

## Longshoremen Boycott Ships in Two-Day Worldwide Protest

# Hot Cargo Military Goods to Chile!

SEPTEMBER 22—Last week witnessed the first industrial action by U.S. workers against the Chilean junta since the military butchers seized power a year ago.

Responding to a call by the International Transport Workers Federation, longshoremen on both East and West Coasts refused to handle Chile cargo during a two-day international protest on September 18 and 19.

This joint action was the first political labor boycott in many years which simultaneously involved both U.S. dockers' unions, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) on the East and Gulf Coasts and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast.

The two-day international boycott of Chilean transport was significant for several reasons:

First, it was a warning to the blood-stained junta that the world labor movement has not forgotten the more than 20,000 union and leftist militants who have been murdered by the military, nor the more than 8,000 political prisoners who still languish in Chilean jails, subjected to repeated torture.

Second, it was a dramatic demonstration of the power of united labor action.

And finally, it underlined the need to organize a class-struggle leadership in the unions, to transform such actions from token protests by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy into the beginning of a political fight to sweep capitalism itself into the dustbin of history.

In San Francisco, ILWU tops and reformist leaders of the local Chile solidarity committee are now claiming credit for the longshore boycott. *But the facts show:*

- that union leaders have for months sabotaged a membership resolution demanding a ban on Chile cargo;

- that ILWU leaders did nothing to mobilize for the September 18-19 protest;

- that Bridges personally ordered L.A. dockers to unload Chile cargo; and
- that opportunist Chile coalition leaders did nothing which would displace the foot-dragging ILWU brass.

The West Coast longshore boycott would not have happened without rank-and-file efforts inside the union and Spartacist League agitation for labor action against the murderous junta.

The two-day protest is only a promising beginning. Militants must act to ensure that it is the first step toward hot-cargoing all military goods to Chile, to force release of the junta's prisoners.

### Need for Rank-and-File Action

The boycott grew out of a meeting of the International Transport Workers Federation in Stockholm, Sweden, early

last month. As reported in the September NMU Pilot, the ITF "condemned the military junta for repression of human and trade union rights and called for a worldwide two-day boycott of all Chilean transport."

The response to the ITF boycott call by U.S. unions varied widely. According to the Beacon (September 1974), newspaper of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union, the NMU leadership did nothing at all. NMU seamen were not told to stop work where Chilean cargoes were involved and NMU Panama Canal workers were not told to stop Chilean ships.

Among U.S. longshore workers, the East Coast ILA instructed members in ports up and down the coast not to touch Chile cargo during the boycott. In contrast, on the West Coast Harry Bridges' "progressive" ILWU only "recommend[ed] strongly" that its locals support the boycott, while "trust[ing]" that local officials would "take whatever action you consider appropriate" (letter by ILWU Secretary-Treasurer Lou Goldblatt, 4 September).

Under pressure from the ranks, the executive committee of Local 10, the key San Francisco ILWU longshore local, voted not to move Chile goods during the 48-hour boycott. However, Local officials failed to inform the membership of their action. Without leafletting and job action by members of a "Committee to Enforce the Boycott" the protest would have been a dead letter on the S.F. docks.

Down the coast in Los Angeles, ILWU Local 13 officials had made no plans to hot-cargo Chile goods. However, when a picket line of 75 protesters showed up alongside a ship carrying freight from Chile on Tuesday evening, even before the start of the official boycott, the longshoremen filed off the ship. They refused to touch any cargo until forced back to work by threats of heavy fines from a federal mediator and direct orders from Harry Bridges!

### United-Front Picket in L.A.

Initiated by the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, the united-front demonstration in Los Angeles was rapidly organized in only a day and a half. Among the endorsers of the "Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Transport Workers Boycott" were (in addition to the SL/SYL) several ILWU and other union officials, the Socialist Collective, New America Movement, Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070, the International Socialists and candidates of leftist parties (Peace and Freedom, SWP). In addition, members of the October League, Peoples Information Collective, Socialist Union, Internationalist Tendency and the Revolutionary

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

SL-initiated picket in San Francisco to enforce the boycott of Chile goods.

"I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

—Henry Kissinger,  
27 June 1970

"I think this [CIA aid to opponents of Allende] is in the best interest of the people in Chile, and certainly in our best interest."

—Gerald Ford,  
16 September 1974

## CIA Aid to Chile Reactionaries Exposed

Recent revelations in the New York Times confirm that the U.S. government spent several million dollars to overthrow the Allende regime in Chile. The amount reported for clandestine CIA operations alone was "more than \$8 million" between 1970 and 1973. No doubt when all military aid, "embassy expenses" and other items are included the total will be many times this figure. Among the disclosures: the U.S. financed newspapers, radio-television stations, political parties and "strikes" by truck owners and small businessmen.

This is not surprising. Having overthrown "left-wing" governments in Brazil, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, the Congo, Iran, Indonesia, Cambodia and

elsewhere; having organized the Bay of Pigs invasion; having spent over one hundred billion dollars to prevent social revolution in Vietnam—it would be shocking if U.S. imperialism had not tried to oust Allende. Only liberal Pol-yannas and two-faced Stalinists would place any confidence in Washington's hypocritical denials.

President Ford's defense of the covert actions is more frank. And it proves conclusively that impeachment simply replaced one imperialist robber with another. Abolish the CIA! Jail Nixon—Free Chilean Prisoners! For New Elections and a Labor Candidate! Not Ford and Rockefeller, But a Workers Government! ■



# Defeat Anti-Busing Terror Campaign in Boston

BOSTON, September 22—The initiation of large-scale busing to integrate Boston's public schools last week was met by a reactionary mobilization ranging from anti-busing marches to outright mob terror. During the first week of school several dozen black children have been injured by shattered glass and rocks thrown at the school buses by white youths in the largely Irish, working-class neighborhood of South Boston.

Despite the presence of up to 800 police lining the streets of "Southie" and cordoning off South Boston High School, hostile crowds of white parents and teenagers roamed through the area all week long. The boycott of Southie High by whites was almost total, and no more than 10 percent of the black students assigned there attended classes at the besieged school.

Earlier, on September 9, some 4,000 angry whites demonstrated against the court-ordered busing plan at Government Center in downtown Boston, demanding repeal of the state's 1965 Racial Imbalance Act. (As a result of a District Court ruling in June, some 18,000 students out of a total enrollment of 94,000 in Boston's public school system were scheduled to be bused this fall.) During that demonstration angry whites chased a sheepish Senator Edward Kennedy off the speaker's stand and smashed in windows of the Federal Building.

After first postponing school opening for a week, Boston's liberal Democratic Mayor Kevin White repeatedly called for public calm. Meanwhile, the police repeatedly proved incapable of protecting the black students who were subjected to the racist onslaught.

In the last two days the situation appears to be making a turn toward stronger and more ideologically committed racist vigilanteism. On Thursday, a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan spoke to a large crowd of whites in South Boston; later in the evening some 500 anti-busing demonstrators clashed with the Tactical Police Force. This ominous development poses sharply the need for a mass mobilization by labor and black organizations to protect the black children being bused into racially tense areas.

## Democratic Principles vs. Opportunism

Several ostensibly socialist organizations have caved in to racist sentiment among white workers by opposing the busing of blacks into largely white districts. In contrast to these spineless cowards, the Spartacist League has

called unequivocally for the smashing of the racist anti-busing campaign. We fully support racial integration of the schools and every other area of social life. We support busing. It is, of course, wholly inadequate in terms of real integration and providing quality education for oppressed racial minorities. Nevertheless, busing to achieve racial balance is an elementary, though somewhat artificial, democratic demand (see "Anti-Busing Forces Must Be Defeated!" *Young Spartacus* No. 25, September 1974).

Last spring the Party for Workers Power (PWP), a cliquist and Boston-parochialist split-off from Progressive Labor, tried to allege that anti-busing sentiment isn't "really" racist. Its newspaper gave this account of a neighborhood anti-busing meeting:

"The objections to the State plan parents raised at the meeting weren't mainly racist. They said families would be split up...; children would be crossing busy streets...; if kids got sick they'd have to take a cab home. Of course, there was racism behind a lot of this. But it was not the main thing they were raising."

—Spark, April 1974

The PWP's solution? "Sensible ways to increase integration" and opposition to "excessive" busing. This simply plays into the hands of the racist anti-busing forces.

## Anti-Busing Movement Based on Racism

For years a motley collection of ambitious Boston lawyers have built their political careers by playing on the fears of white ethnic groups that blacks will "invade" their "quality" community schools. Louise Day Hicks was repeatedly elected for posts from her South Boston base by making veiled racist innuendos: "You know where I stand," she would say, referring to the danger posed by "the element."

Last week Hicks and two other Southie officials (State Senators Bulger and Flaherty) issued a "clarification" of their position on busing. "...it is against our children's interest to send them to school in crime-infested Roxbury," they said. "There are at least one hundred black people walking around in the black community who have killed white people during the past two years" (*Boston Globe*, 16 September).

If any other evidence of the racist nature of anti-busing sentiment is needed, it should be sufficient to point to the sign painted on the front of South Boston High the night before school

began. Even after it had been partially cleaned, the arriving black students could clearly read "Niggers Go Home."

Moreover, there is the fact that South Boston whites are boycotting their "community" schools simply because of the presence of blacks. Under the court-ordered plan, South Boston High School is to have 37 percent non-white students; in the past the school has been 99 percent white.

A *New York Times* report (17 September) also captured the atmosphere in Southie during the last week:

"At one point as they [anti-busing demonstrators] went down Dorchester Street, the window of another transit bus driven by a black was broken. A

geois class rule.

The speaker argued that no confidence could be placed in the police to fend off the racist attacks. "The same cops who murdered two black men in cold blood less than three months ago cannot be relied upon to ensure the safety of black school children in South Boston." In particular, she called for a bi-racial trade-union defense force to protect the children bused into racially tense areas.

## PWP Caves in to Anti-Busing Sentiment

Of the various fake-left groups present in Boston, Progressive Labor at



Busing black students to South Boston.

UPI



Anti-busing march in Boston, September 16.

BOSTON GLOBE

few minutes later, the crowd raced into the Andrews Square bus station, where in the past whites have attacked blacks riding public transportation from nearby Columbia Point.

"A small, terrified black youth in an orange jersey ran out of the station pursued by whites and clung to the side of a police motorcycle. Another black youth ran for the corner, stumbled, recovered and tore off."

## Smash the Racist Offensive

Communists must be the foremost defenders of democratic rights, particularly for oppressed minorities, and upholders of working-class unity. Defense of racial integration is a principled question for Marxists. A victory for the Hicks forces would encourage reactionary forces throughout the country to set the clock back 20 years for minority rights.

This position was upheld at a September 19 rally called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL—the youth section of the Spartacist League) at Boston University around the slogans "Defeat the Racist Anti-Busing Forces" and "Quality Education for All." Indicative of a widespread desire among white liberals to duck the issue, two scheduled speakers failed to attend.

The SYL speaker called for a broad united front to defend racial integration of the schools, including busing. This is a democratic right and a necessary step toward breaking the black masses out of enforced social isolation and lumpenization in the ghetto. She pointed out that the sharp racial polarization of American society must be attacked at its source, the competitive struggle of black and white working masses for jobs, housing and education, which are restricted by the conditions of bour-

least was able to discern that the anti-busing sentiment is indeed racist. Although it does so in its usual liberal manner, PL is supporting busing as a minimal anti-racist step. Its small rally at Park Street Station yesterday was around the slogan, "Fight the Bosses, Not Busing." Moreover, one PLer was injured by a rock while demonstrating in favor of busing at South Boston High.

The PWP, in contrast, developed opposition to "excessive busing" to its "logical" conclusion by issuing a leaflet last week which demanded, "No more busing blacks into Southie trap." The reactionary Hicks forces would support that 100 percent!

This pitiful capitulation to the racists, in the guise of winning white workers away from Hicks, was matched by the blatant liberalism of the PWP-led "Anti-Racist Coalition." As reported in the *Bay State Banner* (5 September), the coalition's program calls for "persuad[ing], from within, the Home and School Associations to implement a program that is more effective than those offered by the State Board of Education and the Boston School Committee." At the coalition's rally at Government Center yesterday, signs read plaintively, "Support Our Movement for a Better Society."

## Fake Lefts Duck the Issue

Several other "socialist" organizations in Boston followed similar capitulationist policies. The September issue of the *Mass Worker*, a local Maoist paper reflecting the politics of the Revolutionary Union, includes an article on busing with the analysis that, "Busing became a method for dividing

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Busing foes confront Senator Kennedy at Government Center.

