

# SPARTACIST



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## BATTLE FOR ASIA

At the beginning of 1965 the Vietnamese liberation struggle seemed to many to be the spearhead of a continuing wave of anti-imperialist movements through Southeast Asia. The Chinese leaders stridently proclaimed that such "democratic national liberation struggles" would lead to the victorious encirclement of the advanced countries by the peasant countryside of the revolutionary colonial world. Writers of U.S. Foreign

Policy propaganda used a similar line of reasoning to justify the slaughter in Vietnam as an urgent effort to contain China.

Instead, during the past 15 months there has been a 180-degree turn in the tactical situation in Southeast Asia in favor of U.S. Imperialism. On 16 April, Secretary of State Rusk, speaking before the Senate Far East Subcommittee, explained a possible change in present China policy: "*We know—the whole world knows—that the Chinese Communists have suffered setbacks during the past 14 months. . . . They have suffered a major setback in Indonesia—the Indonesian Communist party has been decimated.*"

### TROTSKYISTS UNDER ATTACK

Once again Trotskyists are suffering the blows of capitalist and "socialist" oppressors alike. A leader of the Movimiento Revolucionario 13 has been killed in Guatemala and a visiting Trotskyist journalist jailed there; eight Trotskyists are being held in a Mexican jail and at least five have been imprisoned in Poland.

Protests mount against the persecutions in Poland. Most notably, Isaac Deutscher has addressed an open letter to Gomulka. So far less attention has been paid to those under attack in Latin America.

While many thousands of miles separate Poland from Latin America, ideology takes precedence over geography; and the bureaucratic rulers of Poland, the Guatemalan dictatorship and the "democratic" Mexican government respond identically to the threat of the ideas of Leon Trotsky.

#### Student Strike

Arrests in Mexico followed on the heels of a 43-day student strike at the National Autonomous University. Striking students in a massive demonstration occupied the University rector's office and forced Ignacio Chavez to sign his resignation. While it is not clear what role, if any, they played in these demonstrations, it was just after these April 25th demonstrations that supporters of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyists) were rounded up by Mexican police.

Adolfo Gilly, widely known for his articles in *Monthly Review* on the Cuban Revolution and the Guatemalan MR13, was the central figure in the government crackdown. Two of the arrested were Argentines, the other five were Mexican.

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#### Buddhist Front?

The bankruptcy of U.S. military policy in Vietnam, the present "civil war within a civil war," thus occurs at a time when the U.S. is compelled and able to consider and adopt new imperialist tactical policies which were not acceptable to Washington even a year ago. Washington must now seek to gain by political betrayal what it has failed to secure by military means; Rusk & Company must now seriously consider accepting the kind of "Buddhist"-dominated popular front government it ruled out during 1965.

A "Buddhist"-dominated popular front regime, even if it included representatives of the National Liberation Front, could prove to be a mere episode on the road to the victory of a stable counterrevolutionary regime in South Vietnam. The recent counterrevolution in Indonesia, like the preceding counterrevolution in Algeria, like China of 1925-27, demonstrates afresh that the military arm of "democratic national liberation forces," which Mao and Castro instruct us to support, is objectively a pro-capitalist force in the long run. At the first appropriate turn in the situation, the military arm of a popular front regime will slaughter the communists and the working-class vanguard. The generals then establish a government oriented to imperialist "aid." After all the sacrifices of the workers and peasants, the same old crap begins all over again—as in Algeria and Indonesia. Washington's main task is to find diplomatic agents in Moscow—and possibly Peking—to help suck the Viet Cong into this political trap.

#### Imperialism's Agents

As for Moscow, Washington can certainly depend upon Brezhnev & Company for something in the tradition of Yalta, Potsdam, Tashkent, etc. Despite the mili-

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# SPARTACIST

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June-July 1966

## REUNIFICATION SMASHED

The unity between the American Committee for the Fourth International and Spartacist has been smashed. The Trotskyist movement internationally and in the U.S. is being seriously disorganized by G. Healy and M. Banda, leaders of the British Socialist Labour League. The Healy group dominates the International Committee of the Fourth International, whose forces, including ourselves, we deem the essential political repository in this period of authentic revolutionary Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism.

The current wrecking campaign being pushed in the columns of the ACFI *Bulletin* and elsewhere represents a 180-degree turn away from the principled fusion line advanced by Healy at the October 1965, Montreal conference. Then Healy insisted, with our full concurrence, that the three-year-long unjustified (and, unprincipled) division between Spartacist and ACFI must be brought promptly to an end; ACFI-Spartacist fusion, he then insisted, was an absolute pre-condition for building the Trotskyist movement in the U.S.

Now, in the wake of the April London I.C. Conference (reported on in this issue) Healy, without offering any serious political pretext for his actions, has diverted the energies of the I.C. away from building an international to conducting a campaign of petty internecine warfare against those with whom, up to April, he proposed to unify. By his own criteria of last October, Healy has set out to wreck the revolutionary movement in the United States.

This compels Spartacist to evaluate this Healy with whom we have been in political solidarity since 1961. We must redefine our tasks in the light of this recent development.

### Healy's Line

The issue which Healy cites to justify his strange actions is that SPARTACIST editor, Robertson, refused

to denounce himself before the Conference as "a petty-bourgeois American chauvinist."

This incident proves, according to Healy, the political and organizational character of the entire Spartacist organization!

Now, the *Bulletin* and particularly Healy's voluminous personal correspondence to Spartacist and ACFI members, are filled with all sorts of charges against Spartacist. Most of these charges, it is interesting to note, are identical with objections to unification raised by Wohlforth at Montreal, where Healy denounced Wohlforth as a "non-Marxist" for his approach to Spartacist on just these grounds. Now, Healy reverts to this same "non-Marxist" nonsense—on the pretext that Robertson suddenly revealed his "true nature" in London.

### The Actual Issues

There is a consistent political issue underneath Healy's surface irrationalities. It was only with considerable negotiation that the Spartacist delegation at Montreal won the following concession from Healy: "Tactical disagreements on work in the U.S. will not be an obstacle to unity provided decisions do not contravene the basic documents of the world movement." Healy reluctantly agreed to the right of national sections to make their own tactical decisions, a right whose importance is demonstrated by the degeneration of the Comintern under Stalin: national leaderships reduced to incompetent, Kremlin-servile hacks devoid of revolutionary capacity.

Since Wohlforth had completely discredited himself at the joint ACFI-Spartacist New York membership meeting on the eve of the April Conference, Healy could no longer proceed on the (always false) assumption that a cohesive ACFI fraction under Wohlforth would simply march into and take over the "loose, activist" Spartacist organization. This weakening of Wohlforth's position was aggravated by the latter's political break with ACFI's proclaimed theoretical leader, L. Marcus, at the same time. If fusion were carried out, Wohlforth would enter Spartacist as representative of a doubly-isolated faction; Healy was faced with the prospect of an American section led by a bloc which would resist Healy's Cominternist practices. Under the circumstances, Healy could not accept fusion unless Robertson servilely degraded himself at the conference. Healy doesn't want any section in the I.C. that Healy himself does not control down to the last nut and bolt.

### What This Means

A section of Spartacist then forming the SWP Revolutionary Tendency had a similar experience with Healy in 1962. Healy insisted that the R.T. bloc with the Dobbs leadership of the SWP as a still genuinely revolutionary tendency, against Hansen, Weiss and Warde. R.T. leaders were given an ultimatum to sign such an agreement without discussion, vote or appeal. At that time the R.T. wrote: "One of the most serious implications of the mode of intervention of the SLL-IC is the question mark it places over the capacity of these comrades to rebuild the Fourth International on a solid basis. We must reserve final judgment until more of the circumstances are clear."

The circumstances are now quite clear. Healy and Banda, free-swinging figures in control of the SLL

party machinery, have, for the moment, an organizational hammerlock on the I.C. They have used their hammerlock at the recent conference to drive out a number of candidate and observer sections and thus dissipate an historic opportunity for refounding Trotsky's Fourth International. The Healy-Banda machine itself is now aptly characterized as "fake Leninist," a tendency whose real political character is displayed by its "clever" machine politics. That is to say, the experience of the Conference, taken together with other evidence from the history of the SLL, demonstrates that the Healy-Banda machine subordinates real political issues of agreement and disagreement to the exigencies of organizational issues and personal prestige politics. That organizational tendency is itself a political issue of the first order.

### Turn to SWP?

In late 1962, Healy broke with the R.T. for characterizing the SWP leadership as centrist. Barely half a year later, after his opportunistic maneuver had failed, Healy began describing that same SWP leader-

### Letter to ACFI Bulletin by W.W. of New Haven

17 May 1976

I am returning the bundle of 5 *Bulletins*, and ask that you discontinue sending me any more. This is apparently my only way of expressing my protest and indignation at the failure of unity between you and SPARTACIST, a failure carefully engineered by Healy and Co.

I am sure I speak for many unaffiliated comrades who had looked forward to the unification with great hope, and with the expectation of joining a united group. In my mind, I contrast the rigid, bureaucratic, and authoritarian actions and *method* of Healy with the patient, even pedagogical attitude of Trotsky, when he was trying to build the Fourth International.

ship as total betrayers of Trotskyism without redeeming quality. Now, in the wake of the new split with Spartacist, Healy again makes certain moves toward a new maneuver with that same SWP leadership. In a letter to two Spartacist members, he justifies the split on the grounds that unification "would have strengthened the anti-internationalist trend of the SWP." Then, in the 21 May *Newsletter*, after over six months' intensive denunciation of the SWP's Anti-War line in the *Newsletter* and *Bulletin*, Healy comments on the killing of a Detroit YSAer by a deranged person by praising the anti-war struggle of the SWP! In any case, the smashing of ACFI-Spartacist fusion is a gift to the revisionist SWP.

### ACFI

We refrained from advancing conclusive judgments of ACFI until recently. The recent experience, added to our intimate acquaintance with Wohlforth and his circle over many years, brought us to the conclusion that he represents a *literary left-centrist tendency*. This was graphically revealed at the time of the NYC October 16 Peace Parade. Then while the *Bulletin* was correctly attacking the popular-front nature of the Parade Committee, at the same time the ACFI member-

ship was marching under the discipline of that committee, and refused to carry any slogans other than the officially approved "Stop the War in Vietnam Now."

