

Republicans' Austerity vs. Humphrey's Phony "New Deal"

Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment



Boston's municipal workers demonstrating against cutbacks and layoffs on February 19. WV Photo

FEBRUARY 24—Last week the Senate failed to override President Ford's veto of a \$6.2 billion public works measure which purportedly would have created some 600,000 jobs. Although this is well under 10 percent of the more than 7 million persons officially listed as unemployed, the administration maintains that even these few additional jobs would dangerously "overheat" the economy. With economic issues dominating the presidential election campaign, Ford is running for re-election on a program calling for an unemployment rate of no less than 7.7 percent this year!

Attributing the present depression conditions to four decades of liberal "big government" and ever-mounting federal deficits, Ford's proposed budget for fiscal 1977 amounts to a 3 percent reduction (after allowing for inflation) of government spending, the cuts being concentrated in social welfare programs. His 1976 Council of Economic Advisors Report likewise sees the main danger as "a very rapid return to full capacity" (*New York Times*, 27 January 1976).

On the other hand, Hubert Humphrey, who despite his current hard-to-get posture is one of the leading Democratic presidential candidates, is gearing up to run against Herbert Hoover. Re-reading Franklin D. Roosevelt's collected speeches, Humphrey has submitted to Congress a Full Employment and Equal Opportunities Act (the Hawkins-Humphrey bill) which calls for 3 percent unemployment within 18 months after passage, through a public works program. Hoping to exploit popular disillusionment with the "free enterprise" system, Humphrey is even calling for national economic planning (without government coercion, of course) in the Balanced Growth and Economic Planning bill.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO leadership has made the defeat of Ford a top priority. Accusing the president of being

"without compassion for the little people," labor federation chief George Meany leans toward Humphrey as the preferred Democrat. At a recent meeting, the AFL-CIO executive council adopted a statement calling for a full-employment program and Meany referred positively to Humphrey's proposals (*New York Times*, 17 February). Thus in the 1976 elections, held amidst the worst economic conditions in decades, American working people once again will be offered a choice between liberal full-employment demagoguery and fiscal conservatism, with its anti-inflation promises.

Fraud of Bourgeois Full-Employment Legislation

The proposition that the state should guarantee work for all who want it has a long history as a bourgeois populist program. Such proposals were prominent in the U.S. during Roosevelt's New Deal, for instance. However, depression conditions continued until the very eve of U.S. entry into World War II.

Faced with considerable working-class radicalization at the end of the war and widespread fear of a new depression ("the reconversion crisis"), the Truman administration was pressured into passing a full-employment law. This was the Employment Act of 1946, whose key passage states:

"The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations...to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

Since the United States has suffered four recessions and now a full-scale depression since 1946, it is not surprising that few Americans even know the Employment Act exists. Ford makes no pretense of adhering to it; in fact, he openly repudiates it. His Council of Economic Advisors projects about 7 percent unemployment on New Year's Day 1977, only running down to 5 percent in 1980! For those who take bourgeois economic legislation seriously—the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or Communist Party (CP), for example—Ford could be impeached for his open refusal to comply with the Employment Act of 1946.

From the standpoint of bourgeois law, Humphrey's new Full Employment bill is duplicative and wholly unnecessary; the law on the books says it all. Nat Goldfinger, head of the AFL-CIO Research Department, gave the show away in the liberal magazine *Challenge* (November-December 1975):

"I think that the Employment Act of 1946 probably provides the kind of
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CORE: Black Mercenaries for Henry Kissinger



CORE's Roy Innis with Jonas Savimbi in Angola recently. NYT Pictures/Ingeborg Lippman

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Letters

British I.S., WSL: Join Speed-Up Committees?

London
16 February 1976

Dear comrades,

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 90 [2 January] you mention and attack British I.S. [International Socialists] for running candidates for worker's participation committees. The source of this story appears to be the *Socialist Press*, organ of the WSL [Workers Socialist League].

The I.S. position and that of the Workers League, which recently split from I.S., is somewhat different. They believe that participation in such committees should be avoided and I.S. members and shop stewards would strongly urge a vote against such participation. If such a vote was lost however (not a totally improbable event in the present period when the class is in retreat), then, rather than allowing a parallel *elected* body to be set up in the factory, a course of action with all sorts of dangers, stewards should stand for it. The alternative seems to me to be abstentionist and I have always thought that the SL sometimes fended in this direction. However I note that you do not take this position under all circumstances and I think you may have been rather misled by the WSL who reported what was said alright but not all that was said.

Of course if the comrades in the WSL can win the workers in their shop to a policy of non-participation that is excellent but it is not, alas, always possible. The WSL of all people should realise this after the appalling campaign of capitalist press slander launched against them and the consequent loss by comrade Thornett of an important position in the trades union movement.

Yours fraternally,
Ted C.

WV replies: The writer's objection to our opposition to participation on Joint Management Councils set up under the

Ryder Plan seems to have little to do with the sources of our information. There is a clear political difference here on whether or not participation by workers' representatives on committees wholly dominated by management, committees whose purpose and effect is solely to promote collaboration in productivity schemes, is consistent with a revolutionary Trotskyist, class-struggle program.

The letter does not dispute any of the facts about the participation committees mentioned in the *WV* article: for instance, that the workers' representatives are in a minority; that management retains all decision-making rights; that the committees have the expressed goal of "more efficient production." It affirms the accuracy of the report we quoted from the WSL's *Socialist Press* (26 November 1975), that supporters of the International Socialists advocated participation on these committees at an I.S.-backed car workers meeting in November, reserving only that the *Socialist Press* article did not report "all that was said." For its part, the British I.S. doesn't even go this far, having failed to respond at all in its weekly newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, to the WSL's report of its position. We can only assume that there is no disagreement on the nature of the committees or on the behavior of I.S. supporters in the plants.

Given this much agreement on the facts, it is difficult to imagine how we have been "misled." It is true, as the correspondent notes, that we do not oppose participation by workers representatives on all bodies that include management (since this may be necessary for negotiations, for instance); but we do oppose participation in the sort of committees under discussion. This is not an "abstentionist" position. The Ryder Plan committees are not an arena for the class struggle; they are a transmission belt for management. Their goal is to secure the unions' consent to job-cutting speed-up "rationalization" schemes; the workers can *only* lose by participating. It is not "abstentionist" to insist on the independence of the workers movement

from the bourgeoisie and its state!

In defense of the International Socialists' position, the writer affirms that participation is necessary if the workers vote to accept the Ryder Plan, "not a totally improbable event in the present period when the class is in retreat." Yet last spring when the question of Joint Management Councils was not yet current, (except at Leyland's for which the Ryder Report was first drawn up), the *Socialist Worker* (3 May 1975) expressed a position closer to ours:

"The aim of this whole operation is spelt out simply in the Report. It is to produce bigger profits from the workers....

"Leyland workers must refuse to bear the cost of solving the firm's problems, for which they are not to blame. *No participation by any stewards in any bodies that discuss how to increase the company's profits at the expense of the workers.*"

Despite this formal position, the I.S.-backed *Leyland Worker* came out for participation and the same position was affirmed at the I.S.-backed car workers meeting in November. Was the working class on an offensive last May, only to go into "retreat" a few weeks later? Or is it rather that the I.S., which perpetually "retreats" (capitulâtes) before the present consciousness of the workers, is seeking to cover its tracks by cynically refusing to defend the actions of its own supporters?

Under extreme conditions, if all independent mass labor organizations are smashed and there are no other possibilities of maintaining contact with the workers, Bolsheviks must be prepared even to clandestinely participate in such state- and employer-controlled organizations as the corporatist "syndicates" in fascist Italy. But the situation in Britain is manifestly far different. Rather the employers are attempting to sap the will of a powerful labor movement, and for this they need the cooperation of reformists such as the Labour Party "lefts" and the Communist Party (which sees the Ryder Plan committees as "a step toward workers control"), and key trade-union shop stewards.

The reformists gladly accept their

role, lending legitimacy to the bosses' attacks, and spreading illusions in the ability of the workers to reform capitalism through class collaboration. Revolutionists must not also lend their authority to this game, but must base their struggle against these false leaders on an uncompromising fight for independent mobilization of the workers: for workers control and the expropriation of industry, linked to the struggle for working-class seizure of state power.

China's Aid to "Third World" Reactionaries

Chicago
13 February 1976

Comrades:

The two-part series titled "Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal" [*WV* Nos. 94 and 95, 30 January and 6 February] trenchantly cuts through the Maoist bureaucracy's hypocritical claims to "anti-imperialism" and lays bare the causes of the present crisis in the world Maoist movement. Yet in correctly emphasizing the qualitative increase in U.S.-China cooperation, particularly in the field of military operations, during the current Angolan war, the article makes a comparison that could be misleading. Before Angola, it states, "China's support to the reactionary butchers of the 'Third World' was diplomatic in character."

It will be recalled that in addition to profuse declarations of political and diplomatic support, the Maoist regime rewarded the Ceylonese butcher Bandaranaike for her suppression of the 1971 JVP uprising with an interest-free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange currency, as well as promises of military and other material aid. Similarly, Mao & Co. not only effusively supported Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan's genocidal assault on Bangla Desh, they gave him weapons with which to carry it out: \$300 million in military aid, including 100 tanks and 60 MIG-19 jet fighters.

Sandor Jonas

International Women's Day: Forward in Proletarian Solidarity!

FORUMS

AMHERST

Which Way to Women's Liberation?

D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 10 at 7:30 p.m.
Place to Be Announced

ANN ARBOR

Women, Class and Culture
HELEN CANTOR
SL Central Committee
March 4 at 7:30 p.m.
Michigan University
General Assembly Room

BERKELEY

Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 13 at 7:30 p.m.
Unitas House
2700 Bancroft Way

CHILD CARE AVAILABLE
Not Sponsored by Unitas House

BOSTON

Which Way to Women's Liberation?

D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 8 at 7:30 p.m.
Place to Be Announced

CLEVELAND

Marxism vs. Feminism—Which Road for Women's Liberation?

March 6 at 8 p.m.
Place to Be Announced

DETROIT

Women, Class and Culture
HELEN CANTOR
SL Central Committee
March 4 at 1 p.m.
Wayne State University
261 Student Center Building

LOS ANGELES

Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 4 at 8 p.m.
The Haymarket
715 South Parkview

NEW YORK

Which Way to Women's Liberation?

KAY BLANCHARD
SL Women's Commission
Editorial Board,
Women & Revolution
March 6 at 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University
Ferris Booth Hall
Schiff Room (216)

PHILADELPHIA

Which Way to Women's Liberation?

D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 17 at 11:30 a.m.
Room 309
Student Activities Center
Temple University

SAN FRANCISCO

Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 6 at 7 p.m.
Buchanan YMCA
1530 Buchanan at Geary
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE



STONY BROOK

Which Way to Women's Liberation?

KAY BLANCHARD
SL Women's Commission
Editorial Board,
Women & Revolution
State University of New York at
Stony Brook,
Time and Place to Be
Announced

"Reforming" the CIA

FEBRUARY 23—All the capitalist politicians want a more efficient CIA. They can do without such blunders as the failure to warn of the 1968 Tet offensive or the April 1974 Portuguese coup. They are upset about the crate-loads of dollars delivered to Italian politicians with little visible effect, except perhaps for villas multiplying around Rome. They are even mildly piqued by the wild liquor bills run up by CIA station chiefs and the inordinate number of Cadillacs and color TV sets doled out in such unlikely places as Laos. But most of all, they are sick and tired of having their spy agency repeatedly getting caught, its "dirty tricks" constantly being laundered in public.