UPI



## Act Now! Defend Black School Children!

Boston  
22 September 1974

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Boston's trade unions, black and socialist organizations must defend the democratic rights of black people, which are currently under attack in a vicious reactionary and racist mobilization against busing. Our organizations have the urgent responsibility to act now to put a halt to the campaign of physical and psychological terror that is being inflicted on black school children in this city. The unions and black organizations such as the NAACP, because of their influence and resources,

must take the lead in immediately calling and mobilizing for a massive public rally of all those who oppose this campaign of racist violence and harassment.

The leaders of the pro-busing forces have relied solely on the courts, the legislature and the police. Failing to mobilize massive, visible public support for busing as a minimal but democratic measure has allowed anti-busing forces to pose as the popular mass movement of the "little people" against the government.

The busing issue, inflamed by the demagoguery of the Hicks and Kerrigans, has brought to the surface the deep-seated racist fears of large sections of Boston's white ethnic communities. The polarization in Boston could reach explosive levels; harassment of black children has escalated and spread in the last week. Despicable racist trash like the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan are gathering in Boston hoping to add organization and muscle to the anti-busing movement. These vicious hooligans would like to find in tension-ridden Boston the conditions for launching the sort of terror they have previously unleashed against blacks, Catholics and Jews elsewhere in this country.

The Boston Police Patrolmen's Association (BPPA) has made clear through editorials and articles in its paper, the *Pax Centurion*, that the police stand not with the defenseless black children whom they are supposed to be protecting but with the anti-busing forces. The insistence of a BPPA attorney that policemen could not be prosecuted

for refusing "in good conscience" to arrest these rock-throwing racists is evidence of their position and can only encourage the white vigilantes. Numerous children have already been injured; we can not wait for a tragic death to galvanize the forces of defense.

It is already late. The reactionaries are organizing to trample on the democratic rights and legality which they falsely claim to uphold. For example, the attempt by several hundred demonstrators to suppress distribution of the *Boston Globe* for its pro-busing policies is a particularly alarming indication of the character of the anti-busing movement. *It is, however, not too late!* The leaderships of the unions and black organizations are the only ones at this time with sufficient influence and resources to successfully organize a mass popular demonstration protesting the racist violence against Boston's black school children. Such a mobilization would crystallize public outrage against the vigilantes and begin to isolate them, laying the basis for putting an end to their activities.

The safety and well-being of hundreds of black children are clearly in danger. Further, anti-busing forces around the country are keeping a close watch on the situation in Boston (the *Globe* of 22 September reports that the Denver Citizens' Association for Neighborhood Schools has been in daily contact with Boston anti-busing forces).

As leaders of the organizations which represent large numbers of working and poor people, black and white, you must take action! To settle now for a boycott of the schools by

black children, without having first attempted to mobilize all available forces in their defense, is to hand a victory to the Klan, the Nazis, the Hicks and the Kerrigans and to accept a momentous setback in the struggle for democratic rights for racial minorities in the U.S.

Our organizations may disagree on many social, economic and political issues, but we can all agree with the need for immediate united action in defense of the black school children under attack by anti-busing forces. In the framework of joint actions against these racist attacks, all participating groups would, of course, be free to raise their own particular points of view.

We repeat our urgent proposal for a broad mobilization, initiated by the unions, black and socialist organizations, to build a mass popular demonstration around the common slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children." The Spartacist League, a labor-socialist organization, pledges to devote all available resources and energy to aid in the building of such a demonstration. However, at this time, no single organization can mobilize sufficient forces for a successful defense. Therefore, we urgently request your response within 48 hours so that a first planning meeting can be held soon, hopefully by mid-week. *To fail to act now is to accept responsibility for the escalating attack on defenseless children, and for the potentially tragic outcome.*

Bob Simons,  
for the Spartacist League

## Whatever Happened to the Workers League?

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?

—Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part One

Tim Wohlforth's Workers League, which for years has attempted to conjure up a mass party by simply putting out a fake mass press, appears to have fallen on hard times. WL activity in the unions has recently dwindled to nearly zero. Its "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" (TUALP), never more than a paper organization, was unable to bestir itself even to support last winter's British miners' strike, one of the most significant class battles of the present period.

At the same time the WL has apparently given up on any perspective of struggling against the other ostensibly revolutionary organizations either in the trade unions or anywhere else. Thus the WL has abstained on the struggle to defend left-wing Chilean militants held by the reactionary junta, not participating in or initiating a single demonstration in their defense, instead preferring to limit its confrontations with the reformist SWP and CP to the pages of the *Bulletin*. Instead of seeking to do battle with the revisionists in the real arenas of political and class struggle, Wohlforth and Co. have retreated to a liquidationist perspective limited to peddling their twice-a-week "mass paper" and engaging in apolitical community youth work.

This political liquidationism is clearly expressed in the pages of the *Bulletin*, the WL's organ of Wohlforth's revisionism. Stories of concrete struggles by WL and/or TUALP supporters against the labor bureaucracy and Stalinists are few and far between. Reflecting the empty-shell character of the WL, most *Bulletin* coverage of the labor movement is either second-hand or empty posturing, consisting of rewrites from the *New York Times* or

photo stories of *Bulletin* salesmen posing at some plant gate.

The other side of the same coin is the *Bulletin*'s "no comment" posture toward the major political struggles that are fracturing various fake-left organizations. The recent split of the Progressive Labor Party; the splitting of the left-Shachtmanite RSL away from the American IS; the expulsion of the pro-Mandel Internationalist Tendency from the SWP—all these events have been passed over in silence by the WL. Further, the major fight within the Pabloist United Secretariat, between the SWP and the forces grouped around Mandel/Maitan/Frank, has received very scant attention from Wohlforth. Instead the reader of the *Bulletin* is treated to endless turgid, hackneyed tracts by Wohlforth and Field (e.g., on the 19th-century American utopians) and "sensational" exposés (a little late, though) of the "crimes of Chapquiddick."

This indifference to political developments in the camp of the Maoists, social democrats and Pabloists reflects a profound political incapacity and is simply the literary expression of the WL's flight from political struggle to neighborhood-oriented youth work. Put another way, over the last several years the WL has been unable to regroup with a single authentic left current breaking from Maoism, left social democracy or Pabloism in the direction of Trotskyism.

These recent difficulties do not arise out of a sudden political turn on the part of the WL leadership. They represent the morbid effects of a political cancer that has been gnawing at the mangy WL for years.

The difficulties facing the WL have



Tim Wohlforth

been recently and duly noted by Tim Wohlforth himself. Reviewing the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1930-31)*, Wohlforth comments:

"There is another valuable lesson to be learned from that period [the early years of the International Left Opposition]—the very careful attention Trotsky paid to the training of cadres themselves. This concern with training only increases in urgency the more outward developments allow for an outward turn of cadres."

—*Bulletin*, 17 September

Wohlforth's brooding sense of urgency over the training of "cadres themselves" is apparently well grounded. For it seems to be the case that a large fraction of the tiny pool of experienced and able (albeit cynical, trained in the principle of having no principles) individuals whom Wohlforth had relied upon to run his operation have quit the WL over the past year. Several ex-WLers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* have alleged that among those leading cadres who "voted with their feet" and left the organization are included: Lucy St. John, Dennis O'Casey, Karen Frankel, Dan Fried, Pat Connolly, Marty Jonas, Juan Fariñas, Ed Smith, Ronnie Roberts, Alex Steiner, Bruce McKay, Diane Isaacs, Debby Goldstein, Abby Rodriguez, Irving Hall, Ernie Lewis and Kiki Mendez. This is merely the bulk of the

WL central leadership. These allegations tend to be corroborated by the disappearance of these names from the pages of the *Bulletin* and *Young Socialist*. Prudently, instead of listing the new editors (who will be left next week?), both papers have gone for months without listing an editorial staff.

It is alleged that most of this exodus occurred in an individual fashion, being more an expression of poor working relations with Wohlforth and acute personal demoralization (growing out of the WL's frenzied attempt to posture as a mass party) than a reflection of overt political differences with the WL's opportunist line. Reportedly this mass desertion has greatly alarmed Gerry Healy, who, so the story goes, has intervened to amnesty the shell-shocked dropouts, hoping to re-integrate them into the WL central leadership. Although it is reported that a few of the dropouts (e.g., Marty Jonas) have returned, how successful this attempt at retreading will be remains to be seen, as indeed does the question of Wohlforth's future role in the WL.

(A number of the dropouts, while recoiling from Wohlforth, still politically embrace Gerry Healy. But while Dr. Frankenstein may be superior to his run-amok creature, he does bear the real responsibility for creating his abomination.)

For Wohlforth, the exit of most of the central WL leadership and of many of the more able youth the WL has managed to recruit over the past period is a stunning personal and political defeat. For the Spartacist League, and for the struggle to construct an authentic Trotskyist party in the U.S., section of a reborn Fourth International, the current anemic condition of the WL is most satisfying and a confirmation of our political evaluation of the liquidationist course of Healy, Wohlforth and the WL.

A Bolshevik organization cannot be  
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## ...Workers League

created upon a foundation of lies and political banditry, upon the methodology of subordinating program and political principles to the pursuit of transient organizational opportunities. Wohlforth's conceptions that he could construct a mass party by publishing a phony "mass paper" out of all line with the WL's influence in the class; that he could avoid the long and arduous task of constructing communist fractions in the labor movement, instead turning the Pabloist dictum on its head and going from "the center to the periphery" with his apolitical neighborhood youth work; that it is somehow possible to avoid a direct struggle with the revisionist currents within the working-class movement—all these "get-rich-quick" nostrums have come to naught.

As Trotsky so aptly points out:

"What critically thinking left workers, not only outside the party but inside it as well, demand at present of the leadership, above all, is not political infallibility—this is impossible—but revolutionary devotion, personal firmness, revolutionary objectivity, and honesty."

With such a leadership it is possible to forge a cadre that will

"...not leave unpunished toying with principles, journalistic light-mindedness, moral looseness, and pseudo 'irreconcilability'—in the name of personal caprice. Only in this manner can the organization be secured against catastrophic surprises in the future."

—"The Crisis of the German Left Opposition," 1930

Wohlforth and Healy are capable only of producing cynics, not cadre. With such leadership and methods it is not possible to create an organization able to carry the class struggle forward to victory. For those who have not yet abandoned ship, and the gullible souls who are tempted by Healy's promises of a fair deal, we warn: expect to be fed a lot more of the same old garbage in the same old pails. Nothing less than a fundamental break with the whole corpus of Healyism and a return to the principled struggle for the Trotskyist program, as currently represented by the international Spartacist tendency, can provide a way out of the impasse. ■

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## Ontario Social Democrats Meet:

# "Left" Cretinism in the NDP

SUDBURY, Ontario, September 8—In the wake of a humiliating defeat in July's Canadian federal elections, the Ontario New Democratic Party held its convention here in a spirit of "calm and tranquility," according to ONDP parliamentary Leader Stephen Lewis. Indeed, the loss of half the party's seats in Commons (down from 31 to 16) produced only a faint ripple of leftward motion at the Sudbury meeting.

Addressing the convention yesterday, Lewis was forced to admit that there was no corresponding calm in the class struggle. "We are entering a desperate period in labour relations in this province," he remarked. Walkouts included the four-week strike by Toronto transit workers which ended on September 3. Transit workers refused for four days to return to work in the face of strike-breaking legislation and the recommendations of the union leadership. But far from aiding the embattled strikers, Lewis reported that he and other NDP leaders had "pleaded with the men to return to work."

The pervasive calm of this provincial meeting was in sharp contrast to the much larger ONDP convention in 1972, when the left-wing oppositional Waffle caucus was ordered to disband. The subsequent departure of the Waffle set the stage for the social democratic NDP's 18-month corridor coalition with the Liberal Party.

However, the "practical" coalition to "make Parliament work" was repudiated by large numbers of workers at the polls in July. If the NDP's role was to keep Trudeau in office, many reasoned, then why not vote for the Liberals directly? At the time of the elections the Toronto Committee of the international Spartacist tendency refused to give electoral support to NDP candidates unless the bloc with the bourgeois Liberals was renounced. In contrast, the NDP's unconditional (yet supposedly "critical") "Trotskyist" hangers-on—the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG)—backed the NDP despite the promise of party leaders to renew support for Trudeau in the event of a minority Liberal government.

### The NDP's "Loyal Opposition"

In the past the role of the "kept opposition" was assigned to the Waffle. This time the mantle fell on supporters of the Canadian-nationalist politics of Ross Dowson's Socialist League (SocL), along with the ultra-reformist Robert Sherwood. During the Sudbury convention supporters of the LSA were indistinguishable from this clot of social-democratic cretinism.