However, the ACFI with which we proposed to fuse consisted of more than the original eight members of Wohlforth's SWP sectlet. Both experienced and new Marxists had been drawn to ACFI on the basis of the I.C.'s political program. ACFI's greatest rate of growth occurred on the basis of its perspective of fusion with Spartacist. Now, since Wohlforth first called fusion off in an outburst at the March 20th joint membership meeting, over a quarter of ACFI's nearly forty members has dropped from the organization or joined with L. Marcus and Carol Lawrence in carrying out fusion with Spartacist. Of those who remain in ACFI, a majority are simply unwilling to break with Healy's "junior Comintern," despite their contempt for the Wohlforth leadership clique; how many hang on remains to be seen.

### We Go Ahead

We firmly believe that real politics shapes the direction of organizations far more decisively than organizational and personal issues. At the same time the latter interact with and are therefore a part of real politics. It is from that that we draw the lessons of the April Conference and define our tasks flowing from it.

We draw appropriate political conclusions from the organizational wrecking practices of Healy and Wohlforth. However, we do not close the door to them, much less to all those forces within the I.C. who are their victims. Yet, from Healy and Wohlforth, in particular, we will need evidence of an inner-revolution before collaboration would be possible. So long as they remain on their present bankrupt course, we are locked in an implacable struggle to cleanse the revolutionary movement of their poisonous influence.

In our final statement to the I.C. Conference, with expulsion but minutes away in a grotesque, petty frame-up that gives the real measure of the Healy clique, we said: "If the comrades go ahead to exclude us from this Conference, we ask only what we have asked before—study our documents, including our present draft on U.S. work before you now, and our work over the next months and years. We will do the same, and a unification of the proper Trotskyist forces will be achieved, despite this tragic setback."

In addition to extending our international ties and functioning as a conscious detachment of the world movement within the U.S., we have the duty to go on to build a strong American section rooted in the class struggle and to push forward our understanding through the inner-struggle confrontation between our acquired lessons from yesterday and the endless new challenges that are inherent in social life. We shall go forward, let our enemies beware! ■

draft "Theses on Building the Revolutionary Movement in the U.S.—Tasks of the Spartacist League" by the Spartacist delegation to the International Committee Conference in London, April 1966.

a copy free on request from Spartacist, Box 1377,  
G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001

# ... ATTACK

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After the Trotskyists (who are supporters of the Posadas tendency) were beaten for three days, suitable "confessions" were extracted. The eight were then brought to a preliminary hearing. At the hearing all "confessions" were repudiated. Instead the arrested Mexicans affirmed their membership in the POR and stated that their party seeks better wages for workers, land for the peasants and the expropriation of North American industries. Under the judge's questioning one of the arrested Argentines affirmed that he belonged to the POR of his own country. No bail was set at the hearing, and at this writing the eight have yet to have formal charges brought against them so that bail can be set and their release negotiated.

## Guatemalan Murder

*Red Flag*, organ of the English Revolutionary Workers Party (Posadist), in its May issue reported the recent murder of Francisco Amado Granados. The newspaper states that Granados, a leader of MR13, was murdered by the Guatemalan dictatorship with the support of the Guatemalan Communist Party.

In Guatemala, another Mexican Trotskyist student was arrested. David Aguilar Mora, editor of *Voz Obrero* (organ of the Mexican POR) was in Guatemala as a journalist reporting on MR13. *Voz Obrero*, reported his arrest in its December 25 issue. Not much is now known concerning David Aguilar because he is still being held incommunicado by the Guatemalan dictatorship; however, it is feared that he has been tortured in order to extract a false confession and his life may now be in danger.

## Tied Together

For empiricists like the SWP, what happens in Cuba has no substantial relationship to what happens in Mexico or Guatemala. Yet when Fidel Castro singled out Trotskyism, and most particularly the Posadas tendency, for attack at the Tri-Continental Conference, he was also fingering these comrades to the police. To the extent that Castro still represents the socialist revolution to the working people of Latin America, what he says will be a big factor in determining the vulnerability of small groups like the POR which set themselves apart from the anti-revolutionary line of the Cuban leadership.

Castro's attack against Trotskyism allowed the Latin American governments to use "friendship" with the Cuban regime as a left cover for anti-revolutionary acts. Unless the counter-revolutionary line of the Castro leadership and the resultant slanders against Trotskyism are decisively repudiated, the freeing of the imprisoned Trotskyists in both Mexico and Guatemala becomes more difficult.

## "Coexistence"

The threads which connect events in Mexico, Guatemala and Poland are tied in Cuba. Castro's betrayal of the Latin American revolution comes at the same time as his total commitment to the Soviet camp in the Sino-Soviet dispute. His conscious turn toward

"peaceful coexistence" with the United States parallels the current turn to Libermanism in the Soviet bloc countries—decentralization of industry controls coupled with greater integration of these industries into the world market.

In order to make this turn, which demands that products be competitive on the world market, Soviet-bloc technicians resort to many of the same techniques as their efficiency-expert counterparts in the capitalist countries—speedup and a reduced standard of living for the workers. Under such circumstances the voice of revolutionary Trotskyism becomes intolerable. Under such circumstances the "liberal" Gomulka regime moved to silence the voice of criticism.

## Polish Trial

Ludwik Hass and at least five others have been imprisoned following a Stalin-style political trial. Hass has been a Trotskyist since the late 30's and as a result spent 18 years in Soviet prison camps. After he was released in 1957, he joined the Polish CP but continued to uphold his Trotskyist positions. Finally, Hass and others in his group prepared a 128-page political platform that included a characterization of the Polish regime as a bureaucratic dictatorship and a call for proletarian internationalism and workers' democracy. The creation and distribution of the political platform precipitated the arrests in April 1965 of from 12 to 15 and the trial of fewer numbers in July 1965 and January 1966. Although all of the details concerning the trial are not yet clear, it appears that most of the defendants received prison sentences of three to three and one-half years. At their trial, the defendants reaffirmed a Trotskyist position. They led the spectators in singing the Internationale and gave the communist salute.

This rebirth of Trotskyism in the Soviet bloc comes at a time of political unrest. An aggressive, vocal clergy in Poland is agitating for a return to capitalism. Despite crimes that have been committed in the name of "Marxist-Leninism," despite the general apathy and cynicism that have resulted from the corrupt relationships formed in a deformed worker's state, revolutionary ideas have again taken root.

## Uncompromising Defense

While Deutscher should be given credit for coming to the defense of the Polish Trotskyists, he condemns himself in his own words: "... not being a member of any political organization, Trotskyist or otherwise, I am speaking only for myself. I should add, however, that on a few very rare occasions I have broken my self-imposed political abstinence."

Failure to understand the crucial role of the revolutionary party can only disarm the workers' movement and leave it open to attack. Self-styled friends of revolution who support bureaucratic regimes (the SWP with Fidel; Deutscher with his thesis that Stalinism will reform itself) in the long run open the workers' movement to just such attacks as have recently occurred in Mexico, Guatemala and Cuba.

Although we do not know the full program of the Polish group and though we do have significant political differences with the Posadist tendency, it would be unprincipled to offer our persecuted comrades anything less than uncompromising defense. ■

# ASOC Dissolves

At the conference of the American Socialist Organizing Committee held over Easter in New York City, Bob Brown moved to dissolve the organization after two years of existence. A national referendum was to be held to decide the question. Thus what was an attempt to build a national organization of left "third camp" socialists has proved to be a failure.

Leading to the dissolution was a sharp internal division over the question of whether or not to call for the victory of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam. One group, whose position has been articulately expressed by Kim Moody of Baltimore, holds that the Stalinist leadership of the NLF constitutes an "incipient ruling class," and therefore anyone lending any form of support to the NLF would be regarded by radical workers as "traitors of the people."

## Support the NLF?

The opposition, led by Brown and Barton, correctly insists on the anti-imperialist nature of the current struggle by the NLF against the U.S. They call for critical support to the NLF by revolutionary socialists. It has been reported that Barton and Brown have declared that they are no longer third campers.

In protest against the proposed dissolution, a conference was held in Baltimore on 1 May. Present were those people from Philadelphia and Baltimore who have remained in ASOC and members of the Baltimore Independent Socialist Union. The conference established an editorial board which is to put out a bi-monthly discussion bulletin. This can only be a transient organizational form, a way station for the "third campers" as they move to the right or left.

## Joins Spartacist

On 26 April Joe Verret, a young New Orleans militant, resigned from ASOC. We quote him: "... I HAVE JOINED SPARTACIST. I feel that this organization by virtue of its political stands represents the only hope of building a Marxist-Leninist Vanguard in this country—i.e., building a revolution in this country. I encourage all those in ASOC who see the need for a vanguard to be built in this country to follow the road which I have taken. It is not possible to build a revolution on the petty-bourgeois muck which is the organizational and theoretical ground of the ASOC."

Former members of ASOC! You would do well to follow Comrade Verret's example. We urge that you reconsider the five points which we put before you at the YPSL convention just before the founding of ASOC. Once again we present these five points

for discussion. If we can come to essential programmatic agreement on them we will have the basis for fruitful collaboration.

1. For defense of the Cuban Revolution against U.S. imperialism. The struggle for national liberation by the colonial countries is a struggle against imperialism. There is no neutral ground for revolutionary socialists. Either you defend the Cuban revolution or you are a party to efforts by the U.S. government to reestablish its dominance in Cuba. Either you defend the Vietnamese revolution or you are a party to armed aggression against the Vietnamese people. In the 1956 Suez crisis revolutionary socialists supported Egypt against British and French imperialism. We are not neutralists. We struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the working class in all countries. As the recent right turn of the Castro leadership illustrates, the best defense of the Cuban revolution will be accomplished by the working class as it assumes power against the present bureaucratic regime.

