Livio Maitan in the [SWP] *International Information Bulletin*, December 1965 [our emphasis]).

The "Mustafa Khamis" group is silent about the history of betrayal and the USec's open rejection of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution (inventing instead an amorphous "colonial revolution," which under militant leadership such as the "unconscious Marxist" Fidel Castro or Ahmed Ben Bella could produce a healthy workers state, according to these shameless revisionists). Furthermore, the USec supporters in Egypt have themselves not broken programmatically with the notion of a progressive bourgeois "Arab Revolution." Thus they would eagerly support a nationalist force which promised to lead the anti-Zionist struggle (i.e., the manifesto calls for a war against bourgeois Israel by the equally bourgeois Arab states).

This indicates that these militants have not yet abandoned the reactionary notion of a "two-stage" revolution (first the pan-Arab, then the socialist). This policy has, of course, led the Stalinists to constantly capitulate to Nasser and his ilk. Without adopting a revolutionary defeatist policy on both sides in the reactionary Arab-Israeli wars, revolutionaries in the Near East will find themselves unable to answer the attacks of the nationalists who charge that strikes undermine the war effort.

Only a Trotskyist leadership pledged to consistent programmatic and organizational independence from the Nassers, Arafats and Sadats can lead the Arab workers and peasants to power against all the despotic regimes in the Near East, while forging the necessary revolutionary alliance with Hebrew workers of Israel against Zionism, Arab nationalism and imperialism. ■

Longshore Militants Confront I.S. at "Rank and File" Conference

OAKLAND, January 6—A conference on "Building the Rank and File Movement" sponsored by the International Socialists (IS) ran into trouble with rank-and-file unionists here yesterday. The largest and most authoritative grouping of militant rank-and-file leaders at the conference denounced the sponsors' reformist trade-union policies, especially IS' support for Stanley Weir's court case against ILWU Local 10.

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* the militants, members of the West Coast longshore union, told of the shabby, bureaucratic treatment they received from the cynical "left" talkers who organized the conference. Howard Keylor, a member of the ILWU's longshore division for over 20 years, most

a class-struggle program, justify its support for two out-bureaucrats like Miller and Morrissey, who both ran on programs of "democracy" enforced by the federal government?

In the lively and often heated discussion that followed, supporters of IS' social-democratic policies became increasingly embarrassed. A rank-and-file Teamster and founding member of the IS-supported Fifth Wheel caucus asked what he should do about a suit in his local brought by a Chicano who had been the victim of gross discrimination. Should the suit against the union be dropped while the suit against the company continued? John Larson, member of Teamsters Local 70 and Fifth Wheel supporter, answered that



Howard Keylor



Stan Gow

of that time as an active oppositionist, was invited to be on a panel during the morning session. Keylor had opposed the original deregistration of 59 lower-seniority B-men, the object of Weir's court action against the union, and has actively defended their rights ever since. While opposing the lawsuit, he calls for action by the union ranks to force reinstatement of the victimized B-men with full rights.

Keylor is now a candidate for the Local 10 executive board on a program highlighting a call for six hours' work at eight hours' pay, and the need for a workers party and a workers government. On the panel he spoke about his experience battling the Bridges machine in the ILWU. He stressed that years as an oppositionist and trade unionist had taught him the deeply unprincipled character of appealing to the bosses' courts against the union.

Further, he declared the necessity to build opposition around a full program of class struggle. In that way opposition to the incumbent union misleaders would not be sidetracked into campaigns for just another set of slicker bureaucrats to preside over the same old sellouts. Two recent cases of such out-bureaucrats' running for office, both supported by the IS, were Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers and James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union. According to Keylor a class-struggle program must include demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours, nationalization of industry without compensation, running industry under workers control and a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Keylor reportedly concluded his remarks by addressing two questions to the organizers of the conference: (1) Will the International Socialists continue to support Stanley Weir's lawsuit against the ILWU? and (2) How can the IS, which in its press claims to support at least some elements of

there was no question of principle involved in suing the union; other IS supporters defended the Weir suit.

Supporters of IS policies did their bureaucratic best to avoid substantive political questions. But Stan Gow, a militant with 18 years in the ILWU, took the floor and pinned them down. Gow, a Local 10 executive board member, is running for re-election on a joint program with Keylor. He demanded to know why the IS refused to support Gene Herson, candidate of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, who in 1973 ran for president of that union on a class-struggle program calling for a workers government. Instead the IS supported Morrissey in that election.

Finally forced to reply, IS supporters said that the M-SC's Herson ran on "only a paper program" while Morrissey had "real support" in the union. (In fact Morrissey has no organized support whatsoever in the union. His real support came from the U.S. Departments of Justice and Labor.) They said this despite the fact that Herson received more votes by far than the IS has members.

Then Bob Mandel, who was recently elected to the executive board of ILWU Local 6 on just such a "paper program," attempted to take the floor. This was more than the IS could bear. Mandel was surrounded by four IS goons determined not to let him speak. They backed off, however, when Mandel's union brothers stood up to make it clear that they would insist that the meeting continue in democratic fashion.

After some tense moments, the IS was obliged to grant an unscheduled second round of discussion. Mandel commented that he was used to fighting for the floor at meetings of his own union local, but that the IS behavior was even more bureaucratic than the usual

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WORKER'S VANGUARD

French LCR Aims at Fusion with PSU Social Democrats

Over the week of 19-24 December 1974 the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR, formerly FCR) held its national conference outside Paris. At the conference, which had been preceded by several months of discussion in the organization's public press between its four official tendencies, the leadership mustered a slim majority (59 percent). Although the issue of *Rouge* (27 December) which reports on the conference states that the LCR has "requested recognition" as the French section of the "Fourth International" (i.e., the United Secretariat, headed by Ernest Mandel), the "Political Theses" adopted do not mention either Trotskyism or the Fourth International.

The United Secretariat revisionists have long since dumped Trotsky's Transitional Program as the concrete guide to action of revolutionists in the struggle to lead the working class to power. Now the LCR seems to be flirting with an organizational liquidation which would parallel its long-time programmatic abandonment of Trotskyism by exploring the possibility of entry into the radical petty-bourgeois Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU). The biggest stumbling block to such a "fusion" is likely to be the LCR's affiliation to the United Secretariat, which Mandel and Co. will be loath to forego as the LCR is the largest and most flamboyant showpiece of their federated international bloc.

The approach to the PSU is the logical application of the LCR's basic Pablist method of seeking to find substitutes for a Trotskyist proletarian vanguard party, codified in the search for the "new mass vanguard," later re-christened the "broad working-class vanguard." This catchall category—consisting of diverse strata of young subjectively revolutionary militants whom authentic Marxists would seek to influence and recruit—is endowed by the Pablist impressionists with a spurious cohesiveness and dubbed a "vanguard." The task of the LCR then becomes to locate and tailor these volatile but programmatically disparate elements, thereby creating a "mass movement."

This "theory" is simply a legitimization of whatever opportunism appeals to the Pablists at any given moment. For the LCR, the appetite of the hour is the PSU. Accordingly LCR superstar Alain Krivine explains in a long article (*Inprecor* [English-language edition], 14 November 1974) that the PSU is "an organizational pole for a section of the broad vanguard... the split in the PSU expresses in its own way the growing impact of revolutionary ideas within the broad vanguard." In fact, "Its new leadership stands on the ground of the revolution, but is encumbered by a whole series of illusions..." Having discovered the incarnation of the "broad vanguard" in the PSU, the LCR now prepares to leap in with all four feet.

What Is the PSU?

The Parti Socialiste Unifié originated in a 1954 split from the French social democracy (SFIO). It fused with a Catholic workers group and then with the Parti Socialiste Autonome. For about ten years it led a marginal existence, always on the verge of either re-entering the Socialists or liquidating into electoralism, for example around Mitterrand's 1965 campaign for president. But beginning in 1968, the PSU adopted a "revolutionary" rhetoric and sought to masquerade as a party of the "revolutionary far-left," a masquerade the LCR has shamelessly furthered. In 1974 the FCR enthusiastically urged the PSU's Piaget—betrayer of the Lip strike and member of a Catholic group—to be the presidential candidate of the "far-left."

At the PSU's Ninth Congress, held 14-16 December 1974, the right wing of the PSU led by Michel Rocard split away to rejoin the Socialists. Piaget was elected to the PSU's National Secretariat and the PSU issued a "Call for Expanding the Party" which stated, "The PSU calls on all militants conscious of the need for building a revolutionary and self-management force to join it" (*Le Monde*, 18 December 1974).

Among the political has-beens who have found a haven in the PSU are a significant number of ex-Trotskyists

of the 1930's and 1940's, such as Yvan Craipeau, who propagate vaguely Trotskyist ideas. On occasion, this gives rise to left factions within the PSU, such as that which broke away to join the LCR's predecessor, the Ligue Communiste, in June 1972—not, however, without an explicit repudiation of the history of the Fourth International and the "no longer adequate" Transitional Program which was duly printed in *Rouge* (24 June 1972).

The LCR now turns to the well again, this time with more grandiose expectations: "we are aiming further than tactical alliances and suspicious cooperation... We must aim at the construction of a common revolutionary organization" (*Rouge*, 27 December 1974).