During the sessions this opportunistic troika did manage to bestir itself into a pretense of "programmatic opposition," although the performance more closely resembled a ritual dance than political struggle. The NDP leadership

presented a motion calling for "full [government] ownership of all resource and mineral rights by a variety of methods including taxation and the repurchase of mineral rights... compensation for small shareholders..." So Sherwood moved to refer the question back to the resolutions committee to add: "In the long term the NDP stands for public ownership."

He was joined in this "challenge" by a group of ex-Wafflers and dissident reformists who surfaced around a document calling for a "radical and revitalized NDP" and expressing concern about the party's inability to "excite people." Wayne Roberts, editor of the Canadian-nationalist *Forward*, later took the microphone in defense of the Maple Leaf: "The problem with the resolution is that it just calls for controls and does not speak to American control of the resources," he remarked.

However, the alert NDP leadership moved to squelch the "dispute" by deftly introducing a new formulation (which passed) stating, "In the long term the NDP favours public ownership." Faced with the burning question of whether the NDP "stands for" or "favours" public ownership, at some time in the distant future, and not opposing compensation, the "oppositionists" voted for the leadership motion and then lapsed back into the "tranquility" which characterized the rest of the proceedings. The utter reformism of the opposition resolution was succinctly exposed by a miner, John Cobb, a delegate from Sudbury, who pointed out: "We need nationalisation without compensation. It makes no sense otherwise."

This is quite correct. It "makes no sense" to buy out one or another capitalist or group of capitalists (resource industries, American-owned businesses, etc.) while continuing to maintain the capitalist system. Social-democratic "sewer socialism" (buying up public utilities) or "trash can socialism" (buying up bankrupt firms) can never solve the problems of the working class.

Kautskyite references to a minimum-maximum program ("in the long run") and the gross revision of Marxism embodied in the statement by revisionist Charles Lee that "we must understand how a mixed economy would work" demonstrate the utter reformism of the supporters of the LSA and SocL. What is needed is a revolutionary, transitional program which poses the question of power: Break With the Bourgeois Parties! Expropriation of Industry Without Compensation! Toward a Workers Government! For a Socialist Federation of North America!

### Fake Lefts Ooze Reformism

It is not surprising that supporters of the Socialist League and Sherwood's now defunct *Labor Action* are unable to distinguish themselves programmat-

ically from the right-wing social-democratic pabulum of Stephen Lewis. After the SocL split from the LSA last spring, Sherwood welcomed the Dowsonites, at a Toronto forum, into the camp of those who "support the NDP without conditions." No RMG/LSA fig leaves of "critical" support for these hardheaded "realists"!

During the years that he led the LSA, Ross Dowson was the principal architect of its opportunist policy toward the NDP. Apparently inclined toward a religious belief in predestination, Dowson wrote, "the Canadian revolution must pass through the NDP." The strategic conclusion for the SocL is the slogan, "Win the NDP to socialism" (*Forward*, July 1974). It goes without saying that this perspective liquidates the independent role of the Trotskyist party. Not just entry, but permanent entry—i.e., submersion in the social democracy—is the logic of this policy.

And how is the NDP to be "won" to socialism? Certainly not by raising the Transitional Program. Take the question of compensation for nationalised industries. When dissident supporters of the LSA actually won the New Brunswick NDP to a position of nationalisation without compensation, Dowson wrote them a critical letter ("compensation is by no means a matter of principle with revolutionary socialists") and subsequently suspended the whole LSA Maritimes operation! The local LSA supporters were attempting to split the NDP, Dowson charged; such "sins" must not go unpunished!

Another who swears his undying loyalty to the NDP is Sherwood, who supports the politics of the former Labor Action Committee. The latter was affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) led by the French OCI. To justify his well-known opportunism, the wretched Sherwood appeals to the OCI's policy of a "strategic united front." In the case of the mangy Canadian social democracy, it seems that, "We cannot begin by denouncing Lewis, but we can begin by showing how the NDP could go to the workers and their organisations to mobilise them against Trudeau..." (*Bulletin of the Liaison Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International in Canada*, Autumn 1973).

Having thus promised not to denounce Lewis and swearing unconditional support to the NDP, Sherwood was ready to run for office as a sterling militant. His election leaflet proudly proclaims that "Bob Sherwood... was active in the U.S. Socialist Party for 5 years" and pledges that "Bob Sherwood has the time, energy and experience to ensure regular attendance... to the ONDP Executive"! His campaign was geared to demonstrate that he was a better social democrat than his opponents. And maybe he is, but he lost at Sudbury anyway, receiving 154 votes out of 653 cast. ■



NDP leader Stephen Lewis.



Toronto transit workers burn management offer.

GLOBE AND MAIL



# Army Topples Emperor in Ethiopia

**Students Locked in University  
Workers Forced Back to Work  
at Gunpoint**

SEPTEMBER 18—On September 12, the "King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of God," Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was deposed from his throne by a group of anonymous officers calling itself the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee. The absolute ruler of this semi-feudal kingdom since he took power through a palace coup in 1916, the Negus was actually a usurper, only indirectly related to the Christian dynasty which traced its origins back some 2,500 years. He is accused of having amassed a fortune in European banks totaling literally billions of dollars and seeking to cover up the tragic famine which caused 100,000 deaths last year.

While gradually whittling away Selassie's powers over the last six months, the military committee had indicated that it would retain him as titular monarch. The emperor, on the other hand, was reported to have counseled his supporters to abandon him if necessary in order to save the monarchy.

The final decision to remove Selassie was apparently timed to pre-empt student demonstrations against the regime when schools and universities reopened September 16. Symbolically, the emperor was taken from his sumptuous palace by a VW police vehicle to a mud hut, his temporary place of captivity.

The Armed Forces Committee does not propose to abolish the monarchy, but has asked instead that Haile Selassie's 57-year-old partially paralyzed son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, return from Geneva to become a figurehead monarch. The country is to be run by a provisional military government with Lieutenant General Aman Michael Andom at its head.

The military leaders had previously carried out a "slow coup" by arresting, over a period of several months, around 160 ministers and officials. The arrests include two of the three prime ministers who have held office in 1974, the head of the national senate, feudal aristocrats and landlords of the senior house of parliament, the chief of the secret police and the entire crown council (the former emperor's leading advisory body and stronghold of big landlords).

On the day of the emperor's removal the military clamped tight restrictions on the country, including dissolution of parliament and a ban on strikes and "unauthorized" demonstrations. This week soldiers moved to prevent demonstrations by students in Addis Ababa who demanded an immediate return to civilian rule and a court martial of the deposed emperor. When students attempted to leave the campus to march through the city, soldiers pushed them back to the university. The students were later permitted to hold a rally on campus, but only behind locked and guarded gates!

## Selassie Regime Unable to Rule

The officers' coup came in response to a series of events over the last six months which have shown the complete inability of the old regime to rule. The beginnings of the movement within the military officialdom coincided with demonstrations last February by students, teachers, bus and taxi drivers and soldiers against a catalogue of ills: a hushed-up drought and widespread famine, illiteracy, police oppression, inflation and rampant government corruption. Another target was the feudal landholding system—Ethiopia's feudal princes still exact tithes from their



Emperor Haile Selassie

L'EXPRESSION

tenants and maintain their own private armies.

Strikes have always been illegal in Ethiopia, but last March the country saw its first general strike. The Congress of Ethiopian Labor Unions—originally created by the government under the guiding hand of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an anti-communist creation of U.S. imperialist policy, many of whose "aid" programs are reportedly directed by the CIA—reluctantly yielded to extreme pressure from the ranks to call the three-day strike.

The 100,000 strikers demanded a \$1.50 daily minimum wage (the current average is less than 40 cents), the right to strike and free education for children of union workers (95 percent of the population is illiterate). The strike paralyzed business, transportation and the country's limited industry, ending with government concessions on some key demands. In subsequent weeks strike action was also taken by airline workers, municipal workers, customs officials and finance ministry employees. Even the priests struck, demanding pay increases and removal of corrupt members of the church hierarchy!

In the province of Eritrea the government faced a very expensive and unpopular war against nationalist guerrillas. The 10,000 Ethiopian soldiers fighting the war demanded higher pay and an end to widespread corruption among government officials. During March and April rebellious military units seized control of Addis Ababa, the national capital, and Asmara, provincial capital of Eritrea. Troops stationed in the South, near Somalia, forced dismissal of the army's deputy chief of staff. Other officers and merchants have been seized by soldiers demanding an end to profiteering and hoarding in the face of famine.

The famine has been the single most immediate cause of the collapse of the Selassie regime, driving workers, soldiers and peasants to demand a means of survival. Dozens of students and peasants have been killed in food riots in the last two years.

## Famine Embarrasses Government

During normal times the Ethiopian masses lead at best a marginal existence. Per capita income is about \$50 per year—one of the lowest in Africa—

and still lower for the peasantry which makes up 90 percent of the population. Nine tenths of the peasants cultivate less than 2 acres (*Challenge*, journal of the Ethiopian Student Union of North America, July 1970). Seventy-nine percent exist as tenants who pay three quarters of their annual produce in rent—according to law! In contrast the imperial family, the feudal aristocracy and the Coptic Church hierarchy—altogether less than one percent of the population—own 70 percent of all arable land (*Notes on Famine in Ethiopia*, published by the Committee to Help Famine Victims in Ethiopia).

The areas most affected by famine, the north central provinces of Wallo and Tigre, were first hit by drought in 1971. The ensuing food shortage produced skyrocketing inflation—food prices jumped over 200 percent in the first three months of this year alone—and sent a large portion of the country's 26 million people over the edge of disaster. The most conservative estimates place the death toll for 1973 at 100,000 (*New York Times*, 23 March 1974) and informed sources estimate total deaths so far may be as high as 500,000.

More precise figures are hard to come by since the Ethiopian government consciously organized a conspiracy of silence around the famine. Throughout early 1973 the government denied any existence of a famine, then in April conceded that people were "affected by a shortage of food." In August 1973 the

government tried to suppress a UNICEF report on the famine. One official remarked of the report, "If this is the price we must pay for assistance, then we don't want assistance" (*New York Times*, 18 February 1974).

In an attempt by the officers to amass popular support against Selassie, scenes of starving children and diseased parents begging for food were recently shown on television, followed by shots of cakes specially flown in from Europe for the emperor's receptions.

The cover up was motivated by more than simple false pride. Disclosure of the extent of the famine predictably proved an embarrassment to the government and its merchant capitalist allies who exported thousands of tons of cereals and vegetables in the first quarter of 1973. Even after finally acknowledging in November 1973 that a famine actually did exist, the government continued in its criminal ineptitude: "About 6,700 tons of grain for Ethiopia's drought-stricken areas are said to be rotting on the docks" (*New York Times*, 21 July 1974).

## Military Intervenes to Prevent Social Explosion

The Armed Forces Coordinating Committee professes to be ending Ethiopia's corruption and starvation by "bringing Ethiopia into the twentieth century." The military's thirteen-point manifesto issued in July called for

*continued on page 8*

Right:  
Demonstration  
in Addis  
Ababa this  
spring.  
Below:  
Soldiers  
of the  
Palace  
Guard.



AFRIQUE ASIE





## Fourth Spartacist League National Conference:

# Forward to a Workers Party!



Over 250 supporters of the Spartacist League attended the just-concluded Fourth National Conference, highest body of the SL/U.S. For many of the participants, the high point of the Conference took place before the convening of the first formal session, at a memorial meeting for James Patrick Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, who had died on August 21. The meeting was a moving account of what Comrade Cannon meant to older comrades of the SL. For the founding cadre of the Spartacist tendency, forged in factional struggle as the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party in 1961-63, critical evaluation of the role over many years of James Patrick Cannon was a central part of their own personal/political history. As Comrade Al Nelson put it, "If it weren't for Cannon, we wouldn't be here."

The SL Conference—in the absence of factional polarizations an essentially "problem-solving" gathering—was an intense and exciting political process and bore witness to the continuing transformation of the Spartacist League: no longer simply a propaganda group, but also a League on the road to becoming a Party, an organization rather like the Trotskyists of 1935 (albeit without a Trotsky), with a competent and dedicated cadre, increasing experience and maturity within its trade-union fractions, an extensive administrative apparatus, an energetic disciplined youth organization and rapidly extending international connections, engaged in a vital exciting struggle to crystallize a real international tendency.

