

Ignite Workers Revolution to Topple Francoism!

Spain: Powder Keg of Europe

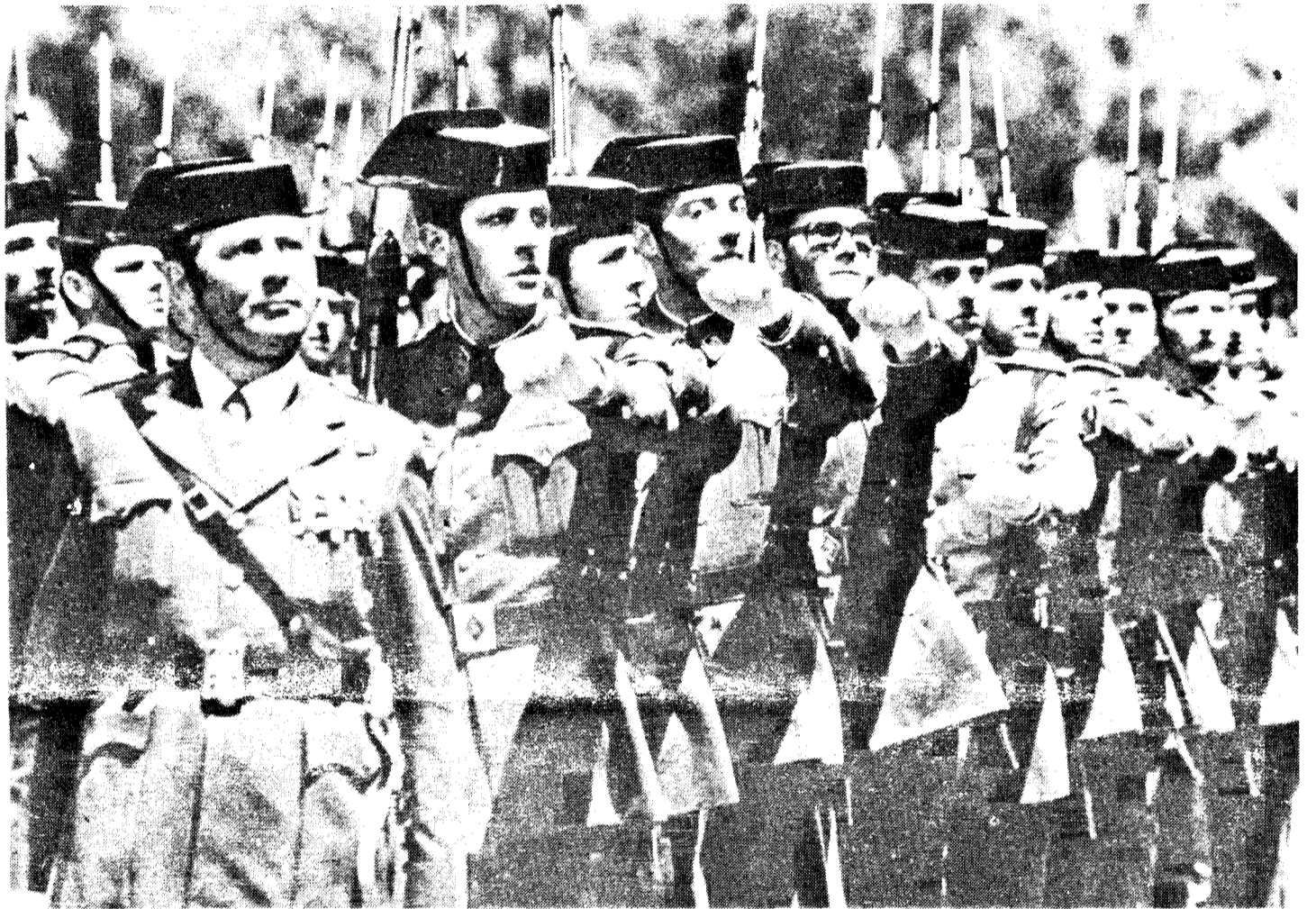
Stalinists Sabotage General Strike for Amnesty

JANUARY 6—"Of course, it's going to be the same, isn't it?... Spain is Spain, after all. Why should it change?" For the last 40 days, ever since the death of the aging dictator Franco, virtually the entire Spanish ruling class has been muttering the same anxieties as a well-heeled expatriate resident whispered to a companion during gala New Year's festivities in the Costa del Sol resort town of Marbella.

While jet-setters, tycoons and generals are nervously trying to reassure themselves, the volcano they sit atop has been rumbling away. Every city and whole regions are seething with massive social discontent. A clandestine "junta democrática" is publicly proclaimed in the Basque country; demonstrations calling for amnesty for political prisoners multiply throughout the country. So long as there isn't a major explosion the rudderless government is content to do nothing but issue empty promises of future change. But the explosion is coming, and when Spain blows the tremors will shake all Europe.

Indulto Insulto

The first focus of popular agitation has been the demand for freeing
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The Guardia Civil, Spain's hated internal security police.

L'Express

CIA Hitman Hit in Athens

No Tears for Richard Welch, Imperialist Assassin

JANUARY 6 Before there was even time to pack up the body of the assassinated CIA station chief in its flag-draped aluminum casket for shipment from Athens to Washington, a wolf-pack of CIA publicists had begun to spin the legend of their slaughtered lamb, Richard Welch. The press was filled with stories of Welch, the "amiable" family man with "the manners of a tweedy college professor" shot down on the way home from a Christmas party by three masked assassins on December 23. Dripping crocodile tears in his own eggnog, President Ford announced that he was "shocked and horrified by the terrorist murder" and that "the hearts of all Americans go out" to the family, etc.

Ford quickly ordered a hero's burial at Arlington Cemetery in an attempt to

create national ritual mourning for Welch. The CIA, whose usual practice is not to publicly admit one of their own was indeed one of their own—even after death, and even when everyone already knows it broke that practice in this case. CIA Director Colby claimed Welch as the official station chief in Greece. At the January 6 funeral he joined President Ford front row center.

Why Kill Richard Welch?

A CIA booster, David Phillips, asked as though it were a rhetorical question: "Why would anyone want to kill a charming and witty man like Richard Welch?"

Why? An example of the Welch "wit" illustrates a possible motive. In an interview only an hour before his death

with *New York Times* reporter Steven Roberts, this "charming and witty man" jokingly took credit for his sinister role in the long and blood-stained history of communal slaughter in Cyprus:

"When the subject of Cyprus came up, Mr. Welch mentioned that he had served on the island in the early 1960's, during the first round of fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. 'I started the whole thing,' he joked."
New York Times, 24 December 1975

The Turkish Cypriot victims of Nikos Sampson and General George Grivas—CIA-financed right-wing terrorists—could answer Phillips' question. Tens of thousands of Greek and Turkish refugees who have lived in the miserable makeshift camps of uprooted populations since the CIA-backed 1974 nation-

al guard revolt on Cyprus—and those whose families, friends and comrades lie in mass graves on the island—could figure out. "Why would anyone want to kill a charming and witty man like Richard Welch?"

The workers of Greece know why somebody might want to kill the local chief of a counterinsurgency operation estimated at 60 full-time agents. Bitter memories of the 1967 CIA-guided coup by the colonels are still fresh, and the sadistic torture of hundreds of prisoners a festering provocation. The imperialist henchmen of the CIA bankrolled coup leader George Papadopoulos as far back as 1952 and braintrustered his murderous regime as well as that of his successor, Demetrios Ioannides. The

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Wendy Yoshimura Out on Bail

SAN FRANCISCO—Wendy Yoshimura, arrested with Patricia Hearst in September, is now free on \$25,000 bail after being held at Santa Rita prison farm on charges of possession of explosives and destructive material found in a garage which the prosecution claims was rented by her. (This "cache" is alleged to have a connection with the 1972 attempted bombing of an empty ROTC building by three men.) Under considerable pressure from the Japanese-American community in California, Judge Lionel Wilson finally agreed to reduce the bail from \$100,000, a deliberately prohibitive amount Yoshimura could not hope to raise.

Most of the Japanese-Americans who have contributed to Yoshimura's defense are politically conservative and their support is not so much a testimony to shared political views as to common experiences as victims of racist oppression in this country, and in particular of the concentration camps set up by Roosevelt to intern Japanese-Americans during World War II. Yoshimura was born at Manzanar, one of those so-called "re-location" centers. Then her U.S.-born father was pressured into giving up his American citizenship and returning to Japan to work as a translator for the U.S. Army.

One contributor to the Yoshimura defense committee wrote: "I send the enclosed in memory of my parents who died in a concentration camp." Another said: "I am doing this because of the injustice my father endured—five and a half years in concentration camp on a phony charge." A third: "While I have no philosophic kinship with Miss Yoshimura, there is kinship. We were both born at Manzanar" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 December).

From 1941 to 1944, over 100,000 Japanese-Americans were rounded up and forced into these camps. With their homes, land, stores and other personal property taken from them and sold by the government, they were, as Edison Uno, head of the Wendy Yoshimura Fair Trial Committee said, "Raped of their constitutional and civil rights.... Without charges, without trials, without guilt, we became victims of a long history of anti-Oriental hate and distrust."

The "re-location" camps were closed (although several are maintained in readiness for use against reds, black militants, "undesirable aliens," etc., in a "national emergency") but this racism and the institutionalized disparity in justice for rich and poor continues. Over the last three months, Wendy Yoshimura's experiences in custody have been quite different from those of her "ex-roommate" Patricia Hearst. She has no famous lawyers to defend her and no baskets of yellow roses were allowed into the compound. Not only was she refused permission to embrace her parents, Yoshimura could not even talk to them except through a wire barrier.

It was precisely in recognition of such differential treatment—the results of class-biased "justice" meted out in the racist bourgeois courts—that the Fair Trial Committee was set up—so that Yoshimura should not "end up as the scape-goat in the misadventure and saga of Patricia Hearst." According to Uno, support for her among Japanese-Americans is due largely to their awareness of the difference between Wendy Yoshimura "the nobody and

Patricia Hearst, with an apparently endless reservoir of money, power and influence."

While Yoshimura is alleged to be a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army, based on her arrest with Hearst and the supposed discovery of her fingerprints at a Pennsylvania farmhouse where SLA fugitives may have stayed, no charges have been brought against her stemming from any SLA activity. The alleged crime of which she is accused, the possession of explosives used to blow up an ROTC building is far different from the kind of activity for



Wendy Yoshimura being arraigned in Oakland last September. While heiress Patty Hearst received embraces and roses from family, Yoshimura was held on prison farm, separated from her parents by wire barrier. Bitter memories in the Japanese-American community of their own incarceration in the brutally racist "re-location" camps evoked a flood of funds and support which has resulted in Yoshimura's release on bail.

which the SLA has taken credit. Marxists oppose individual terrorism as a generally self-defeating tactic, ineffectual at best. Imperialism and the oppression of class society can be overthrown only by the masses of workers in a socialist revolution, not by symbolic protests by despairing individuals. But, although bombing an ROTC building would be a totally impotent act, it would be aimed at an institution of American imperialism with the purpose of striking a blow for the oppressed and therefore be defensible. In contrast, the wanton killing of a black school superintendent, the SLA's first public action, is a pointless crime, an act of strictly personalistic vengeance. The SLA is *not* part of the left, but a degenerate, irrational and cultist terrorist gang, and is totally indefensible.

Last fall we wrote, "Among the recently arrested SLAers only Wendy Yoshimura can be defended from a class perspective" ("The Politics of Crazy," *WV* No. 78, 26 September 1975). Although she is finally out on bail, the battle is far from over. Socialist militants must demand that the charges against Yoshimura be dropped immediately! Contributions to Yoshimura's defense can be sent to: Wendy Yoshimura Fair Trial Fund, 912 F Street, Fresno, California 93706. ■



35,000 building-trades unionists marched through Norristown, Pa., protesting court injunction against picketing a non-union construction site in June 1972.

Meany, Ford Quarrel Over Construction Picketing

JANUARY 4—For the past quarter century a major goal of the building trades unions has been the restoration of so-called "common situs" picketing. In 1951 the Supreme Court ruled illegal, under secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, a picket line set up to protest a Denver non-union contractor's paying his employees less than union craftsmen were receiving on the same construction. Ever since, the unions have sought to win back the right to picket, and shut down, an entire construction site even when they had a dispute with only a single subcontractor.

In December, Congress passed a bill that would have restored a version of "common situs" picketing. In actuality, the piece of legislation that emerged after months of back-room horse-trading between Congress, the White House and AFL-CIO tops was designed more to curb the frequently rebellious building trades locals than to extend the right to strike. But last week, in response to pressure from right-wing and employer groups, President Ford vetoed the exhaustively negotiated measure.