This is the same door through which the spiritual father of the LCR, Michel Pablo himself, entered the PSU. Pablo's overtures to the PSU began about two years ago and culminated with his organization's formal affiliation to



Alain Krivine.

the PSU at the latter's congress held a week before the LCR conference. Like father, like son.

A formation such as the PSU might provide a fruitful ground for recruitment in the course of resolute struggle against its leadership. But the LCR leadership has no intention of waging any such struggle. During the Lip strike for example the FCR's "program" was to enthuse over the policies of Piaget (see "Lessons of the Lip Strike," *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974). The idea that the LCR might undertake a principled Leninist entry for the purpose of creating a hard, programmatically based Trotskyist pole is laughable. The LCR in fact eschews any attempt to create a hard, cohesive LCR.

The internal life of the LCR is such a shambles that its pre-conference discussion was carried out in the pages of its public press, of course in the name of "democratic centralism." The discussion was neither centralized nor

democratic. The "right" to form a tendency, for example, was granted only to groupings presenting 30 signatures; even to call for the formation of a tendency, 10 signatures were required. The four tendencies which emerged were in fact blocs containing ill-defined and often widely divergent views. All tendencies are expected to be dissolved after the conference.

Tendency 2 was the leadership, while Tendency 1 represented an empirical, workerist opposition. Sometimes putting forward correct criticisms of the leadership—for example its objection to the "new mass vanguard" and attempt to reassert the priority of intervening toward the Communist Party, which controls the main French trade-union federation—Tendency 1 remained unwilling to draw any basic conclusions. Tendency 3 represented the extension of the LCR's former explicit petty-bourgeois youth vanguardism, which has been downplayed by the majority since the discovery of newer "vanguards" after 1968.

Tendency 4 was a catchall swamp. The recognized left opposition of the LCR, it also included supporters of the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) of the United Secretariat, the international right opposition led by the American SWP, as well as supporters of the views of the OCI, one of the LCR's French competitors. Self-contradictory in its basic composition, Tendency 4's documents were inconsistent from one section to the next.

Thus while calling for groupings in the trade unions based on the full transitional program attacking the OCI's "strategic united front," it in practice succumbed to the pressure both of supporters of the OCI and the left wing of the LTF, the Spanish Liga Comunista, by also calling for a "strategic line of united fronts." Although Tendency 4 was alone in characterizing the Union of the Left as a popular front, it could not make up its mind on whether or not revolutionaries should have called for a vote for the workers parties in the popular front in 1973 or for Mitterrand in 1974!

In addition to orienting to the PSU, Tendency 2's "Theses" adopted by the congress (with 59 percent of the delegate votes; Tendencies 1 and 3 obtained about 19 percent each and Tendency 4 3 percent) attempted to placate everybody on the character of the Union of the Left. What was clear, however, was their liquidationist thrust.

The "Theses" call for an "anti-capitalist bloc" and place heavy stress on workers' "self-organization" and "self-management"—the latter long the pet phrase of the LCR's new fair-haired boy, Charles Piaget, and his social-democratic cohorts. ■

OCI/SWP/LCR Maneuvers Multiply

The intensification of the process of political/organizational disintegration among ostensibly Trotskyist international groupings is nowhere more evident than in the current maneuvering taking place between the warring factions of the "United Secretariat" (USec) and the French Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI). Recently a great deal of interest—and suspicion—has been generated inside these organizations by the discussions which have taken place between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, leader of the USec minority) and the OCI, with the French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR, the leading USec majority section) chaperoning.

At a meeting of the FCR (now LCR) in Paris in November, IST supporters distributed copies of a letter from the OCI leadership to other groups in its "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" reporting on a meeting with the SWP (see *WV* No. 57, 22 November for the text), with our analysis of the letter and the various groups involved on the reverse side of the leaflet.

The FCR ranks, from whom know-

ledge of the meetings had been withheld by their leaders, eagerly snapped up more than 1,000 of these leaflets and surrounded FCR leaders demanding an explanation. The OCI letter has since been reprinted both by the FCR and SWP along with their (sharply divergent) "explanations."

The FCR has feigned disinterest in the matter. The 29 November issue of *Rouge* reports the Spartacist leaflet, but claims an inaccuracy: it was the OCI, it says, which asked for the meeting, not the SWP. Who was responsible for this distortion, asks the writer: the OCI or the SL? He concludes, "What's the difference?" But obviously it did make a difference to the FCR or it would not have bothered to make the "correction."

The difference becomes clear in reading the counterposed assessments of the OCI discussion by the SWP and LCR. An internal FCR circular issued shortly afterward included the OCI letter "as distributed by the Spartacist League" and states that "the OCI's proposals stem essentially from a maneuver..." The FCR leadership concludes that "In these conditions... *privileged* and *semi-internal* discussions [with the

OCI] are unjustifiable..."

The SWP does not agree. A report by the SWP's Joe Hansen (included in the FCR internal circular) raises the possibility of a maneuver on the part of the OCI, but reasons, "In our opinion there is no great risk in replying fraternally to the OCI. No immediate commitment is implied..." Then in a Political Bureau statement which appears in the 13 January 1975 *Intercontinental Press* the SWP leadership goes even further, openly defending the OCI against the FCR. The meeting "confirm[ed] the sincerity of the OCI leaders," it reports. They "are neither capitulating nor trying to carry out a raid."

In our commentary on the OCI letter, both in *WV* and in the Paris leaflet, we pointed to the rotten-bloc character of the United Secretariat and the fact that the obvious maneuvering on all sides served only the power plays of the competing opportunists, doing nothing to provide political clarity for the working-class movement. While the SWP and FCR debated whether the OCI was pulling a fast one, the OCI also warned that "What is sure is that maneuvers will multiply on all sides..." This must qualify as the understatement

of the week, particularly as the maneuvers clearly do include "all sides"—i.e., the OCI as well.

What is missing in all these "approaches" is simply the struggle for a principled, homogeneous, democratic-centralist Trotskyist international tendency. The OCI has many times pointed out the unprincipled character of the 1963 reunification between the SWP and the Mandelites, in which differences over Pabloism, the 1953 split, China and other issues were swept under the rug. But its own behavior in the present maneuvering is nothing but a replay of the SWP's early negotiations with Pablo-Mandel-Frank at that time.

The international Spartacist tendency, which was born in opposition to the 1963 reunification and the political degeneration of the SWP which led up to it, stands sharply counterposed to these horsetraders. Without "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (*WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974) we declare our intentions and indicate our progress to date toward the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Witchhunt Against IRA in Britain

LONDON, December 22—On November 21 bombs exploded at the Mulberry Bush public house and the Tavern in the Town in Birmingham, England. These bombs killed altogether 21 people, burning and mutilating scores of others. Among those killed were two Irish Catholic brothers and two black West Indians.

Eight days later the British parliament passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act, outlawing the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and giving the Home Secretary and police unprecedented and wide powers to search, arrest, detain without charge, banish from or prevent entry to Britain of anyone suspected of "supporting" the IRA or being involved in terrorism.

Virtually every political group in Britain and Ireland, including the Provisional IRA, has condemned the Birmingham bombings as an unpardonable atrocity. The Spartacist League has long condemned the use of indiscriminate mass terror by the Palestinian guerrillas and Irish Republicans, despite the general popularity enjoyed by such groups within the left. However, we vehemently reject the right of the British rulers—including the reformist Labour Party leadership—to condemn mass terror when used by Irish nationalists. Their condemnations are the hypocrisy of imperialism.

For 300 years British colonialism has been drenched in the blood of the Irish people. In the 1840's the British government, in collusion with English landlords and speculators, allowed one million Irish to starve to death in the "Potato Famine." In the 1920's the British rulers dispatched the infamous Black and Tan terrorist gangs to hunt down and butcher Irish nationalists.

Nor do we have to go back to "ancient history" for examples of mass terrorism by British imperialism against the Irish. The British parliamentarians would doubtless prefer to forget "Bloody Sunday" in 1972 when a parachutist regiment shot to death 13 unarmed civil rights demonstrators in Ulster; and that plainclothes army patrols have opened fire on unarmed Catholics engaged in no political action whatever. The Birmingham bombings pale in comparison to the atrocities of British imperialism against the Irish.

Whose Responsibility?

David O'Connell, the IRA Provisionals' "Chief of Staff," has issued statements denying his organization's responsibility for Birmingham, suggesting that English anarchist groups might have done it:

"The IRA leadership did not recommend these attacks. In fact, we condemn them. At the moment we are conducting an enquiry to seek out those responsible.... Attacks like those in Birmingham are murder."

—Times [London], 12 December

There is a history of provocations

by both sides in the sectarian Ulster strife, as there always is when mass terrorism is used. In addition, the perpetrators of outrages are not likely to proclaim their authorship of such heinous crimes, even if the result was intended. Thus it is often unclear who is immediately responsible for particular bombings. However, whether or not it was responsible for this attack against working people in Birmingham, the fact remains that the Provisional IRA has in the past often employed methods of indiscriminate terror.