The transformation of the SL into a pre-party formation, manifestly possessing all the solidity and seriousness, yet multiple vulnerability, which this process implies is rooted in the SL cadre, which has acquired for the first time an extensive layer of capable and committed professional revolutionists under the level of the full and alternate Central Committee. The accumulation and development of this precious and irreplaceable cadre poses for the SL leadership a heavy responsibility. History will not forgive us if we default in the obligation to weld this living continuity of the revolutionary movement into the instrument for the successful proletarian conquest of power. Key to the construction of such an instrument will be in this period to maintain the nuclei of communist trade-union fractions against the threat of a sharp worsening of the current economic downturn. The evident professionalization of the SL cadre also demands a greater professionalization of the SL leadership and the steeling of cadre in the vicissitudes of the living class struggles which lie ahead.

Following the organization of the Conference and the constitution of various working commissions, the first substantive agenda point was the reports and discussion of the international movement. The extension of the programmatically-based Spartacist international tendency was made concrete for the delegates by the fraternal greet-

ings presented to the conference on behalf of co-thinkers of the SL/U.S., including the Berlin Committee, the Spartacist League of Australia-New Zealand, the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists, the Canadian Committee and others.

The main reporter on the world movement, Comrade John Sharpe from the Interim International Secretariat, noted the continuing opportunities for further revolutionary regroupments presented by the decomposition of the sundry federated "Internationals": frenzied factional battles in the revisionist "United Secretariat," fracturing of the degenerate former "International Committee" into three counterposed wings. He stressed that the Spartacist international tendency is on the threshold of a transformation (comparable to that of the SL/U.S.) which must be aggressively pursued and patiently consolidated. He hailed the recent "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (see WV No. 49, 19 July) which codified the determination of the Spartacist tendency to seize the international challenge and laid the basis for the formal foundation of an authentic Trotskyist tendency based on programmatic cohesiveness and adhering to international democratic centralism.

The discussion on the international movement was imbued with a sense of living internationalism and of the present importance of the SL/U.S. to the international tendency. The challenging process of development of indigenous authoritative section leaderships is key to consolidating the gains of many years of patient international work and discussion undertaken by the SL/U.S. and SL/ANZ. The delegates also stressed that the continuing growth of the SL/U.S. and the deepening of its roots in the labor movement would be crucial to the stability and international authority of the tendency as a whole.

The second major agenda point was the discussion and adoption of the main Conference documents, "Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League" and "Spartacist League Trade Union Work." Presenting the documents, co-reporter George Foster stressed that the present economic/political conjuncture pointed to outbreaks of very sharp class struggles in the next period. Noting the intensified economic difficulties of the world bourgeoisie and the consequent exacerbation of inter-imperialist rivalries, he emphasized that the capitalist class has thus far been able to foist off upon the proletariat the increasing burden of a grinding inflation and falling real wages, due to the treachery of the reformist apparatuses, manifested in the post-1970 rise of class-collaborationist popular-frontism and, in the United States, a sharp drop after 1970-71 in the level of strikes until the upward swing of last March. He noted the likelihood of a labor explosion, long suppressed by capitalism's "labor lieutenants," which would severely

test their capacity to continue their increasingly naked role as a brake upon the anger and militancy of the ranks.

In the absence of a revolutionary leadership capable of posing itself as an alternative on a mass scale, such an explosion would however present a contradictory aspect, with a potential for defeats and consequent demoralization and for exacerbated racial/ethnic tensions. Comrade Foster noted the enormous challenge which the present tremendously fluid situation presents for the revolutionary vanguard forces embodied in the Spartacist League. He emphasized the disproportion between the enormity of our opportunities and responsibilities and the limitations of our forces. The transformation of the SL/U.S. into a systematic propaganda league has been, he said, essentially accomplished, noting in particular the establishment of a regular and effective public press, the international extension of our tendency and the development of "a certain, if very tiny, weight in the labor movement." He stressed the continued applicability of the tactic of revolutionary regroupment.

Co-reporter James Robertson, SL National Chairman, also sounded a note of cautious optimism, noting the growth and maturing of the organization and its cadres, but contrasting our still reversible consolidation with the enormity of our tasks. He stressed that the struggles and gains of our movement are directed toward one goal: the conquest of power by the proletariat in this country and internationally.

Supplementary reports on the work of Conference commissions were also presented in the course of the discussion on the main documents. The report of the trade-union commission by the SL Labor Secretary summarized the proceedings of the commission meeting, focusing on questions of particular interest such as the applicability of the "workers control" demand and the criteria for supportable trade-union mergers. The black commission report urged the constitution of a permanent commission on black work to drive forward and coordinate the SL's increased capacity for intervention into the black struggle. The delegation from the Spartacus Youth League (formerly RCY), disciplined youth section of the SL, presented its greetings and reviewed the decisions of its National Conference held last July which adopted its new name and established a monthly *Young Spartacus*. The press commission reporter noted the urgent need for a weekly *Workers Vanguard* in the near future, and financial and other obstacles to its achievement. Reports were also heard from the Partisan Defense Committee and the SL communist archival group.

The lengthy discussion included debate on the public furor over a Detroit residency requirement for cops (see article in this issue). Other topics which generated interest included the near-general strike of San Francisco

public employees last March, the Pan-Africanist movement, the work of the SL Women's Commission, problems of particular trade-union fractions and perspectives for geographical and press expansion.

A highlight of the Conference was the lively discussion on the national question and self-determination centering on the complex problems arising where historically counterposed racial and ethnic populations are geographically and economically intermingled, for example, Palestine, Northern Ireland, Cyprus. The presentation by Comrade Reuben Samuels emphasized that the democratic and national rights of such "interpenetrated peoples" can be achieved only in the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Following this session, which concluded the open portion of the Conference, the delegates and observers rose and joined in the singing of the "Internationale."

The closed session began with a series of organizational reports, including some statistical highlights of the Conference personnel survey, which noted that of the comrades attending 37 percent had been politically active for more than five years. The successful application of the regroupment tactic was evidenced by the presence among the Conference participants of 26 former members of the SWP/YSA, 15 of PL/WSA, 11 of the IS, as well as lesser numbers from numerous other organizations including the Weathermen, Black Panthers, RU, SP/YPSL and CP. The conference participants were 64 percent males, 42 percent union members, 14 percent students; the average age was 25.8 years. More important, some 63 percent of those attending had been members of the SL/SYL for two years or less, indicating both the recent very rapid growth of the organization and the narrow base of experienced cadres (less than 9 percent had been SL/SYL members for five years or more).

Reports were also made on finances and the summer's successful national press sales drive, and the upcoming subscription drive was discussed as part of the projected transition to the weekly WV. The SL National Organizational Secretary noted the establishment of SL Organizing Committees in several new areas and projected further concrete goals. The session included the election of the incoming Central Committee following a full discussion centering on the choices for alternates. The transformation of the SL was again concretely felt as the delegates sought to select a recognized leadership out of the maturing of the large wave of able and dedicated comrades recruited to the SL within the last several years.

The Spartacist League Conference revealed a serious and dynamic organization grappling with the complex problems of a small revolutionary formation seeking to intersect and act upon the historic process. The period ahead will be the decisive test of this organization and its Fourth National Conference. ■



# Detroit Cops Feud with Young

DETROIT—In a context of intense racial polarization, Detroit cops are currently mounting an ominous and well-organized campaign to achieve independence from any form of civilian control. Led by the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA), which is dominated by unabashedly racist and ultra-rightist elements, they have directed their protests against the reform proposals of liberal black Mayor Coleman Young and Police Chief Philip Tannian.

Of course, no amount of reforms will eliminate the racism of white cops enforcing bourgeois property rights in black ghettos. Even the introduction of large numbers of black police will not change one iota the cops' role as the armed fist of the bourgeois state. The Young/Tannian measures will have very little practical effect in curbing police terror. But their reversal by the naked intimidation tactics of the DPOA could have an enormous effect in further emboldening the cops and increasing their bonapartist *esprit de corps*. Victory for the cops could unleash a wave of unchecked police terror against the growing black population of the city.

Every class-conscious worker must know, as a simple fact of life under contemporary capitalism, that cops are racist enemies of the working people. Yet many white workers have been sucked into the pernicious notion that cops and prison guards are a part of the workers movement whose struggles for "unionization" can be supported.

This dangerous myth is partly a reflection of the low level of class struggle in this country; sharp union battles will rapidly destroy any idea that the strike-breaking cops are labor's allies! It also grows out of the willful treachery of the labor tops, such as liberal Jerry Wurf who has been eagerly organizing cops and prison guards into AFSCME. (Meanwhile Tim Wohlforth's wretched Workers League, pathetic running dog of the U.S. labor bureaucracy, hailed the 1971 New York police strike; and at the 1972 AFSCME convention WL supporters defended including cops in the union.)

The growing self-consciousness and organization of police is not a development of "union consciousness" among the professional thugs of the bosses. Rather, it is part of the cops' continuing attempts to break loose from the fetters of bourgeois democracy. These bonapartist appetites have been increasingly openly expressed in recent months. In case after case, cops have shot down "suspects," claiming for themselves the role of judge, jury and executioner to administer violent "justice" unhampered by liberal mayors and "permissive" juries. Recent Supreme Court decisions on the admissibility of illegally obtained evidence and the omnibus Senate "anti-crime" bill demonstrate that important sections of the bourgeoisie look with favor on this growing cop bonapartism (see "Cop Terror, Legal Executions on the Rise," W/V No. 50, 2 August 1974).

In the last ten years there has been a mass exodus of whites from the city so that today Detroit is over 50 percent black. The appalling lumpenization of large sections of the city is a product of massive ghetto unemployment and a booming drug trade (Detroit is second to New York City in the number of heroin addicts). Detroit also has the highest homicide rate in the country: the "Motor City Murder Toll," announced daily on popular radio stations, is a grim reminder of the wretchedness of life in this industrial center.

Corruption and gross inefficiency in the local Housing and Urban Development bureaucracy have left much of the city a shambles of "urban renewal" in various stages of permanent incompleteness. Thousands of decaying houses, abandoned for failure to meet

mortgage payments, scar virtually every neighborhood and have become the targets of a large-scale arson/insurance racket.

The frustrating, "no-win" situation of the black population was compounded by last summer's Supreme Court overturn of cross-district busing in Detroit. Although grossly inadequate as a means for undercutting segregated schools, busing was a step in the direction of greater formal equality for blacks and was viewed as such by reactionaries. Two years ago, buses in Pontiac were bombed by ultra-racists, including the

Communist Party, who campaigned on a program of "community control" rhetoric. Young was supported by the city's black voters, the liberals and the reformist CP.

At issue in the election were two alternatives for the policing of Detroit's working masses: continuation and extension of open police terror, or "cooling" the situation through the classic methods of ethnic politics by bringing more blacks into city government and onto the police force. Following Nichols' defeat, the cops began to prepare for increasingly virulent guerrilla war



Detroit cops demonstrate in June.

Ku Klux Klan, in a last-ditch effort to prevent integration of the schools. The Supreme Court decision is a clear indication of the government's unwillingness to sanction even tokenistic measures aimed against the desperate oppression of blacks.

## "STRESS"

The Detroit cops have a particularly vicious record of racist brutality. The 1967 inner city rebellion left 43 people dead, many of them simply executed, as in the infamous "Algiers Motel incident." The codification of this bonapartist "cop justice" was the formation of STRESS ("Stop Robberies and Enjoy Safe Streets"), a decoy unit of the police force which was to utilize undercover cops supposedly to trap muggers and other street criminals.

STRESS was soon revealed as nothing more or less than a racist terror squad which transformed various high-crime areas into virtual free-fire zones, brutalizing and killing scores of black youth. STRESS cops' involvement in the lucrative business of protecting narcotics pushers was widespread, as revealed in a *Detroit Free Press* investigation in the spring of 1973. This sparked the eventual indictment of some 46 Detroit-area cops for involvement in the drug business.

Following a shoot-out between STRESS cops and young members of an anti-pusher vigilante group, the outrageous and brutal manhunt that ensued left two of the youth dead and the third (Hayward Brown) under indictment. The incident turned the growing opposition to STRESS into a "mass movement" of sorts, with the liberals and "black community" spokesmen calling for the abolition of STRESS and pushing various impotent schemes for "reforming" the police.

Racial polarization, STRESS and the cops were key issues in the 1973 mayoral race. On one side was ex-police commissioner Nichols, the architect of STRESS, with the vocal support of the cops and right-wingers and at least the passive backing of most of the city's white population. Opposing Nichols was Coleman Young, a black liberal Democrat, former "fellow traveler" of the

against the promised extensive reforms of the new black mayor.