2. Against U.S. imperialism's war to crush the South Vietnam Liberation Front; for military support to North Vietnam against U.S. imperialism. Critical support to the NLF is basic for revolutionary socialists. Differences as to the nature of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or of the National Liberation Front should not prevent unified action if there is agreement on the need to support the struggles of the Vietnamese people against imperialism.

3. Against federal troops to the South; for armed self-defense by the Negro people. It is clear that the American ruling class is incapable of carrying out the demands of the black people of the South. Only organized armed self-defense by the Negro people can stop the wanton murdering by Klansmen and racist cops in the South and in the urban ghettos.

4. For critical support to the SWP's DeBerry-Shaw electoral campaign. Even though the 1964 election is over, the principle of non-sectarian support to candidates with a working-class platform, independent of the Democratic or Republican Parties still stands.

5. For YPSL disaffiliation from the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation. (ASOC, of course, did break from the SP-SDF although in a maneuverist way, using an organizational technicality.) In the struggle against counter-revolutionary Stalinism, the equally important struggle against the reformist social-democracy must never be neglected.

It was on the basis of agreement with these five points that the YPSL Revolutionary Tendency and Spartacist achieved unity in 1964. ■

## BALTIMORE "TOWN SOCIALIST"

(The following is reprinted from a column in the Baltimore Evening Sun of 21 July 1965.)

The town socialist, A. Robert Kaufman, who was removed from the podium by police at the request of city councilmen at the earnings tax hearing, has recently switched his allegiance on the Far Left from the Socialist Workers party to the Spartacists. He says the latter splinter group is "more militant."

### Anti-Vietnam War

Mr. Kaufman impressed the councilmen as irrelevant when he took time earmarked for the local tax proposal testimony and used it, in part, to denounce the United States role in Vietnam.

The Spartacists, who bear the name of the German Communists who fought Nazis in the streets in the 1930's, favor a complete United States withdrawal from Vietnam and oppose any negotiation of the war there.

### Recent Local Growth

According to the paper, "a number of applications" for membership were "recently received from the Baltimore area" at Spartacist headquarters in New York. The outfit wants the South Vietnam government to lose, but a correspondent in the Spartacist paper also denounces the North Vietnam Communist government as "Stalinist . . . neutralist . . . democratic and middle class."

### Abandons SWP

The Socialist Workers party that Mr. Kaufman has abandoned has also been classified as Trotskyist, and it also visualizes itself in the vanguard. But it has never called the North Vietnam Communists "middle class." It has never forthrightly denounced Communist Cuba for anything.

The Spartacists Mr. Kaufman now joins appear to be way, way out (with a second headquarters in Berkeley, Cal., where the riotous college students are). Whither the Far Left? The old Socialist party, or democratic socialists, are passive and no longer make much pretense of being in the vanguard. The old orthodox Communists appear to be considerably less militant than the Spartacists.

How many "Stalinist" Communists have caused the City Council to call the police lately? ■

## THIRD I.C. CONFERENCE

# Defeat for World Trotskyism

It is a bitter irony that the *News-letter* (organ of the British Socialist Labour League) headlined its article on the April Conference of the International Committee "Rebuilding the Fourth International." The signal accomplishment of the conference: the *Voix Ouvriere* (a French Trotskyist group previously unconnected to either the I.C. or the United Secretariat) was driven away and Spartacist expelled. Thus the Fourth International was "rebuilt."

The break with Spartacist was accomplished over a transparent organizational pretext. SPARTACIST editor James Robertson, a delegate to the conference, excused himself from one afternoon session, and refused later to "confess" that his absence was either a violation of principle or the expression of "petty-bourgeois American chauvinism." His failure to make the "proper apology" was deemed a departure from democratic centralism. It was grotesque that an international split should be precipitated by an undeclared rule on attendance which was applied only to the Spartacist delegation; so grotesque, in fact, that no section of the I.C. has yet found the courage to make this fact public.

On the contrary, the American Committee for the Fourth International, which had formerly proclaimed itself ardent advocate of unity, has suddenly "discovered" that the positions of Spartacist are incompatible with participation in the I.C., fabricating a smokescreen of political accusations in the *ACFI Bulletin* of 9 May 1966, to explain the unexpected break.

### A Critical Review

Since all supporters of a principled unification among revolutionary Trotskyists must be surprised and confused at this about-face, it is necessary to review critically the political contributions and events at the London Conference, in order to determine what precipitated the split.

The major report of the conference was given by Cliff Slaughter, secretary of the I.C., on "Rebuilding the Fourth International," the international resolution before the Conference. Incorporated in the summary by Slaughter was a vehement attack on the political activity and character of Spartacist

and a special attack upon Robertson, as noted above. While our delegation voted in support of the resolution, they perforce abstained on the vote on the Slaughter report.

### Where We Stand

Spartacist came to the conference because we were in basic political agreement with the main positions published by the International Committee. We remain in basic political agreement with the I.C. Resolution, despite particular exceptions.

Comrade Slaughter characterized the present objective context as one of "deepening crisis of imperialism," especially since 1956. He saw the working class as both increasingly restive the world over and rapidly exposing and rejecting the traditional labor bureaucracies. He described the rise of Pabloite revisionism as the reflection of conscious effort by the bourgeoisie to disorient and bridle the vanguard of the working class. Nevertheless, he declared, Pabloism has now been defeated decisively, and the struggle for leadership of the working class is the immediate task. The superiority of the I.C., he asserted, lies in its understanding of "Leninist methods of party-building and in Marxist theory."

The V.O. group stated a counter position that Pabloism has been the reflex of the petty-bourgeois composition of the Fourth International since World War II.

On the third morning of the Conference, Comrade Robertson's turn on the speakers' list was reached. He expressed Spartacist's fundamental agreement with the line of the International Resolution and of the report, but he took the opportunity to make clear certain differences. (His remarks are printed in this issue, below.) Comrade Robertson then missed the session which followed the delivery of his remarks. Although three members of the Spartacist delegation were in attendance at the session, fully empowered to take part in the discussion, this absence by Comrade Robertson was made the excuse for a violent attack upon our organization.

### Spartacist Expelled

During the session missed by Robertson, Michael Banda of the SLL chose

as his comment on the Slaughter report a sharp political attack upon Spartacist's positions. In the evening session which followed organizational issues of "indiscipline" were raised.

Attacks upon Spartacist continued for a twenty-four hour period during which the Healy group tried to create some political pretext for the expulsion. Finding none, they were left with the original shabby organizational pretext.

It should be noted that Robertson had informed Comrade Healy (National Secretary of the SLL) of his intended absence, and that furthermore upon returning to the conference he explained to the assembled delegates that he had known of no rule demanding his attendance, that he had had no intention of not following protocol and would certainly adhere to all rules in the future.

### ACFI's Feeble Effort

What was the reason for this vehement assault? The *Bulletin* makes a feeble effort to provide some motivation. Thus: "Robertson stated that he was in general agreement with the report (of Cliff Slaughter) but showed that he had no understanding and in reality no agreement with its fundamental method and line."

In evidence for this fantastic interpretation, the *Bulletin* points to Spartacist's evaluation of the short-run stabilization of capitalism in the colonial world after the recent defeats sustained by the working class in the backward nations. Because Robertson has noted this temporary set-back for working-class forces, he is blind to the "unity of the crisis." If by unity of the crisis it is meant that despite interim advances the capitalist class cannot resolve or suppress the contradictions in society, then Spartacist vigorously concurs. But if the *Bulletin* and the I.C., whose line it represents, desires to translate every defeat into a victory, to treat the crushing reversal, say, in Indonesia, as a new, higher stage in the struggle for socialism, that is another matter; so the Comintern in 1933 viewed Hitler's rise to power as the springboard for the proletarian revolution. The revolutionary conviction of Spartacist is based, not on euphoric optimism, but on confidence

in the working class with the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party to become conscious of its mission to liberate society from the stranglehold of capital.

### Negro Question

In a similar vein, the *Bulletin* article suggests that Spartacist's special approach to the Negro question disparages the white working class. This is especially dishonest of our ACFI comrades since it is they who went along with the SWP abdication to Black Nationalism in 1963. Spartacist comrades, then known within the SWP as the Revolutionary Tendency, voted for a revolutionary integrationist counter-resolution and have maintained a consistent position since then on the need for a class rather than national analysis of the Negro question.

To be fair, ACFI has since modified its line on this question, publishing in its *Bulletin* a revised position which characterizes the Negro people as a people-class, in analogy to A. Leon's characterization of the Jewish people as a people-class. Strangely, the ACFI delegation in London remained silent while Spartacist was denounced by Greek and French delegates for having an ACFI-like people-class line on the Negro question.

Why this sudden switch in line by ACFI, this insensitivity to the special position of Negroes in the U.S.? Because ACFI, like puppets on a string, must now view American questions in British terms.

### Propaganda OR Agitation?

With "inexorable logic," the *Bulletin* article plods to the inevitable conclusion: Spartacist is only a propaganda group, incapable of fusing theory with action. Yet Tim Wohlforth, the uneasy ACFI leader, missed his signals and submitted to the London Conference a revealing document, "Some Comments on Perspectives for the Fused Movement," which concluded: "*The Spartacist comrades, while insisting on a propagandistic course, have done more to break out of an exclusive propagandistic existence than we have.*" While Spartacist comrades have been arrested some twenty times over the past three years as a result of our active participation in the civil-rights movement, we have yet to hear of one single ACFI member facing similar persecution! This striking difference reveals the truth.

The final argument, all others failing, is that Robertson "*did not agree that the I.C. and only the I.C. represents the continuity of the movement.*" If the Spartacist comrades did not believe that the I.C. was a political heir of Trotskyism, why have they sought unity within a disciplined International? The *Bulletin* intends something more: servile subordination is demanded.

### No Bolshevik Discipline!

Most ironical: the I.C. is not an International: it has no discipline, at least not for the privileged British and French sections. The I.C. has instead accepted the position that "*The only method of arriving at decisions that remains possible at present is the principle of unanimity.*" Yet it demands complete, unquestioning "discipline" from its sympathizers, even on the level of organizational trivia. Our friends in ACFI recently refused debate with us without first "clearing it."