Contrary to O'Connell's statement, it is not true that the Provisionals always give a warning before attacking non-military targets. In any event, the chance that a telephone warning would not be relayed in time to get everyone out of a heavily frequented area (where many of the bombings have taken place) is great. And in Ulster the Provisionals have certainly engaged in indiscriminate mass terrorism: for example, the bombing of the Abercorn Cafe in 1972 and random vengeance killings of Protestants.

Moreover, four days before the Birmingham bombings, O'Connell was interviewed by the television program "Weekend World" on which he indicated that the Provisionals' campaign in England would be intensified. Subsequently during December bombs were placed in public places all over England. One of the explosions, in a London post office, killed a Ghanaian.

There is no question who is responsible for this criminal campaign: when the Provos called a Christmas truce the bombings suddenly stopped. This certainly runs counter to the notion that the Provisional leadership cannot control its militants, or that there exists some unknown "ultra" Republican terrorist group. The Provos' hands are not clean!

British Labour Defends the United Kingdom

Perhaps the most candid comment on the Prevention of Terrorism Act was a gloating letter by a South African racist to the liberal Manchester *Guardian*:

"As a South African, you will excuse my slightly cynical amusement at the latest measures taken by your Government against the IRA. These measures appear to have been taken straight from the South African statute books!"

—Manchester *Guardian Weekly*
7 December

The Prevention of Terrorism Act outlaws the IRA (both wings), subjecting its members to five years in prison and unlimited fines. It gives the Home Secretary (equivalent of the U.S. Attorney General) the right to outlaw, without parliamentary approval, any group "concerned in terrorism." In effect, the police now have the right to hold someone for a week without charg-

es, access to a lawyer or public acknowledgment.

There is nothing in the new legislation to prevent the South African practice of stringing together an endless series of one-week detentions. Moreover, the legal requirement that police have a court warrant before undertaking searches of residences is suspended. British citizens born in Northern Ireland can be deported there, unless they have lived in Britain for 20 years. (The latter provision is an ironic touch in a law designed to maintain the Belfast-London tie. Ulster unionists, however, failed to appreciate the irony.)

The most threatening part of the Act is section 3 of part 1, which allows the Home Secretary to outlaw "any organization that appears to him to be concerned in terrorism occurring in the United Kingdom and concerned with Northern Ireland affairs, or in promot-

about socialism by the Labour "lefts" means nothing after this vote. One could hardly ask for a stronger demonstration that the Labour Party is no less committed to British imperialism than the Tories, that it is, in Lenin's words, a *bourgeois* workers party.

So Does the Irish Republic

If the Wilson/Jenkins Labour government is a loyal servant of British imperialism, so too is the government of the Irish Republic. While Westminster was passing the new terrorism act, the *Dail* in Dublin was passing a Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill giving Irish courts the right to try terrorists for crimes committed in Britain. And like their counterparts in London, Connor Cruise O'Brien's Irish Labour Party supported the measure.



British troops "pacifying" Ulster.

MAGNUM DONALD McCULLIN

ing or encouraging it"; and to apply the same penalties to individuals who "invite financial or other support for a proscribed organisation."

In theory any organization can be outlawed if it gives some kind of support to the Irish Republican movement against the British government, even if only in the pages of its press. And this is not merely an abstract possibility. The right-wing Tory MP (Member of Parliament) John Biggs-Davison has demanded that the National Union of Students be prosecuted under the Act for supporting the IRA.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act should shatter the illusion, shared by the ostensibly Trotskyist *Militant* and *Chartist* groups, that the British Labour Party can be turned into an instrument for socialism. No single Labour MP, not even the most left of "the left," voted against the bill. Even those who spoke against it bowed to party discipline and public pressure when the final vote came.

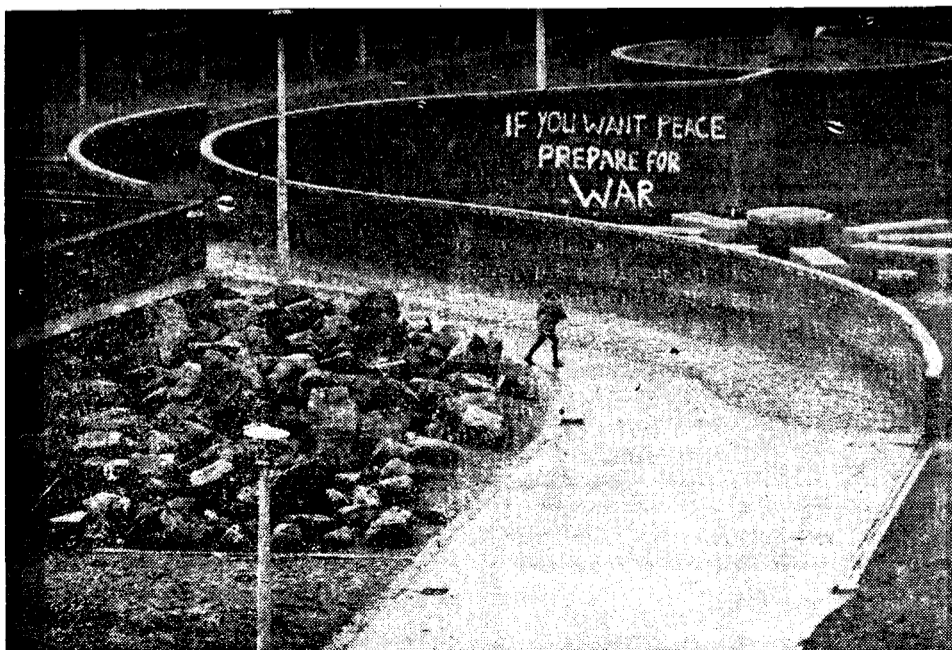
All the talk about nationalizations, about opposing the Common Market,

Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs Garret FitzGerald assured the British public that his government was doing even more to defend them against the IRA than their own authorities:

"Between May 1972, when the Special Criminal Court, acting without jury, was established, and October 31, 1974, 686 people have been charged in the Republic with crimes arising from the activities of illegal organisations.... Just 60 per cent of those convicted here for offenses committed in Border areas are persons from Northern Ireland who escaped the attention of the security forces in that area before coming to the Republic."

—Manchester *Guardian Weekly*
7 December

Because the Irish Republic is generally cringingly subservient to the interests of British capitalism, there is an impulse both among Labour and the Tories to "solve" the Ulster question by transferring the province to the South. Thus the main obstacle to a 32-county bourgeois Irish state is *not now* British imperialism but rather the anti-



Falls Road district in Belfast. Hundreds have been killed here in sectarian terror.



"Bloody Sunday," January 1972. Cross marks spot where three boys were killed.



HARDY-GAMMA

Opportunist IS called for troops to Belfast in 1969, now demands "Troops out." Marxists call for Catholic/Protestant workers militias against sectarian terror.

anticipated reaction of the Protestant population of Ulster.

Anti-Irish Backlash in England

Following the Birmingham bombings there was a wave of violent incidents directed against the Irish population in England. (The need to undercut anti-Irish vigilante actions was, in fact, used as an excuse by politicians to rush through the terrorism act.) In factories

thy for Republicanism among the Irish population in England, which is the sea that the IRA swims in. If the British state goes after the IRA by sweeping, indiscriminate methods, the Irish population could retreat into a closed, defensive posture. And this could lead to a dynamic where Ulster-type communal violence might occur in parts of England. Thus the terrorists of Birmingham committed a provocation not only against the English people, but even

to the left wing and the Workers Revolutionary Party."

— *Workers Press*, 14 December

It is certainly true that there are strong historic ties between the Orange loyalist movement and the right, potentially bonapartist elements within British ruling circles. For example, it is reported that the British army command refused to break the Ulster Protestant general strike against Catholic participation in the government ("power-sharing") last spring.

Having said this, it remains that the direct and immediate purpose of the Act is to destroy the IRA. To ignore or distort this fact, in effect to deny the centrality of the Irish question and the state tie between Ulster and the United Kingdom, is a form of social chauvinism.

IS and IMG: Myopia and Pollyannaism

The left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) responded to the Birmingham bombings by adopting a pacifist posture. The front-page headline in *Socialist Worker* (30 November) begins, "All socialists must condemn these senseless killings—Stop the Bombings!" If one replaces the term "socialists" with "Christians," the IS headline could be found in half the religious press of Ireland and Britain. Preachments against violence will not stop the bombings. The terrorists must be stopped by the superior force of the united working class of the British Isles.

In contrast, the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the revisionist "Trotskyist" United Secretariat, has the unique dishonor of condoning the Birmingham bombings, criticizing them only as being a mere tactical error:

"You gentlemen of British imperialism, you are responsible for every single one of the 19 deaths in Birmingham and in every other place where British imperialism befouls the face of the earth. Any errors which may be committed by the IRA are the result of an oppressed people striking against their master." [our emphasis]

— *Red Weekly*, 5 December

In a general, historical sense British imperialism is, of course, responsible for the Birmingham bombings—as well as for all political phenomena occurring in the British Isles. In the same sense, British imperialism is ultimately responsible for the atrocities committed by the Protestant workers in the Ulster Defense Association (UDA).