The squabbling between various Congressional committees and the Ford administration is not about limiting the CIA but about precisely how to make it more efficient. With nearly daily press exposures of U.S. government spying, torture, assassination and the like, the liberal legislative investigators propose to streamline the imperialist Murder, Inc. "under the control of Congress"—to sharpen the wolf's fangs and then dress it in the sheep's clothing of a sanitized information-gathering agency.

But last week Gerald Ford announced his "reform" plan for the CIA, and it turned out to be a wolf in wolf's clothing. There was no attempt to disguise his purpose. Ford would deal with damaging disclosures not by stopping the murderous practices uncovered, but by making their exposure illegal. After a year and a half of Congressional investigations, the "post-Watergate" president has come out for legalizing the various atrocities already revealed and locking up anyone who dares to tell more.

With all the talk about inadequate "Congressional oversight," Ford's plan allows even less than the token "oversight" that presently exists. Moreover, none of the CIA's machinations are to be officially proscribed except for "assassination of a Foreign official in peacetime" (*New York Times*, 19 February). This will hardly stop the imperialist hit-men, who will simply cease keeping records. But when all the smoke around "reforming" the CIA clears, Ford and Kissinger hope that an "official secrets act" will emerge. The administration plan provides harsh penalties for "leakers":

"I am proposing legislation to impose criminal and civil sanctions on those who are authorized access to intelligence secrets and who willfully and wrongfully reveal this information."

Pretending to exempt newspaper reporters, publishers and others to



Henry Kissinger with Daniel Moynihan.

Alon Reininger/Pledge

whom the material might be leaked, the "reform" would have the opposite effect. Reporters could be called before grand juries and forced to supply their sources or else go to jail. Authors like ex-CIA agents Victor Marchetti and Phillip Agee who have written books which embarrassed "the Company" could not only find their exposés censored, but themselves behind bars as well.

Of course, Ford assured the television audiences that "questionable activities" could still be reported, but only "to the proper authorities." Anyone who goes this route does so at his own risk, which could be as great as that of any gullible "foreign leader" who dismisses his bodyguards on the basis of Ford's proclamation.

The "Pike Papers"

Certainly an "appropriate authority" is not the *Village Voice*, which for two weeks running has published the "Pike Papers"—large sections of the report of Representative Otis Pike's House Committee on Intelligence which was suppressed by a Congressional vote on January 29. Published under the banner headline, "The Report On the CIA That President Ford Doesn't Want You to Read," there are few new revelations, most of them having already been leaked to the press in smaller drops.

In addition to the millions of dollars pumped into Italy to influence the 1972 elections, a standard practice since 1948, it is confirmed that large chunks went to General Micelli, former head of the SID (Italian secret police), who was indicted in 1974 for involvement in a fascist plot to overthrow the Christian Democratic-Socialist government in 1970. Now it is revealed that even the Vatican was bugged. "Well-informed officials" excuse this indiscretion by remarking that they couldn't avoid eavesdropping on the Pope, since the rest of the Rome telephone network is routinely monitored!

The report further confirmed a vast network of domestic spying, singling out the case of the respectable, reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Pike's committee gave the SWP a clean bill of health: "a highly law-abiding group." Nevertheless, "FBI Internal Security investigators committed a massive manpower allocation to interviewing landlords, employers, fellow employees, and family relations of SWP members. The FBI also maintained intensive surveillance of most, if not all, of the

SWP's 2500 members."

And the SWP by no means got the worst that the U.S. secret police was dishing out. The entire left has been victimized by the FBI and CIA, with the most vicious attacks reserved for "black extremist" groups. The Black Panther Party was not only under constant surveillance, but its leaders were subjected to a campaign of arrest on trumped-up charges aimed at keeping them out of action, and several were killed due to the work of infiltrated government informers and provocateurs.

More Bang for the Buck

The 21-page excerpt from the Pike committee report (*Village Voice*, 16 February) makes clear that the motivation of the investigators was in no way to undermine the fundamental purpose of the CIA—to act as the covert military arm of U.S. imperialism—but only to improve its performance:

"It is one thing to conclude that tens of billions of intelligence dollars have been spent, and sometimes misspent, over the past few years.

"The important issues are whether this spending sufficiently meets our needs, whether Americans have received their money's worth, and whether non-monetary costs sometimes outweigh benefits."

In this spirit the report examines outstanding U.S. intelligence failures like the Tet offensive, the 1973 Israel-Arab war, the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, the 1974 Cyprus blow-up and Portugal. In no case do the investigators indicate that the CIA ought not to intervene in such events, only that it should do so better.

The committee also examined Angola, but found "the U.S. opposition to the MPLA puzzling in view of [CIA] director Colby's statement to the Committee that there are scant ideological differences among the three factions, all of whom are nationalists above all else." The answer to this puzzle was contained in a footnote to the report, directly quoting testimony by Colby:

"MR. ASPIN. And why are the Chinese backing the moderate group?"

"MR. COLBY. Because the Soviets are backing the MPLA is the simplest answer.

"MR. ASPIN. It sounds like that is why we are doing it.

"MR. COLBY. It is."

Although the report as published really contained nothing new, the administration and the CIA have gone on the warpath against "security leaks." CBS newsman Daniel Schorr admitted

Letter to the SWP

23 February 1976

Comrades of the Socialist Workers Party:

You are certainly aware that on Saturday, February 28th, the Workers League is sponsoring a forum "How the GPU Killed Trotsky" at Tishman Auditorium, New York University, 40 Washington Square South at 8:00 pm. This meeting is the first in a nation-wide series on the same subject. There is no question that the WL's main purpose is to use these forums as a platform from which to propagate the scurrilous and totally unfounded charges that Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leading members of your organization, functioned as "accomplices" of the GPU in the events surrounding Trotsky's assassination.

As a rule the WL excludes its political critics from these "public" events, a practice which is a violation of the norms of workers democracy and one which we note you have adopted vis a vis the WL at a recent forum in New York City. The unprincipled nature of the Healyite charges does not excuse an equally unprincipled exclusion on your part.

The Spartacist League plans to hold a picket line demonstration which will center on protesting the Healyites' despicable slanders against Hansen and Novack. We are inviting you to participate with, of course, your own banners, slogans and propaganda. It would indeed be unfortunate if the WL were able to purvey these infamous charges to the audience at Tishman Auditorium with no visible response by the Socialist Workers Party. Certainly Trotsky, who put so much effort into refuting the Moscow Trials slanders, would not remain silent on such an occasion. We will begin the demonstration in front of the auditorium at 7:30 p.m. Saturday, February 28th. Please communicate your answer to this invitation to us by calling our New York local, (212) 925-5665.

Comradely,
Ed Clarkson
For the New York Spartacist League

he was the source of the *Village Voice's* copy of the report, and was immediately threatened with a contempt of Congress citation by CIA toady Representative Stratton. "Liberal" CBS has responded to a move to have Schorr's Congressional press credentials lifted not by defending its newsman but by jumping on the save-the-CIA bandwagon, imposing on Schorr an indefinite suspension. The government is not likely to get away with much more than a campaign of harassment, but the attack is intended to have a "chilling effect" on newsmen who are considering revealing such embarrassing material. Socialists have an interest in beating back the attacks on Schorr and Ford's proposal for an official secrets act. Both are attempts by the imperial presidency to gag the press.

What the government itself is willing to reveal, even to "proper authorities" like official Congressional investigators, was shown by the extensive "sanitizing" job done on documents submitted to the Pike committee. Whole documents were submitted blank except for scribbles or code words at the top of some pages.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Free the SASO Nine!

Witchhunt Trials in South Africa

During February and March more than 30 South Africans, predominantly blacks, are being brought to trial on political charges by the racist Pretoria regime. Coinciding with the ignominious defeat of U.S./South African-backed forces in Angola, these trials are part of a concerted campaign to foster war frenzy and a witchhunt atmosphere enabling the government to step up the already suffocating repression of black protest.

The first of six scheduled trials involves nine members of the South African Students Organization (SASO). The students—seven blacks and two Indians—have been held in jail for over a year and a half on frame-up charges under the sweeping Terrorism Act. They face a minimum prison term of five years and a maximum sentence of



Sanapic

Rubin Hare, former vice president of SASO.

death if the government is able to get a conviction.

The Terrorism Act, passed in 1967 and made retroactive to 1962, is an all-purpose police-state measure outlawing virtually every kind of anti-racist protest and making such "crimes" as embarrassing the government punishable by death. Other activities which have been deemed a threat to the state under this act range from taking karate lessons to boycotting the local grocer, or writing a UN agency to request financial assistance for a "non-white" community. The Terrorism Act also "authorises indefinite incommunicado detention under conditions determined by the Commissioner of Police" (*Star* [Johannesburg], 14 November 1974). No charges need be brought against detainees under this draconian law, nor do the accused have a right to legal counsel.

"Get SASO"

The principal charges against the SASO Nine are conspiring to bring about a violent revolutionary change in South Africa, and encouraging racial hostility. The first accusation is simply of attempting to realize the just desires of the non-white majority to be free from racial oppression. The second is grotesquely ironic coming from the white supremacist regime whose apartheid ("separate development") laws are the most blatantly racist in the world. Other charges concern writings and speeches over a two-year period which, according to the prosecutor, could or

did encourage resistance to the government.

The arrests stem from pro-FRELIMO demonstrations held by SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) in several South African cities in late 1974. (FRELIMO had recently attained independence in neighboring Mozambique.) Justice Minister Kruger banned the rallies, but SASO and the BPC went ahead anyway, with 1,000 students attending the demonstration at the University of the North and 5,000 in Durban.

Police acted quickly and brutally to break up the demonstrations. In Durban, demonstrators were trapped in a dead-end and vicious police dogs turned loose. Cops swooped in and arrested many on the spot. Others were subsequently picked up while seeking medical treatment at hospitals. Still others were seized at the offices of SASO, the BPC, the Theatre Council of Natal and the Black Allied Workers Union. Within a month, at least 120 members and supporters of black groups were arrested; some were charged and convicted, a few were "banned" (to tribal "homelands" or "Bantustans"), only one was acquitted and a few were released without charge.

More than 40 were held under the General Laws Amendment Act, which allows the police to detain people without charge for a maximum of 14 days. After the initial deadline passed, they were then held under the more elastic Terrorism Act. When charges were finally brought, 18 were accused of violating the Riotous Assemblies Act and released on bail; another 13 fell under the terms of the Terrorism Act. The latter group, nearly all of whom were leaders of SASO and the BPC, was held for a month before even their names were released.

"We Are Determined on Liberation"

By the time the trial resumed early this month in Pretoria, the 13 had been reduced to the SASO Nine. Earlier sessions had been marked by the defiant courage of the prisoners and the utter mockery of democratic rights by the racist authorities. At the initial hearings, after four months in solitary confinement, the defendants entered the courtroom with clenched fists raised and singing:

"We do not care even if they arrest us, we are determined on liberation; this burden is heavy, it demands unity."

Meanwhile, the predominantly black spectators had been filmed and at one point, after joining in the SASO freedom chant, they were locked in the courtroom and forced to give their names to the police.

In addition to these intimidating procedures, illegal even under South African laws, the judge has refused to allow questioning of security police on allegations of torture during interrogation. Relatives and friends of the accused have been harassed by police seeking incriminating testimony. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (8 February 1976) reports that even though the government has not yet outlawed SASO and related youth, cultural and trade-union movements, "their ranks have been decimated by banning, imprisonment, flights into exile, and a couple of unexplained murders."