For Robertson to have "apologized" in London would have meant that Spartacist would have accepted ACFI's puppet role in the international movement. This kind of subordination is political suicide.

It remains to answer why the Healy group in the I.C. chose to wreck the immediate prospects for rebuilding the Fourth International by driving out the V.O. group and expelling Spartacist. In the light of this how shall we evaluate the revolutionary potential of

the Socialist Labour League despite its obvious achievements?

### Behind the Split

In one sense, the remarks of Comrade Robertson did bring on the split. Clearly, the I.C. felt unable to tolerate a disciplined but vigorous and independent tendency within its ranks. This is the organizational reality behind the expulsion, behind the lies and distortions in the *Bulletin*. But what, in turn, is the political explanation for the monolithic bureaucratism of the I.C. and especially of its chief section, the SLL of Britain?

Rigid bureaucracy in a workers' movement always reveals fundamental lack of confidence in party members and ultimately in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. The Healy group has demonstrated a fundamental incapacity to build a world revolutionary movement. It is up to Spartacist along with other sections of the International Committee to construct a leadership to that end. ■

## Spartacist Statement to International Conference

**REMARKS made during the discussion of Cliff Slaughter's Political Report at the International Committee Conference by Comrade Robertson on 6 April 1966 on behalf of the Spartacist delegation (with minor editorial corrections.)**

In behalf of the Spartacist group, I greet this Conference called by the International Committee. This is the first international participation by our tendency; we are deeply appreciative of the opportunity to hear and exchange views with comrades of the world movement.

Therefore, we feel we have the responsibility to present to you our specific views where they are both relevant and distinctive, without adapting or modifying them for the sake of a false unanimity which would do us all a disservice, since we have, in our opinion, some valuable insights to offer:

We are present at this Conference on the basis of our fundamental agreement with the International Resolution of the I.C.; moreover, the report of Comrade Slaughter was for us solidly communist, unified throughout by revolutionary determination.

### 1. What Pabloism Is

The central point of the Conference is "The Reconstruction of the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism."

Therefore the issue, "What is Pabloism?" has properly been heavily discussed. We disagree that Pabloism is but the expression of organic currents of reformism and Stalinism, having no roots within our movement. We also disagree with *Voix Ouvriere's* view that Pabloism can be explained simply by reference to the petty-bourgeois social composition of the F.I., any more than one could explain the specific nature of a disease by reference solely to the weakened body in which particular microbes had settled.

Pabloism is a revisionist answer to new problems posed by the post-1943 Stalinist expansions. And Pabloism has been opposed within the movement by a bad "orthodoxy" represented until the last few years by the example of Cannon. We must answer new challenges in a truly orthodox fashion: as Gramsci put it, we must develop Marxist doctrine through its own extension, not by seeking eclectic absorption of new alien elements, as Pabloism has done.

The pressure which produced Pabloism began in 1943, following the failure of Leon Trotsky's perspective of the break-up of the Soviet bureaucracy and of new October revolutions in the aftermath of the war: this failure resulted from the inability to forge revolutionary parties. After 1950, Pabloism dominated the F.I.; only when

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tant bombast from Peking, the diplomatically-isolated, politically-crisis-ridden Chinese regime has demonstrated in the cases of Algeria and Indonesia that it will frequently betray revolutionary principles in favor of the most opportunistic diplomatic maneuvers with counterrevolutionary regimes. As for the intended victim, the politically-amorphous, peasant-based South Vietnamese National Liberation Front has the same fundamental weaknesses that led to the betrayal and defeat of so many similar movements in other countries.

Such a turn in Imperialist Vietnamese policy is made possible by the present wave of counterrevolution throughout the semi-colonial world. However, whether the U.S. will actually be able to reap the fruits of that tactical advantage in Vietnam and elsewhere depends on the objective conditions tending to bring forth fresh revolutionary struggles and on the qualities of leadership provided for new revolutionary forces. An effective international revolutionary movement can, during an upsurge, upset any betrayals being engineered in the embassies.

### Not Stable

The objective conditions for new revolutionary upsurges exist throughout the semi-colonial world in general. U.S. Imperialism has thus far failed to solve the underlying economic causes for the state of more or less perpetual social crisis in those regions. Nor are Imperialism's immediate prospects for changing that particularly sound: the presently deteriorating balance of payments problems of the U.S. and Britain are only exemplary of the conditions in the home countries of Imperialism which militate against subsidies in the quantity and kind required to reverse the spiraling economic decline of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Thus, the immediate strategic perspective is for new revolutionary ferment in major sectors of the colonial world, coupled with a rise in preconditions for parallel ferment in even the advanced countries.

Now, but for the small pro-Trotskyist MR-13 movement in tiny Guatemala, there is virtually no even semi-qualified revolutionary leadership in any colonial or semi-colonial country where ferment is occurring or apparently imminent. Movements without a qualified and selected leadership will mainly be crushed by imperialist intervention and counterrevolution. How to remedy this is the key question. The strategic outlooks of Imperialism and Socialism, respectively, in Southeast Asia and elsewhere depend on the question of a qualified revolutionary leadership.

It is to this end that the revolutionaries must immediately draw the lessons of Indonesia and the recent Tri-continental Conference at Havana.

### Qualified Leadership

To prevent the defeat and betrayal of revolutions, the leadership must be Marxist. Only a leadership schooled in Marxist economics can master the technical problems of seizing and holding state power, can avoid turning the revolutionary state into an instrument for greater national and international economic bungling—as the Castro leadership has bungled. In a colonial or semi-colonial country, even a socialist revolution can be only a kind of "holding-operation," economically, and its leadership must negotiate the treacherous waters of world trade and finance with scientific precision. A leadership which might attempt to build "socialism in one country" must flounder from crisis to crisis. The economic blunders inherent in a non-Marxist or pseudo-Marxist regime can only contribute to the greater misery and demoralization of its people, while giving the possibly decisive tactical advantages to the imperialist enemy.

Such a party must be a party of the working-class. While the initiating cadres of a Leninist party are invariably recruited from the revolutionary intelligentsia, this intelligentsia becomes the active leadership of the working-class and *politically* thereby a part of the class. Every other class, including the peasantry, is by its nature inclined toward capitalist ideology, and tends to represent a pro-capitalist, if temporarily anti-imperialist, force during and—especially—after the struggle for national "liberation."

It is a party which constantly struggles to gain every material advantage, including the control of the decisive armed force, for the workers. It is a revolutionary leadership in the way in which it prepares for and carries out the tasks of insurrection: not to dispose its forces for combat prematurely, thus giving the enemy a tactical advantage, nor to let the moment for insurrection slip by without the rapid concentration of the revolutionary forces for a decisive blow against all of the institutions and power held by the enemy.

It is a party which prepares for victory through a struggle for the ideological hegemony of Marxism over the workers and their allies, by confronting anti-Marxism and exposing "fake Marxism" in all facets of the struggle for the supremacy of ideas.

### Lesson of Indonesia

The slaughter of hundreds of thousands of communists by the Indonesian counterrevolutionaries is a three-fold indictment of the Chinese leadership

and world Maoism. Since the Indonesian CP was under the hegemony of Peking, the crushing defeat of that party, unarmed and not organized to materially defend itself against Suharto's butchers, is the most devastating proof of the incompetence of Mao & Company. Secondly, out of *Peking Review's* own mouth, we learn that the Peking leadership subordinated the lives of Indonesian communists to opportunistic diplomatic maneuvering with the butchers. Thirdly, the bungling and betrayal of the Indonesian revolution by Mao and by the Maoist Aidit leadership of the Indonesian CP is the natural outcome of the political program and perspectives of world Maoism.

The Maoist program today is a modern version of the line of the 1917 Russian Mensheviks: "Russia is not yet ripe for the socialist revolution; we must first support the victory of the capitalist revolution in backward countries." This was also the view supported by certain "Old Bolsheviks," including Stalin, until Lenin beat them into line with his famous "April Theses." After Lenin's death, Stalin resurrected this social-democratic line and used his authority in the Comintern to impose it upon the Chinese CP. So, under the direction of Stalin, the Chinese CP subordinated itself to the Chiang Kai Chek machine both organizationally and ideologically. The result was the slaughter of the Chinese communists and the workers' vanguard by the military arm of Chiang Kai Chek's Kuomintang.

So, the Stalinist, Mao, continuing the role of his great teacher, subordinated the revolutionary interests of the Indonesian people to the diplomatic maneuvers of China with Sukarno—and Suharto. So, the Indonesian CP, under Mao's tutelage, followed a course which was a suicidal replica of the policy which led to the slaughter of Chinese Communists during 1925-27. The Indonesian CP subordinated itself organizationally and ideologically to Sukarno's equivalent of the Kuomintang, the "Nasakom" movement; the main cadres of the Indonesian CP were butchered by the military arm of Sukarno's Nasakom—"intang."

The "fake Marxist" Indonesian Maoists not only failed to physically arm the communist forces in that country, but are even more fundamentally guilty by virtue of their refusal to arm the revolutionary forces ideologically. In a country in which the struggle for hegemony of Marxist ideas has been effectively conducted, at the moment of crisis the great mass of class forces and their allies, including those in the army, come over to the revolutionary side with their weapons in hand. The Indonesian CP betrayed the revolution in its own country by subordinating itself and its supporters to

Sukarno's Nasakom ideology. In this way the Maoists strengthened the hegemony of anti-Marxist ruling ideas over those same students and soldiers who, in the moment of crisis, butchered pro-communist men, women and children indiscriminately.

**Peking's Guilt**

Lest there be any doubt concerning Peking's implication in that defeat and slaughter. No amount of zeal by the most ardent pro-Maoist can produce a single word of political analysis of this defeat from a published Peking source! For over six months—from the October butchery until its 29 April issue—*Peking Review* had much space to give to such profound Indonesian matters as the theft of a plaque from Chinese embassy property, but not a word on the hundreds of thousands of communist corpses choking Indonesia's rivers. As *Renmin Ribao* (organ of the Mao regime) claimed in its 30 March editorial, "Up till today, the Chinese press has not even published a single commentary on the change in the situation

in Indonesia in recent months." Why this suppression of the news by the Chinese press? *Renmin Ribao* is quite explicit: in the interests of maintaining meticulously correct diplomatic relations with the Indonesian butchers! This criminal suppression of the truth by Peking demonstrates that it, like Moscow, will in the last analysis betray a revolution in the interests of diplomatic maneuvering with a counter-revolutionary regime.