But historical causation does not negate individual responsibility for political and criminal acts. If it did, revolu-

tionary politics would be impossible; fatalism would carry the day. In point of fact, the IMG's bowing before Provisional bombs is also a product of British imperialist society. Only a guilt-ridden English university student could believe that being an Irishman gives one a license to murder innocent working people.

Despite their surface differences, the pacifistic social democrats of the IS and the university-lounge nationalist/militarists of the IMG have the same basic policy toward the Irish question. This is that once British troops are withdrawn all will be well. The International Socialists' present "Troops Out" campaign is despicable opportunism since the IS supported sending the British troops in summer 1969, claiming they would defend the Catholics against Orange terror! The IS' current fairy tale is equally pollyannaish:

"In Britain, the main thing that can be done is to campaign for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. . . . If they were withdrawn, the Protestants in Northern Ireland would be forced to ask how they were going to survive in the world by themselves. Under such conditions, Protestant workers would have to come to terms with the fact that as workers they share a common interest with their Catholic fellow workers, not with their Protestant employers."

— *Socialist Worker*, 30 November

Every five-year-old in Ulster knows that under present conditions, in the absence of any means for united working-class defense, the withdrawal of British troops could well be followed by a civil war that would make the previous level of violence seem insignificant. So what is the answer? Support the British imperialist army, which has murdered numerous Irish Catholics it was ostensibly "protecting"? The Provisional IRA comes close to this, calling *not* for the immediate withdrawal of British troops but rather for a *phased* withdrawal, in order to better prepare for the showdown with the UDA and other Protestant paramilitary organizations.

For Catholic/Protestant Workers Militias Against Sectarian Terror!

The demands for immediate withdrawal of British troops and for repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act are correct and necessary. For revolutionary socialists, however, such a program is fundamentally inadequate. A supposedly communist organization which does not address the question of sectarian mass terrorism, Irish nationalist as well as Orange loyalist, is not to be taken seriously. And certainly it will not be taken seriously in Belfast and Derry.

Since 1972, the Spartacist League has raised the call for Catholic/Protestant workers militias to suppress sectarian terrorism. Such a demand is by no means fantastical, although its realization would require an upsurge of united working-class struggle (as has occurred at certain points in the history of Ulster). It is significant that an impulse for joint action to stop the endless revenge killings has come from working-class-oriented elements in both the Protestant and Catholic camps.

In January 1974 the Herron/Fogel wing of the UDA called a halt to sectarian assassinations and opened contact with the moderate Republicans. The Official IRA responded with a proposal for joint patrols to stamp out vengeance killings. However, this attempt at joint action was sabotaged by the more fanatically sectarian elements in both camps—the Harding Smith wing of the UDA and the Ulster Volunteer Force on the Protestant side, the Provisionals on the Catholic side.

Neither IRA Officials (who claim to be Marxists) nor labor-oriented loyalists can institute joint action and organization for proletarian struggle, since they lack the revolutionary socialist program which alone can overcome the sectarian strife. But the struggle for a military united front of Catholic and Protestant workers against reactionary mass terror must be taken up now. The alternative is for Ulster to degenerate into a barbaric communal slaughterhouse. ■



Provisional IRA member preparing gellignite bomb.

GROVE PRESS

fist fights broke out between English workers and Irish of known Republican sympathies. A number of plants were shut by spontaneous anti-IRA protest strikes, notably British Leyland in Birmingham.

Workers Vanguard was told of a characteristic incident involving an Irish industrial worker in the Midlands who was an amateur community musician. He had the ill-fortune to play at the funeral of James McDaid, a Provisional militant killed when a bomb he was carrying exploded. A few days later the Birmingham bombings occurred and he was thrown into a sludge pit by his fellow workers.

There is an important objective factor preventing anti-Irish violence on as massive a scale as in Ulster. The large Irish population in Britain is socially integrated, having extensively intermarried with the English, Welsh and Scottish peoples. A large part of the British population has some "Irish blood." This familial integration stands in sharpest contrast to Ulster, where to have a relationship with someone on the other side of the national/sectarian divide is literally to risk one's life. It will take more than a few Birmingham-type atrocities to provoke widespread major anti-Irish riots.

Nonetheless, there is broad sympa-

more so against the Irish population in England.

Healyite Reaction: Megalomania and Chauvinism

In the self-styled revolutionary left of Britain the reaction of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) to the post-Birmingham repression stands out as a remarkable performance. The Healyites managed to liquidate the Irish question, attacking the Prevention of Terrorism Act for being directed against the English workers movement and English left. *Workers Press* achieved the incredible feat of writing two long articles about the Act (14 and 16 December) without dealing with the Irish question, or, more precisely, by asserting that the campaign against the IRA is really a diversion. The Healyites broke new ground in their long-standing tradition of megalomania by declaring that the real target of the Act is not the IRA but . . . the WRP:

"But the real aim of this legislation has nothing to do with the caricature terrorist of the capitalist press. It was not a coincidence that almost every Tory who spoke in the debate on the Act said clearly that the state now required powers to ban what political organizations it chose and prosecute their membership. They were referring, of course,

RSL: "Separate But Equal" Socialists

With the entire city of Boston poised on the razor-edge of race war over the busing issue, two groups claiming to be socialist have lined up with the Jim Crow segregationists in opposition to busing: the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) and the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). The RU, having written anti-busing leaflets which used the "stop-sign" symbol of the anti-busing racists, is now trying to slink off under the cover of a little "criticism and self-criticism." But the RSL, a refugee from the social-democratic International Socialists, takes shameless pride in finding itself on the same side of the barricades as Louise Day Hicks and the racist Boston School Committee.

In attempting to provide an explanation for its opposition to busing the "third camp" RSL (which will not defend the deformed workers states against imperialism) has simply carried its guilt-ridden workerism and adaptation to black nationalism to a logical conclusion perfectly acceptable to the virulently racist bourgeois politicians, the Louise Day Hicks, George Wallaces and Lester Maddoxes. For the RSL firmly and unambiguously comes out, in the December issue of its monthly newspaper, the *Torch*, in opposition to integration. This politically corrupt celebration of the racist status quo comes packaged as "Marxist" polemic against the Spartacist League entitled, "Spartacist League Fronts for the Bourgeoisie."

The RSL vs. Lenin

After a typically windy and pompous presentation of Marxist ABC's muddled with Marcusite crackpotism (e.g., that fictitious [sic!] capital has driven the U.S. into a pre-revolutionary situation), the article settles down into a shrill polemic against both busing and integration. The arguments are these: (1) busing should be opposed because it involves a more equal sharing of the existing school facilities, which means that some white school children will attend worse schools than those they presently attend; and (2) integration must be opposed as it is a bourgeois strategy aimed at quashing the struggles of the black people.

It is on the question of integration that the RSL reveals its complete capitulation to petty-bourgeois black nationalism. Integration, claims the RSL:

"... means the *subordination* of blacks to the dominant whites. It represents a strategy to *quell* the black struggle. It is an attempt to smother the rebellion of black workers...."

—*Torch*, December 1974

Of course the RSL assures us that some day in the socialist future racial divisions will disappear. But, we learn, this:

"... may be approached by a variety of detours. Blacks may opt for separation not integration. In any case, the task of revolutionaries is to unconditionally defend the right of blacks to make this choice...."

—*Ibid.*

That the RSL could attempt to pass off this warmed-over 1966 SNCC rhetoric for Leninism only reveals its profound ignorance and political confusion. Indeed, what the RSL position boils down to is contemporary "cultural nationalism" spiced up with a little Marxist verbiage. What we have here is a latter-day version of the Austro-Marxist

scheme of "cultural-national autonomy."

Like the Spartacist League today, Lenin in his time stressed the need to fight "not only for the unity but also the *amalgamation*" of the working class, including, explicitly, opposition to school segregation. Directing his fire against the capitulators to petty-bourgeois nationalism of his day (including, in particular, members of the Jewish Bund) Lenin wrote:

"The class-conscious workers combat *all* national oppression and *all* national privileges, but they do not confine themselves to that. They combat all, even the most refined, nationalism and advocate not only the unity, but also the *amalgamation* of the workers of *all* nationalities in the struggle against reaction and against bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. Our task is not to segregate nations, but to unite the workers of all nations."

—Lenin, "Once More On the Segregation of the Schools According to Nationality," 1913

In 1913 Lenin wrote a number of polemics against what would be today termed "cultural nationalism." These polemics, which include the well-known "Critical Remarks on the National Question" quite explicitly support school integration, not as the RSL would say "the right to attend any school." Lenin points out that: "We must strive to secure the *mixing* of the children of *all* nationalities in *uniform* schools in each locality; the workers of all nationalities must *jointly* pursue the proletarian educational policy..." ("Nationality of Pupils in Russian Schools," 1913).

How much more does this hold in the case of U.S. black people who, even the RSL admits, do not form a nation. In fact, Lenin held up as a horrible example of the logic of the program of "cultural-national autonomy" the segregated school system of the American South. The RSL likes to quote Lenin and Trotsky, usually out of context, but we find no evidence that they have even skimmed these writings of Lenin, which are scarcely obscure.