That no capitalist politician can offer any solution to cop atrocities was reconfirmed after the election. Young "abolished" STRESS only to demand in its place 1,000 more uniformed cops on the streets of Detroit and the authorization of wire-tapping (disingenuously insisting that it would be used only against narcotics traffic).

## Cops vs. the "Red Mayor"

The current controversy began to crystallize when Records Court Judge Justin Ravitz charged Patrolman Lindsey Joker with brutality in making an arrest (the conviction has since been overturned by a higher court). Ravitz likes to be known as Detroit's "Marxist-Leninist" judge, but his pretensions are rendered absurd by his position as enforcer of the laws of capitalist "justice."

Although Ravitz fulsomely protested that "I have no bias against the Police Dept." (*Detroit News*, 26 June), the cops were outraged at the indictment of one of their own and staged a protest demonstration. Gun butts prominently sticking out of the belts of their civilian clothes, the picketing cops demanded that Young fire Tannian and abandon the "affirmative action" plan to promote black policemen.

Another of Detroit's "radical" political folk heroes, attorney Ken Cockrel (a leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers until his ambitions were whetted by the lure of establishment politics), could not resist the opportunity to vie for votes for his perennially rumored campaign for mayor. Walking through the cops' demonstration, he turned their hoots into cheers as he accepted a "Support Your Police" sticker from a white police officer and gave a clenched-fist salute (*Detroit News*, 27 June).

The cops have been in an uproar ever since Young announced his plan for reorganization of the police force and appointed Tannian as police chief. At one demonstration, cops drove cars carrying signs like: "Fire Detroit's Red Mayor and Red Police Commissioner"; "Outlaw Communists Not

Handguns"; "Jail Ravitz Not the Police." There has been an organized ticket-writing slowdown to protest the transfer of traffic cops to foot patrols and a walkout by guards at the Detroit House of Corrections. Narcotics officers have taken "strike" action against the city's demand that they turn over the names of their informants.

## Liberals Push Impotent Police "Reforms"

Sparking the current battle between the cops and the city are basically two issues in addition to salary demands: Tannian's decision to promote black over white cops through "affirmative action" and the residency requirement whereby all Detroit cops must live within the city limits. These issues have become symbolic for the cops. The clearly racist basis of the cops' resistance has been dramatized by the fact that the black cops, organized separately in the Guardians of Michigan, have actively counter-demonstrated in support of Young and his reforms.

The proposed "affirmative action" was to have promoted 25 blacks and five women cops ahead of white male cops with more seniority. Detroit only began hiring black cops in significant numbers after the atrocities of the 1967 riots necessitated a clean-up of the police force image.

While the working class must oppose discriminatory hiring regulations, even on the police force, the call for more black cops, raised mainly by community-oriented black nationalists and liberal politicians, is designed simply to make the police more credible in the eyes of their victims and thus make them more effective in their job



Detroit Mayor Coleman Young

of smashing any hint of revolt.

The fundamental attitude of revolutionists toward the capitalist police—the hired guns of the ruling class—can be summed up in the demand: "Abolish the Cops—For Workers Militias." In contrast, squeamish liberals offended by particularly blatant racist "excesses" propose one meaningless scheme after another (civilian review boards, "community control," more black cops) to "reform" the police. Marxists must expose these attempts to put a more palatable face on the coercion, intimidation and brutality which lie at the very core of the bourgeois state.

Although Young finally managed to push through the promotions of the 25 black cops, resistance by the DPOA had been so adamant that the promotion ceremony was held in secret (*Detroit News*, 2 August):

## Critical Support to Residency Requirements for Cops

The other issue generating heated opposition by the DPOA, the residency requirement, has been on the books

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Continued from page 5

## ...Ethiopia

"better labor relations," increased aid to drought victims and "elimination of traditional beliefs and customs that may hinder the unity and progress of Ethiopia."

The domestic program of the new military government pledges equality for all Ethiopians, abolition of ethnic, religious and age barriers and reductions in differences in the standard of living. Land reform is a stated priority with the slogan of the program being "Land for the People."

In reality the officers' movement is nothing but a last-ditch effort to arrest a growing social outburst by cosmetically removing the most obvious manifestations of feudal backwardness. The military may be able to temporarily eliminate the most flagrant corruption, circumscribe the church's political role and curtail the judicial power and civil authority of the feudal lords. But despite the vague promise of "Land for the People," the material conditions of the peasantry will not be qualitatively improved.

The military officer corps is unequivocally tied to the ruling class and its defense of bourgeois property will lead it to tolerate at least vestiges of feudalism. The alternative, a true agrarian revolution against the feudalists, would require the mobilization of the workers and vast peasant masses—a step which would soon endanger all private property.

Earlier this year the air force, the most "radical" branch of the military, dropped leaflets over Addis Ababa disclosing demands submitted to Haile Selassie for freedom of the press and assembly, creation of political parties, "land to the tiller" and pay increases for the military. At the same time, however, the army warned that it "would take 'direct action' against anyone found spreading leaflets that called on the people to take power" (*New York Times*, 5 and 11 March 1974).

The military officers will carry through no serious attack on the Coptic Church, the main ideological prop of the feudal order and one of the largest landholders, since the church will continue to be of great service in keeping the oppressed peasantry passive. Moreover, cooperation from the church hierarchy will aid in avoiding an outbreak of civil war with the private armies of the feudal nobility. (The patriarch of the Coptic Church marked the Ethiopian New Year this week with a message asking god's blessing upon the "revolutionary" movement of the armed forces, but not upon the emperor.)

But a revolution which aimed to accomplish the tasks of agrarian revolution against feudalism and the establishment of bourgeois democratic rights would seek not a *modus vivendi* with the princes and the church but rather the stripping of their privileges and property. This the new military rulers will be unable to do except partially. And while the military pledges "better labor relations," a strike of telecommunications workers last May was halted after nine hours when the army intervened, dragging strikers from their homes and forcing them back to work at gunpoint.

A somewhat analogous situation existed in Egypt in 1952 when the Free Officers Movement, with a program more radical than the Ethiopian Armed Forces Committee, staged a coup and proceeded to attack the power of the landowners. Nasser's Egypt was held up by the Stalinists for two decades as the model of a "non-capitalist road of development," yet ten years after the coup only ten percent of the land under cultivation had been redistributed.

While the Ethiopian military may accomplish some sort of limited bourgeois land reform, it will not qualitatively improve the lot of the peasants any more than did the Egyptian officers. At best feudal relations will be gradually replaced by bourgeois exploitation and a limited distribution of land titles

to former serfs who will continue to live in abject poverty.

### Stalinists Discover "Progressive" Feudalists

While the Stalinists are so fond of looking to the "progressive," "democratic" military to take the "first step toward socialism," the Chinese Communist Party has gone even further in the case of Ethiopia in trailing the "anti-imperialist" feudal emperor Haile Selassie. The Negus has been a



Forced labor in Ethiopia.

favorite of liberal bourgeois and "left" opportunists for years, despite the fact that he sent troops to fight against North Korea and the Congolese rebels.

At a time when the massive famine was being revealed the Chinese CP hailed such "great social advances" of the Ethiopian people as "the 'Ethiopianization' of industry" and "tapping agricultural production" (*Peking Review*, 28 December 1973). (Agricultural output has actually declined at the rate of 0.5 percent per year over the last twenty years.)

The Stalinist logic of collaboration with "progressive" bourgeois allies sometimes leads them to quite contradictory positions. Thus while the Chinese CP has hailed the "independence" of Ethiopia under the feudal regime of Haile Selassie, after World War II the Soviet Union called for the return of Ethiopia to Italy! The Russian bureaucracy hoped that support for Italy's colonial appetite would enable the Italian CP to secure a place in a popular-front government and also guarantee an Italy more willing to cooperate with

the USSR. But when the Communist Party was excluded from the Italian government at the time of the 1948 elections, the Soviet Union suddenly reversed its position.

### Crisis of Leadership

While conditions in Ethiopia are explosive, the working class is weak and there is not even the beginning of an internationalist proletarian leadership. In a country where all political parties

have been outlawed, only vague "left" and Maoist student groupings have existed. Most urgent is the crystallization of a Trotskyist party to guide the working class to victory.

Although Ethiopia is an overwhelmingly peasant country, a revolutionary party can only be based on the proletariat—in alliance with, but firmly leading the peasantry. The Russian October Revolution confirmed Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution: that in the epoch of imperialist decay only a proletarian revolution can solve even the bourgeois-democratic tasks. A left-nationalist or Stalinist party of declassed radical petty-bourgeois elements resting upon the support of the peasantry can at best lead only to a bureaucratic deformed workers state.

A revolutionary, Trotskyist workers party in Ethiopia would preach no confidence in the bourgeois officers' movement. Instead it would seek to split the armed forces, winning the worker and peasant soldiers away from their "democratic" officers and into its own ranks. Recognizing the right of self-determination for Eritrea, the Marxists

would strike a blow against the reactionary ideology of nationalism, which will inevitably be invoked by the officers in order to stifle the masses' demands for social liberation.

A Trotskyist party would lay the basis for defeating the feudalists by demanding expropriation of the royalty, princes, church and all large landowners and the abolition of all vestiges of feudalism. It would call for nationalization of the land and distribution of large estates to the former serfs and poor peasants. With such a program of "land to the tiller," the working-class vanguard can draw behind its leadership the millions of exploited rural masses in a vast social revolution.

In addition, the revolutionaries would explain that it is impossible to overcome the famine without eliminating hoarding and profiteering. This requires a direct attack on bourgeois property, through the institution of control over distribution by the unions and committees of poor peasants.

In answer to the military's ban on demonstrations and strikes, a Trotskyist party would demand full democratic freedoms, immediate elections for a constituent assembly, the formation of an armed militia of workers and poor peasants, the creation of workers soviets (as well as peasant and soldier committees linked to these workers councils) and the replacement of the provisional officers' regime with a workers and peasants government.

By advocating such democratic and transitional demands, the revolutionaries must seek to win Ethiopian workers and revolutionary intellectuals away from the class collaboration of all brands of Stalinism, whether pro-Moscow, Maoist or otherwise. Pointing to Chinese support for the "anti-imperialist" Selassie, and Russian praise and aid to "non-capitalist" Egypt under Nasser and Sadat, they must explain that only the working class, supported by the peasantry, can eliminate feudalism by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

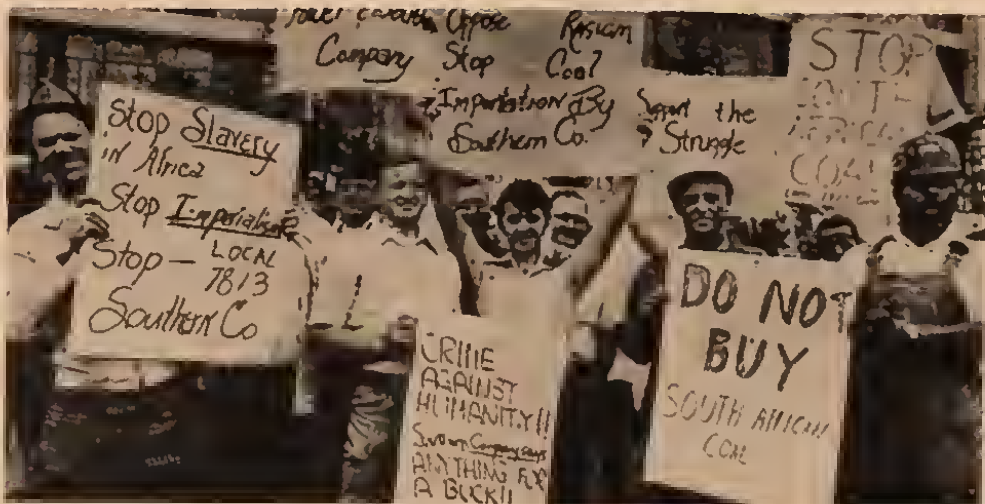
The backwardness of Ethiopia is great and its working class tiny; here, even more than in the advanced countries, socialist revolution requires immediate aid from and a struggle to link up with the workers of other countries. Once again the key to victory is the construction of a Trotskyist party on the program of Permanent Revolution, as a section of the reborn Fourth International. ■

## UMW Boycott of South African Coal

In WV No. 50 (2 August) we published an article on international labor boycotts in which we opposed open-ended boycotts of reactionary regimes, such as Spain or South Africa. These measures are incapable of toppling the oppressive governments they are aimed at, are not directed at achieving a concrete realizable goal and are generally expressions of petty-bourgeois liberal moralism. If successful in cutting down the volume of trade, they can objectively weaken the working class in such countries and therefore the general struggle against social oppression. Instead we proposed clearly focused and potentially effective campaigns of international workers' solidarity, such as a labor boycott of military goods to Chile demanding the release of the junta's political prisoners.

