

No More Chiles! Workers to Power!



Rightist mob burns Communist Party documents after sacking CP headquarters at Vila Nova de Famalição. L'Express

Rightists Head for Showdown in Portugal

Arm the Workers— Split the Army! For a United Military Bloc to Stop Rightist Coup!

AUGUST 25—There is reported to be a deceptive calm in Lisbon during the last week. The premier, General Vasco Gonçalves, submits a document on economic policy; the president, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, swears in new members of the government; and everyone goes to the beach on Sunday. But this ominous pause, coming after a tempestuous anti-communist mobilization in late July and early August, is only a slight hesitation as the opposing sides position their guns and count their forces. Revolutionary militants must make no mistake: the Portuguese right and their international backers are preparing for a showdown, to put an end to the developing pre-revolutionary situation with a decisive blow.

The last-minute jockeying for power is the consequence of a growing division within the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) in which three sectors have crystallized: a right wing around Major Melo Antunes, a left wing around Gonçalves and a reputed "far left" around General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho.

Following a series of demonstrations in late July organized by the Socialist Party (which demanded the ouster of Gonçalves for being too close to the Communist Party) Melo Antunes and eight other top officers of the Supreme Council of the Revolution (the top body of the MFA) published a document denouncing the premier and calling for "socialism without dictatorship."

While the nine were suspended from the Council for indiscipline, the document has since reportedly been signed by the overwhelming majority of the officer corps. Moreover, two of the key signers, the commanders of the central and southern military regions, were left in control of their commands. In addition, General Carvalho, while publishing another document calling for "people's power" through "popular assemblies," has lined up with the "moderate" Antunes faction around the demand for the ouster of Gonçalves. With this imposing front assembled, Costa Gomes (who has earned the nickname, "the cork" by always coming out on top) told the premier he had until today to resign.

The rapid concatenation of events in Portugal and the fact that all sides claim to favor socialism has caused considerable confusion on the left. In addition, most ostensibly socialist groups have aligned themselves politically with either the Gonçalves/CP bloc or the left-to-right "unpopular front"—which extends from Carvalho and the Maoists through

the SP and Antunes to the CIA, the Vatican and domestic fascists—and consequently distort events to justify their opportunist tailism.

Thus, the Antunes document talks of "construction of a socialist society" with "political pluralism" and rejects proposals which would lead to a "bureaucratic dictatorship." But this is just window-dressing for the gullible. The real concern of the rightist officers lies elsewhere—maintaining the discipline of the armed forces: "It is necessary to energetically reject the anarchy and populism which inevitably lead to the catastrophic dissolution of the state...."

The document goes on to refer to "the turbulent sea of arbitrary decisions of a Fifth Division, of an assembly of the MFA, of ad hoc military assemblies unexpectedly called.... of COPCON, of the unions, etc." It is clear that much more than a simple change of premiers is proposed. The rightist officers can accomplish their aims only by a far-reaching purge in the military, abolishing soldiers' committees, eliminating the "advisory" unit assemblies in the armed forces, crushing the incipient workers councils, banning numerous left groups and (at least) totally regimenting the unions. This must be fought by every class-conscious worker.

There are also some misconceptions about the nature of the anti-communist mobilizations sparked by the SP in late

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BEGINNING NEXT ISSUE

WORKERS VANGUARD Goes Weekly

With the next issue, 12 September, WORKERS VANGUARD will be published weekly, in accordance with the increased capacities of the Spartacist League and with a full understanding of this transformation as a necessity—a political obligation to the working class which we, as a Leninist organization of international proletarian revolution, seek to lead to power.

The inauguration of the weekly WV means that our readers will receive double the volume of Marxist reportage and analysis. Subscriptions will continue to be delivered rapidly with priority mail (until now obtained by paying the expensive first-class postal rates), and *at the same price* as the bi-weekly WV, \$5 a year. The continued expansion of our circulation base is vital. Please subscribe *now*!

As a gesture of appreciation to present WV subscribers, they will receive roughly double the number of issues remaining on their subscriptions actually purchased. In turn, let us take this opportunity to remind our readers that financial contributions will go toward forging a powerful weapon of working-class struggle: not simply the best, but the *only* real Trotskyist weekly!■

SWP/OCI Tail Counter- revolution in Portugal

SEE PAGE 2

SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal

AUGUST 21—As flames leap high from burning Communist Party offices and "moderate" generals plot a pro-NATO coup, the Portuguese working class is paralyzed by the lack of a revolutionary leadership. Far from organizing the overthrow of capitalism, the panicked Stalinists cling ever more desperately to so-called "progressives" in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), political expression of the officer corps of the bourgeois military. To his standard slogan of "unity of the MFA and the people" Communist Party (CP) leader Alvaro Cunhal now adds a plaintive appeal for "unity of the MFA."

A substantial unity among the military commanders is, in fact, now being achieved as they turn against their erstwhile CP supporters to the accompaniment of a crescendo of rightist terror in the villages and towns of northern Portugal. Mario Soares' Socialist Party (SP) has been acting as front man for this counterrevolutionary mobilization, prating about democracy and "respecting the people's will" while Salazarist bishops, former PIDE agents, a Franco-backed "Portuguese Liberation Army" and the CIA incite backward peasants to terror attacks under the cry, "Death to the Communists!" Since the SP has considerable support among Portuguese workers, the stage has been set for a chaotic clash of proletarian against proletarian, with sinister forces of capitalist reaction preparing to strike in the confusion.

This perilous state of affairs cries out for a Trotskyist vanguard to expose the treachery of both major reformist workers parties—CP and SP—in tying the exploited masses to the class enemy. Yet once again the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has proven incapable of providing revolutionary leadership in great events. The *República* affair sharply split this unprincipled fake-Trotskyist combine, one wing excusing censorship of SP views by CP-supported workers and the MFA, the other opposing it. On the key question of the class nature of the MFA there are now evidently three different characterizations in the USec, ranging from bourgeois military bonapartism to petty-bourgeois revolutionists.