The Black Question

In a desperate attempt to "prove" the unsupportable contention that the SL is capitulating to reformism the *Torch* creates the most incredible fantasies: since the SL is for fighting for integration, that must mean it thinks integration is possible under capitalism! Since the SL believes integration would aid the united class struggle, that must mean that it believes integration *must* come before the united class struggle!

This is the most cynical type of argumentation; it is self-evidently fraudulent and can be used to dismiss all sorts of struggles. Doubtless, the RSL would support the unionization of unorganized workers. Are we therefore to conclude that the RSL thinks that all workers must be unionized before a united class struggle is possible?

Unlike the petty-bourgeois socialists of the RSL, who reduce the black question to a simple case of democratic rights, the SL holds that black people in the U.S. are a specially oppressed caste, forcibly segregated into the lowest positions in the American capitalist economy. The SL holds that the destruction of this caste system (i.e., the achieving of integration, of real social and economic equality) is a task of the proletarian revolution, the task

of an integrated Leninist party uniting all sections of the working class

On the Busing Question

The RSL's major argument against busing makes clear that while the RSL adapts to black nationalism it can simultaneously adapt to the backward consciousness of white workers infected with racism. If the RSL were to extend its argumentation on the busing question it would also have to oppose the integration which took place in the South after the Supreme Court's decision of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. This, after all, led to a downward levelling of conditions of some white school children, in the process "dividing" the working class. And for the RSL, like Louise Day Hicks, what is at stake in the question of busing is above all "quality education."

The Spartacist League has, of course, consistently fought for more jobs and better education for all, and is well known for its opposition to those who argue for "sharing the crumbs." In Boston now (and over a year ago—see "Racial Hysteria Fanned in Boston," *WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973), as in Canarsie in the 1972 crisis there, we insisted:

"We demand quality education for every one, not *equally miserable* education. For open admissions to *all* educational institutions."

—"Canarsie: Nixon Profits From Racism," *WV* No. 14, December 1972

Understanding that the racial tension in Boston goes far beyond the present school crisis, the SL energetically has presented the basic demands of the Transitional Program in the course of its work in Boston. The SL contingent therefore marched in Boston on December 14 under slogans such as: "Not white against black, but class against class! Seize banks/oil/auto/coal with workers control! Oust the labor fakers—Build a workers party—Forward to a Workers Government!" The RSL must acknowledge this, so it whines that these demands are "fucked on."

What really distresses the RSL is the wide publicity which the Spartacist League received this fall, particularly for its fight against the call for federal troops and for a labor/black defense of the black school children. This does not fit in with another RSL lie, that the SL has abandoned the fight for workers' defense and tells the workers to rely on the bourgeois state. But fortunately for the struggle in Boston the RSL, unlike the RU, has no Boston local organization from which to spew forth, on the spot, its anti-busing garbage.

The basic difference between the SL and the RSL on busing comes down to this: while the SL poses the need to fight for better schools for all, and points to the limits of busing, we support busing, and support its extension to the middle-class suburbs, as an alternative to the racist status quo. *The RSL supports the racist status quo. Until such time as more and better schools can be built the RSL, in effect, tells black school children that they must attend inferior, segregated schools so as not to alienate the white working class.*

As a cover for this disgusting chauvinism the RSL insists, like any cowardly liberal, that all children should be able to go to "the school of their choice." In this they echo the racist Boston School Committee which also calls for "voluntary" busing. "Voluntary" busing, like "voluntary" social security or health insurance is just a reactionary euphemism for the advocacy of things as they are.

The RSL knows quite well (as do the racists) that without busing there will be segregated schools and that this "right" will be meaningless (as long as there is segregated housing). But then the RSL does not necessarily oppose segregation. Separate but equal (or better but separate?) might be the RSL slogan. These are truly Jim Crow socialists! ■

Continued from page 1

Stop the Deportations!

was forced to lodge a formal protest, calling for "fair and humane" treatment of deportees.

But There Are Exceptions...

Not all foreigners get such brutal treatment, however. One particularly favored category consists of Cuban counterrevolutionary opponents of the Castro regime (commonly, and accurately, called *gusanos*, i.e., "worms"). When U.S. immigration quotas were revised in 1965, the figure set for the entire western hemisphere was 120,000 annually (plus immediate families), all of whom are required to obtain a "labor certification" (evidence that their prospective employment will not eliminate jobs for citizens).

Gusanos, however, are exempt from these restrictions. They can attain resident status after only two years (instead of five), reducing the quotas available for other Latin American countries. At present, 2,000 Cubans enter the country each month, adding to the 750,000 *gusano* families already here. Last year, in an act of special dispensation, the U.S. allowed 30,000 more Cubans—presently residing in Spain—to enter.

In another case of politically favored immigration, the Ford Foundation recently granted \$250,000 to emigrants from the USSR. However, the U.S. government has not accepted *one single* refugee from the rightist terror in Chile. And when it was revealed last year that "at least 73 alleged Nazi war criminals" had remained untouched by immigration authorities for 25 years, INS head Chapman replied that "it is not possible" under current law "to take immediate steps to deport an alien, regardless of the charges against him" (*New York Times*, 6 June 1974). Since during the last year the government has turned down requests for asylum for more than 400 Haitians, many of whom are today awaiting deportation to Duvalier's torture chambers, the INS' "concern" for the rights of aliens turns out to be just so much hypocritical garbage.

Capitalism Needs Immigrant Workers

What is behind this "national crisis"—a sudden thirst on the part of greedy Latin Americans for the jobs of American workers? Of course not. In fact, it is obvious that there would not be an estimated 1,000,000 "illegal" immigrants annually unless the "inefficiency" of the INS were consciously tolerated and encouraged by the capitalists. Whether it is Haitian maids or Mexican farm workers, it is the employers who are vitally interested in obtaining immigrant labor.

Their obvious purpose is to create a pool of workers who have no legal rights and limited mobility because of language problems. Foreign workers, especially those without documents, can be used to keep out unions, drive down wages and break strikes. Thus one of the main sources for scabs during the 15-month-long Farah strike in El Paso in 1973-74 was from "illegal" Mexicans. If any of these workers were so bold as to sign a union card, a call from Willie Farah to the Immigration service was sufficient to have them sent back to Ciudad Juarez.

In Congress various "pro-labor" liberals are backing legislation ostensibly aimed at employers who "knowingly" hire aliens without documents. The main House bill is sponsored by Peter Rodino (Democrat, N.J.), one of the "heroes" of Watergate, and a similar proposal was introduced in the Senate by Teddy Kennedy. However, these bills are actually worded so that employers would (as now) generally get off unscathed, merely by feigning ignorance of their employees' legal status.

These bills would formalize the ex-

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isting oppressive situation, whereby the threat of deportation is used to maintain sweatshop conditions and keep recalcitrant foreign workers in line. A recent case demonstrates how little such government action against "illegals" serves to "protect jobs": 19 Mexican workers were discovered on a farm in western New York, but were allowed to finish harvesting the crop, on the condition that they pay their own deportation expenses (*Courier-Express* [Buffalo], 1 November):

The "Chavez Border Patrol"

Even in highly organized industries like auto, foreign workers with legal residency papers understandably hesitate to participate in militant action lest they be deported. How much more susceptible, then, are foreign workers to scabherding in a largely non-union industry such as agriculture, and when their very presence is considered illegal. The use of undocumented foreign workers as scabs, and the failure on the part of the United Farm Workers leadership to deal with them, has been one of the main obstacles preventing a successful organizing drive in the California and Arizona fields.

It is precisely the Farm Workers, whose organizing efforts have been undermined by foreign scabs and whose

membership includes a large proportion of Chicano members (many of them "illegals" themselves, or descended from earlier "wetbacks"), that has the greatest material interest in fighting for the rights of immigrant workers, documented or otherwise.

Only by fighting for full citizenship rights for foreign workers, for an international UFW organizing the unorganized across the border—and by militantly defending the picket lines—can farm workers make it clear to potential scabs that their interests lie not in strike-breaking but in making common cause with their unionized brothers and sisters.

But Chavez refuses to carry out such an internationalist policy of militant class struggle, precisely because it



"Illegal" Mexican farm workers.

would mean breaking with the liberal bourgeoisie and the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO/UAW tops. Rather than battling against opposition from scabs, Teamster and company goons, and sheriffs' deputies, the UFW leadership simply scuttled the 1973 lettuce strike. Its promised massive consumer boycott turned out to be a total flop.

The United Farm Workers may be on its last legs. UFW contracts and dues-paying membership have plummeted in the last two years. In desperation at the failure of his policy of relying on liberal politicians, "socially concerned" clergymen and George Meany, Chavez recently launched a vitriolic attack on undocumented workers under the pretext of fighting scabs. Last July, in a telegram to the Fresno Border Patrol, Chavez pointed to the presence of 2,000 "illegal" Mexican farm workers in the area and demanded their deportation.