The "evidence" presented against the SASO Nine by the state consists of roughly 100 pages of speeches, poems, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of IBM and Coca Cola from South Africa,



WV Photo

February 21 demonstration in New York in support of imprisoned SASO militants.

etc. One item is a magazine article declaring, "Hitler is not dead, he is likely to be found in Pretoria." Another is a play which the prosecution claims portrayed the Sharpeville massacre as "deliberate mass murder by whites." The state's main witness is a political science lecturer from an Afrikaans university who has interpreted this documentation as "psychological preparation for warfare," an attempt to isolate South Africa economically and diplomatically, and encouraging "black consciousness."

Witchhunt and War Psychosis

The SASO Nine trial is part of a broader witchhunt by the ultra-reactionary Nationalist Party government. Last November, a Durban University lecturer, Raymond Suttner, was convicted of distributing documents of the Communist Party and African National Congress (ANC). In December, the exiled Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach was sentenced to nine years imprisonment on charges of encouraging co-conspirators in forging documents, setting up an illegal radio station, training in secret methods of communications and similar fabrications. Among those arrested in connection with the latter case, Karel Tip, until recently president of the (white) National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), was released and subsequently rearrested along with three other NUSAS leaders under the Suppression of Communism Act (*Africa*, February 1976).

In addition, on February 16 six members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) were slated to go on trial, charged with violations of the Terrorism Act. Then on March 1 seven youths will come to



Sanapic

Karel Tip (right), former president of NUSAS.

trial in Johannesburg under the catch-all law. Soon afterwards it will be the turn of three black trade-unionists from Durban: Harold Nxasana, Judson Khuzwayo and Harry Ngwala. Khuzwayo, a former member of the ANC, was already arrested in 1960 and spent ten years in the Robben Island prison; Nxasana, also a former ANC member and organizer of the textile workers union, was imprisoned for several years and then banned; Ngwala earlier spent eight years on Robben Island. As part of this ruthless clamp-down on all serious opposition, Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster has announced that a "McCarthy-type" permanent Internal Security Commission will be established during the next parliamentary session.

In the midst of this wave of political repression, the government has been whipping up war hysteria by portraying the MPLA victory in Angola as signifying an imminent Russian/Cuban attack on South Africa. General Webster, head of the South African "Defense Force," has warned that "South Africans, like the Israelis, must get used to the idea of living for some years in a war situation" (*Jeune Afrique*, 20 February 1976). To back up these prophecies there has been an extensive call-up of army reserves and daily war propaganda in the press.

Paralleling the witchhunting "Sabotage and Communism" trials which followed the bloody 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the current round of political trials is preparation for a generalized crackdown on all opponents of apartheid. It is the urgent obligation of black, labor and socialist militants and organizations throughout the world to protest these vicious frame-up trials. Free the SASO Nine, the six SWAPO and four NUSAS defendants and all victims of apartheid repression—Drop the bogus charges immediately! Smash the Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Riotous Assemblies Act and other police-state laws! Stop the witchhunt!

For further information contact: SASO 9 Defence Fund, P.O. Box 467, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025; or phone (212) 678-3361, ext. 96. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Détente in the National Lawyers Guild

The 35th Convention of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was held in Houston over the February 13-16 weekend. Many of the participants had anticipated a sharp battle between pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Guild supporters (reflecting the shooting war in Angola, where the forces backed by these political tendencies peered at each other through rifle sights). But after months of preparatory disputes, the "political debate" fizzled as Brezhnevites, Maoists and "independents" alike combined to submerge their squabbles to preserve the hallowed "unity of the Guild."

The collective ritual dance of reconciliation was not accomplished without some difficulty. The NLG, which prides itself on being "the legal arm of the movement," was confronted by questions which have dominated and divided "the movement" for the past fifteen years: the Sino-Soviet split and the class character of the USSR and China. International questions therefore dominated the convention agenda, with six times more plenary time devoted to Angola than to legal defense work. But those among the 500 participants who expected the supporters of the hostile Stalinist groups to really lock horns instead witnessed a political discussion that more resembled the mating of butterflies.

In our recent article ("Identity Crisis in the National Lawyers Guild," *WV* No. 96, 13 February), we characterized the NLG as a petty-bourgeois radical milieu rather than an organized force on

the left. To preserve that milieu the Guild convention carefully avoided sharp political struggle. A milieu reflects a "unity" of sorts, even if only social, and to decide not to resolve political questions and differences is itself a political choice.

What Anti-Imperialism?

Prior to the convention, the NLG Maoists had been aggressively pushing a revision of the Guild Constitution's preamble in order to clarify the NLG's position by incorporating an "anti-imperialist" self-characterization. But the revision is itself ambiguous. To supporters of the Brezhnevite Communist Party (CP), "anti-imperialism" means "peaceful coexistence" and "détente" with U.S. imperialism. This interpretation demands opposition only to the "most reactionary, warmongering, anti-Soviet" representatives of the "monopolists," like the "Senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson.

The Maoist Stalinists, however, have used "anti-imperialism" as a code word to mean opposition to the "main enemy," i.e., "Soviet social-imperialism." In pursuit of this policy alliances are made with U.S. imperialism, and especially its most reactionary, warmongering, anti-Soviet representatives—like Peking's feted guest, Henry Jackson. As it turned out, the convention voted overwhelmingly not to change the preamble. This was a victory for the CP, whose politics generally dominated the international discussion and therefore the political orientation of the Guild.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists scored another victory in the dispute over last year's Havana Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico. Last fall, Guild president Doron Weinberg went to the Havana Conference as head of a U.S. delegation mandated to avoid "tying this struggle to the politics of international détente." But by the time the conference was over the delegation, including Weinberg, had endorsed a "General Declaration of the International Conference" which praised "the international process of détente."

Weinberg explained to the Guild convention that, "In fact, failure to endorse the document would have meant failure to participate in one concrete expression of support for the Puerto Rican struggle which the conference was called upon to make. We felt that this would be a sectarian, divisive act." Apparently the Maoists were caught up in the same spirit of détente, for after finding themselves badly outnumbered in the workshops, supporters of the October League (OL) quietly "disappeared" a resolution they had submitted criticizing the Guild's

participation in the Havana Conference.

"Unity" Against Trotskyism

More of the same was provided at a panel presented by the International Committee of the NLG, consisting of three speakers defending, respectively, the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, China and "non-aligned third world" countries. This polite debate between the Soviet "social fascists" and the Maoist "splitters" culminated in its own little détente as each pledged they could work together in the Guild.

The Stalinists also managed to get together to suppress a spokesman for the Spartacist League (SL), who was ruled out of order for attempting to present his views. (As in a catechism class, only questions were entertained by the chair.) The attempt to gag the SL speaker was so grossly bureaucratic that the panelist representing the "non-aligned" nations protested it at a subsequent session devoted to "criticism/self-criticism."

On Angola, it was once again the Communist Party supporters who won out. The Guild rejected the Maoist-backed resolution calling on the Guild to "condemn all foreign interference or intervention into the affairs of the Angolan people" and adopted a declaration that the Russian-backed MPLA is fighting for "peace, democracy and socialism."

At the international workshop, the SL spokesman noted that condemnation of "foreign interference" was simply a cover for U.S. imperialism's line in Angola. But, he went on, nobody should be taken in by the MPLA's pretenses to "socialism." Détente is a sham, and Angola is only the dress rehearsal for the larger conflicts between the U.S. and USSR, in which the historic gains of both the Russian and Chinese revolutions will be at stake. These gains can be defended only by Sino-Soviet Communist unity against imperialism, which requires the ouster of the narrow nationalist bureaucracies in both Moscow and Peking through proletarian political revolutions.

It is only the relative military standoff between the U.S. and USSR which permits both Moscow and Peking to court U.S. imperialism—and which permits Brezhnevites and Maoists to cohabit the same organization.

OL a Paper Tiger

In the rhetorical passion play which permeated the international discussions, the casting was the supporters of the Maoist October League as the prodigal son returned and the Brezhnevite Communist Party as the old patriarch. The OL's campaign against "Soviet social-imperialism" not only flopped with regard to the Havana Conference and the international resolutions, but it felt forced to reject its own "sectarian and divisive behavior within the Guild."

The OL had geared up for Houston by circulating a "secret" letter criticizing CP influence in the NLG and launching a "secret anti-imperialist caucus." But there are no secrets in a coffee klatch.

By Friday evening it was clear to the OL supporters that there was to be no "mass democracy" against the CP. So that evening the OL called an open "speak bitterness" self-criticism meeting in which it denounced itself. OL spokesman Sandy Karp, who had issued the "secret letter," announced that the statements in it were not his views or the views of his party (whose views were they?). Karp said he, for one, did not endorse the letter's assertion that *Guild Notes* reads like the CP's *Daily World*; the letter was "sectarian" and had "misconstrued" what had happened at the Havana Conference.

Confronted with their unpopularity, OL supporters were in such disarray that in the plenary discussion of preamble revision they opposed their own

"anti-imperialist" proposal and merely called for more discussion!

This squabble in the family of Stalinism shows how easily the more experienced and influential reformists of the CP can defeat the reformists of the Maoist sects. The latter are unable to distinguish themselves programmatically except by a foreign policy stance which they share with Henry Kissinger. So the Maoists fall all over themselves demonstrating that they are not "sectarian" and "Guild unity" keeps the CP as big daddy of the NLG.

There is also a large component in the Guild of anti-communist liberalism, which at times is sympathetic to certain aspects of Stalinism—hostility to Trotskyism, hostility to open political debate, fondness for class collaboration—while remaining hostile to the CP itself (and to the Maoist organizations). For example, in the recent past, the NLG has refused to work with the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (NAARPR) because of the latter's association with the CP even where such work is principled, as around the Wilmington 10.

"Legal Arm" ... of the NLRB

For all the rhetorical heat generated around international disagreements, the Guild demonstrated a considerable "unity" where its work actually intersects the labor movement. Despite some differences over who represents the real threat to "progressive peoples" in Angola, Puerto Rico, Portugal and the like, the various Stalinist and New Left lawyers could all agree on one point: keeping the capitalist state out of the union movement is not a question of principle.

The NLG supports court suits against the unions. In this simple but definitive test it is clear why the discussion of international issues remains so superficial. The Guild was born as a creature of Stalinist/Rooseveltian New Deal class collaboration and has never broken from that tradition of betrayal.

Much of Guild activity is centered on court suits against unions in the areas of discrimination and union democracy. The Partisan Defense Committee—the anti-sectarian, class-struggle legal defense organization whose policies are in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League—submitted a resolution to an open meeting of the Labor Executive Committee (LEC) of the Labor Project calling on the NLG to uphold "the principle of union independence from government intervention...that the NLG actively support the struggle to abolish all anti-labor legislation and that it direct its work towards the defense of workers and the oppressed from bourgeois attack." Virtually the entire workshop voted against this motion.

The LEC open meeting refused to repudiate an even more shameless and

continued on page 8

Resolution of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union

Boycott Military Goods to South Africa in Defense of the SASO 9!

The following motion was ruled out of order by the NMU bureaucrats at the February 23 membership meeting in the port of New York, on the grounds that it would violate the union's contract with the maritime companies:

Whereas, the SASO 9 are victims of South Africa's vicious apartheid policies, and

Whereas, it is in the interests of the labor movement to smash all instances of racial oppression, therefore be it

Resolved that:

1) the NMU take a strong position in defense of the SASO 9 and all other victims of the South African regime's repression, and

2) that the NMU initiate a boycott of military shipments to South Africa, seeking the support of the ILA and the rest of the AFL-CIO.