Ford had indicated last summer his willingness to sign a bill legalizing common situs picketing if certain conditions were met. A provision requiring locals to give 10-day strike notice, and to obtain written authorization from their parent national union before employing such picketing powers, was then duly written into the bill. The legislation also exempted (for a period of up to two years) construction begun before November 15, and totally excluded a significant amount of residential construction.

When the bill passed Congress, AFL-CIO bureaucrats volunteered additional assurances to Ford to induce him into signing it. The union chieftains promised that no international union would authorize a local to employ common situs picketing unless it received prior approval from the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. They also asserted that no such authorization would be given before July 1, safely after large numbers of contracts expire this spring.

What made the bill absolutely unportable by militant unionists, however, was its incorporation of a new virtually corporatist collective bargaining structure for the construction industry. Originally designed as a separate piece of legislation by Secretary of Labor

John Dunlop, the measure was the product of his long collaboration with builders and international union officials in devising new ways to curb the wage militancy of building trades locals. He initiated the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, which preceded and became a model for the wage control machinery Nixon later set up for the entire economy in 1971. (The year before, "uncontrolled" construction wage settlements had averaged 17 percent; by 1973 they had fallen to only 5.3 percent despite escalating inflation.)

Inclusion of the Dunlop bill was the other condition Ford had demanded. This proposal would establish a Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Committee, consisting of ten members each from management and labor and up to three "neutrals," including the Secretary of Labor. With organized labor thus assured of a minority role, the committee would be empowered to impose a 30-day cooling-off period before a strike could be called. Alternatively, the committee could remove contract disputes from the local level and require that any settlement be approved by the national union. The Meanyite union tops openly bragged that this strikebreaking legislation "was jointly developed by labor and management representatives and has the full support of both groups" (*AFL-CIO News*, 20 December).

The Dunlop proposal was designed to relieve union leaders of a rather

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Letters

unpleasant situation. While most of the American labor movement has been quiescent, construction work stoppages last year kept workers idle longer than in any year since 1962. And union officials are nervously awaiting the approach of spring, when contracts covering 800,000 construction workers expire.

Building trades unemployment, which during the current depression has been more than double the average for all workers, is another problem in the industry. The high unemployment levels have provided an impetus for non-union contractors, who benefit by circumventing the higher wage rates and stricter working conditions imposed by the unions. Open-shop builders now control from 50 to 60 percent of total construction; the National Constructors Association, whose 48 unionized companies are among the largest in the industry, estimates that it lost \$7.2 billion worth of work to non-union competition during 1971-73 alone.

Firmly wedded to their narrow, job-trusting policies and unwilling to extend the gains of unionized workers to the growing ranks of the unorganized, the building trades officials are caught between the wage demands of the membership and their fears that new demands on the bosses will jeopardize an already decreasing number of union jobs. The traditional structure of the building trades, which allots considerable bargaining authority to the locals, only exacerbates this problem. While this antiquated structure impedes effective nationwide, and even city-wide, coordination of labor actions, it also makes it difficult for the international union leaderships to uniformly apply strikebreaking measures.

The problem, moans Thomas Murphy, president of the Bricklayers, is that while some locals in an area might agree to hold down their demands, "in the next county the employers may give somebody else a big increase. It makes everybody look like clowns" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 April). So now the union hacks are trying to get a government employer-dominated committee with legal powers to prevent strikes.

The combined picketing-collective bargaining legislation was vetoed by President Ford on January 2. Under pressure from employer organizations like the National Right to Work Committee and conservative Republicans who opposed the new picketing guidelines, Ford reneged on his promise to sign the measure. This prompted Dunlop, Ford's key liaison with the AFL-CIO, to announce that he was considering resigning his position.

While the opposition of "open shop" groups to expanded picketing rights is only to be expected, they have a curious bedfellow. The once militantly leftist Black Panther Party opposed legalizing common situs picketing on the anti-working-class premise that what's good for the construction unions is bad for black workers. The 6 October issue of *Black Panther* newspaper uncritically prints a statement authored by Reed Larson, executive vice president of the reactionary National Right to Work Committee! The introduction to Larson's article asserts, "Larson warns of impending legislation that would destroy job opportunities for thousands of black construction workers who have been denied entry into trade unions."

Though perhaps less crudely than the Panthers, almost every organization on the American left has supported various union-busting schemes disguised as efforts to promote racial equality, most notably the "Philadelphia Plan" for the building trades, concocted by Nixon advisors and construction magnates to mobilize the black community against organized labor; and scabbing in the NYC teachers' strike, in the name of "community control" of the schools (a scheme promoted by the Ford Foundation in the hope of curbing the growing

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26 December 1975

Iowa City

Comrade Editor,

... In your last paper, *Workers Vanguard* No. 89, 19 December 1975, there was an article, "Abolish NYC Red Squad!" As I read it there seemed to be at least two errors in it, one of which seems to merit a correction. The more minor of the errors occurred in the section headed "Hounded for Ten Years." You seem to imply that the police agent was overzealous to the point of pettiness. From the logical point of view the amount of surveillance would (or should) depend on the desired ends. If the NYPD wanted a good personality file on the militant, the agent's work in fact seems sloppy and inadequate, not overzealous and petty.

A much more important problem, as I see it, was the last paragraph of the article. Here in summing up and drawing conclusions you state "...the key task is to build a political struggle, especially mobilizing the ranks of labor, to abolish the capitalist secret police..." This is in fact a reformist solution; you are implying that with some undefined type of "political struggle" which "especially" mobilizes "the ranks of labor"—the Democratic Party perhaps, you mention nothing incompatible with it, especially its liberal wing—the "capitalist secret police" can be abolished! In past articles in past numbers of *WV* you have held that only the smashing of bourgeois power, a workers government—not some vague mobilization—could in fact smash bourgeois political or secret police. I think that the position you stated previously is correct: the need for a workers government (led by a Marxist party)—as opposed to the one in the article under discussion.... If *WV* is going to continue to show the correct way forward, reformist solutions cannot be substituted for real solutions. I hope to see a retraction of this bad political formulation soon.

Comradely,
L.S.

WV replies: Apparently Comrade L.S. has misread the sentence cited in the above letter to imply that the article in question put forward a bourgeois reform perspective. The sentence comes in the concluding paragraph, which clearly counterposes to the legalistic perspective of seeking to impede the CIA/FBI through court suits (such as the Socialist Workers Party's "socialist Watersuit") a class-struggle perspective of mobilizing the independent power of the unions ("the ranks of labor") against the forces of capitalist repression.

We have repeatedly emphasized that only the establishment of a workers government which overturns capitalist property relations can smash the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie, including its "covert" agencies. But this does not mean that revolutionaries must refrain from raising partial demands directed at hindering the murderous work of the class enemy's hired guns, thugs and spies. Our aim in formulating such demands must be to provide a focus for mass struggle which goes beyond face-lifting reforms to directly challenge the capitalist system.

In the case of the CIA and FBI, Congressional liberals have called for such measures as an end to assassinations of heads of states, illegal bugging and domestic CIA activities, for financial accountability to Congress and, at the extreme, elimination of covert operations. Beyond the liberals' suggested minor reforms (some of which are

supportable in themselves) we have demanded the opening of all "classified" CIA/FBI/Pentagon documents and files, and the prosecution of government criminals thus exposed. And unlike the reformist SWP, whose presidential candidate Peter Camejo called last spring for the elimination of simply "illegal" CIA/FBI activities, we call also for the abolition of the secret police/spy agencies of imperialism through a struggle for working-class political mobilization to smash capitalist rule.

5 January

To the Editor:

The article "Panthers Rot in Prison Hellholes" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 88 [5 December 1975] mentions the killing of Black Panthers Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins by members of the right-wing cultural nationalist US organization in Los Angeles. As the article pointed out, the Panthers were the primary target of a massive government campaign of disruption, provocation, infiltration and outright murder. At one point the FBI saw the opportunity of using the cultural nationalists against the Panthers, who were attracting many subjectively revolutionary militants. Now information has come to light detailing the sinister role played by the FBI in the L.A. incident.

When Huggins and Carter were shot down on 17 January 1969, following a heated confrontation with US members during a Black Student Union meeting on the UCLA campus, it was simply seen as the culmination of a bitter and sometimes violent two-year feud between the organizations. Until the Black Panther Party (BPP) began organizing in early 1967, US was the most influential black nationalist group in the Watts ghetto. Its leader, Maulana Ron Karenga (who has subsequently proclaimed himself a Marxist-Leninist) characterized US as "a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture." Karenga opposed any talk of revolutionary struggle until black people had achieved "cultural unity" and ridiculed the BPP for "playing" at revolution.

For their part, the Panthers were contemptuous of US for sporting dashikis and African names while consorting with white city politicians. Although standing qualitatively to the left of US, the Panthers had no scruples against employing violence against opponents in the black movement or on the left. Thus confrontations between the right-wing US, which was widely considered to enjoy at least toleration from the notoriously racist L.A. cops, and the BPP appeared to some to take on the contours of simple turf warfare.

Huggins and Carter were killed after a dispute within the UCLA Black Student Union over recommending a candidate for the \$20,000 a year post of director of the Afro-American Studies Center. The recent information indicates that while US members may have pulled the triggers, in effect their guns had been loaded and aimed by the FBI.

The *Los Angeles Times* of 26 November carried an item describing an FBI memorandum recently examined by the Senate Intelligence Committee which contained orders from the late, unlamented J. Edgar Hoover for a secret intervention into the black nationalists' rivalries. In November 1968, Hoover issued these instructions:

"To fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences, as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices

are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP.

"Commencing Dec. 2, 1968, and every two-week period thereafter, each office is instructed to submit a letter under this caption containing counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP. The biweekly letter should also contain accomplishments obtained during the previous two-week period under captioned program."

Relations between US and the Panthers were described as "taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals." Less than two months after the start of this campaign of active provocation (similar to many of the New York red squad's atrocities described in *WV* No. 89 [19 December]), Huggins and Carter were gunned down.

As part of this campaign to intensify the dispute, the FBI distributed a number of cartoons, some attacking US and others directed against the Black Panther Party. One cartoon showed a man in a shirt that said "bootlicking Panther finks," directing a bunch of pigs wearing battle helmets and police badges to an office labeled "Los Angeles US Hdqtrs." Another cartoon depicted Karenga with a pencil in one hand and a piece of paper entitled "things to do today" in the other. Checked off were the names of the two slain Panthers, Huggins and Carter, and below them were the names of two other BPP members.

When asked by a *Los Angeles Times* reporter about the cartoons, which were anonymously left at US and BPP offices during the night, Karenga said, "We always suspected they came from the police. We played into their precious hands and were tricked."

James Adams, associate director of the FBI, told the Senate Intelligence Committee that his agency "took every action at our command to prevent direct violence" and denied instigating the assassination. But even one of the staff members of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Arthur Jefferson, was forced to admit that "the Cointelpro operation may well have contributed to the killings" (*New York Times*, 5 January). Jefferson also said that four other Panthers were killed by US members after the UCLA confrontation. While liberals sitting in congressional committees may choose to swallow the FBI's disingenuous testimony, *WV* readers will certainly draw their own conclusions.

Comradely,
Richard Carling

WV replies: The continuing exposure of FBI, CIA "dirty tricks" should come as no surprise to Marxists. And while it will properly jar into heightened vigilance those on the left who may have placed their faith in legalism, the current spate of left-wing paranoia is equally impressionistic and dangerous. The incident under discussion is a good illustration of political inadequacy laying the groundwork for the nefarious intervention of the capitalist state's secret police. It was in large part the sporadic adventurism, glorification of lumpen violence and programmatic amorphousness of militant black groups which facilitated cop penetration and prepared a fertile field for provocation. The FBI/CIA's ability to successfully disrupt the left-wing movement can be minimized by an organization which devotes scrupulous attention to the political development and conscientious functioning of its membership while steering a clear course between mealy-mouthed "respectability" on the one hand and pointless verbal terrorism on the other.

PCI Hails Fiat Boss as Savior

Workers Occupy Innocenti-Leyland



Lotta Continua

MILANO—At 2 p.m. on November 26 at the firm of Innocenti-Leyland, five members of the factory council replaced the company guards. This began the first plant occupation against threatened closure by a major employer in Italy since the beginning of the current economic crisis.

A month earlier the Milanese auto manufacturer had raised two main demands: that the Italian government take responsibility for 1,500 unpostponable layoffs (out of a total workforce of 4,500) and the trade unions accept a 25 percent reduction of labor costs. Faced with repeated delays requested by authorities in Rome, the parent firm (British Leyland Motor Corporation, a U.K. state-owned enterprise) threw in the towel and declared its Italian subsidiary bankrupt. The overall job loss, including affected supplier and sales networks, could run as high as 15,000.