Despite our general opposition to such boycotts, the article advocated critical support for the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) boycott of Rhodesian chrome as a genuine, though misguided, attack on the white supremacist regime. To call for liquidating the ILA Rhodesian boycott might well play into the hands of outright racist forces in that union.

The current United Mine Workers (UMW) boycott of South African coal to Alabama may appear similar to that of the ILA Rhodesian boycott. It is not. That the ILA action is a response



UMW miners demonstrate against South African coal.

to genuine anti-racist sentiment is indicated by the fact that it means sacrificing much needed work for longshoremen. In contrast, the UMW boycott—by no coincidence—serves to eliminate foreign competition.

No doubt many, particularly black, miners really want to attack Vorster's reactionary white-supremacist regime. However, in this case opposition to South African racism is being used by the union bureaucracy as a pretext for national economic protectionism. This is now patently obvious as

the UMW is supporting George Wallace's Attorney General, William Baxley, in suing utility companies in order to prevent them from importing South African coal—thereby inducing them to "buy Alabaman" instead.

We call upon coal miners and all members of the labor movement to oppose the UMW boycott of South Africa as being an act of nationalist protectionism and one which harms the genuine interests of black South African miners and the struggle against racial oppression in that country. ■



# Soviet Cops Bulldoze Art Show

We strenuously protest and condemn the smashing of Moscow's "First Autumn Outdoor Art Show" on September 15. As a legally sanctioned but unofficial art exhibit was being set up, plainclothes cops attacked with dump-trucks, bulldozers and water-trucks, destroying paintings and beating and chasing away the artists and spectators. At least five artists were arrested by the official police, after being roughed up by their disguised cohorts, for "resisting authorities."

Although Russian bureaucrats have laughed off the incident, it is a brutal state warning that no deviations whatever will be tolerated from the confining straightjacket of official "Socialist Realist" art. For those who find it hard to understand how a purely visual expression can be "subversive," the logic of state censorship presents the irrefutable argument: Anything which deviates from approved art is subversive simply because it is not the approved line.

This censorship creates much unofficial art that actually is veiled political polemic (a good example: the operas feverishly cranked out by sundry cliques in the Chinese CP, complete with veiled allusions to Mrs. Mao, Liu Shao-chi, etc.). Since allover political debate is stifled, this is the only channel remaining open for even disguised dissent. Thus the inevitable result of state censorship is the stifling of all artistic creativity, while the political battles rage underground.

Meanwhile, in the capitalist world the artist has his "freedom" to either turn his work into a saleable commodity (or a hedge against inflation, these days) or starve to death. Political repression of art is not unknown in the U.S. either. During the McCarthy period, exhibits of abstract expressionist art were abruptly cancelled, critics censored and artists blacklisted as the result of demagogic rantings of politicians that modern art was a plot to overthrow democracy by "soldiers of the revolution—in smocks" (*New York Post*, 21 September 1974).

## Art in a Workers State

A workers state must support scientists, artists and other cultural workers without in the least attempting to influence the content of their work. A democratic soviet state would, of course, have to make decisions about competing social, economic and cultural priorities relating to scientific and artistic endeavors. This is something quite distinct from political censorship or determination of the content, style or theoretical principles of science and art. Where social decisions are necessary even in these areas (what paintings to exhibit, what scientific theory to pursue), they are best left to self-administration by bodies of qualified workers in those fields.

Trotskyists stand for the absolute freedom of artistic expression! Marxism is a science of economic and political life which applies only indirectly to other disciplines. The self-righteous, vulgar, philistine egomania of Stalin (whose idea of "great art" was the stuffy excrescences of the decadent late 19th-century West European "Academy," which he then forced on the Russian people as "Socialist Realism") stands totally opposed to the views of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, who all insisted on the essential autonomy of creative artistic activity.

For Full Freedom of Artistic Expression! For State Support to Scientists, Artists and Other Cultural Workers! For the Self-Administration of Artistic Activity! For Political Revolution in the Degenerated and Deformed Workers States—For Workers Democracy! ■

## Continued from page 12 San Francisco Waterfront Scandal Mushrooms

out deals paved the way for erosion of job standards and tremendous speed-up through automation, resulting in soaring productivity for the bosses in the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA).

In the last Local elections, the membership put into office a slate consisting of opponents of Bridges with militant reputations. The Local 10 leadership, headed by Frank Stout and Herbert Mills, is supported in part by a group of radicals formerly associated with "Longshore Victory," a paper which claimed militancy but refused to criticize Bridges.

The Stout-Mills regime has behaved similarly by refusing to raise the root cause of the problem, the speed-up and loss of jobs due to Bridges' bureaucratic betrayals. Stout and Mills have attempted to fight on the same bureaucratic ground as Bridges and Chester, leaving the membership divided, confused and unprepared.

Thus when Bridges made a first attempt to sell the hall, Stout and Mills countered with a law suit. The suit revealed that Bridges was trying to sell the hall to Alioto interests at roughly one half its actual worth, but this was not enough to stop Bridges.

The erosion of Local 10's financial condition proceeded apace with the continuing loss of work due to automation and speed-up. Stout and Mills proposed a dues increase and special assessment to temporarily alleviate the Local's debt and advocated a referendum to decide to lease rather than sell the hall.

With the hall property about to slip out of their grasp, the Alioto interests turned to their well-paid friends Bridges and Chester for help. The ILWU tops immediately proposed a special monitorship over the Local in order to return it to solvency. This was approved by the membership despite its onerous terms, because Stout and Mills failed to offer an alternative for fear of raising the basic issues and opposing Bridges openly.

Meanwhile, Alioto and Co.'s attempt to grab the hall comes at a convenient time for Bridges, who may have a large fine to pay soon. The suit of B men (second-class members) led by Stan Weir, who was expelled by Bridges in 1963, is nearing final determination in court. Bridges may need the money from the sale of the hall to meet the settlement.

Thus the "tactic" of going to the courts of the bosses to redress grievances and settle disputes within the labor movement threatens to backfire as usual and hurt the membership. Local 10 members voted twice to reinstate the B men, only to be overruled by the International! If they are now made to pay the fine through loss of their hall an irreparable blow to solidarity will inevitably be felt.

## Thug Attack on Local 10 Leaders

The appointed monitors were given the power to approve or veto local rules. In addition, the financial terms of the monitorship are directly in the interests of the Alioto clique.

The International directive stipulates that all of Local 10's funds—strike fund, welfare fund, etc.—shall be combined to pay off the Local indebtedness; and that "interfund indebtedness" be cancelled. This means that money owed by the Local to the technically separate hall corporation for upkeep of the hall cannot be paid. The monitors then ruled in a letter to the Local that the regular monthly assessment to the hall corporation could not be paid. Thus the terms of the monitorship and the actions of the monitors are geared to maneuver the Local into sale of the hall.

Meanwhile, the PMA was pleased with Bridges' victory in the vote for the monitorship. It voluntarily waived a contract provision which would have deprived the membership of its pay guarantee for that week (since the vote was held at a stop work meeting).

Normally the PMA uses this provision to intimidate the membership against any work interruptions. No doubt the PMA's pleasure was largely due to the fact that the terms of monitorship meant that members could be directed to be available for work seven days per week. The 1973 contract had provided Saturdays and Sundays off for the first time.

Despite the vote for monitorship, however, the ranks demonstrated their continuing will to resist by voting in favor of the plan to lease the hall in a referendum held after the monitorship was in force. Fear that unnamed "friends of the International" were trying to profit from the sale of the hall was cited by the Local leaders as reason for the vote, which was declared invalid by Chester. In the subsequent week the monitors demanded the resignation of the Local officers, and a dozen goons showed up at the hall to demand that the officers "turn in their keys and get out" (*Chronicle*, 14 September).

At the subsequent membership meeting held yesterday (September 20), a massive turnout of angry members induced the International to drop its demands that the Local not pay the regular assessment to the hall corporation and that the leadership resign. However, Stout and Mills are still unwilling to come out openly against Bridges and expose the purposes of the International's maneuvers before the membership. Thus they opposed the demand raised by business agent Larry Wing that all the monitors' orders and the entire basis of the monitorship itself be declared invalid.

Bridges and Chester can remain confident that they will succeed in imposing full receivership over the Local in a short while. Stout and Mills, meanwhile, are counting on maneuvers at the top, by getting other locals (Los Angeles and Seattle) to call for an International executive board meeting, to stave off the Bridges-Chester offensive.

## Need for a Class-Struggle Alternative

The refusal by the Local 10 leadership to mobilize the members and link the monitorship question to the struggle for jobs only plays into the hands of Bridges and Co. Alioto's boys on the docks are prepared to use any pretext to divide the ranks. Already they have sought to foster racial animosity as part of the offensive against Local 10. A group of black workers around one of the dispatchers with links to Chester was used by the International to form the goon squad against Stout and Mills in order to give the impression of a racial incident.

The same clique is trying to promote its chances of rising into the bureaucracy by conducting correspondence with black locals of the International Longshoremen's Association. If the International gets its way, Local 10 is smashed and the entire union is swallowed up by its old parent and adversary, the ILA (Bridges has repeatedly advocated merger), these goons hope to profit as a result.

Only the struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (such as through four six-hour shifts), coupled with demands for no layoffs and no reduction in manning scales, can provide a basis for uniting all segments of the union and defeating the International-imposed receivership. Already the loss of jobs is creating new frictions between the full members (A men) and second-class members (B men) which may prevent several hundred B men from getting full membership and lead to new erosion of the work force. This will simply serve to further strengthen the PMA and lead to massive layoffs and more speed-up in the future.

The Communist Party, after decades

of building up Bridges as a great hero of labor, after supporting the contracts of 1961 and 1966, after supporting Bridges' persecution of the B men in 1963, is now meekly trying to join the opposition to the International. Yet, in typical fashion, its supporters in the recent Local meeting spoke in favor of Stout and Mills' moderation of the demands against the monitorship.

Through its many twists and turns, the CP has progressively whittled away its support in the Local during the recent years. With its class-collaborationist policy of working within the Democratic Party for the "lesser evil," the CP is incapable of exposing and fighting the main cause of Local 10's looming destruction. And radicals like the ex-"Longshore Victory" supporters, many of whom were disgusted former CP supporters, have only served to create a new bureaucratic clique (Stout and Mills) which opposes Bridges only for the purpose of advancing their own careers.

Militants in Local 10 and throughout the ILWU must form a class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of Bridges. It is the alliance with Alioto and the companies which has led to the loss of longshore jobs to automation and the scheme to swindle Local 10 out of its property.

Without a fight throughout the union, linking the struggle for jobs to smashing the alliance of the bureaucracy with the capitalists and their politicians, the situation of Local 10 is hopeless. Labor struggle, including industry-wide strikes, must be used to stop the layoffs and runaways (including the pineapple growers on Hawaii planning to run away from ILWU contracts).

The demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay must be raised together with the demand for a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. The key to stopping Alioto and his shipping company friends is replacing the reformist union bureaucracy with a militant new leadership committed to class-struggle policies. ■

## Continued from page 2 Defeat Anti-Busing Terror Campaign in Boston

poor and working people." Thus they give it no support, just as the RU opposes the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, on the grounds that it doesn't do much for women's rights. Marxists, in contrast, would support the ERA and busing as embodying democratic principles, while pointing out the need to take the struggle further, to united class struggle for socialism.

The Maoist October League (OL) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) joined with local groups in a September 20 rally at Boston City Hall around a series of demands, including: "End White Boycott" and "Support Black Boycott of Boston High Until the Government Breaks Up the Fascist Gangs!" As in the case of the PWP, a black boycott of South Boston High couldn't serve the racists better.

Moreover, with this reformist demand the OL and YAWF lead militants to believe that the bourgeois government could somehow smash fascism or, to be more accurate, the racist politicians behind the white school boycott. The events of the last week have clearly shown that this is a total illusion.

The cops and liberal Mayor White are incapable of defeating the anti-busing racists—nor do they really want to. The present policies of the PWP, OL, RU and YAWF amount to unconditional surrender (without a fight) to Hicks and the Ku Klux Klan. What is needed now is a mass mobilization of black organizations, trade unions, socialist groups and all other forces prepared to defend black school children against mounting racist violence. ■



## Continued from page 7 Detroit Cops...

In Detroit for many years. Last year the DPOA took it to court; the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that residency could not be enforced through legislation, but was to be a bargaining issue between each union of city employees and the city. Thus if the requirement is dropped for cops, it will be as a result of the "bargaining strength" of the cops—i.e., the intimidation tactics of the DPOA.