But most scandalous of all is the recent behavior of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), who over the last few months have consistently tailed after the Portuguese social democrats. We urgently warn the militants of the SWP and OCI of the grave dangers of this line. As a *de facto* "red and brown" (leftists and fascists) coalition lines up behind Mario Soares, the very existence of the workers organizations (including the SP and USec supporters) is at stake. We call on you to force your leaders to abandon this treacherous line of "left" apologetics for counterrevolution before it is too late!

SWP: Denouncing the "Ultra-Left" Bourgeoisie

In the factional dispute which has rent the United Secretariat for the last six years, the SWP falsely poses as defender of Trotskyist orthodoxy against the guerrillaist centrist majority under Commandante Ernesto Mandel. Many have been taken in by this charade, and the Spartacist tendency has been unique in

warning that Joe Hansen and his friends represent a thoroughly reformist current, seeking a deal directly with the bourgeoisie. This is vividly confirmed by the SWP's cynical covering up of the rightist offensive under way in Portugal since mid-July.

During recent months the SWP has warned against placing confidence in the demagogic left-talking generals and admirals of the bourgeois MFA, and opposed the closing of the *República* newspaper. But, as one could expect from consistent Kautskyites, it has portrayed abstract democracy as the pivot of events in Portugal, systematically obscuring the ominous rightist mobilization. Although the anti-communist terror began with the pillaging of CP offices in the town of Rio Maior on July 14, it took the *Militant* three weeks to even mention these fascist-style attacks, which now number in the dozens.

Meanwhile the SWP published article after article centering exclusively on the danger of dictatorship by the leftist officers. Its theme was "defense of the Constituent Assembly, which is where struggle for these rights [suffrage and popular sovereignty] focuses for the moment" (*Militant*, 8 August). Since at present there is no national organ of workers democracy, such as a soviet, which could immediately take state power in Portugal, dissolution of the constituent assembly would simply mean untrammelled bonapartist military rule. But to oppose this demand (which has been raised by various centrist groups) is one thing; to make "defense of the Constituent Assembly" the focus of agitation in the midst of a struggle for power pitting the majority of that assembly against the CP and leftist generals is quite another matter. There is no place for revolutionaries in a "red and brown coalition."

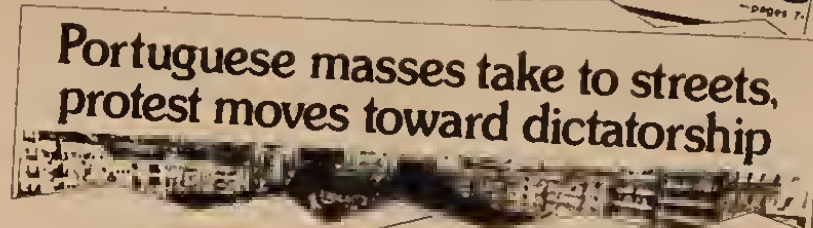
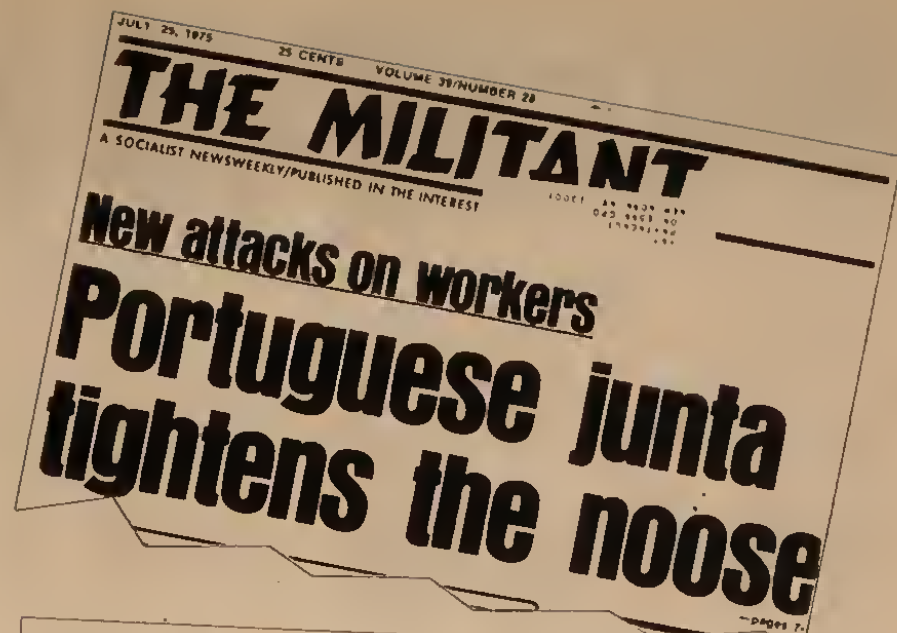
To camouflage the nature of the current anti-communist mobilization has been no easy job since virtually the entire bourgeois and left press has made abundantly clear what is going on. But the SWP proved up to the task. After two weeks of burning and looting of CP offices all across northern Portugal, the *Militant* (8 August) article was headlined: "Portuguese masses take to streets, protest moves toward dictatorship!" Moreover, as we reported in our last issue (see "Smash Rightist Threat in Portugal!" *WV* No. 74, 1 August), it was widely noted that many participants in the mass demonstrations sponsored by the SP in late July were from rightist parties and had no sympathy for any brand of ostensibly socialist politics. Even SP leaders admitted as much, but not the SWP! The *Militant* contends:

"What is certain is that the real vanguard of the Portuguese working class at the present time participated in the SP demonstrations...."

It went on to apologize for the virulent anti-communism of these demonstrations:

"Since the Communist party is the main political supporter of the military's attack on the democratic rights of the masses, it was inevitable that such mass mobilizations would express anti-Communist feelings...."