The Innocenti-Leyland affair must be seen in the context of a drastic cutback in Italian industrial production, down 12.4 percent compared to the corresponding period of 1974. The big "multi-nationals" are lopping off the more specialized lines of production (in the case of IBM, Phillips, Lepetit) or resorting to increasingly massive imports of raw materials from abroad (Nestlé, Unilever). Marginal operations are being disposed of to bolster the sagging rate of profit, while capital is repatriated to protect the core of overextended corporate empires.

But if the British Leyland management can simply shut their unprofitable Milano plant and retreat to their island, the Italian bourgeoisie is under pressure to put up a show of dealing with the threatened unemployment. This is particularly true in the political context of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) offensive to obtain a "historic compromise" with the ruling Christian Democrats. In addition, Innocenti-Leyland has now become the rallying point for large numbers of student radicals and the entire Milanese working class.

The basic outlines of the current Italian political situation can be seen in the responses to the extortionist demands put forward by Leyland—attempting to secure through tax funds advantages which national capital (Fiat, Pirelli, Montedison, etc.) obtains from political collaboration of the unions and the major reformist workers parties (Communist and Socialist). The "medium-term plan" on which the government and the PCI "opposition" concur simply amounts to ideological window dressing for the traditional policy of state subsidies to private monopolies.

The "plan" (to which the PCI's journal, *Rinascita*, has devoted two issues) is rationalization of production through massive layoffs, speed-up and the "battle against absenteeism." As

always, it is the proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses, already hard hit by a fiscal system heavily weighted against wage income, who will assume the financial burden of the operation. This is the balance sheet of the Stalinists' "historic compromise" with capitalism.

The PCI Applauds Fiat

Repeatedly, leading union bureaucrats have defined the Innocenti case as "one of the touchstones of what the government's proposed strategy of reconversion of production should be" (Bruno Trentin, PCI secretary of the Metal Workers Industrial Federation). But what is *their* solution to the threatened unemployment of perhaps 15,000 workers?

All sorts of fantastical schemes have been aired. Talk of a possible offer by Honda to construct small-cylinder autos appears hardly credible. It seems that the Japanese put forward their bid



Rinascita

accompanied by a request for a large subsidy from the Italian government (there is talk of 100 billion lire, or more than US\$160 million). Against this proposal a kind of holy alliance has been formed running from Fiat, which is opposed to entry of its Japanese competitors into the Italian market, to the unions, who want the capital to remain in the hands of... national capitalists!

In early December Fiat put forward its own suggestion: convert Innocenti to production of light buses. However, a Fiat takeover would have to be accompanied by heavy financial participation by the state, which for its part has maintained a prudent silence. The PCI's response was immediate and ecstatic. *L'Unità* of 4 December headlined its article: "The FLM(I) Considers Fiat Proposal on Innocenti 'Basis for a Solution'." (The FLM is an alliance of the metal workers unions of the three national labor federations, the CGIL, CISL and UIL.) In other words, three cheers for Fiat, which will rescue the factory!

An article in another issue of *L'Unità*

remarked ironically that much as the author was reluctant, as a Communist, to do so, he had to say "thank you" to Fiat boss Agnelli, although he certainly couldn't thank the "compagno" (comrade) Harold Wilson of the British Labour government. It is certainly true that the nationalist, reformist, social-democratic Labour Party leaders do not shrink from throwing thousands of Innocenti-Leyland workers on the streets, especially since they do not vote in British elections, while bombastically denouncing the "mercantile" mentality of Chrysler (for threatening to close its U.K. plants). But this remark makes graphically clear the subordination of the equally pro-capitalist PCI to its "own" bourgeoisie.

Both social democrats and Stalinists make a pretense of government planning, the BLP with its "new industrial strategy" and the PCI with its "new development model," but in practice both are reduced to bribing and begging from the capitalists. Instead of thanking captain of industry Agnelli for looting the treasury of tax money extorted from the exploited masses, a revolutionary workers party would demand nationalization of the entire auto industry without compensation, lead organized labor in imposing workers control and fight for a workers government, which could provide full employment and undertake real state economic planning—not the PCI's phony "medium-term plan" or British reformists' equally fraudulent schemes—by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class.

Isolating the Innocenti Workers

The political advantages for Fiat in this maneuver are evident: taking the opportunity to confirm its prestige as "progressive" leader in economic and political affairs, the giant monopoly simultaneously builds up credit with the unions. Fiat manager Umberto Agnelli is carrying on frequent private conversations with the PCI.

This year the economic crisis has coincided with an unstable political framework, both of the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties (from the fascist MSI to the Liberals [PLI] and Social Democrats [PSDI]) and of the center-left governmental formula itself. The Socialists and the PCI, which drew the most benefit from the 15 June 1975 elections, are waiting. (Agnelli: "If the PCI wanted to make a revolution today it could do so easily. But then it would not know according to which model it should govern the country, so it prefers to wait.") The PCI, in addition to an infinite capacity for "waiting" and being "thankful" to its exploiters, is ever ready to make the most abject concessions.

This is of central importance since the country is now in the middle of a contract negotiation period: more than 40 sectors, including the decisive metal and chemical workers, are involved in the triennial cycle of nationwide bargaining. The PCI's orientation is clearly to prevent the Innocenti case from becoming a rallying point for a vast mobilization which would unify the oppressed masses around the working class. But in order to turn this affair into a touchstone for its policy of class collaboration the PCI must isolate it from the employed workers and from other laid-off workers (at Pirelli, Montedison, Singer and numerous small and medium-sized companies which are especially hard-hit by the recession).

At a national conference of metal workers, held in Milano at the Teatro Lirico on November 16, the sentiment of the union bureaucrats was clearly to keep the contract talks separate from the broader social struggles currently going on in the country. They refused to let an unemployed delegation from Naples speak, they refused to receive a student delegation. Outside the theater the students shouted the demands of Lotta Continua (LC—Continuing Struggle): 35 hours a week and a 50,000 lire (US\$85) across-the-board raise. There is no qualitative difference between these proposals and those of the union bureaucracy, which is asking for 36 hours a week and 30,000 lire.

Capitulating to the PCI

Among the various centrist and reformist groups, all of whom capitulate to the PCI's strategy of a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democracy, confusion reigns and the first organizational fissures are beginning to be felt. The PDUP-Manifesto (fusion of the Proletarian Unity Party with the II Manifesto group) is playing out its trajectory as a left-reformist formation by diving into the most despicable betrayals. After having tailed after the PCI in all its programmatic pacts—even with declared bourgeois forces—in the municipal, provincial and regional councils, the PDUP distinguished itself in "normalizing" the student movement, fully aligned itself with China's position on Angola and favored control by the bureaucrats in drafting new union bargaining demands.

On Innocenti-Leyland the PDUP was unable to say anything, simply groveling before the labor tops in supporting the rationalization proposed by Fiat. The PDUP's return to the arms of the reformist bureaucrats has not, however, occurred without incident; the revolt by its Milano, Palermo and Cosenza federations, together with reported

opposition in Lazio, Umbria and Piemonte, is an indication of the internal hemorrhaging which this cowardly turn has brought on.

Among the centrist forces, Lotta Continua apparently has undertaken a left turn. At the October 29 demonstration at the Innocenti plant in Milano, its front ranks were attacked and six Innocenti workers who are supporters of LC were fired with consent of the factory council, controlled by the bureaucracy. On November 20 in Torino the union leadership wanted to make Lotta Continua pay for the boos which the workers directed at Storti, secretary of the CISL and a Christian Democrat. In particular, PCI-linked bureaucrats pushed for the expulsion from the unions of factory delegates who support LC.

To the worker delegates of Lotta Continua who are experiencing the "democracy" of the bureaucrats, we extend our solidarity, accompanied, however, by the firmest criticism of their organization for having built confidence in those who today attempt to drive them from the unions. It was LC which



Fiat manager Umberto Agnelli

led the capitulation to the Communist Party: it was the first to theoretically justify a sort of strategic united front with the PCI, insisting that placing the PCI in the government would necessarily create more favorable conditions for revolutionary struggle. Today this argument is revealing its centrist content even though the PCI is not yet in the government.

But it will not be the Pabloists of the "United Secretariat" (USec) who teach these lessons to Lotta Continua. After courting the "left" PCI bureaucracy for almost 20 years, even today they refuse to politically characterize the "historic compromise" as a popular front. Nor

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Livernois Five: Stop the Racist Frame-Up!

Unable to get a conviction from a hung jury on November 13, the state has ordered a retrial for three young black men charged with first-degree murder in the killing of a white motorist during the anti-police outburst that rocked the Livernois-Fenkell area of Detroit last summer. The new trial is scheduled to begin on January 21, but the three frame-up victims—Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan—may never get out of jail alive if the cops have their way. On December 19, according to reports of the Livernois Five Defense Committee, Peoples was severely beaten in prison by 10 to 14 Wayne County deputies and had to be hospitalized. On December 27, a demonstration at Detroit police headquarters demanded the immediate release of the three prisoners as well as two juveniles now held on the same charges.

The three defendants have been framed up on charges of murdering Marion Pyszko, an innocent bystander. Blacks in the Livernois area were provoked by the killing of Obie Wynn by racist bar-owner and friend of the cops Andrew Chinarian. Chinarian was released in the custody of his lawyer (and only later required to post \$25,000 bail). Police lieutenant Ray Smith explained "I released the man because he's a bar owner, a business man, and a citizen of the area" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 July 1975). With Wynn dead and his racist killer on the streets, black youths in the vicinity of the corner of Livernois and Fenkell exploded in outrage. Cops in riot gear swarmed into the area and were pelted with stones and had their cars overturned. A city ravaged by depression and terrorized by cop "justice" briefly glimpsed the possibility of a repeat of the massive ghetto violence of 1967 in which troops occupied the city leaving 43 dead.

Black mayor Coleman Young, his "sensitized" plainclothesmen, community organizers and leaders went into the area to administer not the "justice" served up to a businessman and "citizen of the area," but the injustice regularly and brutally applied to the ghetto—a tear gas cop sweep of the area in which over 100 persons, most of them youth, were arrested and held for everything from destruction of property to murder.

Frame-Up Trial

The trial unfolded with the familiar pattern of a racist railroad job, complete with falsified police testimony, prosecution witnesses charged with the crime in order to coerce testimony, and some

witnesses held for days by police in a series of motel rooms. Not one of the state's witnesses could make a positive identification involving any of the defendants in the killing of Pyszko. Two of the state's star witnesses admitted in their testimony that they were given the choice of being "witnesses" or "defendants." And the cops admitted that they used threats in order to get testimony.

Mayor Young and the cops were frantically trying to come up with somebody to charge with the crime, demanding "murder one," but it didn't seem to matter whether they got the actual killers of Pyszko or just any black youth. The racist modus operandi became clear as the trial wore on. Among the blacks indiscriminately picked up in the cop dragnet, some were arbitrarily designated as witnesses and others as "murderers":

"A second 16-year old youth was scheduled to appear at police headquarters with his father Thursday night for questioning about the assault.

"He may be a witness, he may be a suspect," said Homicide Sgt. Cameron Knowles.

"As best as we can determine, there might be 10 others involved; there might be 20."

Detroit Free Press, 1 August

The racist motivation here is all too clear—the police had rounded up a bunch of black youth and didn't much care if they were the ones who killed Pyszko; they must be guilty of something. And they were "guilty" of being black on the streets of Detroit.

The trial was a blatant frame-up. We demand: no retrial with more coerced witnesses, falsified testimony and tortured defendants. The charges must be dropped and all five must be immediately released. Free the Livernois Five!

RSL Defends Lumpen Rage

The case of the five blacks accused of the murder of Pyszko was taken up by the Revolutionary Socialist League under the banner of the Livernois Five Defense Committee (LFDC). But the RSL's interest in the case was not primarily the defense of victims of a capricious and racist state power. For this band of irresponsible opportunists, it was rather a chance to praise lumpen rage. Instead of sharply condemning the killing of Pyszko and indicting the racist frame-up character of the trial, the LFDC actually implies the guilt of the Livernois Five. In a leaflet that never condemns the murder, the LFDC simply attributes that act to "unemployed youths" and in effect excuses the killing as an understandable byproduct

of the indignation of black youths against capitalist society.

This is how the LFDC "defends" the accused black youths: "The ruling class newspapers would have us believe that a punk street gang murdered Pyszko. This is a vicious lie. Unemployed youths are not the same as the low-life elements which leech off the working class community." What "unemployed youths" is the RSL talking about? The killers of an innocuous middle-aged white worker? Or the Livernois Five, jailed in a blatant racist frame-up? The prosecution wants working people to believe exactly what the RSL is implying!