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CORE: Black Mercenaries for Henry Kissinger



CORE mercenaries "training" in Virginia.

UPI

The widely publicized plan of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to recruit black American veterans to serve as mercenary soldiers with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has provoked a torrent of denunciation from black newspapers, politicians and organizations. Despite CORE national director Roy Innis' bombastic claim to have already recruited 300 (and to be "screening" 1,000 more) to "assist anti-Communist forces there as combat medics" (*New York Times*, 11 February), the project is a total fiasco. Particularly following the rout of UNITA forces in the last three weeks, CORE-recruited black mercenaries will not have the slightest impact on the Angolan struggle. Innis' bizarre plan to raise a pro-imperialist black professional army may, however, deal an irreparable blow to CORE's already tarnished image as a militant Pan-Africanist group.

The 21 February issue of the *New York Amsterdam News*, for example, contains no less than three separate articles and two letters criticizing CORE's flamboyant affiliation to the cause of the imperialist-backed UNITA. A front-page article describes a letter from black New York Congressman Charles Rangel to the U.S. attorney general demanding an investigation of Innis' "public flaunting" of a law prohibiting U.S. residents from serving in foreign armies.

Another item reports a press conference called by a number of black nationalist organizations, which issued a joint statement applauding the decision by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to accept the Luanda regime of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as its forty-seventh member nation. The statement condemned the recruitment of American blacks "to fight in collaboration with the C.I.A., imperialist UNITA, FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola], racist South Africa and other white mercenaries."

An open letter from black historian John Henrik Clarke reminds Innis that "I have supported you as a nationalist when I understood the kind of nationalism you were proposing." Clarke declares that there is "no condition under which you could justify being on the side supported by South Africa and the United States. I do not see Blacks going to Africa to maintain a capitalist system that was built on their slave labor and which is still the major exploiter of Black people throughout the world." A letter signed by the Washington chapter of Blacks Against U.S. Interference in Angola labels Innis "the worst opportunist in the history of our people."

Earlier, Innis was forced to withdraw from a February 12 speaking engagement in San Francisco after a black press conference threatened to organize a demonstration against him. At the press conference, which also included Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party, Wilfred Ussery (national chairman of CORE from 1969-1972) said Innis had led the organization into the hands of "imperialist forces which keep a large portion of the globe enslaved."

Newspaper publisher Carlton Goodlett bemoaned the evolution of CORE, "an organization that was once in the vanguard of the fight for black liberation," and bluntly stated "I think he's being paid by the CIA" (*Los Angeles Times*, 13 February).

On the CIA Payroll?

Innis has repeatedly denied any link with the CIA, yet the accusations and rumors stubbornly persist. CORE already has an unsavory reputation for its ties with the Ford Foundation. For his platform in San Francisco, Innis chose the World Affairs Council, a reactionary group of wealthy businessmen whose president formerly headed the CIA-funded Asia Foundation.

According to the *Washington Post* (12 December 1975), "U.S. intelligence sources, who revealed the existence of the CORE recruiting plan, said it was another part of a growing Central Intelligence operation to improve the military fortunes of two anti-Communist liberation movements in Angola." However, according to the article, Innis said he would not take CIA money because the spy agency "can't be trusted." He also maintained that the "medics" which CORE was recruiting would be an "objective and neutral force, a peace brigade" helping the OAU reconcile the warring sides!

If the CIA is behind the CORE Angola operation, it must rank among the shoddiest and most ill-planned projects ever funded. Since the press leaked the story two months ago, there has been no evidence that a single CORE-recruited mercenary has arrived in Angola. A Baltimore reporter who infiltrated a mercenary training camp run by CORE's "Veterans Opportunity Project" characterizes the operation as "a sham." He describes the 18 men at the camp (in a national park at Manassas, Virginia) as "a ragtag army in clothes that varied from fatigues to a velvet pimp coat." "In fact," wrote the reporter, "each of us was required to buy a \$10.55 red beret before we could join." When he arrived, the group

"had been training in the woods for two days and nights. It had been fed once—a breakfast for the benefit of television

cameras. For two days, there had been no drinking water. And although one of our men was running a high fever, we did not have even bandages, let alone a complete first aid kit."

—*Baltimore Sun*, 15 February

Two days later the paper reported that CORE had fired its main instructor: "The main source of friction was CORE's inability to provide food or supplies for its troops or explain when and how much its recruits would be paid."

This motley band appears to be all there is of Innis' force of "black patriots" whom he bragged would "chop up" the MPLA's Cuban units and "put the fear of God in Castro" (*Newsweek*, 9 February). Perhaps more plausible than the CIA secret army theory is that Innis is staging a desperate publicity stunt to alert the ruling class that he is ready for any and all assignments, however dirty, as long as CORE gets its share of the booty. The prospect that CORE will ship 300 black soldiers to Angola is even less likely than the chance that UNITA will be able to sustain the protracted guerrilla war it has declared against the victorious MPLA forces.

Garveyism, 1976

In addition to a bid for more government funding to buoy up the financially wracked "black capitalist" outfit, CORE's mercenary caper has aspects of an updated Garveyite "Back to Africa" hustle. In recent years, Innis has claimed Marcus Garvey (along with Kwame Nkrumah) as his inspiration. Thus, while continuing to cultivate his local business investments, the CORE leader has blown a lot of hot air about various emigrationist and dual-citizenship schemes for American blacks.

In 1973, while running a public relations campaign for Uganda's murderous dictator Idi Amin, Innis announced plans to send hundreds of black American technicians to take the place of white-collar Indian workers who were brutally expelled from the country after Amin seized power in 1971. Amin was made a life member of

CORE, and returned the favor by granting Ugandan citizenship to Innis and members of his staff.

The Angola mercenary operation's immediate genesis was apparently a proposal made last year for the development of an OAU military force. CORE staffer Solomon Goodrich hailed the idea, adding that CORE members "under our inestimable leader, Roy Innis, are overjoyed at the progress Africa is making both politically and economically and at the small push we have given this great movement" (*CORE Magazine*, Summer 1975). In December, Innis described his recruits as "operating under an OAU mandate."

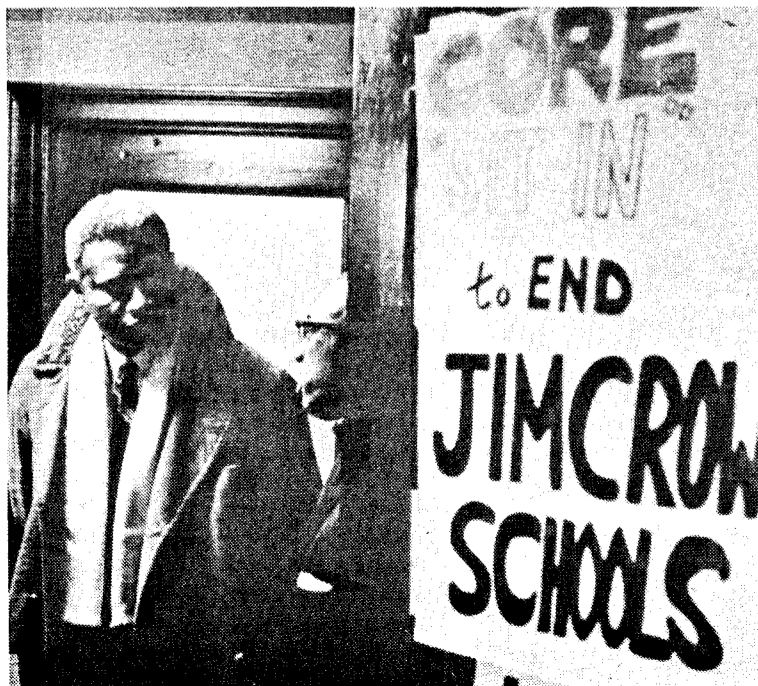
Innis' effort to cultivate publicity as a militant U.S. Pan-Africanist recruiting for the cause of African unity quickly backfired. The deadlock at the January OAU conference revealed the complete disunity among the continent's competing bourgeois regimes. The alliance of UNITA and the FNLA with the U.S., South Africa and right-wing Portuguese colons shattered the political credibility of these groups in Pan-Africanist circles. And the MPLA's battlefield victories smashed UNITA's hopes of playing a leading role in a coalition government.

Undoubtedly most galling for Innis is a February 11 statement by the OAU United Nations office which "strongly denounces the reported recruiting by Roy Innis and his covert mentors of so-called combat medics to go fight a battle which is happily ending." The statement labeling CORE as "anti-African" and "reactionary" could spell the end of the honeymoon between Innis and OAU chairman Amin, who quickly dumped his official neutrality on Angola when he saw which way the tide was turning. Without the OAU franchise, Innis is practically useless as a ruling-class front man in the ghetto.

The Birth of CORE

The resignation of James Farmer, founding CORE member and its national director from 1961 to 1965, in protest against Innis' policy is a reminder that CORE was not always an isolated and discredited right-wing nationalist sect. Before the Ford Foundation first began pouring money into the organization in 1967, CORE had a 25-year history of militant struggle for racial equality and had been a focal point for much of the radical ferment within the black liberation movement. The rise of CORE, its evolution into a black nationalist grouping following the widespread disillusionment with liberal reformism among young blacks, and its subsequent reconciliation with the bourgeois "establishment" are a history in microcosm of the black movement as a whole.

CORE was founded in Chicago in 1942 by a small interracial group of pacifists from religious and social-democratic backgrounds. In its campaigns against discrimination in jobs, housing, education and public accommodations during the 1940's, CORE pioneered many of the non-violent tactics that were later adopted on a mass



CORE slogan during the early 1960's. At 1972 Black Political Convention Innis introduced resolution condemning racial integration of schools.

Bob Adelman

scale by the Southern student movement.

Like the black students of the 1960's, CORE's founders were skeptical of the strictly legalistic approach of the NAACP and National Urban League. In its relations with A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement (MOWM), CORE in its infancy displayed some of the same contradictions that marked the organization at its zenith. On the one hand, the members favored cooperation with an aggressive and massive attack on segregation despite liberals' moans that they were sabotaging the "national interest" in World War II. On the other hand, the group acquiesced to MOWM's all-black composition on two grounds: "Southern negroes would not follow northern interracial leadership, and admitting whites into the MOWM meant risking a repetition of Randolph's experience as president of the National Negro Congress, where Communists had seized control" (August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement*, 1973).

The "Communists" in this case were not the pro-war Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which was busy breaking strikes and denouncing Randolph as a fascist agent, but the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In that period the SWP was still a revolutionary Trotskyist party and defended the Randolph movement out of a principled orientation to continuing the class struggle, including the fight for racial equality, in

the midst of the bourgeoisie's imperialist war. The CORE leadership continuously sought to purge radicals who were attracted to the organization because of its militancy, and only anti-Communist social democrats had a secure niche within the group.

In contrast to its later policies, CORE at its inception had a pro-labor orientation and consciously adopted the "sit-down" tactic from the massive wave of plant occupations during the 1930's. Following the bloody Detroit race riot of 1943, CORE members attempted with some success to draw black auto workers into a campaign to desegregate restaurants around the plants.

After the war the CORE leadership again fought to insulate the growing organization from groups to the left of the social-democrats. Executive secretary George Houser repeatedly warned the Chicago chapter to exclude Trotskyists because they advocated self-defense of the picket lines. In the strictly federated organization, however, Houser lacked the power to do anything more than threaten and cajole the dissident Chicago chapter (which in this period swelled to 500 members).