There are numerous eyewitness accounts in the bourgeois press of the reactionary tenor of these demonstrations, but the *Militant* dismisses them all



Portuguese masses take to streets, protest moves toward dictatorship

PORTUGAL
gouvernement militaire
ou gouvernement PS-PCP
présidé par Soares

SWP distorts nature of rightist mobilization in Portugal while OCI calls for Soares government.

as the product of "conditioned reflexes" by "foreign left-wing observers" and "local ultralefts." But if the *New York Times* and *Le Monde* are too "left-wing" for the SWP, there is the testimony of Emilio Guerreiro, head of the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD), who noted that slogans shouted at SP demonstrations showed that "not all its militants are leftist" and stated that "The SP has taken positions which, in my opinion, endanger freedoms in Portugal" (*Le Monde*, 17 and 24 July).

As to the game being played by the Socialist Party leaders, the rightist ex-President General António de Spínola, who fled to Brazil via Spain after the abortive reactionary putsch on March 11, "does not deny" press reports that he met with SP representatives in Paris in mid-July (*Le Monde*, 31 July). The social democrats' attempt to form a left-to-right bloc of all anti-CP forces could not be clearer. The SWP does have a few criticisms of Soares, of course, but mainly that the SP was "forced" into this "turn to the masses"! Should a rightist coup be successful in the coming weeks in part because of Soares' attempts to mobilize anti-communist reaction, the SWP must bear a share of the responsibility for this fateful event.

OCI: Soares to Power

A recent issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (4 August) favorably compared the OCI's position on the *República* affair to that of the French section of the United Secretariat, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). While their current views on Portugal are similar, the SWP and OCI are not politically identical. Existing in a country without a strong social-democratic or Stalinist party, the American SWP's reformism has been expressed by tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie, a policy "theoretically" justified by constantly collapsing class issues into purely democratic demands. The right-centrist OCI, on the other hand, has a tradition of capitulation before the reformist apparatuses of the French labor movement, in particular before the social democrats, which it explains by reference to the anti-

Leninist concept of a united-front strategy.

On Portugal the OCI's line in recent months can be summarized as "all the way with Mario Soares." Here, too, some conscious distortion of reality is necessary in order to maintain a pretense of Marxism. Following the elections for the constituent assembly on April 25, the OCI summarized the results in the headline: "Absolute Majority for the SP-PCP: A Vote for Class Independence. Portugal Voted for an SP-PCP Government" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 30 April-7 May). The opposite is the case. As the OCI well knows, both the CP and SP were part of a class-collaborationist popular-front government and both signed the "MFA-parties pact" relegating governmental power to the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement. Moreover, the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class
Bi-weekly of the
Spartacist League

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Published by the Spartacist
Publishing Company, Box 1377,
G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters
do not necessarily express the editorial view-
point

TWU and UFT Can Lead the Way

For NYC Strike to Smash Big MAC!

Stop the Fare Hike— For Free Public Transportation!

AUGUST 23—With each successful blow to the New York City labor movement, Big MAC's insatiable appetite for blood grows. Last week after city unions capitulated without a fight to a pay cut and wage freeze, the mayor's office announced that more drastic steps lie ahead. As concession follows concession, new "emergencies" are suddenly discovered: according to Governor Carey, NYC needs to come up with over \$2.5 billion on bank notes falling due by December or face default. And while the drive of finance capital is directed primarily at breaking city unions, all sections of the population are now being affected as subway and commuter fare hikes are announced, bridge and tunnel tolls climb, hospitals and fire stations are closed and the City University budget is slashed.

After almost ten months of continuous "fiscal crisis," the mood in New York is one of pervasive bitter anger as the city prepares to raise subway and bus fares almost 50 percent on September 1. In the past, much smaller hikes have provoked minor commuter riots and impotent protest schemes, such as a New Left subway gate-crashing spree in 1970. But there is a simple and effective way to stop the fare increase. The Transit Workers Union (TWU) has long stood for free public transportation, and a transit strike for no fare would immediately win massive public support. The power of the TWU is obvious: for 16 days in 1966 the union paralyzed the financial center of U.S. imperialism. Though its leadership was jailed it defied court injunctions until the Transit Authority settled at double its original offer.

There now exists an enormous opportunity for the TWU to take the lead as the appetite to face down Big MAC (the financiers' "Municipal Assistance Corporation") is shared by everyone from protesting SEEK students at City College to middle-class residents of Co-op City, who recently organized a solid and successful payments strike against state-ordered increases. However, in all likelihood this opportunity will be missed as the transit workers' hands are tied by a do-nothing reformist union leadership. TWU publicity director Sy Stern told a *WV* reporter this week that the union has no further plans to fight the fare increase beyond its passive August 19 demonstration. At that rally TWU president Matt Guinan hinted coyly at future actions and opined that "it may come to" refusal to pay the fare, as suggested by U.S. Representative Bella Abzug. Despite the hints, Guinan has made no move to mobilize his ranks for strike action.

NYC Teachers Under the Gun

The second major confrontation looming in the next two weeks affects more than 65,000 New York City teachers. On September 9 the United Federation of Teachers' (UFT) contract expires, and Big MAC is going for the jugular vein of the union whose strikes in the 1960's transformed it from a powerless professional association into one of the most powerful sectors of city labor. The negotiations are centering on Board of Education proposals to take back numerous union gains won in the past rather than on UFT demands for improvements in salary and working conditions. In addition to the wage freeze, city teachers are being asked to suffer 8,000 layoffs,

reduction by half of paid sick-days (for those with under three years' seniority), lengthening of the workday and school year, heavier classroom loads and an end to paid sabbaticals.

Feeling pressure from his ranks, UFT president Albert Shanker (a right-wing Social Democrats USA leader and ardent Meany supporter) got himself thrown out of the city wage-cut negotiations late last month and took the occasion for some cheap shots at the lack of militancy of his rival Victor Gotbaum (member of the more "left" Democratic Socialists), presi-

dent of AFSCME's District 37. "Vic Gotbaum got a good deal and in the process he stabbed a lot of other people," said Shanker (*New York Times*, 3 August) of Gotbaum's seamy agreement to graduated pay cuts for all city unions. AFSCME members will be hit less hard by these cuts, but only because they presently earn much less than other city workers. An "equal opportunity" betrayer, Gotbaum stabbed his own ranks as well, by agreeing to layoffs of another 1,000 provisional employees. In a direct attack on the poor and unemployed, this "socialist" demanded (and won) city agreement to bump minority workers hired under special CETA funds in order to replace them with laid-off AFSCME members.