This open finking was followed by a despicable campaign in the pages of *El Malcriado*, the union's newspaper, reminiscent of Samuel Gompers' racist attacks on "Asiatic coolieism." Chavez initiated a petition campaign among UFW members calling on Congress to "stop the large flow of illegal aliens," followed by demonstrations in Bakersfield and Sacramento "demanding that the INS get the illegals out of the fields" (*El Malcriado*, 4 September 1974).

Dissatisfied with the corrupt, "inefficient" Border Patrol, Chavez has now carried his class-collaborationist treachery to its logical conclusion. On a 25-mile stretch of the Arizona border, the UFW has actually set up its own version of the justly hated B.P.: the "Chavez Border Patrol" as the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* (22 December) calls it.

The Spartacist League, in addition to calling for hot-cargoing of scab farm products and a statewide strike to defend the UFW, has called for militant picket lines to stop the scabs. We are in favor of persuading and educating potential strikebreakers in the most effective possible place and manner. However, that is clearly not the intent of the UFW patrol.

The patrol coordinator admits, "We're doing it because the Border Patrol is not doing its job. Many times we call the Border Patrol, and they do not go to the fields where we know the illegals are hiding" (*El Malcriado*, 18 November 1974). The "violence" which pacifist Chavez refused to employ against Teamster and company goons, or even to stop scabs as they entered

But sometimes the betrayals are too gross for even the most shameless reformists to cover up. Last summer virtually the entire "left" press reacted in simulated horror to Chavez' campaign to deport "illegal" Mexican farm workers. Their reasons were revealing: the SWP wrote that the UFW leader was "out of step with the rest of the Chicano movement on the deportation issue" (*Militant*, 2 August 1974). Since "the rest of the Chicano movement" could see what a wretched policy Chavez was pursuing, you see, the SWP could no longer keep its mouth shut.

There was certainly something to complain about. In a statement to the media on July 1 (quoted in *People's World*, 13 July 1974), Chavez announced that "illegal aliens are...costing American taxpayers \$115 million in lost taxes annually and increasing taxes for welfare and food stamps." He quoted a Fresno doctor as saying that with the presence of undocumented workers there was a big increase in venereal disease. "Prostitutes around here are running wild. They are brought in by the busload.... It is impossible to control infections...." At the same time, the UFW called on the INS to remove some 2,000 Mexican workers ("scabs") from the area.

The SWP wrote of this that, "No union in history ever solved the problem [of strikebreakers] by calling the cops.... [Supporters of the UFW] have a responsibility to persuade the union that in this matter it is making a serious, costly mistake" (*Militant*, 2 August 1974). What gracious tact! But "calling on the cops" has always been UFW policy. Even the SWP admits (now) that in his early years of farm worker organizing Chavez was already calling for the deportation of "illegals."

Moreover, until March 1973 the UFW leadership supported the notorious Rodino-Kennedy Bill, abandoning this position only under heavy fire from Chicano activists in California. But Chavez' "socialist" cheerleaders said nothing until *after* he changed his line. Then they breathed an audible sigh of relief (he was no longer "out of step")—only to be faced a few months later with the UFW deportation campaign and the "Chavez Border Patrol."

When the opportunist left organizations were keeping quiet about Chavez' support for Rodino-Kennedy, the SL openly proclaimed its opposition to this chauvinist legislation and pointed to the disastrous consequences of the UFW policy. When Chavez called off the 1973 lettuce and grape strikes, the Spartacist League was alone in calling for defense of the picket lines.

At that time the SWP actually approved of the bureaucracy's shutting down of the strike, terming it necessary, and said that "the Company [Gallo Wine] is highly susceptible to a well organized boycott of its products" (*Militant*, 5 October 1973). (If the employers were so susceptible, then why haven't they been brought to their knees by now?) Typically, the Maoist Revolutionary Union mumbled privately against calling off the strikes, but in order to keep in Chavez' good graces, RUers more than once offered to beat up SL strike-support contingents on behalf of the bureaucracy.

While it is right and necessary to protest the virulent chauvinist filth being churned out by the press, bourgeois politicians and government agencies around the issue of "illegal aliens," the key to stopping the deportations is the struggle in the labor movement to defeat the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Because their perspectives are limited to only what is possible under capitalism, even the most left bureaucrats end up knuckling under to layoffs and promoting anti-working class protectionism.

Only a militant new leadership which bases itself on a program representing the interests of the *international* proletariat can fight these pernicious schemes. Stop the Deportations! Oppose the Rodino-Kennedy Bill—Down With All Discriminatory Immigration Laws! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant and Foreign Workers! Not Protectionism, but International Labor Solidarity! ■

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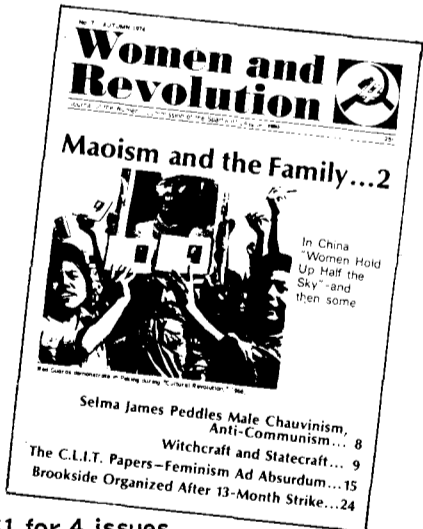
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the fields, is now being considered less reluctantly against "illegal" Mexicans.

The Left and "Illegal Aliens"

In our struggle to build a revolutionary opposition in the unions the Spartacist League has consistently emphasized the need to smash national chauvinism and to oust the labor bureaucracy as a whole. In contrast, various opportunist "socialists" have sought to latch onto the coat tails of "left" bureaucrats of the likes of Arnold Miller or Cesar Chavez. Consequently they end up apologizing for the protectionist, chauvinist poison which even the most "progressive" of these misleaders spew out.

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...West Coast Auto

denying the request for a temporary restraining order preventing the company from laying off women, Judge Zirpoli postponed a hearing on the full suit to March 14. The suit was filed against General Motors last August by eight women assembly workers as their answer to large-scale layoffs at Fremont. The suit denounces the seniority system as the "vehicle" of GM's discrimination against women, and calls for "population parity" for women in the plant.

According to spokesmen for the Committee for a Militant UAW, backers of the suit have been lying about its real aims to the workers in the plant. One leaflet distributed in the name of "the women who filed the suit and their supporters," claims,

"We are *not* asking for 50 percent women in the plant within four years. Is it true that men will lose their jobs? In cases like this one, no court has ever ruled that men be bumped out of their jobs. Nothing in our lawsuit calls for this to happen."

This is a clear and direct falsification. Although argumentation in the body of the suit disavows any desire to see

case with a "friend of the court" brief proposing an "alternative": women who can "prove" they were discriminated against in hiring can get back pay but not super-seniority.

The judge ruled that the UAW could not enter the case as a neutral "friend of the court," but only as a defendant, since it is a party to an agreement (the contract) upholding seniority, which is what the suit opposes. This should have come as an eye-opener to the suit's backers, who have been vigorously insisting that the suit is aimed only against the company, not the union and seniority!

Commenting on the International's court brief, a CMUAW press release (7 January) says:

"Our Committee is fighting to have the suit *dropped*, not changed or added to. We do not recognize the right of the courts to rule on whether our contract terms will stand or fall. Further, it is the height of hypocrisy for the International to come into the case at this late date. Not only has the International never taken up a fight against discrimination as it has been carried out by the auto companies, but it has never waged even a token struggle against massive layoffs now sweeping the industry...."

Inside the plant over 650 workers (more than half of whom were women or minority men) signed a petition circulated by the CMUAW calling for the union-busting suit to be dropped because it will weaken the union and open the door to government intervention. Addressed to the union, the petition demanded "that the union fight all forms of discrimination, and mount a campaign to end layoffs...."

Stalinist Goon Attack

The CMUAW's principled and well-received opposition to the women's suit has understandably caused intense frustration among Maoist backers of the suit. While the suit's initiators and October League backers have resorted to lying, the left-posturing but equally right-Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) fell back on its time-worn tactic of

supporters.)

Aside from continuing its history of attempted physical suppression of the left, the RU's answer has been the "jobs or income" demand. This demand accepts the fact of layoffs and the capitalist business cycle and dissipates the struggle for jobs.

The stance of the Local 1364 officials in the face of the layoffs has been completely passive. At first they refused to support CMUAW's position against the lawsuit, later tried to claim credit for the anti-suit petition and finally backed the International's brief. On January 4 they held a half-hearted demonstration against layoffs with Local President Vern Dias and Shop

ers—make the government take over SUB payments when the fund runs out." Their stated aim was to use a local sit-in demonstration, attracting immediate nationwide and worldwide attention, as a launching pad for similar actions elsewhere which would lay the basis for a nationwide campaign against all layoffs and plant closures.