In 1947 CORE co-sponsored the first "freedom ride" with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the pacifist group that financed much of the civil rights organization's early activities. The interracial group of sixteen men included Houser, Bayard Rustin (today head of the right-wing Social Democrats U.S.A.), radical black attorney

Conrad Lynn, black journalist William Worthy and two functionaries of the Socialist Party's Workers Defense League.

The McCarthyite repression took a severe toll of the civil rights group; the decline was hastened by its cowardly policy of capitulating to the witchhunt. A San Francisco group was denied affiliation in 1949 because of "Trotskyist infiltration." A "Statement on Communism" drafted in 1948 "deplored" the "Red Scare" but declared that "CORE should make clear its own solid organizational reasons for excluding revolutionary Marxists."

The fight came to a head at the 1954 convention when Wallace Nelson, a left-wing anarcho-pacifist, was forced out of his fieldworker's post. Nelson opposed the exclusion of Communists and argued that CORE was one of the few groups that could "do something toward checking this hysterical wave of McCarthyism." His opponents at the convention demonstrated that even petty-bourgeois pacifists bare their teeth when anti-Communist purges are on the agenda. The New York delegation leadership issued these instructions to delegates: "Stick to one slate as far as anti-Nelson forces are concerned, but try to nominate more than one person of the opposition in order to split votes.... LOVE EVERYONE AND VOTE AS INSTRUCTED!!"

Militant Liberalism

During the late 1950's CORE showed new life in the South. When the lunch counter sit-ins were begun by North Carolina college students in 1960, CORE chapters throughout the country launched sympathy demonstrations. The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) also took up the struggle, building support from among New York high school and college students. A YSA-led ad hoc committee organized a demonstration of 400 in front of a Manhattan Woolworth's store on March 5. A dispute over tactics quickly arose between the committee and the social-democratic student National Student Association bloc. CORE sided with the reformists in opposition to impeding store entrances and chanting.

The YSA resisted efforts spearheaded by A. Philip Randolph to end mass picketing and destroy the united-front student committee. At a Harlem rally on March 26, Randolph launched a heated red-baiting attack. But the YSA, which had not yet degenerated into the servile reformist organization it is today, maintained the picket lines and spread the demonstrations to other cities.

The selection of James Farmer as national director and the famous Freedom Ride of 1961 were what really put CORE on the map. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) joined the campaign, and it soon became a mass movement. As it gained popularity, the civil rights movement consolidated around its new-found "respectable" liberal-reformist leadership. Although the rank-and-file activists were far from homogeneous politically, no clear revolutionary pole emerged to challenge the Farmers and Kings, and to orient the burgeoning movement toward a class-struggle perspective.

In the north CORE moved into housing and employment campaigns. The Brooklyn chapter conducted a 17-day "dwell-in" at an apartment complex which refused to rent to blacks. But few chapters involved themselves in the housing needs of the black poor, choosing instead to orient to the purely democratic issues which would most immediately benefit the petty-bourgeois blacks. One exception was the housing committee of New York CORE, in which Spartacist supporters participated. Beginning in 1963 the committee organized tenants' councils to force landlords to clean up and repair

dilapidated, rat-infested tenements in Harlem by withholding rents and picketing slumlords in their suburban homes.

CORE launched campaigns demanding jobs for blacks in retail stores, banks, the construction trades and consumer goods manufactures. These campaigns were backed up with consumer boycotts and militant picket lines. Demonstrations in Brooklyn, Harlem and Philadelphia demanded that the building trades unions open membership to qualified black workers. At this point, CORE had not hardened around the union-busting advocated by Innis and other nationalists, and some chapters were debating strategies to win labor support for the black struggle.

One such effort was represented by New York CORE's economic opportunities committee, which included Spartacist supporters. In 1964 and 1965 the committee organized among the black and Puerto Rican workers in the city's garment industry. Its program demanded a \$2.00 minimum wage; upgrading of minority workers to skilled jobs; opening up union locals controlling these jobs; organizing non-union shops; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to open up skilled jobs.

Black Nationalist Consolidation

The Harlem police riot of July 1964 smashed the mass organizations, primarily block and tenant councils, which had developed in this period, and accelerated CORE's developing retreat into black nationalist isolationism. During the riot CORE's leadership played a typically contradictory role. Following the police murder of a black teenager, CORE chapters around the city organized a protest march. On July 18 three chapters held a Harlem rally demanding the killer's arrest.

But CORE opposed the one serious *continued on page 8*

Workers Demonstrate Against Cutbacks in Boston



WV Photo

BOSTON, February 19—Some 3,000 angry Boston municipal employees picketed and rallied in front of city hall today to protest Mayor White's plans to lay off 615 city workers on March 1. Repeatedly chanting "Strike, strike, strike!" the rank-and-file unionists demonstrated their eagerness to throw a monkey wrench into the austerity schemes of Boston's two-faced liberal mayor.

Bureaucrats of AFSCME Council 45 and SEIU Local 285, who had called the rally, did their best to channel the militancy of the ranks into reliance on the racist reactionaries of the Boston city council, whose vendetta with the White administration has led them to phony "pro-labor" rhetoric. On the podium, Wallaceite city council demagogue "Dapper" O'Neill called for "austerity from the top down" and promised to "always stand with you." O'Neill also "threatened" to introduce a motion into the city council calling for a refusal to accept all federal money if there were any layoffs! City councilwoman Louise Day Hicks (a leader of the anti-busing ROAR group) sent a message of "complete support."

Boston Teacher's Union president Henry Robinson, who had done his best to prevent the membership of the layoff-beset BTU from joining the rally, hypocritically stated, "I think it's about time that the public employees stood together and put it right to the mayor." On the heels of the parade of unctuous city council demagogues, International director of AFSCME Council 45, Michael Botelho, managed to slip over on the militant crowd his "suggestion" that "we give them just a little time"—thus postponing any strike action, in the hope of arranging a rotten compromise.

For an immediate city-wide strike of all municipal unions against all layoffs and cutbacks!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

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CORE...

(continued from page 7)

attempt to give effective organization and direction to the Harlem masses during the police terror: block by block organization for a mass demonstration. Every sellout huckster in the ghetto joined in a vicious red-baiting attack on Progressive Labor's Bill Epton. In his book *Freedom When?* Farmer brags that "nationalist groups joined CORE and other civil rights organizations in passing a resolution rejecting a PLM proposal to march again in Harlem. 'We do not favor any black man dying in order to help the Chinese Communists'."

In the middle 1960's, the bankruptcy of liberal illusions had been exposed and the choices before CORE narrowed to two: black separatism or revolutionary integrationism. The earlier social-democratic pacifism and anti-communism of CORE's leaders paved the way for Roy Innis by short-circuiting serious consideration of the class-struggle road to black liberation. Likewise, by its policies of courting "progressive" labor bureaucrats, the old CORE leadership reinforced black militants' tendency to equate the union ranks with their racist, pro-capitalist leadership. The Rustin/Randolph brand of labor reformism, which repeatedly capitulated to Meanyite racism, was used by nationalist demagogues to discredit all policies based on a working-class perspective.

As a consequence, those militants who wished to go beyond the petty-bourgeois moralism of the pacifist liberals and attack the racist system at its roots were attracted not by revolutionary Marxism but by the ambiguous "black power" slogan. While the Black Panther Party was able, for a time, to combine this nationalist rhetoric with Maoist/Guevarist-inspired denunciations of imperialism, CORE's virulent anti-red tradition rapidly led it to interpret "black power" as "black capitalism" and traditional bourgeois ethnic politics.

The Road to Angola

As CORE's white liberal financial backers began to turn away in the mid-1960's, Innis' predecessor Floyd McKissick appealed directly to major capitalist institutions. His pitch was the bourgeoisie's self-interest in backing an organization whose history and militant image enabled it to police the ghetto and act as a safety valve more effectively than the establishment civil rights groups. In July 1967, McKissick secured a \$175,000 grant from the Ford Foundation for voter registration, job-training and "leadership instruction" in Cleveland. A year later, the same chapter got an additional \$300,000 to expand voter registration throughout the predominantly black 21st Congressional district, the key factor in the election of black

Democrat Louis Stokes to Congress.

The Ford Foundation, the Office of Economic Opportunity and other bourgeois institutions funded CORE's numerous black-capitalist ventures like the Harlem Commonwealth Council and CORE-supported union-busting attacks like the Bundy Plan for decentralized school boards in New York. Following McKissick's replacement by Innis in September 1968, the separatist, anti-labor orientation deepened and the leadership became even more cynically opportunist. In particular, as the bourgeoisie hardened in its opposition to integration, CORE became the major black ally of the racist anti-busing movement. At the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, in 1972, CORE pushed through an anti-busing resolution which, as one black reporter noted,

"creates the erroneous impression—widely headlined by the white press—that blacks as a whole oppose busing and agree with those learned education experts, President Richard Nixon and Alabama Gov. George Wallace."
—*Ebony*, June 1972

A few months later, Innis clarified where he stood on Nixon by attending a black Republican presidential fundraiser sponsored by his former mentor McKissick (*New York Times*, 15 October 1972). James Farmer served for a period as an assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

By the beginning of the 1970's, the bourgeoisie had managed to "pacify" the seething ghettos through a combination of military force, police infiltration/repression of militant black groups, tokenism (black mayors, creation of a layer of black government "poverty" bureaucrats), a certain improvement in blacks' wages relative to whites (since reversed) and "counterinsurgency" techniques such as the funding of CORE. But having served its purpose as front men for the ruling class, CORE was unceremoniously thrown on the garbage heap. Hence Roy Innis' desperate search for a new benefactor.

Having missed the boat on the black mayor trip, CORE leaders had to look elsewhere to promote their personal careers. Farmer now gives speaking tours in Africa for the State Department. McKissick has gone into real estate development, building a \$27 million "Soul City" in Warren County, North Carolina, with funds provided by a government loan from the Nixon administration (*New York Times*, 20 March 1974). Innis was left with the organization which, however, was vegetating, with nothing to do and no money to pay for it. As a last-ditch effort, he grabbed at the chance to supply black mercenaries to Henry Kissinger. But unfortunately for Innis, the mercenary business is far from reputable even to the bourgeoisie; U.S. blacks are overwhelmingly disgusted with his latest gambit; CORE backed a loser in Angola and Amin withdrew his

seal of approval.

CORE's odyssey from liberal/social-democratic integrationism through "black capitalist" counterinsurgency to an overtly counterrevolutionary alliance with CIA/South African forces in Angola illustrates the dilemma of movements for democratic rights which fail to unambiguously align themselves with the historic interests of the working class. Originating as a movement which fought on behalf of the oppressed, CORE's anti-communism has led it to become a willing tool of racist imperialism. Only the forging of a Trotskyist vanguard party and revolutionary unity of the working class under its leadership can point the way forward for black liberation through proletarian revolution. ■

Lawyers Guild...

(continued from page 5)

openly vicious violation of class principle: red-baiting. A member of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), at UAW Local 1364, Fremont, California, distributed to the convention an "Open Letter to the National Lawyers Guild" which protested articles in the May 1975 *Guild Notes* and *Labor Newsletter*. The articles attacked these union oppositionists as "Trotskyites," "company agents" and "Spartacists" because they had organized widespread opposition to the anti-union "Fremont Women's Court Suit" which the articles supported.

The "Open Letter" stated:

"As a law organization we are sure that you are aware of the anti-red clauses still on the books as well as in most union constitutions. Accusations of membership in outside organizations could result in expulsions from the union and loss of jobs."