The job of capitalist apologists and racist propagandists is precisely to willfully lump together black people who defend themselves against cop terror and incidents of senseless violence against whites. The racists seek precisely this kind of argument to weld white workers to the racist status quo in the belief that blacks' protests against the intolerable racial oppression of capitalist society are directed against them. Thus these fake socialists who refuse to support the busing of black school children have now made excuses for an atrocious killing which could be used as the basis for racist mobilization. And by their glorification of lumpen rage, the RSL and LFDC fall headlong into this dangerous trap. The RSL's rhetoric clearly implies that the Livernois Five did commit this crime.

The RSL and LFDC further confuse the issue by taking up "responsibility" for the killing of Pyszko, saying "We do not condone Pyszko's death. But the responsibility for it does not rest with the black youths." The RSL's newspaper, the *Torch* (15 November-14 December), reports that at a rally on October 26 Paul Aldridge speaking for the RSL took up the same theme: "Who is responsible for the death of Marion Pyszko? The black youths? Or the police for the racist treatment...."

Certainly capitalism produces justifiable anger, but it also produces indiscriminate killing, and the defenders of the oppressed must never blur the distinction the way the LFDC does in its propaganda. Nearly everything can be reduced to its social causes, but what is meant by the argument that an innocent bystander was beaten to death by capitalism? Capitalism just as surely produced Lt. Calley, but this in no way excuses his acts.

It must be understood that when the masses of black and white workers hold and administer state power, they will prosecute, not glorify, murderers. It is not "okay" to kill workers driving home from work even if the killers are oppressed. A workers' tribunal would punish such acts swiftly and severely. The racist capitalist courts, however, are not workers' tribunals, but arbitrarily frame up some black youths in the interest of the protection of property titles and profit.

Their Defense Policy and Ours

In a particularly shrill and slanderous article in this same issue of the *Torch*, "Spartacists Slur Livernois 5," the RSL attributes the Spartacist League refusal to join the LFDC to "racism." The article lies about what SL members have said about the case. The RSL invents the following quote, supposedly from the mouth of an SLer: "They're guilty. I read it in the newspaper." This is a total fabrication. No SLer ever said the

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In his annual report, released in late December, the head of Yugoslavia's police reported the arrests of some 200 opponents of the government. This is reportedly the greatest number in any year since the mid-1960's and indicates increasing political problems for the regime of Josip Broz Tito. In the fall, Tito had issued a stern warning, "I will not shrink from anything to neutralize the opposition, composed of a handful of Cominformists, liberals and nationalists" (*Le Monde*, 1 November).

Government statements have focused especially on the arrests of so-called "Cominformists" (an allusion to those Yugoslavs who sided with Stalin in the late 1940's Moscow/Belgrade split), but the large majority of the prisoners were, in fact, accused of being linked to "reactionary rightist and neo-fascist organizations." Among the 13 different categories of political detainees listed in the police minister's report were the Ustashi, a right-wing secessionist Croatian organization; the Chetniks, Serbian monarchists; "technocrats," incipiently pro-capitalist elements involved in the management of industry; and other anti-Communist or nationalist tendencies.

Although Tito's break with the Kremlin following the creation of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in 1948 was protested by several high-ranking political and military leaders, including the armed forces chief of staff, this opposition was quickly suppressed. The Yugoslav regime prides itself on upholding the equality of its component nationalities in contrast to the bloody history of antagonisms among the south Slavic peoples in the inter-war period. Nevertheless, after more than a quarter century of Titoist rule, pro-Moscow tendencies in the bureaucracy continue to surface while right-wing nationalist groups still pose a threat of capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia. Why?

Tito Cracks Down

The government of Yugoslavia, which has long considered itself to be the most liberal and humane of the "Communist" regimes, has these past several years launched a campaign of repression in order to reassert the supremacy of the party in nearly every sphere of Yugoslav life, regimenting dissident intellectuals, nationalists and sections of the party leadership.

Symptomatic of the crackdown was the move in May 1974 to keep Tito president of the federal republic and commander-in-chief of the armed forces for an unlimited time. Tito had been set to retire in 1976 (at the age of 84) and relinquish power to a collective presidency. Instead, Tito will continue to preside over this collegial body in his capacity as president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). At present the "collective presidency" is a nine-man body made up of Tito and the presidents of Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces.

In addition to making Tito president for life, a curb has been placed on the previous extreme federalism of the collective executive, whereby each federal president was permitted to veto any proposal considered to be harmful to his republic's vital interests. Now a two-thirds majority can pass a proposal.

At the Tenth Congress of the LCY held in May 1974 the Central Committee (CC) was restructured, with the army being elevated to the status of a seventh republic; that is, it was given 20 seats on the CC, the same as each of the six republics. And nearly a year later another step was taken—to establish a "federal council for defence of the constitutional order." Chaired by the veteran Titoist Vladimir Bakarić the council includes the party secretary, Stane Dolanc; the prime minister, Džemal Bijedić; and the federal ministers of defense, foreign affairs and the interior.

These moves toward a tightening of

party control have been accompanied by a wave of repression aimed at the various political forces seen to threaten the Tito bureaucracy's rule.

Repression and purges are, to be sure, nothing new in Yugoslavia. Dissidents such as Mihajlo Mihajlov and Milovan Djilas have been jailed by the Tito regime not only for their criticisms of Yugoslav society, but even for their anti-Soviet writings. Thus Djilas in 1962 was sentenced to over eight years in prison for charges stemming from the publication of *Conversations With Stalin*. Mihajlov was imprisoned last year (following his third trial since 1966) on a charge of spreading "hostile propaganda" against the government. (The *New York Times* of 22 December reports that he is currently on a hunger strike to win release from solitary confinement and for other improved conditions.)

Between 1960 and 1970 alone over 500,000 persons were dropped from the LCY. (During the same period some 557,000 new members were taken into the party.) Most significant of the purges of this period was that of Aleksandar Ranković and his followers in the latter half of 1966. Ranković, in his capacity as head of the secret police and secretary of the LCY, was accused of organizing a secret faction to "re-Stalinize" Yugoslavia and to oppose Tito's policies of political and economic decentralization.

Yet compared to the USSR or the other deformed workers states, the Tito bureaucracy has for the last 10 years allowed an extraordinary amount of freedom to its citizens. Now a halt is being called. People who were previously allowed to write on subjects forbidden in any other deformed workers state or to organize cultural societies or groups independent of the party and the state are now being arrested in droves and charged with counterrevolution.

Tito the Hydra Slayer

The origins of the present swing on the part of the Tito government can be traced back to as early as 1968, when left-wing student demonstrators urged the regime to take a firmer stand against capitalist restorationist tendencies.

Subsequent repressions did not prevent a dissident intellectual movement from growing. There were jailings of student leaders from Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana who tried to organize a student association of the three universities. In May of 1971 left-wing Slovenian students were arrested demonstrating against French premier Pompidou. Journals such as *Praxis*, *Student* and *Kultura* subjected to sharp criticism some of the most cherished myths of the Tito regime.

The repression, however, did not take a sharp upturn until late 1971 when Tito was confronted with a more immediate threat, this time from the right. In December leaders of the Croatian Student Union—a collection of Croatian nationalists, cultural nationalists, bureaucratic reformers, liberals and a few genuine leftists—organized a student strike at Zagreb university to back the demands of leading Croatian party members that the republic retain a larger share of its industrial surplus and foreign exchange earnings from tourism and remittances of Yugoslav workers employed abroad.

Tito's reaction was swift and angry. The leaders of the demonstration were arrested. Croatian party leaders Tripalo, Dabčević-Kučar, Pirker and Bijelić "stepped down." Tito began to stomp the country making angry speeches denouncing "rotten liberalism" and warning that he would use any means necessary to "defend socialism" against "counterrevolutionaries and class enemies."

Continuing in the same vein Tito began to "self-criticize" and saw the roots of the trouble in the Sixth Party Congress. It was at that congress that the Yugoslav Communist Party (YCP) transformed itself into the LCY. The

Bureaucratic Rule Spawns Bourgeois Nationalism

Titoism in Trouble



Tito's portrait hangs on Belgrade building in 1948.

U.S. Army

League was a renunciation of the party's previous attempt to control all aspects of the country's life. Unlike the YCP the LCY was to simply be "the vanguard" and lead by "setting an example."

By the fall of 1972 Tito had enlarged his criticisms and was raging that "laissez-faire economics" was threatening to divide Yugoslavia into two classes and create a social explosion bigger than the national antagonisms. Serbian party leaders Marko Nikezić and Latinka Perović, both strong advocates of economic liberalism, "resigned." Also getting the ax were Macedonian party secretary Slavko Miloslavlevski and Slovenia's prime minister, Stane Kavčić, the latter apparently for advocating too much "free trade" with the West.

While cracking down on rightists and revisionists Tito also discovered a plot to "reconstruct the Fourth International" in Yugoslavia. Several alleged culprits were soon arrested, among them Danilo Udovicki, for "activities hostile to Yugoslavia"—i.e., for contacts he made in Belgrade in 1971 and 1972 with alleged representatives of the

"Fourth International." Nonetheless, Tito has allowed Ernest Mandel, leader of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), to speak to Yugoslav students.

An absurd facet of Tito's many-sided repressions was his demagogic attack on "Communist millionaires" (entrepreneurs and kulaks, *not* privileged bureaucrats) whom his policies built up in the first place.

Thus casting himself in the role of hydra slayer, Tito has made haste to wipe out all the various deviations from Titoism. Between 1972 and May 1974 he had managed to purge the party of over 10 percent of its membership, of which 51,000 were expelled for nationalism/liberalism. And this figure does not even encompass the masses of former members who simply drifted away—approximately one million between 1968 and 1975 (between the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses).

The Succession Crisis

The problems the Tito government faces are the logical outcome of the

policies it has pursued from the time it was forced to make a break with Stalin in 1948. The intellectual ferment, the worker discontent, the 20 percent annual inflation, the unemployment, the worsening trade balance, the flaring up of old national antagonisms and the growth of capitalist restorationist tendencies are real enough.

What gives the current crisis an exceptionally sharp political character is that it comes at a time when Tito, who has stood at the head of Yugoslavia from the time of the victory of the partisan armies in 1944-45, must step down from office because of his age. Tito is unique in the ruling bureaucracy in his prestige and popularity, both within the party and among the working masses. Since his break with Stalin he has maneuvered with amazing skill between the Scylla of Russian domination and the Charybdis of intra-Yugoslav regional national antagonisms. The resulting historical compromise—the “Yugoslav road to socialism”—has now been seriously undermined. The question now posed not only to the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, but to the international workers movement, is what turn the Yugoslav road will take after Tito's departure from the scene. Yugoslavia is a small country, but a fundamental shift in its political allegiances could have enormous implications.

Especially aware of this are the Russian Stalinists who have never quite managed to reconcile themselves with Tito's successful resistance to Stalin in 1948. Recently, the government announced the arrest of Vladimir Dapčević, former army colonel and brother of the vice president of the federal parliament, who in 1948 disagreed with Tito's break with Moscow and later fled the country. His name was linked with 32 long-standing party members jailed for conspiring to form a new pro-Soviet “Yugoslav Communist Workers and Peasants Party” (a so-called “Marxist wing” of the LCY). This orthodox Stalinist group, probably backed by USSR and Czech intelligence and composed mainly of former army officers and secret police agents, most likely intended to place its members in high positions following Tito's death. The arrest of the so-called “Cominformists” demonstrates (despite *Pravda's* 27 November disavowal of “sectarian plotters” and “renegades” allegedly trying to poison “Soviet-Yugoslav friendship”) the continued attraction of Kremlin-style Stalinism on sections of the Yugoslav bureaucracy.

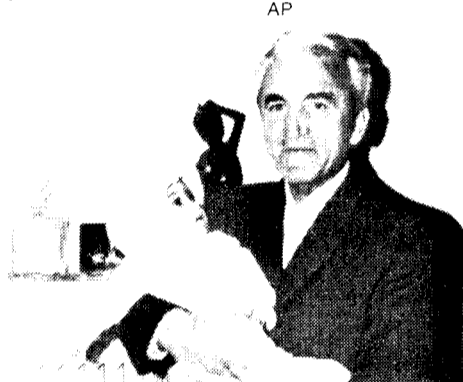
More than sour grapes over 1948, however, lies at the bottom of Moscow's pressures and intrigues. A Yugoslavia

friendly to the Soviet Union could not only quickly bring about a change in the pro-Maoist Hoxha regime in Albania, but would also provide the Russians with deep water naval bases in the Mediterranean, something the USSR has lacked since 1972 when the Egyptians expelled the Soviet navy from Alexandria. The spectre of this and of the presence of Soviet bloc troops on the Greek and Italian borders, especially in the context of the current enmity of Greece and Turkey, must put a chill in Henry Kissinger's vodka martini. It would, quite simply, fundamentally alter the military balance of power in the Mediterranean theater.