In late December it was rumored that the Shop Committee of Local 1364 had seriously considered the group's proposal. The rumor was confirmed at the December 22 special membership meeting when President Dias, in an attempt to justify having ruled the CMUAW motion for a sit-in out of order, said that the leadership had



Earlie Mays

WV PHOTO

men laid off, the main intention is made clear:

"such affirmative action plan shall have as its goal permanent population parity for female employees at GMAD Fremont... that is population parity *without regard to workforce size at any time.*"

Lawyers present at yesterday's hearing, not surprisingly, interpreted "population parity" to mean just what it says: that the plant must have as many women as in the surrounding population, i.e., about 50 percent. And one judge in a similar case *has* in fact ruled that workers *may* be laid off to make way for minorities with less seniority (see WV No. 59, 3 January 1974).

This Lawsuit Is Dangerous!

A victory for this suit could become part of a nationwide precedent doing nothing to stem layoffs or unemployment, but enabling employers to break the seniority principle in order to give special treatment to minorities. The seniority principle is a major gain of the labor movement. Although often implemented in a discriminatory fashion, seniority protects all workers from arbitrary victimization by the employers. The suit also hands the courts the right to rule on working conditions, a question central to all union contracts.

The International Butts In

The danger of the suit is so great that even the UAW International has belatedly shipped an official delegation to the scene to block the remedies proposed in the suit. The International, however, expressed no interest in opposing the court's power to rewrite the contract. Instead, it has entered the



Vern Dias

WV PHOTO

Stalinist gangsterism. At a small demonstration for "Jobs or Income Now" held by the Local's Unemployed Committee and well-attended by RU supporters, one of the latter tried to steal stacks of leaflets being distributed by CMUAW members. When two supporters of the CMUAW sought to recover the leaflets, a bunch of these hooligans jumped them. The CMUAW supporters fought back and a brother from the plant floored one of the two-bit Maoist thugs. The CMUAW was outnumbered but TV cameras closing in on the fight discouraged the Maoist back-alley boys, who prefer to do their dirty work in secret. (This is not the first time members of Local 1364 have run into the RU's policy of goon attacks. In October 1973 the union passed a motion upholding workers democracy and the right of various labor-socialist groups to distribute literature outside the plant. This was in response to attacks at Fremont GM on salesmen of *Workers Vanguard* and the *Bulletin* by RU



Joan Putnam of Committee for Militant UAW speaking at January rally.

WV PHOTO

Chairman Earlie Mays leading 150 marchers to an isolated park in Fremont, where Dias offered a few platitudes about how "we need jobs or income for American people" without presenting any strategy for a union fight for jobs. The International, meanwhile, limits itself to "moral persuasion" and plans for a march on Washington in February to pressure Congress.

Speaking at the rally, Joan Putnam of the CMUAW said that auto workers need *jobs*, not a dole. "GM wants us on the street, not in the plant," she said. The answer is sit-down strikes in the factories, where the strength of organized labor lies. She denounced the "women's court suit" as an attack on the union and the seniority system and criticized a banner calling for a shorter workweek but neglecting to add the demand for no loss in pay. Putnam ended with a call for workers control of the factories, expropriation of industry and a workers government.

A Sit-Down to Focus the Struggle Against Layoffs

When the present layoffs were announced, the Committee immediately began agitation, demanding that "The union must stage a sit-in demonstration inside the plant to protest the layoffs and force the Company to negotiate with us" (CMUAW leaflet, "Sit Down: The UAW's Oldest Weapon," 19 December). The Committee called on the Local leadership to hold a mass meeting inside the plant to adopt the sit-down tactic and democratically determine tactics regarding publicity, defense and negotiations.

Recognizing that layoffs cannot be reversed in just one plant, it put forward the following demands for local negotiations: "No reprisals—unlimited recall rights," "Unlimited, unconditional unemployment benefits from Company assets for all laid-off work-

conferred with union lawyers on the subject and were told that such an action would be "illegal" and therefore unfeasible. If Vern Dias had consulted "union lawyers" in the 1930's, he would no doubt have been told that sitdown strikes were "illegal." Had auto workers followed such advice then, there would be no UAW today!

Proponents of the "women's lawsuit" cravenly capitulated to the cowardice of the Local leadership by opposing the sit-in and red-baiting the CMUAW. The Maoist supporters in Local 1364, having supported the present Brotherhood Caucus leadership when it came to power at Fremont in 1973, thus continued their role as water-boys for the reformist bureaucracy. They have been thoroughly discredited by their dishonest support to divisive and reactionary use of the courts against the labor movement.

Only the CMUAW, with its class-struggle program, pointed the way forward in the context of the massive layoffs which have now swamped the entire auto industry as a result of the deepening economic crisis. The soaring unemployment is already making employers bolder and more aggressive in their war against the unions.

The increased threat of scabbing and the labor bureaucracy's complete passivity in the face of what they themselves call "depression" conditions can only have a demoralizing effect on the union ranks. The key to success is the question of leadership, that is, the need to oust the present sellout, defeatist union bureaucracy and replace it with a militant class-struggle leadership which can point the way forward. Caucuses like the CMUAW at Fremont which put forward a full class-struggle program, including the need for working-class political independence from the capitalist parties, are urgently needed throughout the UAW and the rest of industry. ■

Continued from page 2

ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops

with the Sheriff's Department and Fremont police on standby. At 8:30 a.m. the company attempted to run two carloads of women secretaries through the line, at which point a battle ensued. In the melee, at least one cop was driven to the ground. A picket threw himself on one of the cars, and police tried to arrest a picket but were forced to release him. Local President McLain got clubbed. A bigger confrontation seemed to be in the making as police began blocking off the main road with patrol cars and were seen unpacking tear gas. But then the new Union City police chief announced that the company would make no more attempts to bring in scabs... that day. No doubt the chief had the fate of his predecessor in mind. He had been assassinated following mass rioting in Chicano areas of Union City in protest against the police killing of Alberto Terrones (who was accused of stealing a 3 lb. ham). Clearly it is only the potential power of the organized working class which gives any pause to the bosses' cops, who would otherwise freely vent the same violence on striking workers as they do on racial and ethnic minorities.

Temporarily inspired by the fighting spirit of the ranks, and by his need to keep a "militant" reputation, McLain, together with a business agent and the chief steward at KNC, paid a visit to the Oakland docks later in the day and found four truckloads of glass bound for the plant. Informed of the product's destination, members of Teamster warehouse Local 70 and ILWU Locals 10 and 34 refused to handle the loads.

Recognizing the short-lived nature of such gestures of militancy by a leadership schooled in reformism, legalism and betrayal, however, Mandel and the other militants sought to strengthen the strike-support position at the stewards' council meeting last night. The company was already in court seeking an injunction limiting picketing (which it obtained this afternoon), and an arbitrator would no doubt rule isolated acts of "hot-carguing" scab goods to be in violation of the contract. The "militant" officialdom of today would then become the enforcers of court injunctions and contract language tomorrow. Mandel moved for mass picketing to stop scabs despite the injunction, as well as for systematic hot-carguing of KNC supplies and products, boycotting of the scab trucking line, and meetings of workers in the warehouses with officers of the union present to inform them of the issues and build the strike-support effort.

At this point the role of the Stalinist Communist Party and Maoist Revolutionary Union as the "left" handmaidens of the Bridges' officialdom was made crystal clear. CP and RU supporters voted to table Mandel's motions, following the lead of an International representative who wanted the officers "to implement the practical aspects [of Mandel's motion] and ignore the rest."

Having thus helped the officials disarm the strike support in the face of imminent government attack, CP supporters went on to provide themselves with a veneer of verbal militancy. One made a motion to send

out a bulletin to inform the houses of Thursday's battle, and another moved to amend a motion for a protest letter to the city council over the police action by adding a call for a city ordinance against scabbing!

The next day, despite an official motion which did pass to mobilize the Local 6 hiring hall down to the picket lines (dispatching jobs directly from the lines), saw smaller numbers turn out. McLain not only made no effort to mobilize the more than 500 Local 6 members working in the immediate area, but he also took advantage of confusion on the picket line to reverse the victory of the previous day and allow the "secretaries" into the plant. The argument was made that the three carloads of secretaries and managerial personnel which subsequently entered were not going in to scab. Strikers, however, pointed out that managers were seen working in the plant.

Only mass mobilization of the membership behind consistent class-struggle policies and a leadership committed to such a program can overcome the vacillations and inevitable capitulation of the reformist bureaucracy. A rank-and-file strike committee to defend the KNC strike through mass picketing and hot-carguing of all goods going to and from the plant must be formed and given immediate official sanction in the union, in order to mobilize members of all locals and appeal to members of other unions. But most importantly, caucuses must be built throughout the unions to replace the present sellout and defeatist labor bureaucracy with class-struggle leadership. ■

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West German Repression

personal terror" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 3 December). This is not surprising from a party that in recent months has been working hand-in-glove with the social-democratic labor bureaucracy to drive "radicals" out of the unions.

Among ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Berlin, the GIM (International Marxist Group, German section of the United Secretariat) was so deeply buried in various university committees that its own line appeared seldom, in occasional leaflets with slogans such as "Organize a demonstration," and "We must organize in our existing groups; let's create new ones in order to mobilize the broadening solidarity."