The CMUAW "Open Letter" went on to point out that the Committee had circulated a petition in the plant opposing the suit, which had been

"signed by over 700 workers, easily half of whom were women and minorities. The reason is simple. Women and minorities stand to lose the most if the seniority system is destroyed.... Seniority protects against employer arbitrariness—it replaces the 'Merit System' which allowed the companies to fire, at will, anyone they deemed 'undesirable'."

In response to the "Open Letter," the PDC submitted a motion that the convention condemn these red-baiting tactics and mandate the NLG publications in which the attacks on the UAW militants appeared to reprint the "Open Letter." This motion was defeated, as was a phony "compromise" proposal to publish (subject to subsequent editing and a preface disclaiming it) a 200-word statement by the authors of the motion. Finally a motion "internal" to the LEC was passed providing "organizational guidelines" to the *Labor Newsletter* Editorial Board: "To exercise caution [!] not to identify groups working in the plants other than by the names they call themselves until the next meeting of the National Executive Board." This policy, amounting to cautious red-baiting until further notice, is supposedly to be reviewed in six months.

Whither the Guild?

The "identity crisis in the NLG" continues. The axis upon which it turns is the question—posed either falsely or

cynically, or both—"Should the Guild be political?" Doron Weinberg posed the "alternatives" in his president's report which opened the plenary session: should the NLG be "a political organization composed of legal people" or a "legal organization with a shared political commitment"? Of the two formulations, both of which beg the question, Weinberg chose the latter.

As the plenary degenerated into New Left mayhem, it was clear what would happen to "Guild unity" if the NLG ever attempted to determine the political basis for its "shared commitment." For what is shared is a commitment to unprincipled unity, class collaboration, anti-Trotskyism and an alliance with the bosses' courts against the unions. Hence the present "détente" in the NLG—a bloc to avoid discussion of program and policy for the organization. Hence the "moot court" on whether or not to proclaim the Guild "anti-imperialist."

During the plenary discussion, a PDC spokesman took the floor to point out that an organization claiming to stand in defense of the gains of the international working class must unequivocally defend the gains of the Russian Revolution. The only principled basis of unity, she said, is anti-sectarian defense of cases and causes in the interest of all working people and explicit independence from the capitalist state.

But the Guild leadership has no desire to build such an organization. Knowing that in rejecting an anti-sectarian, class-struggle position it excludes principled unity, the NLG is now tinkering with its federated "project" structure in the vain hope of sidestepping the problem. The National Executive Committee put forward as a guideline that "Projects should seek national organizational approval if they wish to take a public position... where there are competing forces or views on the left."

The Guild wishes to present itself as a non-sectarian legal champion of "progressive" causes. But to choose which causes are "progressive" and which are not, it is forced to "take a public position" on questions on which there are "competing forces or views on the left"—e.g., détente, Angola, Chile, Iran, suing the unions. That is, one "movement" person's "progressive cause" is another's "social-fascist plot."

For all of its class-collaborationist practice, the NLG is not the American Bar Association. Many of its members have demonstrated a subjective desire to aid in the defense of the exploited and oppressed. And many do lend their energy and legal expertise to such work as poverty law, anti-deportation cases and other supportable projects.

The Guild convention endorsed many worthwhile campaigns, such as opposition to the reactionary Senate Bill 1, legal support to Puerto Rican independence groups and union militants, support to busing, prisoners' rights. In such activities the PDC will seek to work with the Guild. The Mass Defense Workshop of the Convention endorsed a number of important current defense cases and passed resolutions submitted by the PDC in support of the defense of Hurricane Carter/John Artis and of Philip Allen. But the convention also endorsed continued emphasis on court suits against unions, which must be repudiated by those committed to a class-struggle defense policy.

The convention ended in confusion and exhaustion in its ever-frustrating efforts to take evasive platitudinous positions on the burning issues of the day. In *WV's* article on the NLG, we published an illustration showing Mao and Stalin locked in the Guild's "scales of class collaboration" with Uncle Sam. As if to demonstrate that life imitates art and to bring the convention to an appropriate close, the NLG voted to endorse the "People's Bicentennial Celebration" in Philadelphia on July 4. For all the "anti-imperialist" talk, the difference between the "legal arm" of the New Left and that of the New Deal is not qualitative. ■

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CHICAGO

ILWU...

(continued from page 12)

ateurs." A censure motion was passed in the executive board against one of the militants, Bob Mandel, who was also a member of the board and a founder of the Militant Caucus. However, the membership turned back this cowardly attack by the Local bureaucracy.

Class-Struggle Demands

The Militant Caucus doesn't pull its punches in laying out the problems facing the membership:

"The main obstacle within the union to preparing for a successful strike is the present leadership, International and Local. Their program is class collaboration—seeking to tie the workers to the capitalist class, its state, and its political parties, and opposing independent struggle."

—Warehouse Militant, 5 January 1976

Well aware that a strike directed by the ILWU International and its Local 6 lackeys would meet the same unfortunate fate as the 1971-72 longshore strike which was cynically sold out by Bridges, the Caucus calls for democratically elected strike committees in each house. This would provide the basis for building a strong centralized strike leadership, with direct membership control over the bargaining process and determination of strike tactics.

The 18 February Warehouse Militant noted that a successful contract struggle required a "fully mobilized ILWU linked in a fighting alliance for mutual defense with the Teamsters." The organized warehouses in the Bay Area are divided between Teamsters and ILWU (with many houses remaining unorganized), and the two unions conduct joint bargaining for the "master contracts" which cover about 80 percent of the Local 6 membership. McClain and Eickman justify their refusal to fight by claiming that the Teamster leadership will never support class-struggle demands.

At the same time, Local 6 leaders openly capitulate to the Teamster bureaucracy: only after great pressure from the membership did McClain & Co. back down on their opposition to even a token \$100 donation to the Farm Workers (UFW). In contrast, the Militant Caucus, which has openly fought against Fitzsimmons' raiding of the UFW, demands that the ILWU take the initiative in proposing to the Teamsters a program of militant struggle against the bosses.

Such a program would include demands for full cost-of-living protection, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and a one-year contract; elimination of the no-strike clause, unlimited rehire rights and unlimited health and welfare benefits at company expense; strengthening the union hiring hall (eliminate the probation period, end blackballing and all racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and upgrading); and 24-hour child care paid for by the company but controlled by the union.

The Local 6 leadership, however, has done nothing but repeat employer arguments that the companies simply cannot afford to grant any more. Secretary-Treasurer Eickman asserts that the membership would have to choose between maintaining (not improving) the present pension plan or winning better wages.

Strike Double-Talk

This logic is aped by the crowd around business agents Joe Figuereido and Abba Ramos, who are strongly supported by *People's World* (PW), West Coast organ of the Communist Party (CP). Thus Figuereido and Ramos call for either a one-year contract or full cost-of-living protec-

tion. Meanwhile their cronies Joe Lindsay and Franklin Alexander support a "shorter workweek" (by which they mean 38 hours work for 40 hours pay) only if it is spread over a three-year contract. They imply that joblessness can be eliminated... but gradually, so it won't hurt the companies. This touching concern for the profits of the capitalists is a slap in the face to a union where one member in six is unable to find a job.

Last year Figuereido and Ramos were particularly prominent in the effort to censure Mandel. And although they and their friends in *People's World* are currently "talking strike" out of one side of their mouths, they never stray very far from the coattails of the ILWU bureaucracy. According to *Warehouse Militant*, at the February East Bay Stewards Council Lindsay argued that there are "other more effective" tactics than a strike. As the article pointed out, "Such no-strike talk is borrowed from Archie Brown," a prominent spokesman for CP views in San Francisco dockers' Local 10, who during the 1975 contract talks "kept trying to con longshoremen into believing they could get a decent settlement without a strike."

In addition, this group of double-talking phonies calls only for modifying the no-strike clause to permit strikes against "unresolved grievances" (which means grievances would continue to pile up for several months until "somebody" decides they are "unresolved"). The PW supporters in Local 6 also oppose the Militant Caucus proposal for the "right to strike in defense of other workers," such as the UFW. Thus Figuereido renounces the San Francisco general strike of 1934, which was waged in "defense of other workers," namely longshoremen! Finally, a recent (14 February) article in *People's World* carries a special attack on demands for membership control of a strike:

"For an operation of this size and complexity, warehousemen require a centralized and responsible elected leadership. Such calls as a 'strike committee in every house' or a 'rank and file strike committee open to everyone' (and responsible to no one?) just don't fill the bill. We need unity and organization if we are to win."

While deliberately distorting the Militant Caucus proposal for democratically elected house strike committees, these veteran fakers obviously prefer the "responsible" (to the bosses!) sell-out leadership of ILWU head Bridges and McClain to trusting the rank and file!

Another would-be opposition group with a mish-mash program is *Warehouse Victory* (Warehousemen for a Good Contract). *Warehouse Victory*, which is touted by the Revolutionary Communist Party's *Bay Area Worker*, calls for eliminating the no-strike clause and demands a big wage increase. However, it fails to even mention cost-of-living coverage. It also ignores the demand for "30 for 40," calling only for "no cuts in manning/no combining jobs," which does nothing for Local members already unemployed. Its proposal on the probationary period—not to abolish it, but only to reduce it to 30 days—is already in effect in houses like Colgate, where the company continues to speed up pre-seniority workers and screen out active union members.

Warehouse Victory also calls for a local "rank-and-file strike committee," but does not specify how it would come about. A strike committee set up by a few militants, instead of being elected with the full backing of the membership, can only lead to adventurist actions which the union leadership will sabotage. The bureaucracy cannot be ignored or bypassed, but must be fought tooth and nail and defeated. This requires a class-struggle program and strategy to counterpose to the existing misleaders. Such a program of militant, independent political and economic action by labor is posed only by the Militant Caucus. ■

CIA...

(continued from page 3)

According to the report, one page read: "Top Secret," and the rest had been deleted. Who knows what "dirty tricks" were once listed on the blank sheet on which every word had been removed save "Chile"?

Kissinger and the Kurds

When the excerpts from the Pike committee report were published, Henry Kissinger threw another of his by now habitual tantrums. It had, he said, the "total impact" of a "malicious lie"; the anti-Communist Metternich even had the gall to accuse the committee of "McCarthyism"! The Secretary of State was particularly upset with disclosures of his own involvement in CIA machinations with the Kurds.

According to the report, in 1972 Kissinger made a deal with the Shah of Iran to supply and bankroll Kurdish rebels led by "General" Barzani in their war against attempts by the Iraqi government to obliterate this oppressed national minority. However, neither the Shah nor Kissinger wanted the Kurds to actually win. (Iran has a sizable Kurdish population of its own.) According to the Pike committee, the Kurds were not aware of this no-win policy, and so lost thousands of dead when Iran suddenly shut off the aid pipeline following a

settlement of its border dispute with Iraq last year. The committee report said of this operation: "Even in the context of covert action, ours was a cynical enterprise."

When asked at a press conference earlier this month if the U.S. had indeed "double-crossed" the Kurds, Kissinger responded in classic fashion:

"This is a total falsehood. But it is impossible in these covert operations to explain the truth without creating even more difficulties."

—New York Times, 12 February

With Kissinger continuing to cover up, the CIA is still at its work also, and not just in out-of-the-way Kurdistan. The February issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* carried an article by an Australian journalist strongly suggesting that the American spy agency played a key role in ousting the Labor Party government last November.