This confirms Trotsky's analysis of the political character of "communist" petty-bourgeois-led peasant revolutionary parties. When Preobrazhensky, in the late Twenties, raised the proposition that it might be possible for such a party to seize state power, Trotsky replied, "Suppose it suddenly does? A Chinese communist who reasons along such a prescription would cut the throat of the Chinese Revolution."

**Exceptional Circumstances**

But, the Maoists sagely protest, the CPC did take state power. In the "Transitional Program," drafted by

Trotsky and adopted by the 1938 Founding Conference of the Fourth International, one finds: "... one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.) the petty-bourgeois parties including the Stalinists may go further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie. . . ." The victory of the peasant CPC in the late Forties did occur along just these lines—over the objections of Stalin!—: "under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances," such as war, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressures, etc., and the conjunctural inability of the U.S. to intervene directly and massively in behalf of puppet Chiang. It was similar with Castro, who, "under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances," was impelled to violate every article of his original capitalist parliamentary commitments of January, 1959, to make a break with U.S. Imperialism and his own national bourgeoisie, and to orient to the Soviet economy and military-political bloc.

Granted, comrade Maoist, under these exceptional circumstances, Maoism or Castroism (another variant of Maoism) produced more or less stable regimes modeled on that of the Soviet bureaucrats. Is it then your "revolutionary" policy to build parties and programs which can lead to nothing but butchery of the revolutionary forces in all but completely exceptional circumstances?

That, in effect, has been the history of attempts to make revolutions according to the "peasant model." The "Castro prescription" in Latin America has sent uncounted bands of devoted revolutionary youth out of the cities, generally to be easily and soon slaughtered by the imperialist-supported militia. Maoism, which operates on a much larger scale than Castroism, displays its outcome by choking the rivers of Indonesia with communist corpses. The revolutionary who reasons along the prescription of the possible victory of Maoism or Castroism under completely exceptional circumstances thus cuts the throat of the revolution—as Trotsky warned.

**Outcome of Castroism**

All of the principles of Leninism were betrayed at the recent Tri-Continental Conference at Havana, at which Castro objectively strengthened the hegemony of bourgeois forces in Latin America. In his infamous address at that conference, Castro attacked the Guatemalan revolutionary movement, MR-13, demanding that MR-13's leader, Yon Sosa, abandon the proletarian revolution in favor of the



"BUT SIR, wouldn't you rather use rubber soles?"

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organization and program of that Stalinist renegade, Major Turcios. In supporting Turcios, guerrilla leader of the Moscow-oriented Guatemalan CP, Castro in practice demanded the liquidation of potentially Leninist movements in Latin America in favor of absolute subservience to the dictates of Moscow-Havana, and in favor of a program which has for the past seven years produced the repeated slaughter and defeat of young revolutionary cadres throughout that part of the Hemisphere.

What do Castro's lofty expressions of fervor for the revolution-in-general mean in practice? In practice, every delegate who left that conference in support of its resolutions went to his home country as an avowed enemy of the only potentially viable revolutionary leadership and program in Latin America. In practice, Castro's role was that of a betrayer of the socialist revolution.

### Overcome Maoism!

In Vietnam, the task of defeating U.S. invaders and frustrating Stalinist conference-table sell-outs takes these forms.

The present strikes and demonstrations against the Ky regime under—unfortunately!—the hegemony of the Buddhists expose the fundamental flaw in the program of the National Liberation Front. The revolutionary tactic in that country must be the insurrection—the simultaneous armed uprising of armed workers in the cities together with coordinated assaults in the countryside, in a single effort to destroy all the apparatus of the puppet regime and cripple the materiel pipelines of the Imperialist forces. *In the present situation, a strike wave which could be the decisive blow of the Vietnamese socialist revolution has been abandoned by the communists and consigned to the use of the Buddhists.* The Buddhist leaders, unless the communists intervene to prevent this, will attempt to use the power of the strike to bring down the Ky regime in favor of a Buddhist-dominated coalition equivalent to the Kuomintang or Nasakom. By abandoning the working-class struggle, by relegating it to the ideological and organizational hegemony of the militant Buddhist leaders, the NLF has strengthened the possibilities of a successful counterrevolution after a "democratic national liberation" government has been established. Despite all those qualities in which the NLF has distinguished itself most favorably from the Indonesian Maoists, the NLF still demonstrates those same fundamental political weaknesses which led to the victory of the counterrevolution in Indonesia.

Therefore, the immediate task in Vietnam itself is the formation of an independent underground Leninist party which intervenes organizationally and programmatically in the present anti-imperialist struggles of workers and students in the cities. While this party must not isolate itself by sectarianism—it must give even the Buddhist leaders critical support under certain conditions—absolutely no ideological or programmatic concessions must be made to Buddhism, bourgeois ideology or Stalinism. The party must link with the militant students, with nationalist militant sentiments in the South Vietnamese armed forces; it must make a programmatic link with the NLF; maximum tactical flexibility to advance the interests of the struggle, but not a single concession in principles or ideology. This party must win the workers, students and peasants

away from the "fake Marxist," non-Marxist and anti-Marxist nationalist leaders in preparation for the Vietnamese "October Revolution" and a workers and peasants government.

This struggle must have the full, active support of the international revolutionary movement. In the course of this internationalists must, of course, defend the Stalinists and Buddhist militants against imperialism, but under no circumstances must this defense conceal the fact that the Buddhist leadership (like the Indonesian Moslems) would be a party to the slaughter of the communists tomorrow, with Stalinism serving as the gravedigger. We ourselves would betray the Vietnamese people if we misled them or revolutionaries anywhere on the nature of Stalinism and other forms of petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership. ■ L.M.

## Brooklyn College Sit-In

On Thursday, May 19, at one p.m., well over a hundred students of Brooklyn College settled in the lobby of Boylan Hall to protest the college administration's cooperation with the Selective Service System. Several hundred students participated in the sit-in during some part of the next 24 hours. This enthusiastic demonstration was far and away the most successful in recent years. Sit-ins do not, of course, produce a "responsible image"; but, in the fight against war, it is necessary to do away with comfortable images in favor of understanding the reality, and our responsibility is only to our convictions.

### "Compromise" Petition Circulated

During the sit-in a petition to Faculty Council was circulated. This petition focussed exclusively on the submission of class standings to the SSS. This petition *explicitly* affirmed its interest in the smooth operation of the draft system "for the sake of the na-

tional interest"! It voiced absolutely no opposition to the war in Vietnam. Nothing could be more misleading than to confine attention to the tertiary issue of classroom competition, while ignoring the fundamental questions behind the draft. Nevertheless, many participants in the demonstration were misled and lent their signatures to the document.

There is, however, another, more basic reality which most of the demonstrators at B.C. have not yet clearly understood. The U.S. intervention in Vietnam is not an accident or a mistake; on the contrary, it is the essential response of capitalism to social revolution anywhere in the world.

In the last analysis, trying to end the war in Vietnam without ending the social system which produced it is like trying to fight the draft without openly opposing the war which is its cause. The responsibility of students is to probe and expose the fundamental nature of society. ■

## PROTEST MASS ARRESTS

### DEFEND ADOLFO GILLY

write to:

Mexican Embassy  
2829 N.W. 16th Street  
Washington, D.C.

or

Juez Primero do Distrito  
en Materia Penal  
Eduardo Ferrer McGregor  
Bucareli 24  
Mexico D.F. Mexico

### SAVE DAVID AGUILAR MORA

write to:

Guatemalan Embassy  
2220 R. Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

## THE SWP IN TRANSIT

# From Centrism to Reformism

At least forty-six people have left the Socialist Workers Party as a result of expressed political differences since its September 1965 convention. The Party has continued in its headlong flight from revolutionary politics. In the anti-war movement, the major arena of its recent activity, the SWP has played a treacherous role. Although raising the supportable slogan "Bring the Boys Home Now," the SWP at the same time demands that the anti-war movement confine itself to a classless "single issue" program.

The SWP has abandoned class-struggle politics for liberal illusions: if only enough people shout loudly enough surely Johnson must stop the war. They reason: since every voice counts regardless of the politics, let's not be too controversial. Thus to the swamp of popular-front politics.

### Spartacist Line Change

The Spartacist can no longer seek to reenter the SWP as it has now become. The SWP is guilty of complicity in the betrayal of the Ceylonese working class by the Lanka Samajasts in 1965. Despite Fidel Castro's best anti-Trotskyist efforts, the SWP still clings to him in desperation, in fact printing his recent May Day speech in the *Militant* without comment. The internal regime of the Party precludes open factional struggle. Above all, we could not accept the role of a disciplined minority within the ranks of a party committed to the betrayal of the anti-war struggle. To do so would be to betray our own revolutionary politics.

The entire Seattle branches of the SWP and YSA and the Philips tendency have left the SWP in the recent period in protest against the unprincipled politics followed by the Party. While we have differed with these groups in the past we look forward to a fruitful collaboration in joint work over the coming period. The Seattle comrades have oriented towards a pro-Maoist grouping within the SWP; the Philips tendency has had an evolution different from ours. Therefore the task for the next period is also to clarify and discuss our differences so that we can seek to build a genuinely revolutionary Trotskyist party in this country.

The following excerpted statements are representative of those who have recently broken with the SWP.

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**A Revolutionary Perspective for the Anti-War Movement by Lawrence Shumm and Clara Kaye of Seattle**  
 "At the Washington Convention the delegation from the South proposed

that the movement raise the two fundamental and interconnected demands *Freedom Now* and *Withdraw Now*. This dramatic historical linking of the struggle against war with the struggle against racism was an expression of the general feeling of the delegates there, that the war in Vietnam is intimately linked up with the other social injustices of our society: racial discrimination, poverty, exploitation, growing totalitarianism, intolerance and the overpowering pressure to conform in every social sphere. The significance of this feeling is that what is required of us is that we aspire to a new social order where the urge to capital investment and profit at the expense of humanity is no longer the overwhelming and completely dominant force of society.