The residency requirement was blown into the headlines early last month when Detroit residents were treated in their morning papers to the ludicrous spectacle of DPOA chief Gary Lee sneaking out of his house in the white suburbs. Lee claims that the house belongs not to him but to his wife(!) and that his residence is in the city, as required by law (the landlord at his supposed city address had never heard of him). In the face of the massive publicity, Lee instituted divorce proceedings in order to technically satisfy the present rules.

Nobody likes living in Detroit. It is crime-ridden, ugly and oppressive. Yet more than a million blacks and working people are forced to suffer these conditions due to economic reasons and pervasive racial discrimination in the lily-white suburbs. The cops' organized resistance to the residency requirement stems from racist revulsion against living among the black population they oppress. It is also an expression of their desire to maintain a caste-like existence separated from the concerns and pressures that face working people.

Socialists do not take a position on how the capitalists should administer their police force (e.g., foot patrols vs. patrol cars, mini-precinct stations). But in this situation of sharp polarization we must give critical support to the maintenance of the residency requirement for cops.

This does not mean calling for a sensitized police force more "in touch" with its victims. In fact, the residency requirement—even if it leads to a wave of resignations and the hiring of more black police—will not protect Detroit working people from the arbitrary exercise of "cop power."

We give critical support to the Detroit residency requirement for cops not because it will alleviate the oppression of blacks (it won't), but because success for the DPOA's campaign against it would be a victory for the cops' bonapartist appetites, an invitation to ever more blatant terrorization of working people and racial minorities. The current battle has symbolic significance far beyond the question of where the bosses' armed thugs will live: the controversy is essentially a "referendum" on racism and cop bonapartism. We are not neutral in this conflict. With the lines thus sharply drawn we come down against the police and in support of the residency requirement, while pointing out that it is in itself worthless as a measure against police brutality.

On other issues a higher democratic or class principle may take precedence. Thus it is contrary to the principle of proletarian class independence to call on working people to administer (or take responsibility for) the repressive forces of the bourgeois state. Consequently, we do not call for or give critical support to the preferential hiring

of black cops and "community control" of the police.

Another example: The Detroit Federation of Teachers is also facing imposition of a residency requirement in its contract next year. For this legitimate section of the labor movement we are firmly opposed to residency requirements. The DFT is a real union, and such requirements are a club which the state can use to bust unions, as well as to attack the democratic rights of teachers.

### UAW Off the Police Commission!

The new civilian Police Commission set up by the mayor has also been a target of the DPOA's protest. The cops insist that Young's appointees are "too liberal." The only Commission member the cops like, according to DPOA head Lee, is Doug Fraser, head of the Chrysler Department of the UAW and probable successor to Woodcock.

The *Detroit News* (26 June) claims this is due to Fraser's "reputation of being solidly law and order." That reputation is undoubtedly based on Fraser's mobilizing of the 1,000-man goon squad used to smash the August 1973 Mack Avenue strike. More recently he was in the process of organizing a repeat performance for Dodge Truck when the strike there ended.

The Commission is not simply a review board to hear complaints of citizens against the police, but has policy-making powers and budgetary controls. UAW militants must demand that Fraser immediately resign from the Commission: labor's representative has no business administering and taking responsibility for the policies of the hired guns of the class enemy!

Having campaigned as a "community election" advocate, Young since his election has begun to reassess his former stance. According to the *Detroit News* (27 August) he is not about "to embrace a plan that requires him to relinquish power to community councils." Young will certainly oppose any measure which could undercut the strong centralized force he needs to "do his job"—i.e., maintain capitalist law and order.

In the racially inflamed situation of Detroit, it is the responsibility of organized labor to put forward a class alternative to bourgeois politicians like Young who now pose as the only "defenders" of the black masses. Recently a black family which moved into an all-white neighborhood in Detroit suffered attacks from its white neighbors, who threw rocks through the windows. A UAW local sent rotating patrols to defend the house and repulsed the attackers. Not the union bureaucrats on Young's police boards, but the ranks of the labor movement must be mobilized to defend the rights of working people against racist harassment and cop brutality.

Cop terror will always accompany a rise in the class struggle, whether it is manifested in strike waves or ghetto rebellions, for the unambiguous function of the cops is to preserve the "rights" of the Chryslers and Fords to make their profits. Especially in a period when the ruling class and its government are seeking to inflame racial antagonisms to deflect resistance to galloping inflation and unemployment, only united working-class action can defend the oppressed against cop atrocities. **DISARM THE COPS—ABOLISH THE RED SQUAD AND DECOY UNITS! ABOLISH THE COPS—FOR RACIALLY UNITED WORKERS MILITIAS! SMASH THE DPOA OFFENSIVE!**

## NEW YORK SPARTACIST FORUM

### Black Liberation and the Proletarian Party

Speaker: George FASTER, SL Central Committee

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7:30 p.m.

Washington Square Methodist Church  
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## Continued from page 1

## Boycott Military Goods to Chile!

Socialist League participated in the picketing.

Unloading of the Prudential Grace Lines ship Santa Maria was prevented for almost three hours as a result of the appearance of the protesters at the Long Beach wharves. When a Federal arbitrator arrived and ruled that the picket was not a "legitimate labor dispute" as defined by the ILWU contract, and that the union would have to send the men back to work or face heavy fines, the longshoremen still refused to budge. The demonstrators, they claimed, had been angered by Prudential Lines' aid to the Chilean junta and therefore the picket line, legitimate or not, constituted a "health and safety hazard"; obviously, they still could not cross the line.

While this was being considered by the arbitrator, who doubtless would have rejected this claim also, a call came in from none other than ILWU President Harry Bridges, ordering local officials to send the men back to unload the ship forthwith. He promised that a complete boycott of the ship was being prepared in San Francisco. Faced with Bridges' orders to move the cargo the demonstrators decided to end the picket, but promised to initiate similar actions in the future.

During the picketing comic relief was provided by the arrival of the Long Beach Police Department. The hostile, openly pro-company cops at first tried to supplement their own bullying by references to what the longshoremen would do to the demonstrators if the latter tried to keep them from working. The police were quickly shut up, however, when union members present made it clear that "the Long Beach cops don't have any business here," and that any more police harassment would result in all the union members' going home.

### Longshore Ranks Active in S.F.

Delayed in part by the SL-initiated picket in L.A., the Santa Maria arrived at Pier 30-32 in San Francisco on Thursday, but Bridges' promised well-organized boycott was nowhere in sight. Despite the decision of the Local 10 executive committee to organize a mass demonstration at the pier to publicize the boycott, nothing was ever done about this.

Moreover, when members of the Committee to Enforce the Boycott inspected goods being prepared for shipment they found three trailer loads of chemicals to be used for mining in Chile! Union officials were duly in-

formed of this violation of the boycott and a business agent was finally sent down who announced that union men would not touch these goods.

While the cargo was stopped, if there had been no action by the ILWU militants, nothing whatever would have been done. The next day, as the ship was being loaded, the Spartacist League (joined by the Class Struggle League) arrived to picket, calling for enforcement of the ITF boycott. Again there was no demonstration organized by Local 10 leaders. The only publicity about the longshore boycott in the S.F. press was the result of coverage of the SL-initiated demonstration.

Although invited to participate, a number of "socialist" organizations otherwise active in Chile defense work failed to show up at the docks, apparently for fear of offending Bridges. Their "contribution" was made on Tuesday with a small picket in front of the Grace Lines offices after which Archie Brown, a well-known CP supporter in ILWU Local 10, asked a representative of Prudential Grace to stop handling cargo to Chile!

Begging the capitalists to stop trading while refusing to participate in a demonstration of solidarity with labor action—this is the pathetic result of the perennial opportunism of these fake lefts. Needless to say, neither Brown nor any of his friends inside or outside the ILWU was to be seen at the Prudential-Grace pier during the two-day boycott period.

### Enforce the Boycott!

The maneuvers around the September 18 and 19 ITF boycott were only the latest in a long line of subterfuges by ILWU officials to avoid implementing an anti-junta resolution passed by Local 10 in November of last year.

Under the impact of daily press reports of mass executions in Santiago's National Stadium, the same Archie Brown who today is doing everything to avoid industrial action against the junta actually authored a resolution calling for a boycott of Chilean shipping: "Local #10 goes on record to boycott all goods and cargo to and from Chile until such a time that the junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions, their membership and leaders..." The Local 10 executive committee, however, passed the buck to the International where it was stopped dead.

As usual Bridges was more concerned about his arrangements with the shipping companies than about "ab-

## Which Way Forward for Women Workers? A Class-Struggle Approach

Saturday, 28 September 2 p.m.  
Boston University, Sherman Union, Terrace Lounge

Speakers: Lisa Diamond, Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906  
Irene Gardner, Spartacist League, National Committee SYL

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United-front picket of Prudential Grace Lines Chile ship in Long Beach. WV PHOTO

stract" questions of international labor solidarity. And due to the reformist Communist Party's long-time policy of supporting Bridges, CP supporters in the union also did nothing to implement the resolution.

In late February of this year, after learning of the Local 10 resolution, the Spartacist League organized a picket at the docks calling for a boycott of Chilean cargo. Longshoremen refused to begin loading the Santa Maria for about an hour until a business agent arrived to tell the men that, while he was "in sympathy with the aims of the group demonstrating here," the contract required that the ship be loaded.

At two united-front demonstrations initiated by the SL in April alongshore militant from Local 10, Stan Gow, spoke about the resolution, thus giving the first general publicity to a motion the union leadership would prefer to forget. Subsequently the SL was the only group to publicize the Chile boycott resolution at Chile defense demonstrations and planning meetings in the Bay Area, calling for pickets in support of its implementation. Interest in the resolution was widespread in the Bay Area, but the Communist Party, which was rapidly consolidating its hold over the local Chile coalitions, made it clear that it wanted nothing done that might offend the ILWU bureaucracy.

At a planning meeting for the May 11 Chile demonstration, for instance, Archie Brown (who also heads a "Trade Union Committee for Democracy in Chile" and is now the de facto head of the local Chile action coalition) opposed any action in solidarity with his own resolution!

Following the May 11 Chile demonstration, ILWU militants who supported the Local 10 resolution and wanted to see it implemented joined together to form the Committee to Enforce the Boycott. With members in Local 10 (longshore), Local 6 (warehouse) and Local 34 (clerks), the committee has been able to circulate its leaflets widely in the union and win broad support for implementing the Local 10 resolution. Their petition calling for implementation of the resolution has already obtained more than 450 signatures. Brown reluctantly signed the petition but refused to circulate it! In addition to the petition campaign the committee got the clerks' local to set up an official committee to work for implementing the boycott resolution.

#### Opportunism and sectorianism

Over the last year there has been a sharp division between reformists and revolutionaries in the U.S. Chile defense movement. The reformist wing is led by the Stalinist CP, which wants to "defend" Chilean militants while concealing that it was the Chilean SP and CP which paved the way for the bloody coup by preaching reliance on the "democratic" bourgeoisie as an ally on the "peaceful road to socialism." A principled policy in defense of the Chilean militants is put forward by the Spartacist League, the only organization consistently calling for united-front action to defend the vic-

tims of junta repression while refusing to hide its own revolutionary Marxist politics. Predictably, the CP's zeal to "defend" Chilean militants is expressed first and foremost in its bureaucratic efforts to exclude the SL and other leftists from Chile solidarity work.

Last spring, while the "respectable" SWP-led U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and CP-led Chile Solidarity Committees concentrated on defending liberal intellectuals and personalities of the Allende government, the SL initiated a campaign to save the lives of two leaders (Van Schouwen and Romero) of the Chilean Revolutionary Left Movement (MLR). In demonstrations, when the reformists chanted "Chile sí, Junta no," the SL responded with "Workers sí, Junta no" and "No popular-front illusions—for workers revolution."

The Stalinists are driven to frenzy by these principled revolutionary politics. CPers have attempted to exclude SL contingents from Chile marches and regularly refuse to let SL speakers appear on the platform. The reformist SWP also consistently votes against SL proposals to give all participating groups equal speaking time. This same pattern of opportunist sectarianism was expressed even more clearly at recent Chile demonstrations in the Bay Area.