Similar scenarios have been repeated dozens of times. In the early 1950's politicians on the CIA dole were legion in Europe and played a major role in building up the social-democratic parties; recent revelations about American financing of Italian anti-Communist parties shows that not much has changed in the meantime. No amount of "reforming" will stop the CIA from performing these covert actions for U.S. imperialism. It must be smashed and conspiratorial mass murderers of the Kissinger ilk brought to justice by the victorious proletarian revolution. ■

Woodcock...

(continued from page 12)

resolution not already approved for consideration. Moreover, conference rules went to the unprecedented step of not allowing any amendments from the floor! As in the equally strangled Production Workers Conference held in January, all economic issues were put off to a Bargaining Convention to be held next month. However, there will be no new elections for convention delegates. So the Woodcock bureaucracy has neatly arranged three dress rehearsals for yet another contract betrayal, with the workers' voices silenced until they are presented with a fait accompli in September...at which time their votes may again be ignored as in 1973!

It was little wonder, then, that a resolution was passed hailing the farcical "voluntary overtime" provision of the current contract—which allows 54-hour workweeks while tens of thousands of auto workers are unemployed. Naturally there was no consideration of urgently needed measures such as a ban on overtime while there are UAW members on layoff. Similarly a resolution on subcontracting failed to provide for unconditional local right to strike over the issue.

The UAW-loyal Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) was the most visible "opposition" at the conference. It distributed a "Policy Statement," but did not generally disturb the bureaucratic calm of this deadly affair. However, the ISTC's main demand, for enforcement of skilled-trades' veto rights, is itself a divisive erosion of democratic industrial unionism. Wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers should be firmly set by the majority under a program of raising the wages and shortening the hours of all.

Skilled tradesmen's jobs are particularly subject to erosion by the auto companies' practice of subcontracting work to non-UAW and non-union shops. Lacking a program for real class struggle UAW craftsmen's impulse to defend their threatened jobs has led to cut-throat competition of worker against worker, including skilled vs. production workers within the UAW. Though a resolution to organize the unorganized was passed, union policy—which has failed miserably so far—will

not be changed under the present sellout regime. Organizing the unorganized requires an aggressive struggle against the companies to attract non-union workers, combined with militant tactics such as labor boycotting of scab products and sitdown strikes.

In his keynote speech, International vice president Doug Fraser made clear the leadership's refusal to launch a real struggle for the shorter workweek: "Let's face it," he said. "Everybody knows you're not going from a five-day week to a four-day week in one fell swoop." He promised the workweek would be "shorter" at the end of negotiations, but if the Woodcock "Time Bank" plan is adopted, whereby workers get time-off credits through perfect attendance records, it is the companies not the workers who will benefit. On organizing the unorganized Fraser admitted the bankruptcy of the International's half-hearted efforts: "We've made the effort and failed. You can't drag 'em into the union."

While abstractly favoring a shorter workweek and piously vowing there would be no repetition of 1973, Fraser in his speech called for the defeat of Gerald Ford in the November presidential elections. All levels of the UAW bureaucracy are permeated with the determination to subordinate the interests of auto workers to getting a Democrat into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The warning is clear: Woodcock & Co. will stop at nothing to avoid the embarrassment to "their" capitalist candidate of a militant auto workers' strike when the contracts expire in September.

The UAW cannot wage a militant contract fight without an open break with the leadership of Woodcock-Fraser. An industry-wide strike, uniting skilled and production workers throughout the U.S. and Canada, must mobilize the entire labor movement behind demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for full cost-of-living protection, for organizing the unorganized. Against the election-year lies of both the bosses' parties, union militants must struggle to build a workers party, based on the trade unions. Instead of the token job programs offered by the likes of Humphrey, such a party, armed with an anti-capitalist program of expropriating industry and finance by a workers government, can provide a real answer to unemployment. ■

Unemployment...

(continued from page 1)

planning that is necessary. It hasn't been carried out. The intent of Congress in adopting the Employment Act of 1946 has been distorted. Not only by Republicans and reactionaries, but also by the Democratic chairmen of the Council of Economic Advisors and by self-styled liberals."

Why Full Employment Is Impossible Under Capitalism

Bourgeois full-employment legislation will not and cannot be implemented because a reserve army of the unemployed is a necessary condition for capitalist production. Without a surplus population of workers, the increased demand for labor power during a boom would immediately lead to competition among employers to attract each other's workers, thereby raising wages and reducing the rate of exploitation. Attempts to offset rising wages in a tight labor market through easy credit leads to accelerated inflation and ever-mounting business indebtedness.

In West Germany, which Humphrey cites as his model for full employment policies, the reserve army of the unemployed is concentrated in contract labor from southern Europe, the Near East and North Africa. When a downturn occurs, the "guest workers" are sent back to their native lands by the hundreds of thousands.

Hubert Humphrey is a responsible representative of the capitalist system, not given to utopian fancies. For the most part, his advocacy of full employment policies is cynical electioneering; he has no intention of actually imple-

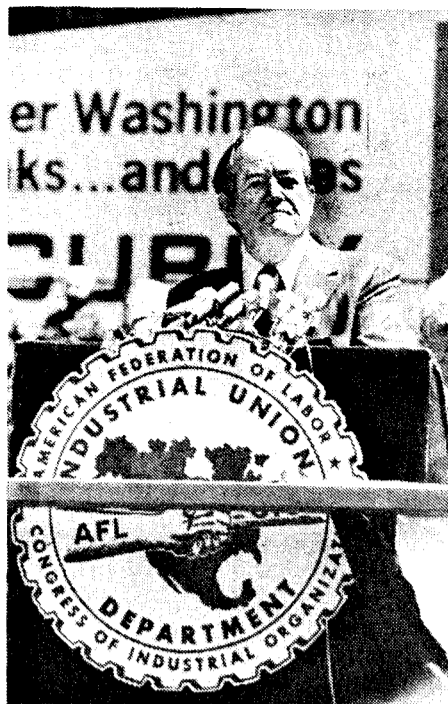
menting such policies. Insofar as Humphrey does favor a somewhat lower unemployment rate than Ford is willing to accept, he is well aware that a tight labor market affords competitive advantages to wage earners as against capital. And he has an answer, state wage controls:

"that's why the so-called Wage-Price Stabilization Council, which I termed the toothless tiger, has to be given some teeth... It has to have the power of selective price and wage controls. It has to have the power to hold back a price or a wage increase for a period of time in order to examine what its impact on the economy will be."

—Challenge, March-April 1975

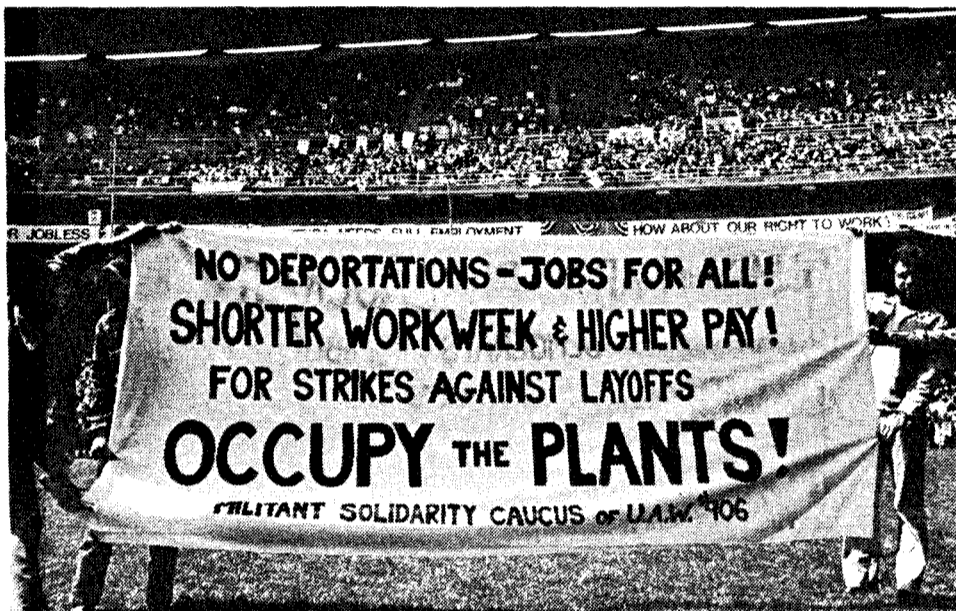
International Fiscal Austerity Offensive

Despite massive unemployment, Humphrey's neo-New Dealism is very much a minority current within the American ruling class. Ford likes to point out that prominent liberal Democrats, such as Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, agree with him on the need to reverse the growth of govern-



WV Photo

Hubert Humphrey speaking to unionists at "March for Jobs" in Washington, D.C. last April.



WV Photo

Banner of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah, N.J.) at AFL-CIO "March for Jobs" last April.

CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 95 (6 February), the article "Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal" refers to Chou En-lai propounding the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" at the Bandung Asian-African Solidarity Conference in 1954. Although Chou first put forward the five principles shortly after the 1954 Geneva conference on Vietnam, the Bandung conference did not take place until the following year.

In *WV* No. 96 (13 February) a round-up article on Angola demonstrations refers to a "February 7th Coalition" in New York City. However, while the demonstration was held on February 7, the name of the ad-hoc grouping was the "February 4th Coalition" referring to the anniversary of the anti-colonialist uprising in Angola on that date in 1961.

An article on Angola in the same issue refers to the MPLA as one of three "tribally centered" nationalist groups. As we have noted in earlier articles, outside of Luanda support for the People's Movement had been largely reduced to the Mbundu tribe. However, in the capital itself the MPLA has had broad support from the plebeian population which is of mixed tribal origins and partially detribalized.

ment spending and the federal debt. Internationally as well, a right-wing offensive against liberal economic policy is taking place throughout the advanced capitalist world.

In Australia and New Zealand, social-democratic governments have been ousted by conservative bourgeois candidates whose campaigns heavily stressed cutting back the state sector of the economy. The Fraser government in Australia is now selling off the rich mineral properties that were earlier nationalized by the Labor Party. In Italy, with unemployment at 7 percent and growing, the Christian Democrats are likewise committed to cutting state expenditure. Unemployment compensation in Italy, today effectively 90 percent of previous pay, is slated to be

reduced to 80 percent.

But the most dramatic repudiation of social-democratic economic reformism has been in Britain. A few years ago the then out-of-power Labour Party was discussing proposals for nationalizing the commanding heights of the British economy. But recently the Wilson government has openly rejected the economic premises of Labourism. He asserted that a too-generous (!) welfare state and excessive government spending have crippled productive private investment, essential for the economic health of Britain.

The "Capital Gap" and Anti-Keynesian Economics

Ruling-class hostility to a full-employment program is in sharp

contrast to mass sentiment for it. The *New York Times* (13 February 1976) recently reported that a survey it conducted with CBS News indicated that 70 percent of the population support the federal government guaranteeing work for everyone who wants it. Given depression conditions and this popular demand for full employment, why is ruling-class support for greater fiscal austerity so strong?

Increasing bourgeois sentiment for restraining government spending is closely related to what business journals are now calling the "capital gap": the inability of businesses to finance the expansion of plant and equipment needed to maintain the growth rates of the 1950's and 1960's. The 21 October 1975 *Business Week* published a special survey article on the "capital gap" with a distinctly pessimistic perspective. It sums up the problem with the following basic statistics:

Between 1965 and 1974, the pre-tax return on capital in manufacturing fell from about 16 to 6 percent. Because falling profitability leads to inadequate cash flows, investment has required ever-greater indebtedness. Thus, in 1965, manufacturing corporations had \$4 in equity for every \$1 in debt; today the ratio is \$2 to \$1. In 1965, manufacturing corporations averaged \$5 profit income for every \$1 in interest due; today this ratio is also \$2 to \$1. Corporate indebtedness particularly intensified during the 1972-73 inflationary boom, when many long-term projects were financed with short-term IOU's.