NYC Transit Workers demonstrate on July 29 against the fare hike. *WV Photo*

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Shanker's posture as tribune of the people against the narrow union parochialism of Vic Gotbaum is positively laughable. From the District 1 school board elections to the recent bureaucratic AFT convention in Honolulu, Shanker has appealed to racist sentiment in obstructing every struggle to aid oppressed minorities. From the speedy implementation of bilingual education in New York to busing in Boston. The Spartacist League defended the UFT strike in 1968 when the city tried to break the union through forced transfers of teachers, and urges a teachers' strike now to beat back the attacks on city workers. But this in no way means support to Shanker's policies. The UFT must seek community support to be victorious, and will find its path blocked so long as the union is identified with the man whose name has become synonymous among the black and Latin American populations with racist job-trusting narrow trade unionism.

Shanker's own insipid weekly *New York Times* column has made clear that his main tactic is a court suit, not labor action, against the pay freeze, despite a recent court ruling against the sanitation workers which held that when money is tight anything goes, including union contracts. However, the city "offer" is so had that pressure from the ranks may yet

Decay of the Cities

When back in 1964 Barry Goldwater called for slicing off the East Coast and floating it into the Atlantic, his remarks were considered near-lunatic ravings of the far-right John Birch Society fringe. Today this sentiment finds its political



expression in the Big MAC program: the determination of a unanimous ruling class to deal decisively with the running sores of big cities with their huge minority and poor populations and powerful unions. Not trusting their New York test case to the foot-dragging Mayor Beame and city council, who must face the wrath of the voters in the next elections, the corporate/bank combine is progressively taking operational control of key sectors of the municipal government.

Beame himself is finished while everyone connected with his administration is taking a dive to save their political lives. The mayor's own Board of Estimate won't let him into its meetings and the bourgeoisie watches with disgust as he grovels for a chance to prove that he can do the job. After a recent White House meeting one of Governor Carey's aides commented: "Rockefeller kept talking about how there is no tuition at City University and Beame would say, 'Mr. President, I was a graduate of City College and I wouldn't be here today....' I couldn't believe I was in the White House. It sounded like the letters to the editor in the *Daily News*" (*New York Times Magazine*, 17 August).

Beyond Beame's obvious incapacity to carry out his superiors' orders and his ludicrous Cedar Rapids style, the decision to put New York City in receivership to the direct rule of finance capital is an indicator of a more general hard line toward the "inner cities." As industry increasingly moves to the suburbs the bourgeoisie has developed an undisguised hatred for the decaying cities, which are left with a flood of unproductive welfare recipients and "illegal aliens," and is attempting to use the depression to drastically cut its costs.

For Militant Action and a Class Program

The increasing nastiness and brutishness of city life combined with Big MAC's master plan for across-the-board cutbacks opens a possibility for the labor movement to pull in behind it the vast majority of the NYC populace. This in no

way implies a watering down of the unions' demands. Quite the contrary, what is needed is a strong, militant working-class pole which demonstrates its will and power to resist the capitalist attacks. The reformist Communist Party's eternal calls for moderation and a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" are in fact nothing but means to tie the masses to "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie.

Today it is possible to break through the vicious circle of union-black confrontations and organize the poor and much of the vacillating petty bourgeoisie against capital, provided that the labor movement puts forward an audacious program of transitional demands which can provide a real answer to the needs both of the workers and the non-proletarian exploited population. For New York at this moment, such a program must include:

- For a City-Wide General Strike, Led by the TWU and UFT, to Smash Big MAC. Expropriate the Banks. Smash the Wage Freeze. Rescind All Layoffs. Restore the Budget Cuts. Stop the Fare Hikes. For Free Public Transportation!

- No Lengthening of the Working Day. 30 Hours' Work for 40 Hours' Pay and a Full Cost-of-Living Escalator! End All Provisional and Other Second-Class Categories. Abolish the Civil Service. End Discrimination. For Union Control of Hiring on a First-Come First-Served Basis!

- Immediate, Unconditional, Unlimited Unemployment Compensation at Full Union Wages—Combine Welfare with Unemployment and SUB Funds at the Highest Rates! For a Massive Program of Public Works Under Union Control!

- Open the Corporation and Bank Books to the Workers Movement! Cancel the Debt—Expropriate the Banks!

- Cops Out of the Unions! For a Workers Party—Forward to a Workers Government!

In New York today the minority population can again be mobilized against the teachers, as it was in 1968: "community actions" led by Democratic



Congresswoman Bella Abzug addresses NYC Transit Workers rally. *WV Photo*

Party politicians to collect garbage left by wildcatting sanitationmen can increase; demonstrations by unemployed blacks and CCNY students against construction workers can continue to spread...and the working class will remain impotent in the face of the worst anti-labor offensive in decades. But this tragic scenario need not occur. The labor movement must transcend simple trade unionism by putting forward a class-struggle leadership and a program which is not limited to the parochial defense of a particular group, but rather expresses the needs and interests of all the exploited and oppressed. This is the path to victory. ■

New Name, Old Rulers

Palace Coup Establishes "Islamic Republic" in Bangladesh

AUGUST 20—After three and a half years of colossal misrule in a poverty-ridden country wracked by interminable economic crisis and extraordinary corruption, the president of Bangladesh, Mujibur Rahman, was overthrown and murdered in a palace revolt last week. The demagogic *bangla-bandhu* ("father of Bengal") was replaced by his former minister of foreign trade, Khondakar Mushtaq Ahmed, a man described as "a stern Muslim and notorious anti-communist, hostile both to India and the USSR" (*Le Monde*, 16 August). Khondakar is generally regarded as "the Americans' man" in Dacca.