"To those who believe that this end can be aided by political action in and around the Democratic or Republican parties we point to the decades (and now nearly centuries) of subservience of these two twin agencies of reaction to the capitalist class, and to the fact, that the basic role that pacifist liberals and radical social workers have played in their participation in these parties has been to provide humanitarian window-dressings for war, racism, the destruction of civil liberties, and the preparation for Fascism in the U.S."

### Memorandum on Their Expulsion from the SWP by the Philips Tendency

"And yet it was precisely the expelled comrades of the Minority who were and remain the only ones in Detroit to raise the question of Viet Nam in their unions;—not only to raise it, but to raise it effectively because they do participate in the daily struggles of the rank and file. Ironically, at the very same time as they were being instructed to be 'political,' they were accused by the Majority of 'smuggling in' the Minority line in the very attempt to involve their unions in the struggle against the war. Our orientation, we were informed with all due solemnity, is to the campus, and it is confusing and disorienting to try to inject the labor movement.

"It is the quickly developing crisis around Viet Nam, and the rapid evolution of the anti-war movement which has shown clearly and concretely just how far the SWP has drifted from its proletarian Trotskyist heritage. Never has a President of the U.S. put the relationship between foreign and domestic policy more crudely than Johnson in his recent proclamation that henceforth all programs designed to help the working class, the poor, and the

aged in this country would have to be curtailed because of the costs of the war in Viet Nam.

"In the tradition of the Trotskyist movement, not only would we long ago have warned of this development, but we would have been the only group to have utilized our understanding of the objective laws of capitalism to help direct the anti-war movement onto the class struggle road to the fight against war. We would have been the ones to insist that the only chance for the struggle to succeed would be if it were capable of enlisting the interest and the active support of the working class and the Negro people."

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### Resignation by Four Supporters of Spartacist: Rose J., Stan L., Marion S., and later supported by Jeremy C.

"Most of us have been members of the Party for many years, and it is with great reluctance that we come to the conclusion that we can no longer maintain that membership. Nevertheless, we conclude that the urgent task of building a revolutionary movement in this country is best served by our full and formal participation with our former comrades now in the Spartacist organization and in political solidarity with the forces of the I.C. abroad."

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### Application for Membership in Spartacist by Shelly Welton

"In January 1965 I resigned from the Socialist Workers Party for personal reasons. . . . After the N.Y. Fifth Ave. Peace Parade Committee meeting, with the SWP capitulation and accommodation to the pacifist-liberal wing with the one slogan, 'Stop the War in Vietnam Now,' I became aware of Spartacist's correct position on withdrawal of support and marched with them under their slogans. These included: 'Unconditional Withdrawal of All American Troops' and 'Vietnam, Watts: It's the Same Struggle!'

"The SWP-YSA splitting activity in Washington was the point of repudiating my sympathy for the SWP. I began studying the SWP internal documents of 1963 and the criticisms of the then Robertson minority. I sought for an understanding to the SWP degeneration. As I learned what 'Pabloite revisionism' is the picture became clear. *The SWP has lost its working class revolutionary perspective and now depends on other (petty-bourgeois) forces.* Thus, its uncritical support to Castro, Malcolm X, and Ben Bella.

"I appeal to the ranks in the SWP and YSA to examine their consciences (Continued Bottom Next Page)

## ... STATEMENT

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the fruits of Pabloism were clear did a section of the F.I. pull back. In our opinion, the "orthodox" movement has still to face up to the new theoretical problems which rendered it susceptible to Pabloism in 1943-50 and gave rise to a ragged, partial split in 1952-54.

### Inevitable Struggle

The fight against Pabloism is the specific historic form of a necessarily continual struggle against revisionism, which cannot be "finally" resolved within the framework of capitalism. Bernstein, Bukharin, and Pablo, for example, have been our antagonists in particular phases of this struggle, which is both necessary and inevitable, and cannot be "solved."

These are some of our views about Pabloism; they are not exhaustive, for they are shaped by the particular aspects of Pabloism which have loomed large in our own struggle against it.

We take issue with the notion that the present crisis of capitalism is so sharp and deep that Trotskyist revisionism is needed to tame the workers, in a way comparable to the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals. Such an erroneous estimation would have as its point of departure an enormous overestimation of our present significance, and would accordingly be disorienting.

We had better concentrate upon what Lenin said concerning the various, ubiquitous crises which beset imperialism (a system essentially in crisis since before 1914); Lenin pointed out that there is no impossible situation for the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to throw them out. Otherwise, "crises" are all in a day's work for the mechanisms and agencies of imperialism in muddling through from one year to the next. Just now, in fact, their task is easier, after the terrible shattering of the Indonesian workers' movement; add to this the other reversals which expose the revisionists' dependence on petty-bourgeois and bureaucratic strata, like the softening of the USSR, the isolation of China, India brought to heel, Africa neatly stabilized, and Castro a captive of Russia and the U.S.

## ... SWP

and their revolutionary convictions. In the name of Revolutionary Socialism get out of your complacency and study the history of the Trotskyist movement! Recognize the Pabloist course taken by the SWP and the 'United Secretariat!' We must build a revolutionary party in the U.S., a party basing itself on the independent working-class struggle and guided by the 'Transitional Program' of the Fourth International!" ■

The central lesson of these episodes is the necessity to build revolutionary working-class parties, i.e., our ability to intervene in struggle.

## 2. Anti-Pabloist Tactics

A French comrade put it well: "there is no family of Trotskyism." There is only the correct program of revolutionary Marxism, which is not an umbrella. Nevertheless, there are now four organized international currents all claiming to be Trotskyist, and spoken of as "Trotskyist" in some conventional sense. This state of affairs must be resolved through splits and fusions. The reason for the present appearance of a "family" is that each of the four tendencies—"United Secretariat," Pablo's personal "Revolutionary Marxist Tendency," Posadas' "Fourth International," and the International Committee—is in some countries the sole organized group of claiming the banner of Trotskyism. Hence, they draw in all would-be Trotskyists in their areas and suppress polarization; there is no struggle and differentiation, winning over some and driving others to vacate their pretense as revolutionists and Trotskyists. Thus, when several Spartacist comrades visited Cuba, we found that the Trotskyist group there, part of the Posadas international, were in the main excellent comrades struggling with valor under difficult conditions. The speeches here of the Danish and Ceylonese comrades, representing left-wing sections of the United Secretariat, reflect such problems.

The partial break-up and gross exposure of the United Secretariat forces—the expulsion of Pablo, the Ceylonese betrayal, the SWP's class-collaborationist line on the Vietnamese war, Mandel's crawling before the Belgian Social-Democratic heritage—prove that the time has passed when the struggle against Pabloism could be waged on an international plane within a common organizational framework. And the particular experience of our groups in the United States, which were expelled merely for the views they held, with no right of appeal, demonstrates that the United Secretariat lies when it claims Trotskyist all-inclusiveness.

### We Must Do Better

Up to now, we have not done very well, in our opinion, in smashing the Pabloites; the impact of events alone, no matter how favorable objectively or devastating to revisionist doctrines, will not do the job. In the U.S., the break-up of the SWP left wing over its five-year history has been a great gift to the revisionist leadership of the SWP.

At present, our struggle with the Pabloites must be preponderantly from outside their organizations; nevertheless, in many countries a period of

united fronts and organizational penetration into revisionist groupings remains necessary in order to consummate the struggle for the actual reconstruction of the F.I., culminating in a world congress to re-found it.

## 3. Theoretical Clarification

The experiences of the Algerian and Cuban struggles, each from its own side, are very important for the light they shed on the decisive distinction between the winning of national independence on a bourgeois basis, and revolutions of the Chinese sort, which lead to a real break from capitalism, yet confined within the limits of a bureaucratic ruling stratum.

Two decisive elements have been common to the whole series of upheavals under Stalinist-type leaderships, as in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam: 1) a civil war of the peasant-guerrilla variety, which first wrenches the peasant movement from the immediate control of imperialism and substitutes a petty-bourgeois leadership; and then, if victorious, seizes the urban centers and on its own momentum smashes capitalist property relations, nationalizing industry under the newly consolidating Bonapartist leadership; 2) the absence of the working class as a contender for social power, in particular, the absence of its revolutionary vanguard: this permits an exceptionally independent role for the petty-bourgeois sections of society which are thus denied the polarization which occurred in the October Revolution, in which the most militant petty-bourgeois sections were drawn into the wake of the revolutionary working class.

### Political Revolution

However it is apparent that supplemental political revolution is necessary to open the road to socialist development, or, in the earlier stages, as in Vietnam today, the active intervention of the working class to take hegemony of the national-social struggle. Only those such as the Pabloists who believe that (at least some) Stalinist bureaucracies (e.g., Yugoslavia or China or Cuba) can be a revolutionary socialist leadership need see in this understanding a denial of the proletarian basis for social revolution.

On the contrary, precisely, the petty-bourgeois peasantry under the most favorable historic circumstances conceivable could achieve no third road, neither capitalist, nor working class. Instead all that has come out of China and Cuba was a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, the degeneration of the October. That is why we are led to define states such as these as deformed workers states. And the experience since the Second World War, properly understood, offers not a basis for re-

visionist turning away from the perspective and necessity of revolutionary working-class power, but rather it is a great vindication of Marxian theory and conclusions under new and not previously expected circumstances.

#### Weakness and Confusion

Many statements and positions of the I.C. show theoretical weakness or confusion on this question. Thus, the I.C. Statement on the fall of Ben Bella declared:

"Where the state takes a bonapartist form on behalf of a weak bourgeoisie, as in Algeria or Cuba, then the type of 'revolt' occurring on June 19-20 in Algiers is on the agenda." — *Newsletter*, 26 June 1965.

While the nationalization in Algeria now amounts to some 15 per cent of the economy, the Cuban economy is, in essence, entirely nationalized; China probably has more vestiges of its bourgeoisie. If the Cuban bourgeoisie is indeed "weak," as the I.C. affirms, one can only observe that it must be tired from its long swim to Miami, Florida.