Not only has profit income been inadequate to finance investment in the past decade, but *Business Week* projects that capital requirements per unit of additional output will increase in the future: "there are signs that it is now taking more and more dollars' worth of capital to produce one dollar's worth of output." This is a phenomenon central to classical Marxist economics known as the "rising organic composition of capital"—the increase in the value of capital relative to the living labor needed to set it in motion. This is the fundamental cause of the falling rate of profit.

During the past year or so, several studies have been made of the U.S. "capital gap." The most detailed, done by the prestigious Brookings Institute, is entitled *Capital Needs in the Seventies* and was carried out by a team headed by James Duesenberry, one of the architects of John F. Kennedy's "New Economics" and a member of Lyndon Johnson's Council of Economic Advisors. The Brookings/Duesenberry study asserts that a 4.3 percent annual economic growth rate would be needed to maintain unemployment at 4 percent. Such a rate of increase in production

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would require private capital investment equal to 15.8 percent of the gross national product. But this level of investment would require, in turn, that the federal government run an \$11.5 billion *surplus* annually, equal to 1.3 percent of national income.

In other words, Duesenberry is asserting that the government must become an instrument of *forced saving*, taxing more than it spends and channeling the difference into private capital. The Brookings study is significant not for its empirical validity but for the fact that it was done by a political liberal and Keynesian, whose support for fiscal conservatism cannot be dismissed as rightist ideological dogmatism or special pleading for financiers.

On a global scale, the capitalist class is driven to seek a solution to falling profitability in a massive transfer of resources from the state sector to private capital. When Ford opposes eliminating unemployment through a massive public works program on the grounds that a big jump in the budget deficit would "crowd out" private investment, he is empirically correct. That is why the ruling-class determination to slash government spending is so strong.

Bourgeois Economic Pessimism

In analyzing the present sorry state of the world capitalist economy, some bourgeois commentators even refer to Marxism. For example, the well-known business economist Peter F. Drucker wrote this remarkable and pessimistic assessment last summer:

"Yet Marx's basic logic was impeccable. If indeed the productivity of capital were to decline inexorably, a system based on market-allocation of capital—that is, the free-enterprise system—could survive no more than a few short and crisis ridden decades. The most disturbing fact in today's world economy may, therefore, be the reversal since the early '60's of the long secular trend towards higher productivity of capital in the developed countries."

—Wall Street Journal, 24 July 1975

As a bourgeois ideologue, Drucker cannot recognize the falling rate of profit as inherent to capitalist economic relations. Like the 19th-century classical British economist David Ricardo, Drucker empirically recognizes the falling rate of profit, but attributes it to an external factor—in this case the declining rate of technological change.

Four years ago we published an article entitled "The Myth of Neo-Capitalism" (*RCY Newsletter*, January-February 1972) attacking the liberal Keynesian/social-democratic notion that the expansion of state expenditure ("unproductive labor" in Marxist terminology) is a source of permanent stability and economic

growth. The concluding sentence stated:

"The expansion of 'unproductive labor,' which all neo-capitalist theorists see as the key to post-war economic stability, actually drives down the rate of profit intensifying the contradictions of capitalism."

It is this fact which lies behind the "capital gap" and the current international offensive of fiscal austerity.

For the Transitional Program

The incompatibility of a tight labor market with high profits and the impossibility of full employment under capitalism are certainly no secret to the capitalists and their politicians. This is the cornerstone of Ford's austerity policies. Even the liberal economists who drafted the Hawkins-Humphrey

the recent Hard Times conference in Chicago, which brought together "critical Maoists" and unregenerate New Leftists, took up the SWP theme, calling for a "People's Bill of Rights" including a demand for "useful jobs for all at a living wage and a decent income for all who are unable to work."

Such populist schemes are invariably combined with tax gimmicks calling on the bourgeois state to undertake a major redistribution of income from the rich to the poor. The SWP's electoral platform, for instance, demands "raising taxes on big industry and placing a 100 percent tax on all income over \$25,000." The more classic example is the Labor Committees' call for "taxing the banks." Like the harebrained schemes they are

needs of the workers to challenging the very framework of the capitalist system. Thus the Spartacist League calls on the trade unions to organize the unemployed, demanding unconditional, unlimited unemployment benefits at full pay, financed by the corporations and the government. Unemployment, SUB pay and welfare benefits must be consolidated into a single fund at the highest level. Laid-off workers must have unlimited job recall rights (in addition to retaining union membership). Medical care and city transportation must be made available to all free of cost.

But simply ameliorating the economic situation of the unemployed is not enough. The unions must launch a



Unemployment line, 1975.

Ken Reagan/Camera 5

bill (notably Leon Keyserling, a hold-over from Truman times) and their friends in the AFL-CIO hierarchy recognize it. In negotiations between the unions, Humphrey and the Congressional Black Caucus to draft a common "full-employment" bill, it has been reported that "the economists doing the drafting have about decided that an unemployment rate of 3 percent... cannot be reached in less than four years"; and that a key element of such legislation is state wage controls (*New York Times*, 16 February).

But this does not stop a myriad of phony socialist groups from hailing bourgeois full-employment legislation. The biggest booster of such hoaxes on the left is predictably the ultra-reformist Communist Party. The 21 January 1975 *Daily World* hailed the Hawkins-Humphrey bill as providing for "a worker's inalienable right to a job" and announced a nationwide series of demonstrations pushing it. The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, however, is not so trustful of simple laws, and like the good legalists that they are, SWPers are now promoting a cockeyed scheme to write full employment into the U.S. Constitution!

Meanwhile, the small fry that hang around the CP periphery have their own variations on the theme. The Communist Labor Party, a Maoist group which has lately taken to spouting the virtues of détente, mobilized its supporters for a Detroit city council meeting last spring to demand full federal funding of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). The Stalinoid Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) is sticking with the 1946 Employment Act. On the other hand,

supposed to finance—e.g., the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People"—these tax "reforms" are nothing but a joke. Despite diehard reactionaries' year-in, year-out fulminations against the "socialist" income tax, the bourgeoisie would not submit to a tax reform fundamentally altering the distribution of wealth.

In contrast to the fake-socialist hucksters, who propagate illusions that the capitalists can be forced to hand over their profits with a little bit of pressure, Marxists understand that bourgeois legislation cannot establish full employment; that it is ownership of the means of production which determines the distribution of income, not tax schemes; and that only expropriation of the capitalist class by a workers government can lay the basis for full employment.

Far from limiting our action to explaining the future benefits of socialism, however, Trotskyists raise a program of transitional demands which can mobilize the social force with the power to bring about fundamental economic change—the working class—in struggles which lead from the immediate

militant offensive to end unemployment. A class-struggle labor leadership would undertake coordinated strike action for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all. Faced with mass layoffs, it would answer by mobilizing the workers to seize the idle factories, demanding expropriation of shut-down firms and imposing workers control. But carrying out such a program and fighting for a workers government requires the construction of a revolutionary workers party, and a determined fight within the labor movement to oust the pro-capitalist Meanys who are incapable of more than begging a few jobs from their Democratic Party friends. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Militant ILWU-Teamster Warehouse Strike!

OAKLAND, February 19—With “master contracts” for northern California warehousemen expiring June 1, the contract convention for International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU) Local 6 meets on February 28. However, two “rap sessions” held in January to discuss the contract made it clear that the local union leadership of President Curtis McClain and Secretary-Treasurer Keith Eickman is not preparing for the necessary class battle. All McClain could come up with is a proposal for a 90 cent-per-hour increase over two or three years! This would not even keep up with the current rate of inflation, and does nothing to put unemployed union members back to work.

The Local 6 membership (Bay Area warehousemen) is currently saddled with 15 percent unemployment, and the employers, represented by the Distributors Association, have made use of these conditions to assault the union’s organized houses. For example, at Thrifty’s,

management’s drive for speed-up provoked a three-day unauthorized sit-down, which was beaten back by company threats of damage suits. Similarly, at Heublein’s, the workers held a ten-day “safety meeting” to force the company to repair unsafe equipment, but were forced to end their action under court order although three stewards were fired in the incident.

The Local leadership justified its criminal refusal to mobilize the membership in defense of these actions by pointing to the no-strike clause in the contract. Yet at the 1973 contract convention, it was the very same McClain and Eickman who joined ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer Lou Goldblatt in arguing vehemently against making elimination of this clause a strike demand. Then when the convention voted overwhelmingly to do precisely that, they ignored the vote and refused to report it in the *ILWU Dispatcher!*

The only group within the warehouse

division that has pointed consistently to the need for an effective mobilization of the membership in strike actions has been the Militant Caucus (publishers of *Warehouse Militant*). The caucus emerged in 1975 from among union members who were determined to reverse a series of defeats inflicted on the ILWU warehousemen. After ILWU Local 30 in Boron, California, lost 400 jobs to scabs brought in by U.S. Borax Co., the employers decided to import similar methods to KNC Glass in Oakland one year ago. However, by initiating mass picketing in defense of the strike and calling for “hot cargoing” of scab goods, union militants succeeded in averting a disastrous defeat.

Afterwards, the do-nothing Local 6 leadership, which gave grudging support to the mass picketing only after union members had responded en masse to a rank-and-file leaflet calling for such picketing, had the gall to accuse the authors of the leaflet of being “provoc-

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ILWU Local 6 president Curtis McClain.

At UAW Skilled Trades Conference

Woodcock Prepares Election-Year Sellout



WV Photo

UAW vice president Douglas Fraser speaking at recent Skilled Trades Conference.

DETROIT, February 19—“I goofed. I admit it. It will never happen again.” With those disingenuous words, apologizing for the high-handed manner in which he rammed through the disastrous auto contract in 1973, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock greeted the union’s Skilled Trades Conference which ended here yesterday. The only ones likely to give credence to this cynical song and dance, however, are the sycophantic local bureaucrats who constitute the bulk of the delegates at these conferences.

For auto workers ravaged by inflation and unemployment or facing overtime and speed-up in the plants, that contract betrayal is still a sore issue, although it didn’t show much at this bureaucratically locked-up conference. Auto craftsmen, who vote separately on the contract and have a veto right under official UAW rules, turned down the 1973 pact by a margin of four to one following revelation of a secret letter giving the companies the right to bring in production workers or subcontracted labor if skilled workers refused to do “voluntary” overtime. Production workers also rejected the contract until multiple bureaucratic re-votes finally produced a rigged “majority,” whereupon Woodcock declared it ratified.

That sellout was no “goof,” as the UAW president himself made clear defending it later before the union’s Public Review Board. Woodcock bragged about his willingness to violate the union constitution: “Even if a majority of the production workers had rejected the agreement [which they did], we would have signed it if we thought it was in the best interests of the workers,” he said! Today this is passed off as a simple “mistake.” Bureaucratic hypocrisy has no bounds.

Woodcock’s ham-fisted disregard for the democratic rights of the membership led to a resurgence of the International Society of Skilled Trades, a reactionary craft union which seeks to decertify the UAW as bargaining agent for skilled workers. Separatist sentiment had negligible support at the conference, however, and a resolution to establish separate skilled trades locals within the UAW failed to reach the floor of the conference for lack of support.

The “sincere” promises to obey democratically-expressed dictates of the membership this year rang hollow in view of the measures at the conference designed to muzzle membership discontent. Resolutions were reported out by a handpicked committee, with 180 delegate votes required to bring up a

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