The coup was reportedly accompanied by a small blood bath among Rahman's close followers, particularly among the Jatiya Rakhi Bahini, a paramilitary gang of thugs not unlike Duvalier's *tontons-macoutes* in Haiti. In a symbolic move the new regime changed the name of the state from "People's Republic" to "Islamic Republic." It was promptly recognized by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, whose army had laid waste to East Bengal in 1971 with an orgy of rape and indiscriminate mass murder.

The bourgeois press interpreted the

"India plans a long military occupation of East Bengal to achieve the aim of transforming East Bengal into a client state with formal independence" (*WU* No. 4, January 1972). This goal was accomplished by placing in power a quisling, Sheik Rahman, and his bourgeois Awami League, whose victory in the 1971 Pakistani elections touched off Yahya Khan's brutal "pacification" of East Bengal. The Indian army, seizing the opportunity to dismember Pakistan and worried about possible repercussions of successful anti-Pakistani guerrilla struggle on its own politically volatile state of West Bengal, moved in to take command to prevent leftists among the Bengali resistance fighters from winning more influence.

Because the struggle for Bengali national independence was subordinated to an Indian military takeover, the Spartacist League called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, advising the Indian, Bengali and Pakistani soldiers to "turn the guns the other way," against their own bourgeoisies, in what had become a contest between rival capitalist regimes for strategic dominance of the Indian subcontinent. Not so the fake-Trotskyist SWP, which enthused over the "Bengali liberation struggle" in spite of its cooption by India, and the Healyite "International Committee," which gave "critical support" to Indira Gandhi's invasion.

Our position was vindicated when India all but annexed East Bengal. As an Indian general explained during the war for the "liberation" of Bangladesh:

"We are taking territory and are not ashamed of it. Bangla Desh must simply be ours if it is to remain stable. Some semblance of democracy can be created but no one in Delhi or elsewhere pretends that is the real reason we are here. Bangla Desh will be like Calcutta, which we keep firmly under our thumb from Delhi, with no nonsense of local autonomy."

—*Sunday Times* [London], 19 December 1971

Indian capital quickly moved to take over from departing Pakistanis, integrating the East Bengali economy with India's five-year plans and even spending \$275 million to rebuild the transportation and communications networks needed for economic *Gleichschaltung* (subjugation). But Bangladesh soon proved to be not merely a bad investment but an all-around economic disaster. By 1974 the new nation's first five-year plan was abandoned while monsoon floods devastated agricultural production.

The economic ills of Bangladesh are due not only to the weakness of the native bourgeoisie and the impossibility of qualitative economic advance under imperialism—conditions common to all the backward capitalist countries—but have been severely aggravated by events since World War II. In 1948 the East Bengali bourgeoisie, overwhelmingly Hindu, fled to Calcutta when Pakistan was created as a predominantly Muslim state. The limited industry of what became East Pakistan, mainly jute mills, was nationalized out of necessity. Thus the present ruling stratum in Bangladesh is made up of pauperized petty-bourgeois elements striving to congeal themselves as a capitalist class by squeezing the last drop of surplus value from the Bengali worker and peasant masses.

Three and a half years of formal national independence have made abun-



dantly clear that this "lumpen" bourgeoisie is incapable of accomplishing the most modest social reforms, much less liberating the working population from exploitation and poverty. The driving force of the petty-bourgeois Awami League politicians who took over the state apparatus was personal enrichment, not merely the accumulation of Mercedes Benz automobiles and luxury villas but a particularly desperate wholesale looting.

In spite of his leftist phrases and demagogic populism, the megalomaniac Rahman consciously tolerated this notorious corruption as part of his program to build an East Bengali bourgeoisie. His only notable accomplishment was to clear the Dacca slums by brutally driving out the poor. The *bangla-bandhu* (more accurately nicknamed the "Chiang Kai-shek of Dacca") unleashed vicious repression against all groups to the left of the Communist Party. Opposed as well by 14 bourgeois opposition parties, and unable to control widespread robberies and murders (there were reportedly more than 2,000 political assassinations in only 16 months), Rahman sought to reinforce his bonapartist rule late last December by declaring a state of emergency.

This move was proclaimed the beginning of a "second revolution" against "anti-social elements," banning all parties except the Awami League and instituting dictatorial presidential rule. Rahman's "purification drive" was enforced by the thugs of the single party's labor, youth and paramilitary groups

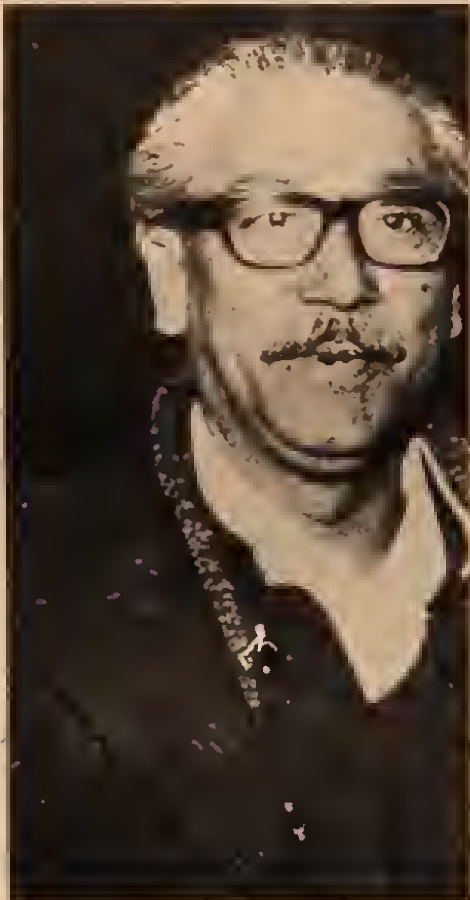
against what were termed corrupt and pro-Pakistani elements. Like Indira Gandhi's recent crackdown in India, the mass jailings were directed against both left and right. The *New York Times* (29 January 1975) described the Sheik's new order:

"Although a Parliament will be elected, the new Constitution authorizes the President to form 'a national party,' membership in which will be necessary to sit in Parliament or join the Government.... Anyone dissenting from party policy will lose membership.... By and large Parliament will endorse executive decrees; it can legislate, but the President has veto power and can dissolve Parliament indefinitely."