No one is more keenly aware of these facts of life than Tito and the imperialist NATO powers—and so Tito has been able to hold up the spectre of a pro-Soviet Yugoslavia to successfully ex-



Mihajlo Mihajlov, left. Vladimir Dapčević, below.



Der Spiegel

tract foreign aid and diplomatic concessions from the capitalist West.

Titoism

Indeed it is the international position occupied by Yugoslavia that has in large part determined the specific features of Titoism.

The break in 1948 with Stalin was forced upon the Yugoslavs. Unique in Eastern Europe, the YCP was not installed in power by Moscow, but won its victory through a long, bitter guerrilla war against Axis occupiers, native fascists and royalist bands. The Yugoslav Stalinists had their own deformed workers state, their own army and police, and were not dependent on

Stalin for their power. When Stalin began treating his Yugoslav followers like something less than the sixteenth republic of the USSR, the Tito-bureaucracy, with its aim of building “socialism” in Yugoslavia first, balked.

What sealed the split was the trade embargo and cancellation of credits by the Soviet bloc countries. Yugoslavia had obtained more than 55 percent of its imports and all of its credits from these countries. The embargo utterly disrupted the five-year plan and eventually forced the Yugoslavs to abandon detailed production planning. Thus Yugoslavia was given its first impetus on its ultimately disastrous road of economic decentralization by none other than Joseph Stalin.

In the battle against Soviet Stalinism Tito appealed to the masses in the name of anti-bureaucratism which he linked to political and economic decentralization. As he excommunicated Tito, Stalin reportedly said, “I will shake my little finger and there will be no more Tito. He will fall” (Khrushchev's “secret speech,” 1956). Stalin seriously underestimated the strength of Tito's domestic support. Nevertheless, in order to retain power Tito had to purge his party of the most pro-Stalin elements, who also were the foremost supporters of centralized planning and collectivized agriculture.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume Titoism emerged a fully developed tendency with the 1948 split. The excommunicated Yugoslav Stalinists' immediate aim was to survive. The economic and political policies and the ideological distinctions came later, in an ad hoc fashion.

In fact, at the time of and immediately after the forced break with Stalin, the Yugoslav party aped Stalin's methods and policies. An attempt to forcibly collectivize Yugoslav agriculture was made and mass labor mobilizations were instituted. Referring to the economic chaos and bureaucratic abuses of the 1949 period, a close Tito associate of the time, Vladimir Dedijer, writes:

“From that economic necessity, from that misfortune came the beginning of Yugoslavia's system of self-management. It developed as we gained in knowledge of the Soviet social system; criticizing the latter, we worked constructively criticizing our own existing system. Norms and credit planning of the market had to be revised.”

Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*

Dedijer also confirms that the institution of workers councils in 1950 (as well as the abandonment of attempts to collectivize agriculture in mid-1951) were originally measures of expediency to win the support of the masses in the anti-Cominform campaign. A close associate of Boris Kidrič, one of the architects of “workers self-management,” is quoted as saying:

“One night Boris said we could keep the proletarians on our side only if we expanded their rights: factories to the workers and the land to the peasants.”

—Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*

Workers self-management began as an experiment. It did not get off the ground until the late 1950's, and it has always been narrowly limited to the sphere of technical and trade-union problems. Any attempt to organize a political tendency independent of the LCY on the basis of these councils would be quickly smashed by Tito's bureaucracy, which has always jealously guarded its total monopoly of the political life of the country.

Stalinism

In the last analysis, Titoism is merely a national variant of Stalinism. Like its Russian counterpart, Yugoslav Stalinism dedicates itself to “socialism in one country”—the preservation of the bureaucratic ruling elite whose survival rests ultimately on two pillars: the nationalized property forms and at the same time the failure of revolutionary proletarian movements abroad, whose

successful taking of power would threaten the Titoists' political expropriation of the Yugoslav workers. Like all versions of Stalinism, Titoism is characterized by its nationalism, which places the diplomatic maneuvers of the Yugoslav state above solidarity with the other deformed workers states and above the needs of the international working class.

Because it rests upon a social base of collectivized property, the Yugoslav state—like the other deformed workers states—must be defended against imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution. But the gains of the Yugoslav revolution are placed in constant jeopardy by the Stalinist ruling clique, which demoralizes the proletariat, disorganizes the economy and pursues the suicidal policy of “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism. This parasitic bureaucracy must be ousted by a political revolution organized and led by a Trotskyist working-class party.

The Titoists came to power on the basis of a guerrilla struggle which swept out the fascist occupiers and, along with them, the social basis upon which capitalism rested. This struggle mobilized the peasant masses of the various nationalities which constitute the present Yugoslav state. The nearly thirty years which have passed have not erased from the memory of the working people of Yugoslavia these tremendous gains, especially the defusing through the collective endeavor of driving out the fascists and reconstructing Yugoslav society along a new social axis—of a bitter heritage of murderous national hatred. The basis for the relative independence of the Yugoslav Communist apparatus from the Russian state power is the more or less direct result of the Titoists' independent rise to power with overwhelming popular support among the working masses.

Yet Yugoslavia embodies a profound contradiction between the gains of the revolution and the narrow confines of bureaucratic rule. The monopoly of political power by a nationalist ruling clique and the continued pressure of imperialism and the capitalist world market upon the Yugoslav deformed workers state must ceaselessly regenerate social backwardness and dangerous national antagonisms, which threaten to burst forth when the bonapartist bureaucracy loses its dominant figure. These tendencies are, in turn, greatly strengthened by the tremendous centrifugal forces generated by the particular economic structure developed by the Yugoslav Stalinists since 1950.

Yugoslav Economy

While the Tito government abandoned attempts at detailed production planning and the collectivization of agriculture, throughout the 1950's and up to 1965 it held a potent lever for directing the trajectory of the economy, the so-called Social Investment Fund—the largest source of investment in the economy.

But by 1965 the Yugoslav economy was in serious trouble, plagued by low labor productivity, currency inflation and a spiralling trade deficit. To rectify these problems a series of “economic reforms” was introduced surpassing in decentralization anything Yevsei Liberman proposed for the Soviet economy.

Autonomously, the Yugoslav enterprise could now buy and sell, set its own output and wage norms and even trade directly with foreign firms. The Yugoslav currency, the dinar, was sharply devalued and price controls were to be abandoned. Most importantly, control over capital investment was decentralized by abolishing the social investment funds and turning them over to the banks—nominally managed by assemblies of delegates from enterprises which are founders or large depositors. The government still retains control, albeit far less direct, through members of the LCY who hold policy-making

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Livernois Five Frame-Up...

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Livernois Five were guilty. The article goes on to accuse the SL of "dirty racism." To anyone who knows the history of the SL's defense of victimized blacks—from its earliest work in the civil-rights movement to the recent Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) campaign for Philip Allen—such charges hardly need to be answered to be exposed as the vicious lies they are. And the SL has defended the police-terrorized blacks of the Livernois-Fenkell area. Immediately after the cop dragnet last August, the SL—but not the RSL—participated in a protest demonstration at police headquarters.

The SL and PDC denounce the racist frame-up, protest the prison torture and demand the immediate release of the Livernois Five. But the SL has the harshest criticism of the RSL's irresponsible defense propaganda, with its residual New Leftist fascination with street violence, which contributes to the frame-up rather than to the defense.

The wild frenzy of the RSL's earlier propagandā on this case not only reflects its present rapid organizational and political disintegration, but also its endemic inability to distinguish indiscriminate terror directed at working people from terror directed against capitalism. For instance, the RSL defends the killer-cult Symbionese Liberation Army—whose "hits" and "hit lists" include the personal enemies of its cult leader—as part of the left movement.

It is no accident that the RSL fails to sharply separate the reprehensible killing of Pyszko from the cop court frame-up of the Livernois Five. It was precisely the aura of lumpen rage that attracted it to the case in the first place. That is why its earlier leaflets in the name of the LFDC read more like a political defense of the act of murder than a defense against frame-up "justice." Fortunately for the Livernois Five, at least in part under the impact of SL criticism, the RSL seems to be cleaning up its defense propaganda, emphasizing the innocence of the Livernois Five and not justifying the indefensible act of killing Pyszko. The LFDC has now enlisted backing from the SWP and CLP for its committee.

Capitalist "justice" is racist to the core. The cops regularly terrorize ghetto residents, and the courts just as often frame up the victims. We seek to defend those cases that clearly and dramatically focus the oppressive conditions of the millions subjected to arbitrary judicial victimization. But because of the RSL's irresponsibility in defense of the framed-up Livernois youth, this case has thus far failed to represent the cause of all framed-up black youth the way the Joanne Little case stood for the fight against the oppression of blacks, women and prisoners. Victories for defense campaigns which truly symbolize this oppression not only can free particular victims of social injustice, but increase the confidence and combativity of the whole working class, which through a victorious proletarian revolution can end this racist frame-up cycle once and for all. ■

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Imperialist Assassin...

(continued from page 1)

thousands of political prisoners held without trial, beaten and tortured in the junta's concentration camps, have ample reason to hate Richard Welch and his fellow assassins.

The filthy counterrevolutionary activities of Welch have not been limited to Greece and Cyprus. In 1966 he was in Guatemala at the time when, according to former Maryknoll priest Thomas R. Melville, "more than 2800 labor leaders, union organizers, students, intellectuals and just plain peasants have been killed by the government secret police, army, and right-wing organizations.... This is all done under the auspices, albeit secret, of the U.S. Military Mission" (Richard Gott, quoted in *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*).

So it is not difficult after all to see why many would find good cause to kill the "charming" murderer Richard Welch. It is not even ruled out that right-wing forces could have rubbed him out. But whoever killed him and whatever the motive, it does not matter that one cog has been removed from the bloodthirsty machine of imperialist espionage, assassination and counter-insurgency. As Trotsky once remarked, the terrorist who stalks a minister is making the same mistake as the opportunist who stalks the minister's portfolio: both overestimate the importance of the minister. The secret police of imperialism will have little difficulty finding a minion eager to take over Welch's sinister responsibilities.

Winning Hearts and Minds in the U.S.

The strategy meetings in the CIA's Langley, Virginia, headquarters often take up the question of how to manipulate political events in countries like Chile, Portugal or Angola. These days they are just as often applying the same public relations techniques to their own rotten and increasingly discredited cause in the U.S. So it is no wonder that these cynical "experts" have latched on to the Welch assassination as an opportunity to go on the counteroffensive against liberal CIA reform investigations. The Congressional committees are involved only in providing a cover-up for what has already been exposed, mainly by disaffected ex-agents. Yet the CIA does not breathe freely in this post-Watergate atmosphere of public exposure.

The agency and its friends have from the beginning tried to stop the exposures

of domestic spying, assassinations and coup-managing, arguing that the revelations are "against the national interest." President Ford tried to stop the official Congressional confession of CIA assassinations. But the main focus has been over publication of the names of agents. Colby and senator Frank Church had a mock battle in which Colby requested that Church's committee not publish the names of CIA operatives involved in the assassinations lest they become "targets of reprisal."

Although Church refused the formal request, the committee deleted most of

"The bourgeoisie buries its hitmen in Arlington cemetery and blows bugles over them."
—Workers Vanguard,
10 October 1975

the CIA names on its own initiative. Now with the killing of Welch the CIA is arguing that disclosure of his identity as an agent led to his death. And Church has already sensed his duty to the "national interest," saying "those who reveal the names of agents active in the field are playing reckless games with human lives."

At bottom, this wrangle is part of the attempt by the CIA Congressional lobby to put the lid on disclosure. But they are a lot less worried about the committees of Frank Church and Nelson Rockefeller than they are interested in plugging up the "leaks" among their own agents and ex-agents to professional muckrakers. Their reactions to the inquiries and especially to press "leaks" have grown increasingly violent. In April, ex-CIA head Helms yelled at CBS newsman Daniel Schorr in front of a group of reporters, denouncing him as "killer Schorr" for broadcasting charges that the CIA assassinated foreign leaders.

Colby has asked Congress "for legislation that would permit the CIA director to punish employees by filing criminal charges for passing out secrets and strengthen the government's injunctive powers to keep the press from publishing such secrets." And Representative Robert Michel, the House Republican whip, is drafting a bill making it a federal offense to publish the true identity of any American intelligence agent working under cover.

The CIA has picked its scapegoat in its campaign to put the cover back on—the Organizing Committee of the Fifth Estate (OCFE) and its journal, *Counterspy*. Blaming *Counterspy's* disclosure of Welch's identity, Colby accused its editors of attempting "to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for its irresponsible and paranoid attack on other Americans serving their country here and abroad." While *Counterspy's* disclosure last winter of the names of 150 CIA station chiefs was a valuable service to the international working class, Welch's identity was already widely known. During his tenure with the CIA office in Peru, he was exposed on the front page of a Lima daily newspaper; he was also listed in a 1968 book, *Who's Who in the CIA*, written by an East German.