The current I.C. resolution, "Rebuilding the Fourth International," however, puts the matter very well:

"In the same way, the International and its parties are the key to the problem of the class struggle in the colonial countries. The petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders and their Stalinist collaborators restrict the struggle to the level of national liberation, or, at best, to a version of 'socialism in one country,' sustained by subordination to the co-existence policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. In this way, all the gains of the struggle of the workers and peasants, not only in the Arab world, India, South East Asia, etc., but also in China and Cuba [our emphasis: Spartacist], are confined within the limits of imperialist domination, or exposed to counter-revolution (the line-up against China, the Cuban missiles crisis, the Vietnam war, etc.)."

Here Cuba is plainly equated with China, not with Algeria.

The document offered by the French section of the I.C. several years ago on the Cuban revolution suffers, in our view, from one central weakness. It sees the Cuban revolution as analogous to the Spanish experience of the 1930's. This analogy is not merely defective: it emphasizes precisely what is not common to the struggles in Spain and in Cuba, that is, the bona fide workers' revolution in Spain which was smashed by the Stalinists.

#### Overcoming Bad Method

The Pabloites have been strengthened against us, in our opinion, by this simplistic reflex of the I.C., which must deny the possibility of a social transformation led by the petty-bourgeoisie,

in order to defend the validity and necessity of the revolutionary Marxist movement. This is a bad method; at bottom, it equates the deformed workers' state with the road to socialism; it is the Pabloite error turned inside out, and a profound denial of the Trotskyist understanding that the bureaucratic ruling caste is an obstacle which must be overthrown by the workers if they are to move forward.

The theoretical analysis of Spartacist concerning the backward portions of the world strengthens, in our estimation, the programmatic positions which we hold in common with the comrades of the I.C. internationally.

#### 4. Building U.S. Section

The principal aspect of our task which may be obscure to foreign comrades is the unique and critically and immediately important Negro question. Without a correct approach to the Negro young militants and workers we will be unable to translate into American conditions the rooting of our section among the masses.

We have fought hard to acquire a theoretical insight in the course of our struggle in the SWP against Black Nationalist schemes which disintegrate a revolutionary perspective — defending the position that the Negroes in the U.S. are an oppressed color-caste concentrated in the main in the working class as a super-exploited layer. And we have acquired a considerable experience for our small numbers and despite a composition which is still only about 10 per cent black. We have a nucleus in Harlem, New York City. We intervened in several ways in the Black Ghetto outbursts over the summers of 1964 and 65, acquiring valuable experience.

[The balance of the remarks was not written out before delivery; it is given as reconstructed from the rough notes. The issue of propaganda and agitation was not significantly gone into in the report, but is in the Spartacist draft document on tasks assembled the night before the oral report was given, hence the relevant section of that draft is also quoted below.]

Our draft resolution before you states regarding our Southern work that, "Perhaps our most impressive achievement to date has been the building of several SL organizing committees in the deep South, including New Orleans. This is a modest enough step in absolute terms and gives us no more than a springboard for systematic work. What is impressive is that no other organization claiming to be revolutionary has any base at all in the deep South today."

#### Black and White

The race question in the U.S. is different from that in England. In fact it is part way between the situation in

England and that in South Africa. Thus some 2 per cent of the British population is coloured; in South Africa over 2/3rds of the people are black. In the U.S. if some 20 per cent of the population is Negro and Spanish-speaking, then within the working class, given the overwhelming concentration of whites in the upper classes, the others comprise something like 25 or 30 per cent. What this means is that in England the intensity of exploitation is spread unevenly, but rather smoothly throughout an essentially homogenous working class. At the other extreme in South Africa, the white workers with ten times the income of the black, live in good part themselves off the blacks, thus imposing an almost insuperable barrier to common class actions (witness the European and Moslem workers' relations in Algeria). In the U.S. the qualitatively heavier burden within the class is borne by the black workers. In quiet times they tend to be divided from the white workers as in the lower levels of class struggle such as are now prevalent. Therefore the black youth in America are the only counterparts today to the sort of militant white working class youth found in the British Young Socialists.

#### Uniting the Class

However, we are well aware that at a certain point in the class struggle the main detachments of the workers, as such, i.e., black and white in common class organizations such as trade unions, become heavily involved. Every strike shows this. In preparation for the massive class struggles ahead we have begun to build fractions in certain accessible key sections of the working class. But today the winning over of young black militants is the short cut to acquiring proletarian cadres as well; virtually all such militants are part of the working class.

Finally, we know that under the specific conditions in the U.S. to build a genuinely revolutionary party will require the involvement in its ranks and leadership of a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of the most exploited and oppressed, the black workers.

#### A Fighting Propaganda Group

The Spartacist draft theses state: "The tactical aim of the SL in the next period is to build a sufficiently large propaganda group capable of agitational intervention in every social struggle in the U.S. as a necessary step in the building of the revolutionary party. For this intervention we seek an increase in our forces to at least tenfold. From our small force of around 100 we move toward our goal in three parallel lines of activity: splits and fusions with other groups, direct involvement in mass struggle, and the strengthening and education of our organization." ■

## ... TRI-PARTITE

(Continued from Page 16)  
by N.Y. nurses is merely the latest example of this trend. The striking Chicago welfare union was directly inspired and aided in organization by the SSEU.

Our rulers' problem became even more urgent when the 13-day strike by the New York Transit Workers Union in January demonstrated the enormous power of some sections of government employees, and of the working class as a whole. Though not in the immediate offing, the spectre was posed of a powerful alliance of all governmental workers and the identification of a huge stratum of white collar workers, usually considered "middle class," with the organized labor movement and the working class.

### Economic Squeeze

Concern evoked by such a potential development is only to a lesser extent due to the precarious condition of most state and city budgets. More basic is the fear of democratic unionism and militant strikes spreading to all sections of the working class in a period when workers are experiencing the effects of rapid increases in the cost of living—a period when the government, due to the inflationary pressures of the Vietnamese war and the general contradictions of capitalism, must hold the line on wages and living conditions—a period when technological advancement and severe unemployment among some sections of workers demand an all-out struggle to cut the hours of work while maintaining and increasing wages.

The need for the capitalist class as a whole to curb inflation and head off labor struggles at this time is clearly expressed by Gardner Ackley who presented the position of the Federal Government, that "Executive Committee of the Ruling Class," to the annual meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, pointed out profits have increased 88 per cent since 1961 and "substantially exceeded the rise in employee compensation over that period." He went on to state, "In March the weekly spendable income of the average manufacturing worker with three dependents—meas-

ured in constant prices—was not higher than a year earlier, though he was working somewhat longer hours. Does anyone imagine that labor will continue to show moderation in its wage demands when prices and profit margins are continually rising?" (*New York Times*, 3 May). Two days later (*New York Times*, 5 May) President Johnson in his address to the Advisory Council on Labor-Management called maintenance of economic stability "the crucial domestic issue of the day," and despite the enormous increases in profits and prices labelled wage increases over the past year "disquieting." He called for a strict adherence to the 3.2 per cent guideline on wages.

It is for these reasons that the ruling class desires to put a halt to the spread of militant unionism within a new section of the working class.

### Life-or-Death Threat

The test of a leadership is its response to crises—those brief periods in which some fundamental issue is posed and then resolved one way or the other. The way in which it is resolved establishes the framework of reality for the whole forthcoming period. Tri-Partite is such an issue. If it is defeated by the militant struggle of workers, not only can the SSEU membership look forward to many positive gains but the memberships of other City unions will also be benefitted, unionism among government workers will continue to expand, and rich opportunities will develop for the formation of a powerful, inclusive alliance of government unions. If on the other hand Tri-Partite goes through without serious struggle, the SSEU would be shown to be weak, unorganized, apathetic, and with a gutless leadership. And the SSEU would be burdened with harsh penalties should it attempt to strike and have already lost the right to bargain in most major areas. Under these conditions its membership would dwindle away. Further expansion of militant unionism among public employees will be retarded, and the development of an inclusive alliance of government unions will have been removed from the agenda for the coming period. It is in this context that the SSEU leadership must be judged.

The possibly life-or-death threat posed by Tri-Partite found the SSEU in a state of membership apathy and in an initial position of isolation from the rest of the labor movement, intensified by the fact that Local 371, representing welfare supervisors and clerks and an affiliate of DC 37, was endorsing Tri-Partite. The fundamental tasks faced by the leadership, then, were the overcoming of this isolation and the rallying of the membership.

The initial response was good; a small but highly militant demonstra-

tion outside the American Arbitration Association was mobilized on short notice, and an emergency meeting of the Executive Board voted unanimously to recommend a strike should Lindsay attempt to implement the Agreement. An issue of the *SSEU News* was gotten out in which the first sentence of the lead article quoted delegate Marty Morgenstern: "It's a question of stopping this thing or being in so much trouble we might not survive it"—an indication that the extent of the threat posed by Tri-Partite had been correctly assessed. Following these steps, however, the leadership more or less fell apart as they awaited the return of Judith Mage, the SSEU's president and dominant figure, from her vacation in the Virgin Islands.

### Mrs. Mage Returns

Upon her return Mrs. Mage quickly took charge of the situation. The task of rallying the membership for whatever action might be necessary to preserve the union was judged too difficult; and besides all-out struggle might alienate the supervisors the SSEU is hoping to recruit, or repel the new, liberal, welfare commissioner with whom Mrs. Mage feels it possible to establish a relationship of mutual understanding and cooperation. At a policy-setting talk at one of the centers shortly after her return, Mrs. Mage presented a new assessment of Tri-Partite: "I have heard it said that if Tri-Partite goes through, the SSEU is finished. Even if this does go through, with every provision, it would not mean the destruction of the SSEU. What it would mean is that we would have to fight all over again on things we thought we had won. . . . You should not feel it will mean our destruction." The threat to the power of the union through curtailment of the right to strike was not mentioned (and remains strangely absent from leaflets and subsequent issues of the union paper—a tacit indication of the leadership's willingness to go along with this and, worse, an indication that a strike will not be considered should the SSEU's contract demands be rejected this fall). Instead the worst feature of Tri-Partite was presented as the limitation on areas of bargaining, interpreted primarily as an attack on "professionalism" which Mrs. Mage has decided is the major concern of welfare supervisors. She overlooks the fact that the question of which areas are bargainable is beside the point if the union's ultimate weapon and power, the right to strike, is so fraught with penalties that to exercise it would permit the legal destruction of the union.