The centrist Spartacusbund called for the left to unite in action against political repression but had a special interpretation of "unity": it must "take up the struggle for the consciousness of the working class...." But if such a

"united front" can produce class consciousness among the workers, then what need is there for an independent Bolshevik party? The Spartacusbund is clearly calling, not for a Leninist united front (under the slogan "march separately, strike together"), but for a long-term propaganda bloc in which sharp political differences between different tendencies are obliterated in practice.

The Maoist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) was the only Stalinist group active in defense of the RAF prisoners which in dividing its politics into a "minimum" and "maximum" program did not simply forget the latter. Its slogans in the demonstrations included "Smash the bourgeois state apparatus!" But in usual sectarian fashion, the KPD at its meetings and rallies either did not let representatives of other organizations speak, or else arranged it so that there was no time for other tendencies.

TLD: "Defend the Comrades of the RAF"

In contrast, the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, energetically called for the organization of a real united front in defense of the victimized RAF. Unlike those "revolutionaries" so anxious to "distance themselves" from petty-bourgeois terrorists that they "neglect" to declare their class solidarity with these fellow members of the socialist movement, the headline of a TLD leaflet declared openly: "Defend the Comrades of the RAF!"

An "Open Letter" issued on November 29, shortly after the massive police raids, criticized the splitting up of left forces in previous demonstrations, as well as the petty-bourgeois moralism of the symbolic hunger strikes (supported by the GIM) and Stalinist appeals to bourgeois public opinion, notably by the KBW (Communist League of West Germany).

Forum

Marxism in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, SL
Thursday, January 30, 7:30 p.m.

Harkness Hall Room 114
Yale Univ.
donation \$.50

NEW HAVEN

What Program to Fight Layoffs?

The fight against the special oppression of women and minorities—key to a winning strategy for CWA

Guest Speaker: Jane Margolis
Militant Action Caucus, CWA

Saturday, January 18, 1975
7:30 pm.
Admission \$1

Washington Sq. Methodist Church
135 W. 4th St., New York

Auspices: Women and Revolution

The letter proposed the formation of united-front committees in support of the demands of the hunger strikers (elimination of solitary confinement, free choice of doctors, freedom of political activity for prisoners), with an orientation toward the mass organizations of the working class, notably the trade unions and the pro-Moscow SEW (Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin). Within the united front, all organizations would preserve full freedom to raise their own slogans.

Linking the struggle for democratic rights to the class struggle, the "Open Letter" demanded: "Smash the bourgeois jails—For the proletarian justice of a workers government!" This gave political direction to the just outrage against the brutality and class oppression inherent in capitalist "law and order." Opportunists such as the Spartacusbund took up the popular slogan "Against class justice!" without, however, providing any such direction to the struggle.

The TLD did not, however, neglect to draw a sharp line between Marxism, which relies on the strength and revolutionary capacity of the international working class, and the petty-bourgeois despair which leads comrades such as those of the RAF to terrorism. In their newspaper, *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, our German comrades quoted Trotsky's impassioned article entitled "For Grynspan" (1939), a plea for proletarian solidarity with a 17-year old Polish Jew who had shot a Nazi official in Paris. "We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat... A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road... To tear Grynspan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head... is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!"

Defend the comrades of the RAF! Not petty-bourgeois terrorism, but mobilization of the working class under revolutionary leadership! Smash bourgeois "law and order"! For the proletarian justice of a workers government! ■

Continued from page 4

... I.S. "Rank and File" Conference

behavior of the labor bureaucracy.

In the afternoon session Mike Parker confirmed the cravenly opportunist appetites which lay behind the IS' reformist trade-union policies. He explained that although there had been a lot of talk at the conference about organizing in trade unions around a full class-struggle program, such a program was not needed. Rather, what was needed was "a program that points to a full program." In clear contradiction to Lenin's call for a vanguard party to bring socialist consciousness to the masses of the workers (expressed in *What Is To Be Done?*), Parker declared that "simple wage demands lead to socialist consciousness." He then said what everybody already knew—that the IS was not the revolutionary party. The IS would await the rank-and-file upsurge which would create the revolutionary party. Then, presumably, a full program would be appropriate.

By the end of the conference the IS, unable to pass off its warmed-over New Left social-democratic reformism in the face of the class-struggle politics of the six ILWU militants (who together represented more than 70 years of trade-union experience), resorted to a bureaucratic exclusion. The militants were officially disinvited from a "mulled wine party" that was scheduled to conclude the conference. Genuine working-class militants are, it seems, too much for IS stomachs! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Militants Fight Layoffs in West Coast Auto

SAN FRANCISCO, January 11—A demonstration was held yesterday in front of the Federal Building here against a lawsuit which seeks to give preferential treatment against layoffs to women (regardless of their seniority) at the Fremont General Motors assembly plant. The demonstration, which numbered about 30, included workers from the plant coming to protest the suit. Among these were members of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), which has been opposing the suit in the plant.

The protest was called by the Spartacist League to coincide with a hearing before Judge A.J. Zirpoli in federal district court for an immediate injunction to stop layoffs for women workers in the plant. The judge refused to grant an injunction.

Also yesterday, over 2,300 workers at Fremont worked their last day for an indefinite period. Given the depth of the layoff (going back 12 years in seniority) many will undoubtedly lose recall rights before GM restores the second shifts to auto and truck production lines at the plant.

The demonstrators demanded, "Drop the Suit, Save the Seniority System!" and "No Layoffs, Jobs for All!" An SL leaflet announcing the demonstration had called for the union to fight discrimination against women and minorities, and for a union fight against layoffs.

Other demands of the demonstration were, "No Government Interference in the Unions!" "No Lawsuits Against the Unions!" and "The Union Must Fight Racial and Sexual Discrimination!" A counterdemonstration, composed primarily of supporters of the Maoist October League and CLUW, defended the "women's lawsuit."

The SL demonstration was given more attention by the media than the



Auto workers demand, "Drop the suit." Maoist-backed court suit threatens union gains. A class-struggle program: Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs, unlimited recall rights.

hearing itself. Channel 7 broadcast a film clip of the SL speaker, while Channel 2 noted that the demonstration, as opposed to the counterdemonstration, was in favor of jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a union hiring hall to combat discrimination. Both television channels, as well as local papers, have been covering the events surrounding the Fremont layoffs, reflecting the nervousness of the bourgeoisie over the prospect of militant working-class response to the mass layoffs and mounting unemployment nationally.

While trade-union leaders both locally and nationally have been meekly accepting the layoff announcements and mouthing the capitalists' own excuses for their "inevitability," groups such as the CMUAW at Fremont have been indicating the direction a true class-struggle response to layoffs could take. "WE ARE NOT HELPLESS IN THE FACE OF LAYOFFS," emphasized a recent (11 December) issue of the group's paper, *The UAW Militant*: "One of the most powerful of labor's weapons comes from the UAW's own tradition: the sit-down strike."

Counterposing union struggle against all layoffs and plant closures to impotent court "remedies" which protect some workers at the expense of the rest, the CWUAW advocates a sit-in demonstration in the plant "to set an example to other plants" and lay "the basis for a nationwide campaign for a shorter work week at full pay." This campaign has stirred widespread interest in the plant and union (Local 1364), as has the group's opposition to the "women's lawsuit."

At the court hearing, in addition to

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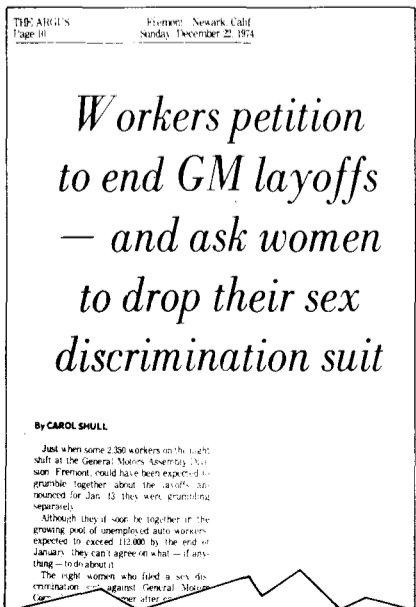
Two members of the Committee for a Militant UAW at the Fremont General Motors plant, Darlene Fujino and Ruth Ryan, were interviewed by the Fremont-Newark *Argus* (22 December) in a full-page feature article on the opposition to the "women's lawsuit." After listing the reasons why Fujino and Ryan (both of whom are being laid off) oppose this union-busting attack on seniority, the article gives the CMUAW's alternative:

"They wouldn't rely on seniority alone to protect workers. What they have in mind involves more than that: institution of 30 hours work for 40 hours of pay and nationalization of the auto and energy industries without compensation were two of the parts of the program they emphasized.

"Other goals of their program: no restrictions on political expression in the union; industry-wide strikes against layoffs, workers control of industry; change the union leadership; a workers party fighting for a workers government; keeping police, employers and courts out of the union; and elimination of discrimination by means of a union hiring hall."

The interviewer asked "if unemployed workers wouldn't prefer a more immediate solution," to which Ryan replied, "There are no shortcuts."

Fremont Newspaper Interviews Committee for a Militant UAW



"All our benefits are based on seniority," says Darlene Fujino. "To throw away the whole system because it's unfair is to throw the baby out with the bath water."



Ruth Ryan and the committee see the struggle as 'workers against capitalists'