Today's *New York Times* reports that the CIA "has asked the Justice Department to determine whether Federal laws were violated in the publication of the identity of Richard S. Welch," and the Justice Department said that it was "studying the possibility" that the Organizing Committee of the Fifth Estate had violated criminal statutes as well as made disclosures that "violated Mr. Welch's civil rights."

Counterspy must be defended against this naked attempt to gag it. The CIA attack on *Counterspy* has taken on an additionally ominous dimension with the recent death threats against the *Counterspy* staff and members of the Congressional investigating committees issued by a so-called Veterans Against Communist Sympathizers.

With the CIA screaming for silence

and Gerald Ford trying to whip up hysteria saying that the disclosure of Welch is "at least partly responsible for his death," revolutionaries must raise the demand: Disclose All the Names! We want to have the secret agents revealed, including the so-called "deep-cover" agents who are almost never revealed. The exploited and oppressed who have faced the CIA's Phoenix project, disruption of the labor movement, military coups, assassinations, spying and infiltration deserve to know.

As part of the CIA's public relations offensive against exposure, they have produced and directed David A. Phillips, whose act only confirms that when rocks are turned over, strange things slither out. Claiming to be a "retired" agent, Phillips has taken to the banquet circuit to "dispel myths" that "the CIA is composed of unprincipled people."

"His dedicated service to his country and faultless contribution to United States foreign policy objectives throughout his career will never be forgotten."

—President Ford,
condolences for
Richard Welch,
24 December 1975

After Welch's death Phillips pondered over "what kind of moral mid-gets" could have killed him. None of the television newsmen who lined up to interview the former CIA honcho inquired about his moral stature. If they had, they would have discovered that Phillips had a six-year career in Chile and was in charge of the agency's Latin American operations in 1973 when the Allende regime was toppled and the Chilean proletariat drenched in blood by right-wing generals assisted by the CIA.

Phillips continues his defense of the CIA on the college speaking tours, often in polite debate with liberal critics. At Boston University last October he was not so lucky as he was with the newsmen. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League picketed his speech and confronted the CIA front man with his role in Chile, Lebanon and Santo Domingo. Phillips brazened it out saying: "Well, you can't believe everything you read in the newspapers." But with press exposures on the CIA, the experiential rule of thumb continues to be that everything can be believed, but it is the tip of the iceberg.

Although revolutionaries weep no tears for the death of imperialism's hitmen, there must be no illusions about the effectiveness of individual terror. Today in Greece the government has used the Welch killing as an excuse to harass the entire left, with more than 500 reportedly already interrogated. And his successor is no doubt already "in place."

The film *State of Siege*, by left-liberal film maker Costa-Gavras, begins with a scene of the airport arrival of a U.S. CIA torture expert in Latin America. He is kidnapped and killed, and it is clear that he deserves to be killed. The film ends with another airport arrival of another CIA agent.

Assassinations will not put the CIA out of its filthy business, nor can the CIA be anything less ugly and savage than what it is meant to be—the necessary covert military instrument of U.S. imperialism. It will take nothing less than socialist revolution to smash the bourgeois state and its repressive apparatus, including the CIA. One of the first and most gratifying acts of that victorious revolution will be the public opening of the secret files to strip the CIA's henchmen of their cherished anonymity. Only then will the whole story of imperialism's murderous secret plots be known. Only then will all the CIA's criminal assassins, now disguised as businessmen and diplomats, be uncovered and made to face the tribunals of their victims. Only then can justice be done. ■

Capitol Packaging Strike Support Demonstration

Saturday, 10 January, 12 noon
Chicago Civic Center

Sponsored by Capitol Packaging Strike
Committee, OCAW Local 7-507 and Capitol
Packaging Strike Support Committee

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Scab Murders Strike Leader—Victory to the Capitol Packaging Strike!

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CHUCK MARINO
Labor Struggle Caucus,
UAW Local 6

University of Illinois
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Spain...

(continued from page 1)

thousands of left-wing prisoners rotting in Spanish jails. This is not only demanded by radicals, but widely regarded as a precondition for consideration of Spain's long-standing request to enter the Common Market. When two Basque nationalists and three Maoists were executed in September, sharp diplomatic protests were delivered by almost every West European government. In November the ruling Labor Party in the Netherlands took the unusual step of sending a parliamentary delegation to hold a clandestine press conference in Madrid demanding amnesty for political prisoners. All this was not the product of any humanitarian impulses on the part of the "democratic" capitalist governments, of course, but was a direct response to the massive anti-Franco demonstrations which swept Europe.

Consequently, one of Prince Juan Carlos' first acts as Franco's successor was to announce a token pardon (*indulto*) including a few well-known political prisoners. In Spain the pardon was universally regarded as a farce. A blessing for common criminals, it excluded a priori all those serving sentences of more than three years as well as those convicted of violating the draconian "anti-terrorist" law decreed last August. Since political "crimes" rarely receive less than three years' imprisonment, and the "anti-terrorist" decree includes among the punishable offenses membership in all "communist," "terrorist" or separatist organizations, it was obvious that the pardon would do nothing for most victims of Franco's rightist repression. Thus of 3,302 prisoners released as of December 4, only 235 had been arrested for

political offenses, and only 76 of them had already been sentenced. Even official government figures show that this is less than 5 percent of the total number of prisoners convicted of political offenses.

The well-publicized case of Marcelino Camacho illustrates the precarious situation of even those who were released under what has become known as the "*indulto insulto*" (insulting pardon). The head of the illegal workers commissions and a leader of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), Camacho was convicted in trial number "1.001" in late 1973 and held since then in Carabanchel prison outside Madrid. He was released on November 30, among the first recipients of the pardon, as the government sought to appease the left and thereby avoid disruptive protests around the coronation of Juan Carlos as king. But a week later, in response to a PCE-led demonstration (at which he was not present), Camacho was rearrested. Although he was again freed on December 12, the labor leader returned home to find an anonymous death threat.

The pardon did succeed in obtaining a degree of international support for the regime. While the only heads of state present at Franco's funeral were a trio of butchers—Pinochet (Chile), Banzer (Bolivia) and Hussein (Jordan)—the coronation of Juan Carlos drew presidents Scheel of West Germany and Giscard d'Estaing of France.

"Two Weeks, Two Months, Two Years"

The theme of the post-Franco regime in Madrid has been *continuismo* and the most token concessions to popular demands. As the Maoist Revolutionary and Anti-Fascist Patriotic Front (FRAP) put it: Juan Carlos I—Franco II. Evidently calculating that the only way to gain at least a measure of toleration for an imposed Francoist monarchy is to have it appear utterly irrelevant, the king himself is taking little direct role in political decisions. But many bourgeois liberals had hoped he would appoint a prominent "moderate" to form the government. Frequently mentioned candidates were former chief of staff Manuel Diez Alegria and former ambassador to Washington, the Count of Motrico, Jose Maria de Areilza.

However, pressure from extreme-right Falangists (the so-called Bunker) prevailed instead, and Franco's last prime minister, Carlos Arias Navarro, was maintained in office. Arias is not eager to continue as head of government, however, and the most active elements in the new cabinet are Areilza, now minister of foreign affairs, and the interior minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne. In addition to the Count of Motrico, both justice minister Antonio Garrigués and information minister González Posada are considered close to the U.S., particularly to Rockefeller.

Before being named interior minister, Fraga put forward his timetable for the new government: "Two weeks to decide, two months to plan, two years to carry out." In its first statement, the cabinet hinted at cautious reforms: "institutional recognition of local autonomy, 'widen the bases' of representative bodies, adapting institutions to reflect the 'development of one people' (*New York Times*, 16 December). Behind this indecipherable vagueness is the fact that the heirs of Franco want to change only the bare minimum of the corporatist state structure—not so much out of dedication to Francoist traditions, however, as from the recognition that with anything approaching democratic freedoms they and their ilk would be swept away in a matter of hours.

There are also notable divisions in the government. The foreign minister announced in a Paris news conference, for instance, that Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo could obtain a passport and return to Spain. The PCE



Carabanchel prison near Madrid

leader, said Areilza, "is a citizen who will not suffer discrimination as a result of his ideology." But Falangist ultras in the Cortes, the largely appointed "parliament," vigorously denounced the foreign minister's statement. A few days later the interior minister announced that henceforth the police would distinguish between "adversaries" of the regime, who would now be tolerated, and "enemies" who resort to violence and would be punished. At about the same time ultra-rightist gunmen (assumed to be "off duty" police) opened fire on a peaceful demonstration outside a Madrid prison, wounding a professor and a student.

PCE Sabotages General Strike

With a government committed to maintaining the Francoist, bonapartist rule of a strong state (although without the Bonaparte, which makes their job considerably more difficult), it is obvious to even the most timid liberals that there will be no democratization without mobilizing mass opposition in the streets. Thus even though leaders of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE) had earlier been inclined to a policy of benevolent neutrality toward Juan Carlos, during mid-December they staged several demonstrations in the capital, calling for amnesty of all political prisoners and exiles.

Although the first demonstrations were dispersed by the police, around New Year's sizable demonstrations were held in Guernica, where 5,000 people met to announce the formation of the "Democratic Assembly of Euzkadi" (Basque region), and in Barcelona, where 500 surrounded the city's main prison, without police interference.

These are but small change. To win democratic liberties only mass, militant working-class action on the scale of a nationwide general strike is adequate. The conditions for its initiation have been there for months: the workers are eager to strike (and did so, repeatedly during the past two years, so that Spain has the second highest strike rate in Europe even though every single one is illegal!), large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are sympathetic, the regime lacks a firm leadership.

What is lacking is a revolutionary, Trotskyist party with the recognized

authority among the masses to lead it. Under the present conditions in Spain, such a strike would represent an immediate life-and-death contest for power with the government. Its victory would topple the Francoist regime, creating a situation of dual power and placing proletarian revolution on the immediate order of the day. That is why the cringing reformists of the PCE and PSOE have repeatedly refused to call a general strike.

Instead they have talked of one-day "democratic actions" as a form of protest which they hope could be contained. In order to put off pressure for immediate action during the fall, when Franco lay dying, the PCE (along with the workers commissions controlled by it and the popular-front "Junta Democrática" it dominates) issued leaflets talking of a future "jornada de lucha" (day of struggle) against the regime.

In early December, the Stalinist leadership finally issued the promised call. On December 9 the Madrid Junta Democrática and the "Platform of Democratic Convergence" (another popular front, dominated by the PSOE) issued a joint call for peaceful demonstrations for a "democratic breach." In Barcelona, the National Workers Commission of Catalonia went even further calling for a "24-hour general strike" on December 11 to protest the "indulto insulto" and the imposition of Juan Carlos as king, calling for "no to the wage freeze," "immediate amnesty" and "political and trade-union liberties."

This call clearly reveals the reformist misleadership of the PCE, since it was limited to a single day (i.e., meant as a symbolic protest) and was deliberately held on different days in different areas in order to avoid any threat to the government on a national scale. But this does not end the treachery of the Communist Party: after calling a general strike, it instructed workers from the key factories not to go out!

In Barcelona there was a demonstration of several thousands in front of the women's prison (where the inmates had been on hunger strike). According to the *Noticiero Universal* (12 December), more than 100 work locations were hit with strikes and almost 17,000 walked out. But at the key SEAT auto factory (subsidiary of Italian Fiat)—the site of repeated political wildcat strikes—whose workers commission is controlled by the PCE, 25,000 workers punched in just like any other workday! The same was true at the other major PCE-influenced factories—Olivetti, Enasa, Solvay and Motor Ibérica—all of which were reported free from strike activity.

Madrid was no different. Some 20,000 metal and construction workers (among whom Maoist influence is strong) stopped work for various periods to protest the "fascist king." Yet at the big Chrysler complex, led by the PCE, the workers commission did not call for a walkout. When the workers arrived at the plant and refused to work anyway, they were cleared out by the police. At the Standard Eléctrica plant (another PCE bastion), the 12,000 workers struck without official leadership. There were also reports of 10,000 to 15,000 coal miners on strike in the traditionally militant Asturias region.

The press described the turnout during the three-day staggered protest as a "defeat" for anti-Francoist forces. The working class did suffer a defeat on December 10 to 12, but it was above all due to a stab in the back by the Stalinist misleaders. The fact that the PCE sabotage was so effective underlines the continuing strength of its apparatus (despite large numbers of workers, numbering in the thousands, who place themselves to the left of the Communist Party), and underlines the urgent necessity of constructing a Spanish Trotskyist party which is able to break this bureaucratic stranglehold. ■

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prior to the arbitrator's decision was passed overwhelmingly. However, it was revealed a few days later that the company had never agreed to go to arbitration in the first place, and within a week the union simply withdrew the case.