At yesterday's Chile rally Bob Mandel of the Committee to Enforce the Boycott asked to speak but was refused by the Stalinists who controlled the microphones. Incensed at this bureaucratic suppression, the Committee members wrote on the back of their picket signs, "We stopped the cargo but they won't let us speak!" and held them up in front of the speakers' platform. As members of the crowd shouted "Let them speak!" the Stalinists lined up a goon squad on the platform and threatened to physically attack Mandel.

Later in the evening, another member of the Committee to Enforce the Boycott, Bob Carson of ILWU Local 34, asked to speak at an SL forum on Chile. Speaking for almost 10 minutes, Carson told the audience what the Stalinists refused to let him say during the demonstration: He described how the Chile goods were stopped, condemned popular fronts and also noted caustically that many of the goons at the demonstration were ILWUers who had done nothing to implement the ITF boycott.

Last week's Chile boycott by transport workers around the world underlines the urgency of the Spartacist League's call for labor actions of solidarity with junta prisoners. As against the sectarian exclusionism and pathetic begging from the capitalists which are the policies of the reformists, the SL calls on labor and socialist militants to undertake united-front action around the demand, "Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile!"

This revolutionary perspective means combating not only the junta and its apologists, but also the labor bureaucrats and "left" fakers who stand in the way of effective proletarian action. This is the only road which can lead to victory. ■

# SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

## September 26-October 23

In the year since our last subscription drive the weight of the Spartacist League in the workers movement has continued to increase. This is reflected both in the content and impact of our main press organ, *Workers Vanguard*. *WV* has been denounced for its revolutionary politics by union bureaucrats in CLUW and UAW meetings, but the facts it reports have not been denied; it has carried unique eyewitness coverage of the British miners' strike, Indian rail strike and Portuguese class struggle, including in-depth analysis of the tasks facing revolutionists and the policies of the competing left-wing tendencies; and it has played an important role in building SL-initiated campaigns of solidarity with British miners and imprisoned Chilean leftists.

Unlike many left newspapers, *Workers Vanguard* is not a mere rewrite of the bourgeois press. Reflecting the implantation of the SL in the working class, *WV* carries the only accurate reporting of the struggles of militant oppositionists in the unions. As part of our struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International and the crystallization of the international Spartacist tendency, international coverage has been particularly prominent during the last year.

As we go forward to a weekly *Workers Vanguard* it is necessary to increase the stable sales and subscription base of our press. An important indication of the real capacity of the SL to shape political struggles, building the regular circulation of *WV* is an integral part of our efforts to construct the Leninist vanguard party in the U.S.

The quotas for this year's subscription drive are roughly double those of last year, reflecting the success of the 1973 drive. Also included in the quotas will be subscriptions to *Young Spartacus* (monthly newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the SL) and *Women and Revolution* (journal of the Women's Commission of the SL). We encourage our readers to subscribe to all publications of the SL/SYL for serious and timely Marxist analysis and a clear posing of the revolutionary tasks facing the workers movement.

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Thugs Seize Keys to Union Hall

# San Francisco Waterfront Scandal Mushrooms

### Bridges Connives with Alioto in Land Grab

SAN FRANCISCO, September 21—Richard Nixon was a murderer, crook and cover-up artist, but even he could learn a few tricks on the San Francisco waterfront. S.F. Mayor Joe Alioto, reputed to be a "friend of labor," and Harry Bridges, who is his chief friend in labor as well as head of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, seem to be trying to prove to all concerned that the Republican Party has no monopoly on scandals, violence and anti-labor swindles.

At the heart of the rapidly emerging docks scandal in San Francisco is an attempt by capitalist friends of Alioto to get their hands on the dispatch hall of ILWU Local 10, the S.F. longshoremen's union, which sits on waterfront property valued at 5 to 8 million dollars. Bridges and his crony, ILWU Vice President Bill Chester, last month put Local 10 under the virtual dictatorship of International "monitors" in order to maneuver the Local into selling its hall to the Alioto interests.

The seriousness of the power struggle going on behind the scenes was indicated when Sheldon Osborne, a retired Local 10 member and long time socialist militant, received a death threat after trying to expose the swindle in a leaflet to the membership. Subsequently a goon squad of a dozen Bridges supporters was organized within the Local to seize the hall by force from Local officers, who are opponents of Bridges within the ILWU hierarchy. The attempt failed, but not without injuries administered to Larry Wing, a Local 10 business agent.

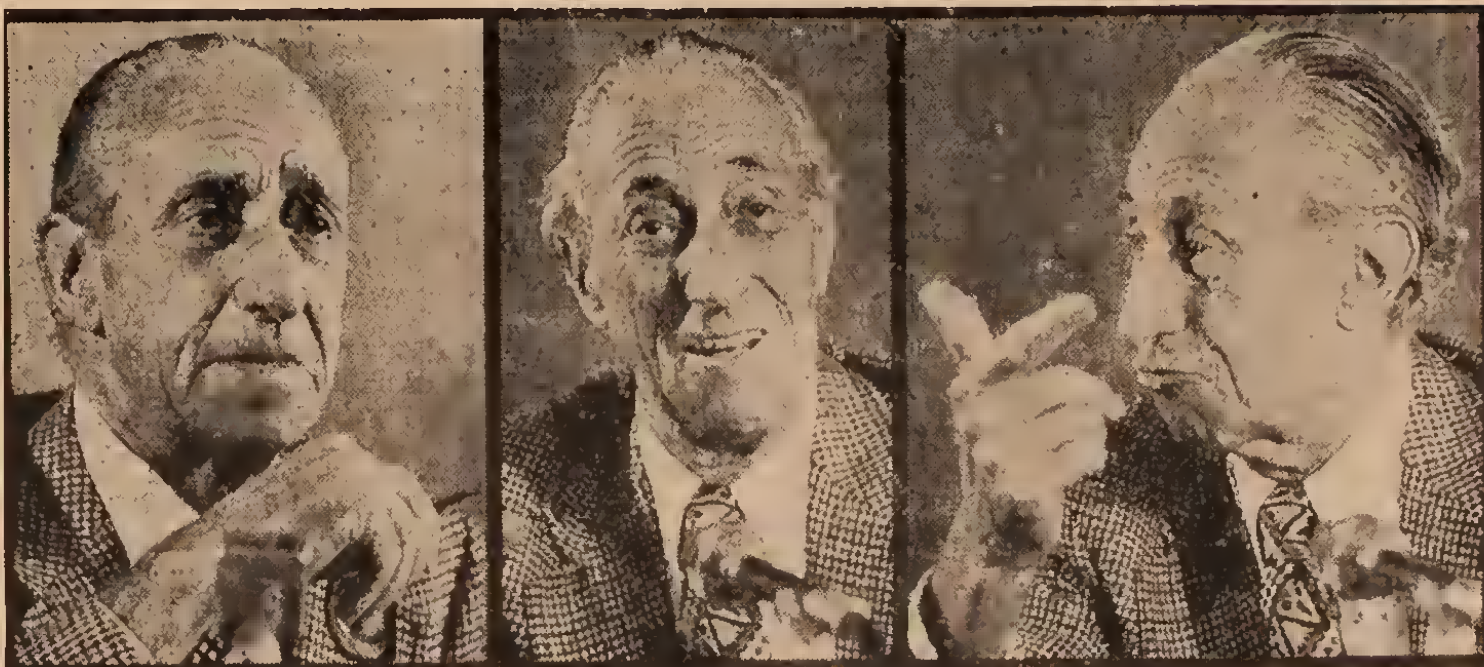
### Struggle for Power on the Waterfront

Control of the waterfront has clearly been foremost in Alioto's mind from the beginning. Shortly after his election as mayor in 1968 he backed a proposal to turn the Port of San Francisco over to the city from its previous status under state ownership.

During his years in office Alioto's friends and relations prospered as economic powers in commercial development and lucrative Fishermen's Wharf establishments. Now Alioto has apparently decided to "get his" and is moving in with amazing arrogance.

Having lost a bid for the governorship in the recent Democratic primary (where he was strongly supported by the ILWU tops), Alioto appears to have decided that his future lies in finance, not politics: he's decided to join the ranks of the fat cats and doesn't care who knows it.

Outstripped by the Port of Oakland, which boasts the most modern container equipment in the world, the Port of San Francisco teeters on the brink of bankruptcy. Alioto wants to push it



SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

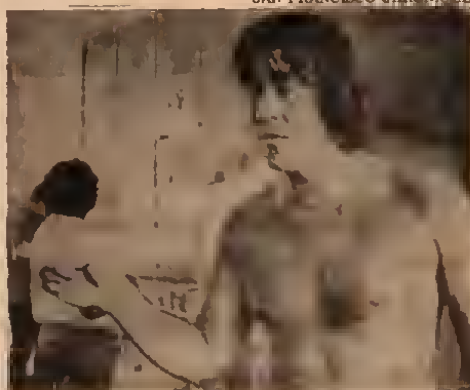
ILWU President/S.F. Port Commissioner Harry Bridges: "the devil with who (benefits), Alioto or anybody else."

over the brink to make way for commercial development.

In late August it was announced that American President Lines, one of the last major shipping companies using the S.F. port, was moving its operations to Oakland. The announcement came after "tense and unsuccessful" negotiations with Pacific Far East Lines, its major competitor, over joint use of the port's only modern container facility (Pier 96).

Pacific Far East Lines had just been purchased by Alioto's son John, who reportedly told American President Lines to "get the hell out" of Pier 96 (San

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE



Local 10 official Larry Wing, injured in goon attack on union hall.

Francisco Chronicle, 31 August)! Alioto's own direct involvement has recently been revealed in the press: he put up 1,318 acres of land in Placer County as collateral for his son to purchase PFEL and reportedly visits the shipping company's headquarters every morning before coming to work (Chronicle, 19 September).

### Contractors and Patronage

Chief among Alioto's allies is Al Maisin, a construction contractor and

the largest bidder for development of the Pier 45-Fishermen's Wharf area, in which sits the coveted Local 10 hiring hall. With the loss of American President Lines, Alioto's immediate response was that the Port of San Francisco will need new commercial development in order to remain solvent without using city tax money.

This is the threat (aimed to hurt working-class and small petty-bourgeois property owners) which Alioto needs to pave the way for commercial development of the Pier 45 area. Alioto interests are now therefore in a position to enjoy both a monopoly of the port's most modern facilities and to clean up on the high-rise office buildings, hotels and commercial establishments they want to build.

Alioto protects his interests by padding official bodies with his cronies. The significance of this is lost on no one. Bernard Orsi, the temporary Port Director, in office during the "negotiations" with American President Lines, is described as "a close political aide and family friend" of Alioto by the Chronicle (31 August). Port commissioners Cyril Magnin and Michael Driscoll and airport commissioner John Sutro were forced to resign recently because they were in too obvious violation of a new "conflict of interests" law. However, two Planning Commission members were allowed to stay on by District Attorney O'Connor.

At one point two members of the S.F. Board of Supervisors representing bourgeois interests counterposed to Alioto's threatened a major investigation of the Port over the loss of American President Lines. However, pro-Alioto forces on the Board managed to quash the proposal.

D.A. O'Connor did his part for the Mayor by coming up with a specious excuse which he claimed made it illegal

for the Board to even investigate the appointment of Alioto's friend Orsi as head of the Port Commission! For his part, Alioto has dispensed with all pretense: he argued for Driscoll to stay on the Port Commission in direct violation of the law.

One of Alioto's appointees on the Port Commission, at \$35,000 a year (\$10,000 more than he makes as union president) is Harry Bridges himself. Chester, meanwhile, is Alioto's appointee (at \$50,000 annually) to BART, the Bay Area's non-functional "rapid" transit system. A number of smaller ILWU fish occupy lesser city posts.

This alliance is no secret in S.F. political circles. Bridges was sufficiently open about being an Alioto man to hold a press conference recently, in his capacity as Port Commissioner, where he advocated special favors to Pacific Far East Lines, including lower rent and using tax money to improve the port. This was after American President Lines had already decided to leave. Clearly APL might not have left had similar inducements been offered to it. Yet, "... the devil with who [benefits], Alioto or anybody else," said Bridges (Chronicle, 12 September)!

### Bridges vs. Longshoremen

Alioto has long had eyes on the Local 10 hiring hall but has been stymied for over a year by the ranks and leadership of Local 10 in his attempt to gain control. Bankrupted by rising taxes and membership loss due to containerization, the Local has tried to hang onto the hall in order to maintain some financial cushion for the members.

The loss of over one third of the Local membership since 1959 is directly due to the "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts signed by Bridges in 1961 and 1966. These sell-

continued on page 9