### All-Out Struggle?

Given this new assessment an all-out struggle against Tri-Partite becomes

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unnecessary. Mrs. Mage referred to the strike unanimously recommended by the Executive Board should Tri-Partite be implanted, as a mere threat to fool the City: "This is only a type of propaganda we use—the City reads our leaflets." She went on to say, "Of course we might take an action that the City would call a strike but we wouldn't." A demonstration at City Hall might be called for which workers would request vacation leave. Since Department regulations prohibit more than 25 per cent of employees taking such leave at any one time, exceeding this limit might be labelled a strike. However, Mrs. Mage hastily assured those present that at most this would mean no more than the loss of a day's pay.

The SSEU, then, has adopted a course of only limited struggle, within the context that Tri-Partite will not mean the destruction of the union, and, though undesirable, is therefore ultimately tolerable. Hence it has decided to forego the real mobilization of the membership that is necessary to defeat Tri-Partite.

#### Union Alliance Formed

Only in one area had the leadership responded correctly. The initial isolation of the SSEU from the rest of the labor movement has been partially breached by the formation of the Committee for Collective Bargaining, a loose alliance against Tri-Partite of unions representing some 30,000 city workers; it is this Committee that has called the City Hall demonstration on 1 June to oppose the City Council action to partially implement Tri-Partite. Though the alliance has not yet been consolidated, and no really powerful union has as yet joined, nevertheless it offers an enormous promise and potential. The basis on which the beginnings of the realization of this promise and potential can take place will be the successful carrying out of the City Hall demonstration, which, since the membership of the SSEU, the most significant union involved, is being left to mobilize itself, is not yet assured. Thus the shortcomings of the SSEU leadership may be reflected even on this correct step that it has undertaken.

#### "Helping the Mayor"

One other tactic of the SSEU leadership toward Tri-Partite deserves special comment as it reveals a potential of the leadership to sell out the SSEU membership. This is particularly revealed by the counter-document being proposed by the SSEU as a substitute for Tri-Partite, an attempt by the union to advise its employer on how to conduct its labor relations—in the interests of the employer! The drafter of the counter-proposal, vice-president Bart Cohen (who incidentally is lead-

ing the attempt to return the new welfare union to the red-baiting tactics that led to the destruction of independent unionism and the installation of a company union in Welfare during the witch hunt) states: "The fundamental opposition to the Mayor's bill is that it cannot lead to the peaceful resolution of labor disputes. On the contrary it is a mandate for strikes, for labor unrest and chaos" (SSEU News, 27 May). The counter-proposal is to play a "positive" role in helping the City solve its labor problems: "The Committee's substitute proposal will show the Council that unions are concerned about the labor problems faced by the City, and that the attack on Tri-Partite is not based on negative and obstructionist motives."

We ask Mr. Cohen: when has the City shown itself to be particularly concerned about "peaceful" settlements? The Welfare and Transit strikes are cases in point. Will Mr. Cohen's next step be to suggest that City workers take voluntary cuts in pay out of concern for the City's financial problems?

Most SSEU members are not only unfamiliar with the provisions of the document drafted by Mr. Cohen, now basic SSEU policy, but are unaware even of its existence. It was passed at a membership meeting of only 75 people, and these 75 only saw the long and involved document for the first time on the evening it was presented for endorsement. It should be understood that this document, proposed by the SSEU as a City Law, if enacted rather than Tri-Partite would itself be an enormous step back for City unions! It voluntarily offers concessions that would tie the hands of labor, such as compulsory arbitration of grievances. And it, like Tri-Partite, outlines a whole system of "independent" arbitration bodies to arrive at decisions in place of the struggle between workers and boss. However, lucky as City workers are that this proposal stands no chance of enactment, the primary task remains the defeat of Tri-Partite.

#### TO DEFEAT TRI-PARTITE:

First and foremost a fundamental coercive effort by the ruling class, such as Tri-Partite is, will only be defeated by the mass mobilization of the union membership, prepared to take whatever steps are called for to save the union. The SSEU leadership must make the membership aware of this, and aware of the fact that mass intervention alone will be decisive. But proper analysis and the putting forth of the correct and necessary program of action are not enough. The organizing to carry through this action must be carried out. This organization must be Center-by-Center and unit-by-unit in order that the entire membership be readied for action. The membership

must not only be kept fully informed, but must be brought in as participants in decision-making. This means frequent meetings in local Centers with ample time for discussion.

#### Unite ALL Welfare Employees

The presently narrow base of the SSEU must be extended throughout welfare, not only to the supervisors but to the clerks as well. "Professionalism" must be seen as a phony issue which can only alienate the clerks and perpetuate division among welfare employees. The call must not be for "One Professional Union in Welfare" but for "One Militant Union in Welfare." The decisive question for the supervisors is not "professionalism" but whether or not the SSEU can produce as a union. Recruitment of the supervisors depends in good part on the defeat of Tri-Partite.

#### Organize Welfare Recipients

The SSEU must orient toward active intervention to organize clients and toward the labor movement for real strength, not toward the weakness of a professional society. The SSEU leadership's talk of "professionalism" encourages the elitist attitudes of many SSEU members who attach enormous importance to the fact that they have college educations and to the differences between themselves and other sections of the labor movement. This encourages all sorts of weakening divisions (e.g. Mrs. Mage's remark: "The other unions affected don't have the concern we do since they are not professional unions. We care [about Tri-Partite] because we have a professional ethic and a professional interest in the standards of service offered clients, and therefore we want a say in job content.")

#### Deepen Labor Ties

The SSEU must instead develop an alliance with clients and ties with other sections of the labor movement, beginning especially with other public employee unions. The start already made toward bringing in other unions must be expanded and strengthened especially by the bringing in of such powerful "non-professional" unions as the Transit and Sanitation workers. The spectre so feared at this time by the ruling class must be materialized and turned against them. As a first step toward this, the City Hall demonstration must be a success. Labor can never afford to tie its hands with no-strike clauses, "impartial" arbitration, reliance on phony fact-finding boards, third-party intervention; nor can it give up its right to negotiate grievances, which are basic to the enforcement of a contract. Tri-Partite, the first step of the campaign to smash militant civil service unionism, must be stopped now. ■

## "Tri-Partite" Agreement:

# Public Workers Fight No-Strike Scheme

**New York:** The recently proposed "Tri-Partite" Agreement—the three parts being the City, Labor, and "the Public"—is intended as the first step in a carefully calculated campaign by the capitalist class to smash the militant unionism that has been on the rise among municipal and state employees across the country. The provisions of this agreement, expected to be enacted shortly by Mayor's Executive Order and a City Council Local Law, would apply not only to signatory unions but to *all* unions of City employees saving only the powerful Teachers' and Transit unions (and Lindsay openly expresses his intention to extend it to them at a later date). However, despite its all-inclusive nature, the real target at present is the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU), the most significant and militant of the affected unions. If this union, which led a successful month-long strike against the City a year and a-half ago, can be crushed through the technique of Tri-Partite, then a model will have been

set for bringing under control a whole section of the labor movement.

### Anti-Labor

The anti-labor tone of the document is set by the opening statement affirming the signers' "*underlying . . . commitment to the philosophy and practice of the peaceful settlement of disputes in order to prevent strikes or other interruptions of service.*" The heart of the Agreement is the provision for the insertion of no-strike clauses into all contracts, and other sections in effect eliminate the right to strike at *any* time. Standards for selection of employees, the disciplining of workers, and the right to lay off workers for lack of work or other "legitimate" reasons are removed from the area of union concern and assigned to sole "management prerogative," as are job content and the "technology of work performance." In addition, the notorious sell-out union, District Council 37 of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) would automatically become sole bargaining agent for all City employees, regardless of their elected union, in such key areas as wage and salary structure, hours of work, and leave.

The "justification" for this gross violation of the most basic right of labor—the right of workers to representation by organizations of their own choosing—is that DC 37 holds bargaining rights for titles which include 51% of affected City workers—despite the fact that DC 37 has never actually organized more than a tiny fraction of these workers!

Having thus been squeezed out of the central areas of bargaining, the other, elected, unions would then face a perspective of gradual, and eventually destructive, loss of membership. The SSEU, given the very high rate of turn-over among Welfare case workers, could expect to be especially affected. Finally, should any disputes develop, the Agreement provides for various levels of "impartial" arbitration bodies, and any union refusing to accept the decisions of the final Dispute Panel would be in a position to have its certification revoked. Given the fact that the whole framework in which disputes between the municipal employees and their employer, the City,

take place is the *boss's* legal structure, Tri-Partite delivers the workers, all bound and ready for the slaughter, to their employer. And if Tri-Partite isn't enough, the ruling class through the infamous Rockefeller Report, is proposing to establish killing fines and other legal reprisals against any striking union of public employees, applicable on a state-wide basis and including Transit and Teachers.

### Public Workers' Militancy

The just-concluded strike by Chicago welfare workers, under the leadership of the newly formed Independent Union of Public Aid Employees points up clearly the problem faced by the ruling class which Tri-Partite and the Rockefeller Report are attempts to solve. A large and rapidly increasing section of the American working class now falls in the area of municipal, state, or Federal employment. For years these workers have either been unorganized or represented by docile unions. But the last few years have seen the organization of a number of new unions, usually of a democratic and militant character, and the stirring to life again of unions which had suffered severe witch-hunt intimidation. One of the first to form was the United Federation of Teachers which led two one-day strikes in New York City. Shortly thereafter the newly-recognized SSEU led a successful 28-day strike by City welfare workers. These examples proved contagious: there has been an unprecedented rash of teachers' strikes across the country—including in the Deep South—and the recent struggle

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