In late December the 1101 executive board told a stewards' meeting that its hands were tied by the company's contractual "right" to reassign anybody, anywhere, anytime, but that it was drawing the line at letting female craftworkers go into the ghettos for escort duty. Such hypocritical efforts at "protection" can only further reinforce the prevailing prejudice among male workers that women in craft cannot really do "men's" work, but must receive special treatment. Moreover, Dempsey's "concern" for CWA women is nothing but a thinly-veiled appeal to racist sentiment, a reactionary campaign to keep "our" women out of black and Latin neighborhoods. Local members must not be taken in by this cynical grandstand play to sidestep Dempsey's blatant refusal to fight the downgrades.

Most of New York City is dangerous for all installers—men and women, black and white—and instances of harassment, even in fancy mid-town districts, abound. Two-person installer crews must be made standard throughout the Local, a measure that would not only increase protection but also provide more jobs.

Dempsey's claim to fight for women phone workers is grotesque. The Local leadership has long been callously



New York Generator

CWA Local 1101 president Ed Dempsey

indifferent to the plight of workers beyond its own narrow base of support in the skilled crafts. Its lackadaisical attitude toward organizing operators, who are predominantly black women, was a major factor in the defeat of the 1971 strike. Its failure to fight to equalize wage scales and demand equality in up-grading gave the U.S. government the excuse it needed to step in with the union-busting affirmative action program under the guise of "protecting" women from the union.

Running the Local like its private fiefdom, the Dempsey bureaucracy bears responsibility for the apathy and anti-unionism within its own ranks and among members of every union with which it comes in contact. During the recent dispute over fire-alarm installation work, Local 1101 correctly honored the Western Electric (CWA Local 1190) picket lines aimed against job raiding by IBEW Local 9. Yet it had already taken part of the installation job for itself! In December the Local leaders directed 1101 members to scab on the Teamster Local 813 strike. When 1101 chauffeurs who supply the installers' lockers were ordered by the company to make the garbage pick-ups of the striking Teamster drivers, Dempsey's flunkies told them to go ahead and do it.

Behind every move of the self-serving labor bureaucracy is its political outlook—the belief that the unions are in joint partnership with the corporations. In a Christmas letter to the membership, International representative Morty Bahr directed members to vote Democratic in 1976 as part of the union's commitment to "generate pride

and thus rekindle trust in America and restore faith in its institutions." The working class' interest lies *not* with rekindling trust and faith in American institutions—in the class system at the root of layoffs, depressions, racial and sexual oppression and imperialist war—but in destroying them!

The present oppositional groups within 1101 quail before the challenge of building a class-struggle opposition in the unions based on a program of consistent struggle against the companies, their parties and their state. During the November Local 1101 elections, for example, the United Action Caucus (UAC), whose work is supported by the International Socialists (I.S.), tried to increase its influence in the union by campaigning for district representatives it hoped would be more friendly to it than the rabidly anti-communist Dempsey. (The UAC never mentioned that it had similarly campaigned for Dempsey in 1972, in the hopes that he would be more friendly than Carnivale.)

By refusing to run its own candidates and instead submerging itself into an amorphous anti-Dempsey coalition in the Southern Division, the UAC liquidated its name as well as the minimally reformist program on which it usually stands. Such opportunism is not only cheap, but stupid. Long-time UAC members posing as "independent workers" may have confused some of the real independents, but they never fooled Dempsey. He took one look at the coalition, delivered a red-baiting barrage at the next stewards' meeting and scattered what was left of the UAC's "friendly" allies in all directions.

Despite this debacle, UAC supporters are again attempting the same ploy in the form of a women's committee in the local. This fall they invited the Women's Studies Program of the Cornell School of Labor Relations, which they know has been heavily financed by the Central Intelligence Agency since 1962, to sponsor a course in grievance-handling for Local women. The I.S. writes glibly in *Workers' Power* about the need to expose the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the AFL-CIO CIA counterinsurgency project founded by late CWA president Joe Beirne. The AIFLD was heavily involved in U.S. government machinations that resulted in toppling the Allende government and slaughtering thousands of Chilean union militants. But I.S. supporters in the CWA have introduced into the union the Cornell School, whose major interest in being there is to recruit women to the AIFLD!

The CWA does not need to replace more Carnivales with more Dempseys, nor does it need more rotten coalitions that fall apart at the first test. It needs a militant opposition based on a program and a strategy which can free the unions from the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and transform them into mass organizations of workers' defense.

The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the CWA, in Locals 9410 (San Francisco) and 9415 (Oakland) has been organizing to win unionists to such a program. At last year's CWA convention, MAC called for a powerful nationwide phone strike against layoffs. It called for reopening the contract to throw out the "needs of business" clause which NY Telephone management will use to ax militants in its downgrading drive. It has fought for years to inform CWA members about the union's link to AIFLD and a key point in its 1975 convention delegate election campaign was its commitment to raising a motion at the convention to break all CWA and AFL-CIO ties with AIFLD, the CIA, and the bosses' government. The MAC has consistently struggled to break the unions from the capitalist Democratic Party and to form instead a workers party, one that can lead the union movement and all the exploited and oppressed forward to a workers government. ■

Titoism...

(continued from page 7)

positions in the banks. But the state's former role in investments has been restricted to operating from much smaller funds for development of the underdeveloped regions.

Commenting on the reforms the *London Times* (27 July 1965) noted:

"Resistance and opposition to reforms is considerable. It comes from government circles in the less developed republics, which are bound to feel the unpleasant consequences more than the better developed regions which have been pressing for reforms. It comes also from the trade unions, as unemployment, already high, is expected to increase with factories, now left to themselves, having to operate in independent economic units like any capitalist enterprise."

The consequences of the reforms were quick in coming. There was a severe reduction in investment in backward regions of Serbia, in Montenegro, Macedonia and the autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija. Unemployment rose rapidly. By 1967 fully one eighth of the labor force couldn't find work, and many became foreign workers in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe. Inflation galloped, and the living standards of the masses dropped.

Above all, the reforms were designed to make Yugoslavia more competitive on the international capitalist market. They did this, but at the price of making Yugoslavia much more susceptible to the economic crises of capitalism. Indeed, the current capitalist depression has profoundly affected the Yugoslav economy—not only through a drop in trade with the EEC countries, but also through the return of vast numbers of emigrant workers whose remittances

opportunities for petty-bourgeois entrepreneurs to amass small fortunes, generating pressures on sections of the bureaucracy to seek to undermine economic planning and begin to dream of acquiring individual ownership of the means of production now collectively held.

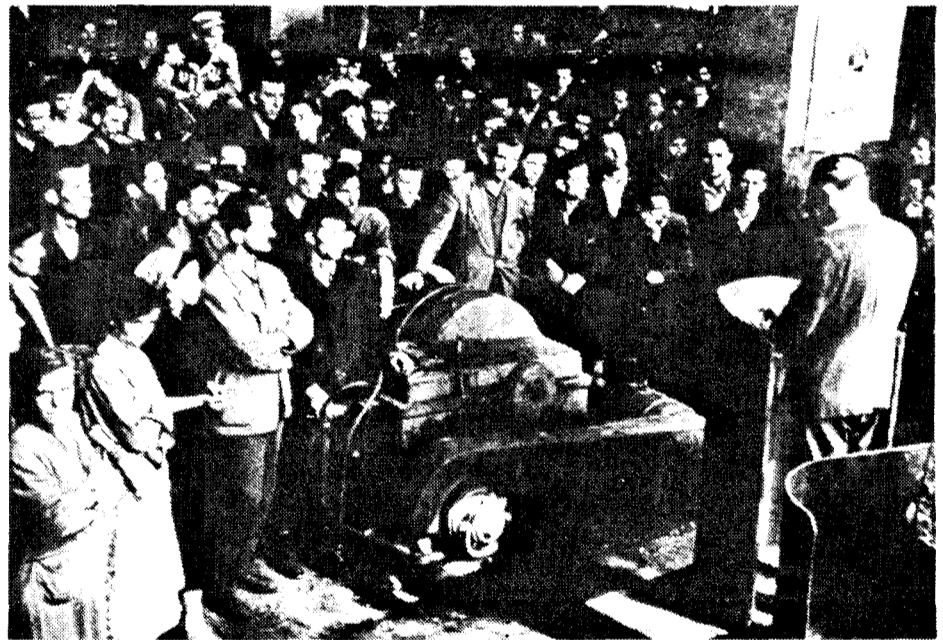
The Fruits of Titoism

In short, Tito's "Yugoslav road" has led not to socialism but to inequality among nations and regions, inequality among workers, rapid growth of the private sector, unemployment, labor emigration and the increased threat of penetration by foreign capital. Continuation along this road raises a very real threat of bourgeois restoration through a bloody civil war which quite possibly



Marshal Josip Broz Tito

UPI



Yugoslav Embassy

Workers council meets in Yugoslav factory.

were a major source of foreign exchange for the regime.

Yugoslavia today reproduces some of the worst aspects of the NEP (New Economic Policy) in Russia during the early and mid-1920's. State ownership of the means of production is seriously undermined by means of production transferred into the hands of collectives which compete with other collectives for materials and markets. Under these conditions investment is channelled into sectors and techniques of greatest profitability rather than of greater social use. Such circumstances have provided excellent

might provoke Soviet and American intervention and trigger World War III.

Tito's current campaign is a bureaucratic crackdown on the fruits of Titoism. It demonstrates the folly of renouncing an active international revolutionary struggle against capitalism in favor of utopian attempts to build "socialism" in one country—a very tiny one at that, and one that would not last a week save for the existence of the USSR. Caught in a bureaucratic straightjacket, all Tito can do is tack and veer, now closer to the Soviets, now further away.

Only by the construction in Yugoslavia and in the other deformed workers states of Trotskyist parties committed to a political revolution to oust the bankrupt bureaucrats can the gains of the Yugoslav revolution be protected and bloody bourgeois counterrevolution averted. Forward to the Yugoslav Trotskyist party. For the rebirth of the Fourth International! Oust Tito through political revolution! For a Balkan Socialist Federation! For international communist unity against imperialism, from Havana to Belgrade, Moscow and Peking! ■

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Longshore...

(continued from page 12)

on the remaining boards at the hiring hall.

According to this plan of intimidation, the men on the second-class "B" list—a supposedly "temporary" departure from full union protection for new longshoremen introduced by Bridges in 1959—would be forced to undergo weekly unannounced spot checks to make sure they are available for work—work which is usually unavailable for them. In addition, men receiving the highest PGP payments would be presumed to be avoiding work, and required to appear before the JCLRC to explain their eligibility for the payments!

Under this policy of willing betrayal by Bridges (which was already well under way before the letter acknowledged it publicly), the PMA has eliminated the dock exemption board, the car board and 250 men from the night dock board over the last six months. PGP

"Oppositionists" such as Larry Wing, who capitulated to Bridges by advocating nothing more than a two-year instead of a three-year version of the contract, were paralyzed by their own tactics. Wing was removed from office by Bridges forces through a trial on trumped-up charges. Although he had correctly opposed an attempt by the Bridges leadership to raid another maritime union, Wing resorted to the traitorous class-collaborationist "tactic" of taking the union to court to "defend" himself, much to the pleasure of his enemies, who gleefully exploited this issue in the union.



Stan Gow

WV Photo

The railroading of Wing was just the beginning of a pattern under acting Local president Watkins in which Local 10 looks more and more like the gangster-ridden East Coast ILA. Violations of parliamentary procedure and attempts to silence opposition are rapidly becoming commonplace. Wing and two other oppositionists have been barred from the ballot in the upcoming election, and threats have been made against Archie Brown, the long-time spokesman for Communist Party (CP) positions, to run him out of the union. The *Longshore Militant* demands that Wing be vindicated against the phony charges in an upcoming Local referendum on his trial, and calls for putting the barred candidates on the ballot. At the same time, *LM* sharply denounces the error of bringing the bosses' cops and courts into union affairs, and gives no support in the elections to Wing or the other reformist oppositionists.

To counter the PMA offensive, the *Longshore Militant* calls on the Local to take action on a motion passed by the executive board on October 9 in response to elimination of dispatch

boards. The motion opposed all cut-backs, demanded full PGP, and included a proposal to strike (for a "sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members") added by supporters of *LM*. The motion has lain dormant, however, while Local meetings have been dominated by the disputes between Bridges forces and supporters of Larry Wing. Wrangling between the two main bureaucratic factions has been the chief obstacle to Local 10's taking any action against PMA attacks or Bridges' strongarm tactics. "By our yardstick neither side deserves a vote. All have demonstrated they can't defend the union" (*LM*, 29 December 1975).