Rahman also instituted a takeover of the press by the government and Awami League.

While the President talked of fighting corruption and had already made a turn toward more conservative economic policies (notably by sacking his left-leaning minister of finances, Tajuddin Ahmed, last fall), through a combination of administrative incompetence and a desire to protect his loyal lieutenants Rahman proved incapable of carrying out the heralded shift. Having observed the successful destruction of the rickety Bangladesh economy, a group of young army majors evidently decided to oust the chief culprits. But lacking even the limited social vision of such military demagogues as Nasser of Egypt or Velasco of Peru, the rebels turned power over to ten ministers and six secretaries of state, all of whom

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Mujibur Rahman

AP

coup as a move to conciliate Pakistan, and there is no doubt that the new regime seeks to gain popular support by affecting an anti-Indian stance. There have been numerous reports of widespread popular discontent with the Indian overlordship in Bangladesh. Ahmed and his cohorts no doubt also set their sights on drumming up some economic aid from Muslim oil-producing states. Last year Pakistan received over \$800 million from Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya and others, and while this is a pittance by world standards it is more than India could provide. Without some kind of aid the Bengali economy will remain in the state of virtual non-existence to which it sunk following devastating floods in August 1974.

Bangladesh was born on the points of Indian bayonets. As we noted at the time of the Indian invasion in December 1971:

SL/U.S. Summer Camp Marks International Growth, Prepares for Weekly Workers Vanguard

"When I first arrived here I felt a bit like Christopher Columbus... There are many things I do not know about the United States but what I have seen at this camp is part of the future of the American working class." In these words the representative of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) summarized his reaction to the Spartacist League summer camp, held at the beginning of August, as he addressed the plenum of the SL Central Committee.

Notable events at the camp included, in addition to the Central Committee plenum, a trade unionists' conference convened by the SL Trade Union Commission; reports from the recent conference of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL); youth section of the SL/U.S.; several educational panels and meetings of SL commissions. Much of the preparation for the plenum decisions took place at the commission sessions, whose scope is indicative of the concerns and activities of the SL in the present period: black work, archival, *Women and Revolution*, press, Partisan Defense Committee.

Speaking at the international symposium, the German comrade discussed the consolidation of the TLD, codified in its acceptance as a full section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), with which the SL/U.S. is also

affiliated. He noted with regret the absence of the Austrian comrades of the Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten, who were unable to send a representative to this year's camp, as were the comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

A comrade from the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) reported on that organization's founding conference, the product of a successful regroupment of French iSt supporters with a left oppositional faction whose members were expelled from the French United Secretariat (USec) group. He stressed the excellent prospects for growth and the continued central applicability of the regroupment tactic, particularly in a country in which virtually every international current claiming to be Trotskyist has a sizeable section. The main organizational tasks of the LTF at present will be construction of an authoritative and cohesive national leadership and the development of systematic press capacity. The similarity between these concerns and those of the Canadian comrades was noted.

The expansion of the iSt was also illustrated by the presence of a representative of the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia. The affiliation of the Italian comrades, whose political history goes back through the Italian USec grouping to the ultra-left Bordigist organization, represents a real deepening of our historical roots as well as a geographical expansion. The Italian comrade's presentation graphically illuminated for the supporters of the SL/U.S. the highly explosive situation of the Italian class struggle.

WV to Go Weekly in Fall

The overriding theme of the summer camp was the transformation of *Workers Vanguard* to a weekly frequency. The official decision to begin the weekly *WV* on September 12 was adopted unanimously by the Central Committee plenum, but preparations had been begun many months earlier. The inauguration of the only authentic Trotskyist weekly paper in the world poses an exciting challenge to our organization which will be felt in all aspects of our political work.

The leap to a weekly *WV* is the embodiment of the continuing evolution of the SL press from a basically programmatic, analytical paper to an active tool of intervention into the class struggle. As the report to the press commission emphasized, the press policy of the SL remains the same: aimed toward advanced workers, *WV* seeks to function as a collective organizer, whose role is integrated into the building of the party, neither counterposed to nor a substitute for other crucial tasks. In addition to the press commission, special meetings were also held centering on particular aspects of press work such as writing and editorial, sales, photography.

The main report from the youth conference by Spartacus Youth League National Secretary Sue Adrian saluted the stabilization of a monthly *Young Spartacus* and noted the valuable campaigns undertaken by the youth locals which have given the SYL an interventionist political profile. The report emphasized the importance of systematically consolidating a periphery, pointing out that the continued steady growth of the SYL (one third of the membership is new

since the last camp) poses important responsibilities of education and cadre training.

A highlight of the summer camp was the presentation by the LTF comrade on his participation in the May-June 1968 events in France. His account illuminated the non-linear unfolding of class struggles and the need for a truly revolutionary organization rooted in the masses which can respond to political upheavals and seize the initiative. He emphasized that it is toward this aim that the iSt is patiently building now.

The main political report to the SL plenum stressed that "we are not immune" to the pressures which have led most of our ostensibly revolutionary competitors into stagnation, demoralization and multiple splits. "Our growth is satisfying but not qualitative," the reporter stated, noting that "a revolutionary party that does not take state power must become deformed and degenerated." He noted the twin dangers of passivity and impatience, stressing the role that a weekly *WV* will play in developing the organization's capacity to actively intervene in social struggles.

The report on the launching of the Partisan Defense Committee pointed out that the PDC must work to overcome the 50-year legacy of Stalinist and social-democratic sectarian betrayal of united defense work. The PDC seeks to carry forward the tradition of the International Labor Defense of the mid-1920's, led by James P. Cannon.

In presenting the statistics report, Comrade Nedy Ryan noted that these calculations are presented to the camp in the hopes of "making concrete our observations of our sociological relation to the real world." The figures showed that the great hulk (over two thirds) of the camp's participants were in their twenties, with the average age slightly over 26. As a result of the current economic depression, the statistics showed a significant number of "unemployed proletarians," primarily laid-off industrial workers. Some 47 percent of the camp's participants were employed blue-collar, white-collar and clerical

workers; 41 percent of comrades attending the camp were union members; 12 percent were students. Roughly half the participants were college graduates.

Most significantly, 25 percent of the common movement (and 40 percent of the SYL) had been members for less than one year, while 18 percent had been members for one-two years and 50 percent for two-five years. Some 72 percent of those attending had been members of ostensibly revolutionary organizations before joining the SL/SYL. These figures are a living demonstration of the success of the SL's regroupment tactic.

Learning From History

Although much of the work of the summer camp focused on the struggle for "press consciousness," educational and historical subjects were not neglected. The main topics of the seminar on the black question were the history of slavery in the Americas and the early history of the civil rights movement. The latter presentation was given by Joe Vetter, long-time socialist activist in the South. He concentrated on the activities of the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the early 1960's, in particular highlighting the question of federal troop intervention, using detailed and concrete examples to expose the fallacy of the claim that the government can be pressured into defending the rights of blacks.

Another session of the camp was devoted to the Russian question. Main speaker James Robertson stressed that methodologically the evolved Trotskyist understanding of the nature of Stalinism is reflected in the chronology of the degeneration of the October Revolution. He pointed out that to locate the essential degeneration of the Russian revolution in 1921 leads logically to syndicalism; similarly, to place it in 1927 leads to Pabloism and in 1934 to proto-Stalinism. By 1921 the soviets had atrophied and were no longer a viable form of proletarian rule, but within the Communist Party itself there remained a contracted locus of workers democracy. The bureaucratic manipulation of the January 1924 party conference signalled a political counterrevolution by the emergence of the nascent bureaucracy; although the Stalinists had not yet developed the dogma of socialism in one country, "the men who ruled Russia, the way Russia was ruled and the purposes for which Russia was ruled" had changed.

For many participants at the summer camp, the most exciting session was the symposium on early Comintern history, which bore witness to considerable historical research, including the re-translation of documents on the organizational question from the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921. One presentation concentrated on the questions of cell and fraction structure while another centered on the dubious role of Paul Levi in the context of an evaluation of German Communism and the "March action." Publication of these and other historical materials is an important continuing responsibility of the SL, which as the nucleus of the vanguard party must function as collective memory of the working class. ■

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Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. \$5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. \$2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to
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Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

Chavez Denounces Texas Farm Workers' Strike

HOUSTON, August 21—Cesar Chavez & Co. of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is unique in denying the existence of an agricultural labor organizing drive in Texas. Politicians, "law enforcement" officials and the bourgeois press, not to mention agribusiness bosses and the striking farm workers themselves, are well aware of the significance of the battle raging in Texas fields since mid-May, when farm workers met the beginning of the melon harvest in the Rio Grande Valley with a strike.

Though the banner of the beleaguered farm workers continues to be the UFW's Aztec eagle flag, Chavez' original indifference has turned to open hostility. Two days after grower Chestley Miller of the El Texano ranch in Hidalgo County "opened season" on striking farm workers, shooting and injuring ten of them in frenzied anger, on the grounds that they were on ranch property, Chavez sent the following telegram to strike leader Antonio Orendain:

"We have just heard that the Waller Cronkite evening news carried a story covering actions attributed to the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO. It

is the most sickening show of farmworkers carrying out violent acts against other workers we have ever seen in our history. We reject this absolutely as contrary to our noble efforts of building a union through nonviolence. We cannot and will not support these kinds of actions...."

Chestley Miller was released on \$15,000 bond. He explained in a TV interview "...I shot 'em. The police told me I was in my rights. They were two miles from any road." On May 29 another ranch owner, Othol Brand, drove through a crowd of strikers to ram the pick-up truck they were using as a rally platform, then emerged from his car brandishing a pistol. The following day strike leader Armando Acosta was shot at from a pick-up truck as he returned to union headquarters after a morning of picketing at Brand's ranch.

Unfortunately, the growers' sense of solidarity exceeds the aid to the embattled strikers from the rest of the labor movement. Following the arrest of Miller, growers met to form an association for his defense and to mount an anti-union public relations campaign to combat the strikers. Each member is to be

financially assessed for the effort according to the acreage he owns. The organized growers are pressuring Governor Dolph Briscoe to send in the Texas Rangers to maintain "law and order."

Many politicians, however, are reluctant to comply with this demand. In 1966-67 an organizing drive uncomfortably reminiscent of the present one—right down to its geography, its tactics and its leaders was brutally smashed by the Texas Rangers. Several years later a federal court panel confirmed the strikers' allegations: the Rangers had openly and illegally sided with the growers in that struggle. Though the ruling was too late to aid the farm workers the politicians would rather avoid any unnecessary embarrassment.

The present strike should have been prepared for by drawing the lessons of the 1966-67 fiasco: the need for militant self-defense of the picket lines and mobilization of the entire Texas labor movement to defend the strike, by "hot cargoing" scab produce and, if necessary, a statewide general strike. However, Antonio Orendain seems determined to replay those tragic events once again. Orendain praised the Starr County sheriff's office for its new policy of "neutrality." He went on to indicate his own cooperativeness: "If I put too much pressure on, I can lose this neutrality. Really, this time they've been exactly on the line" (*Corpus Christi Caller*, 25 May).

Moderation on the part of the farm workers, however, has accomplished little. The strike moved north along with the melon harvest, into western Texas and the Panhandle. The first day of picketing in the Pecos area July 23 was greeted with the arrest of 27 farm workers, including eight juveniles. Almost every day sees new arrests as all roads have suddenly become "private." Orendain recently called for the focusing of national attention on Reeves and Pecos counties so that "the law might be observed." He issued a public statement claiming, "The sheriffs are using their powers as law officers to stop legitimate labor organizing activities and to interfere with the farmworkers First Amendment rights."