Archie Brown, running for caucus and convention delegate, is making a special effort to run interference for the Bridges regime by concentrating most of his "campaign" on foam-flecked attacks against the class-struggle program of Gow and Keylor. This well-practiced hack apologist for Bridges of many long years standing has the gall to accuse *Longshore Militant* of being the "'left-wing' of the Bridges regime" for having advocated a strike to oppose the last contract. Playing on the membership's properly-felt uneasiness about its traitorous leadership, Brown claims that it was correct not to strike because of the danger of sabotage by "the same Coast Committee bunch that gutted the 1971-72 strike." In addition to preaching passivity Brown fails to explain why he opposed the *LM* attempt to recall the Coast Caucus delegate body which negotiated the rotten contract and hold new elections!

Trying to cover his tracks, Brown shamelessly denies supporting the last contract, accusing *LM* of misrepresenting his views. But unfortunately for him, copies of his leaflet of last July 17 still exist, in which he tails after Wing's capitulation to Bridges:

"We have the same basic objections to the 3 years as we had to the 2 years under the earlier agreement but anybody knows 2 bad contract years beats 3 bad contract years coming and going." [our emphasis]

Brown also supported the first "Modernization and Mechanization" contract in 1961, and apologized for Bridges' vicious purge of 82 B-men in 1959. Now that Alioto is leaving the San Francisco mayor's office, Brown even finds it possible to criticize the long-standing Alioto Bridges alliance. However, he allows for the possibility that unions "can support and work with liberal and even opportunist candidates"! No doubt this will allow Brown and other *People's World* (West Coast CP paper) supporters to cover for "friend-of-labor" mayor-elect Moscone, who was one of the guests at the testimonial dinner for Bridges.

"We need a planned economy run by a workers government!" concludes the special election issue of *Longshore Militant* (29 December 1975). "Mechanization should be used to make shorter hours and easier work, not to throw people out of work while the bosses make super profits. We're for nationalizing without compensating the owners, the longshore and transportation industries, and all major industries." Such a program, if inscribed clearly on the banners of ILWU Local 10, could point the way forward for all West Coast labor and the entire working class. ■

Construction...

(continued from page 3)

strength of the teachers' unions). The notoriously racist, job-trusting construction union bureaucracy is, of course, deeply implicated in discriminatory practices which have kept the relatively high-wage skilled trades lily-white. But union-busting strikebreaking legislation will only weaken the cause of the doubly oppressed minority workers, and will produce precious few jobs for the masses of unemployed blacks.

Only a class-struggle leadership which rejects government interference in the unions while steadfastly defending the rights of minorities within the labor movement, can lead the way forward to ending unemployment and discrimination. In addition to opposing government, employer corporatist schemes and fighting for the unlimited right to strike, key objectives for such a leadership would be campaigns for aggressive union recruitment of minority workers, organizing the unorganized, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, and a massive public works program operated under trade-union control. ■

Innocenti-Leyland...

(continued from page 5)

can the maneuverist Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR, linked to the "Third Tendency" of the USec, although itself independent) claim to have defended Marxist principles. Its comment on the June 15 elections was an exemplary specimen of the capitulationist bombast of this group:

"The call for a vote for the PCI—which despite its bourgeois program expresses in distorted form, in the Italian context, the most profound demands for unity [!] and political autonomy [!] of the working class—unequivocally proved to be a most adequate response to the objective impulses toward radicalization manifested in the working class."

If Trotskyism in Italy was dead almost as soon as it was born, these latter-day abortions do not awaken better hopes!

Unlike the Pablist capitulators, an authentic Trotskyist tendency would clearly explain to the workers that the Stalinists' popular-front plan means subordinating workers' struggles to capitalists' profits. It would point to the PCI's recent shameful pact with the Christian Democrats to restrict abortions, showing how the reformists' class collaboration abandons even elementary democratic demands, not to mention the struggle for socialism. It would underline the union bureaucrats' hoo-rays for Fiat and refusal to speak with the Neopolitan unemployed, demonstrating that reformist policies in the imperialist epoch mean setting workers against worker while quarreling over crumbs from the bosses' table.

As Lenin wrote in "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" (October 1916): "unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these [bourgeois workers] parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a Socialist labor movement." And without a struggle for a full transitional program of demands going beyond the capitalist framework and culminating in a workers government, there can be no solution to the problems of unemployment and factory closures.

—Stop layoffs, jobs for all! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—Seize the factories, expropriate the auto industry!

—For the rebirth of a Trotskyist vanguard in Italy! Forward to a workers government! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■



Howard Keylor

WV Photo

payments dropped by 40 percent over the same period. In the estimate of the *Longshore Militant* (29 December 1975), the PMA is attempting to cut the workforce by half through first driving out B-men and disabled longshoremen, followed then by older workers pressured to retire early and finally forced deregistrations (layoffs) of low-seniority A-men (full union members). But these attacks, coming under the most recent contract (1975), are only a continuation of the pattern of erosion set under the first "Modernization and Mechanization" contract, in 1961. Since then, over half the original 700 B-men registered in 1969 have been forced out of the industry through lack of work (*LM*, 1 October 1975).

The membership recognized the rottenness of the most recent contract, forcing Bridges to go through three union-wide votes before achieving final "ratification" last July. The *Longshore Militant* had predicted the dire consequences of the proposed deal prior to its passage, pointing out that a strike and a struggle to replace the Bridges regime with a leadership based on class-struggle policies was the only way out for the membership. *LM* (3 March) called for a strike that would be coast-wide (including Canada) and run by elected strike committees in each port. It also demanded a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, full rights for B-men, and making no exceptions for military cargo. In contrast to the *LM*'s militant program, reformist "oppositionists," capitulating to defeatist sentiment in the ranks, argued that a strike was impossible, thereby helping to set the membership up for the present cascading series of disasters.

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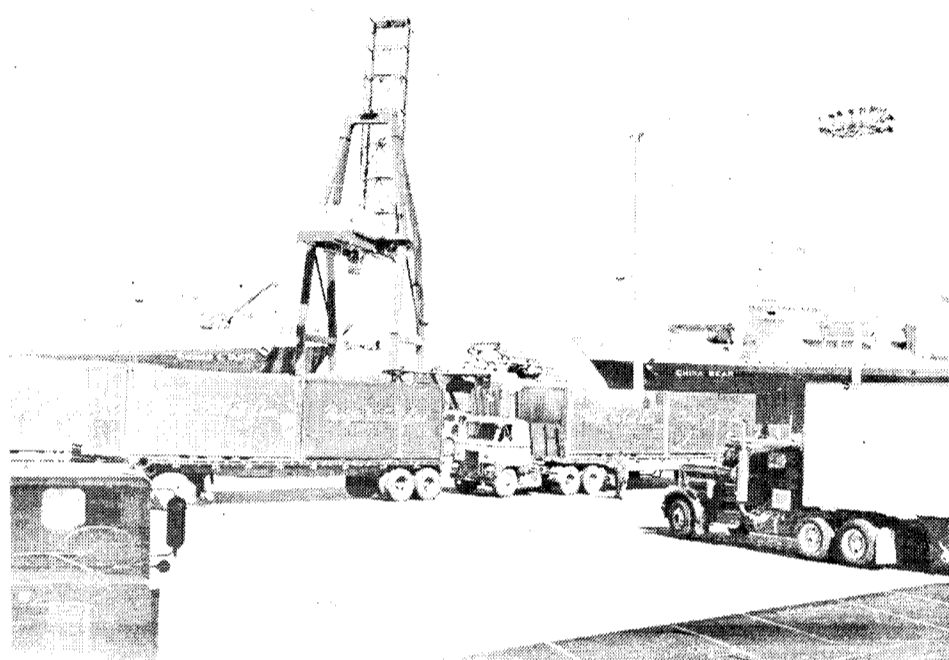
SAN FRANCISCO, January 1—The long drawn-out crisis in West Coast longshore is rapidly coming to a head as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) holds local elections. The "leadership" of International president Harry Bridges and his local minions has handed the members a clear challenge in the form of disastrous erosion of jobs, working conditions, supposedly "guaranteed" pay, the hiring hall, union democracy—in short, attacks on virtually every historic gain of the once-militant union.

In San Francisco Local 10 two veteran longshoremen and executive board incumbents, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, have over the past year counterposed a program of consistent class struggle to these betrayals through their newsletter, the *Longshore Militant*, and are now running for reelection (and for coast caucus and convention delegate) on this record. However, a coterie of fake opposition-

ists, including ex-Local president Larry Wing, threatens to confuse and deter the membership from a clear rejection of Bridges & Co.'s class collaborationism.

Bridges is in open collusion with the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) on a plan to slash the workforce and make the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP)—supposedly a protection against force reductions due to modernization and mechanization of dock work—into a total farce. The collusion became public and explicit in October when the Bridges-controlled Coast Committee of William Ward and Fred Huntsinger sent a letter to Local 10, jointly signed by PMA as part of the Joint Coast Labor Relations Committee (JCLRC). The letter endorsed the "PGP Survey Team" recommendations, which included elimination of "obsolete or unnecessary" dispatch boards. The elimination of dispatch boards means that more men must scramble for jobs

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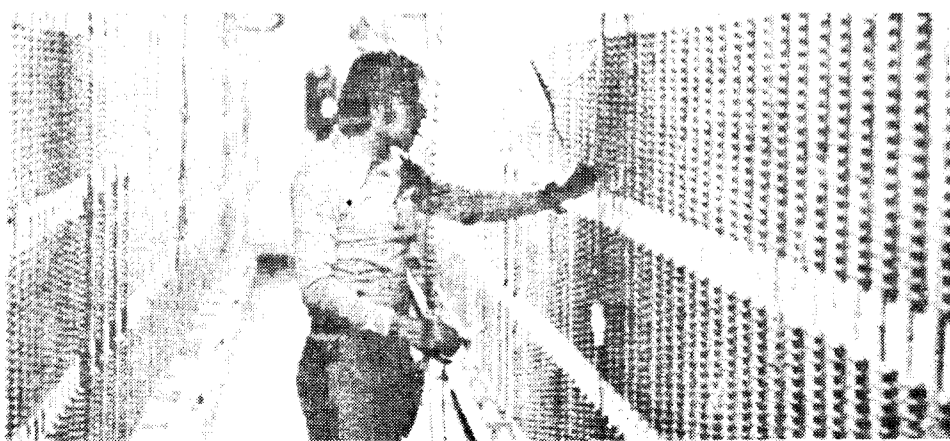


San Francisco LASH facility handling container cargo.

WV Photo

From Framemen to Garage Assistants

Massive Job Downgrading at NY Telephone



Dun Hogan Charles/New York Times

JANUARY 3—In recent weeks New York Telephone has succeeded in downgrading approximately 95 framemen to garage assistants—the first of over 600 such downgrades scheduled to take place in NYC this winter. Switchmen and installers are being forcibly assigned to permanent duty as "installers' escorts"—a euphemism for riding shotgun—in an attempt to step up their resignation rate. After running Big MAC's "default" campaign to break the back of the New York City unions, NY Telephone chief William Ellinghaus is now gearing up to go after Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1101 with equal fervor.

Not only do the downgrades present an enormous economic hardship to the affected workers, they are an attack on seniority which places the entire union in grave danger. Yet with the bureaucrats' blessing, the company can select as a target area any phone building which is a center of militant union activity. In addition, especially in skilled areas such as switching, management can use the infamous "needs of the business" loophole in the union contract to reassign *any* worker at its discretion.

The criminal refusal by the sellout Local 1101 leadership to fight the downgrades will have devastating effects. Seniority rights, which the labor movement fought hard and long to win, must be vigilantly defended if *any* contractual rights are to have meaning; unless stewards and members can

challenge the company without fear for their jobs, their contracts are worthless.

The announcement of the downgrades came only weeks after Local 1101 president Dempsey's reelection to a secure second three-year term. Major layoffs in New York Telephone craft had been expected last year, but the massive Second Avenue fire reconstruction work provided a temporary reprieve. Bell craftsmen told a *WV* reporter that it was widely rumored throughout the Local that the company had decided to postpone the planned downgrades until after the fall union elections, hoping to secure official union "cooperation" at Second Avenue. These rumors gained credence in subsequent weeks as union officials apparently closed their eyes to flagrant and repeated instances of contract and safety violations at the building.

With the Local elections over and the Second Avenue work completed, the downgrades were back on the agenda. At the November membership meeting, Dempsey announced that he was bringing the company to arbitration, insisting that the union could prove that there was plenty of work on the frame and that the company had no "right," therefore, to downgrade framemen. (Presumably if there *were* less work, these reformists would withdraw all objections!) An executive board motion for a Local walkout if the company should proceed with the downgrades

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