Though some cantaloupes may have rotted in the field, the strikers did not move north from Starr and Hidalgo counties on the wings of victory. Though growers were forced to raise wages to \$2.50 per hour from the federal minimum of \$1.80 (and less) which they had been paying, they succeeded in preventing representation elections at three key ranches in Hidalgo County. When growers sought an injunction against picketing by the farm workers on the grounds that the union doesn't represent the majority of their workers they laid the legal basis for elections to determine the truth or falsity of this assertion. Upon realizing the implications the growers filed an amendment to their suit three days after the deadline for such amendments. Orendain criticizes the judges because "they bent over backwards and accepted it."

More to the point is the fact that regardless of legality the courts, like the cops, are ultimately going to serve the companies. Illusions on this question lead directly to betrayal. Though Orendain is presently on the outs with the UFW tops—posing as a militant "maverick"—his differences with Chavez are minimal, primarily tactical. His rhetoric is less pious and he believes that organizing Texas farm workers should have higher priority than the UFW leadership wants to grant.

In line with the UFW's policy of

dissociating itself from the strikers, Texas regional UFW director Bill Chandler sent an open letter to UFW supporters pointing out that Orendain is not on the staff of the UFW. It goes on:

"The Texas strikers are not members of the UFW. They are not affiliated with the UFW. They do not maintain the UFW commitment to nonviolence which is so much a part of the UFW beliefs.... We believe that farmworker interests nation-wide will be best served if such action as Orendain has shown is kept to a minimum while the entire Union works toward the central goal."

The "central goal" which the UFW bureaucrats use to excuse their inexcusable betrayal of the Texas farm workers is, of course, implementation of the new California farm labor bill which provides for representation elections. The fact is, however, that Orendain also sees such legislation (allowing government intervention into union affairs) as the way to secure contracts for Texas farm workers. At an August 3 rally he declared that "California is only the beginning." Legislation is "essential and necessary," he said, and "the only way for Texas farm workers to win their rights."

The *Militant* of the Socialist Workers Party, along with the rest of the fake-lefts, uncritically touts Orendain as a class-

"If we had to sit on our butts and wait for Cesar Chavez to come around, we might have to wait ten, fifteen, maybe twenty years!"

— Jesús Luna, Texas farm worker leader, 6 July 1975

struggle militant union leader. This is a disservice to the Texas farm workers, who without a penny of aid in strike benefits, have demonstrated their willingness to stake their precarious livelihoods against the possibility of a union victory. They have not succumbed to the impulse to attack the "illegal" Mexican farm workers who work in Texas, but have instead been very successful in appealing in solidarity to both "green-carders" and "illegals" to gain their support for the strike.

The fact is that the courageous farm workers are being as cynically used by Orendain as they are ignored by Chavez. The same legalism, pacifism and moralism are as fundamental to the farm worker misleadership in Texas as elsewhere. The arch-reactionary Catholic church is proclaimed an ally of the workers. And while Orendain attempts to scandalize the growers by showing how unreasonable they are in refusing to negotiate with clergymen who offer themselves as mediators, the Reverend Eugenio Canas typifies the Church's contribution to the struggle by exhorting strikers to "love thy enemy as well as your neighbor" (*McAllen Monitor*, 2 June).

Orendain refuses to fight the Chavez leadership of the UFW and never even mentions any conflict with it. He considers his estrangement from the UFW bureaucracy to be temporary and that, in effect, his efforts in Texas will be harvested by the official union at a later date. Orendain's intentions are not to organize a militant farm workers' strike hacked up by the active solidarity of the labor movement, to force union rights for oppressed agricultural workers. He has attempted merely to raise the issue of unionization and to disrupt the melon harvest so that pressure could be generated leading to legislation for government-run elections. But neither in Texas nor in California nor anywhere else in the capitalist world does the government represent the interests of the workers. Any policy relying on the bosses' government is inevitably doomed to failure. It is high time for a class-struggle alternative and a farm workers' victory. ■

Contributions to the Texas farm workers can be made payable to: Texas Strike Fund, Route 1, Box 149-B, Alamo, Texas 78516.

NMU Militants Blast Protectionist Grain Boycott

The following resolution by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, opposing the boycott by maritime unions of grain shipments to the Soviet Union, is reprinted from a supplement to the Caucus' publication, the Beacon, dated 27 August. At the August New York port meeting, NMU officials refused to allow this (or any other motions from the ranks) onto the floor for discussion.

Whereas, AFL-CIO Maritime unions and George Meany (AFL-CIO President) have declared a boycott of grain shipments to the Soviet Union, supposedly to "protect American consumers and American shipping interests"; and

Whereas, these grain sales and shipments will increase prices only because of the corruption and market manipulation of the grain monopolies; and

Whereas, this grain boycott is based on protectionist policies which if generalized throughout the world would raise prices, reduce trade and cut down maritime jobs in particular; and

Whereas, the boycott falsely ties maritime workers to the interests of the profiteering conglomerates which control the shipping industry, instead of putting forward a program of militant labor struggle against the business interests for the things we need (and even if 33 percent of the shipments are secured for U.S. bottoms the shippers are not sure this would mean the use of any more ships, nor is there any guarantee they would be unionized and with full manning scales); and

Whereas, Meany's call for a boycott based on anti-communist super-patriotism and patching up the economic chaos created by big business ties labor to the conglomerates while at the same time opening unions to anti-labor attacks such as that from Secretary of Agriculture Butz who said "unions...should stop...featherbedding practices that jack up...prices"; and

Whereas, the grain boycott is a ruse and discredit to labor since it is clear that it is mainly an anti-Soviet Union ploy considering the many other practices of the business interests which the union officials have never taken action against, such as milk price fixing, gasoline price hikes because of a phony "oil crisis," rent increases, transit fare boosts, a general skyrocketing of food prices, etc.; and

Whereas, the business interests attack the Soviet Union because of the gains it represents for labor with a planned and centralized economy, although the ruling bureaucracy there represses the workers of the Soviet Union;

Be it therefore resolved, that the membership at this NMU meeting condemn the boycott of grain shipments to the Soviet Union because it is an economic ruse, a capitulation to protectionism, and a big business attack against the economic gains of the Soviet workers; and

Be it also resolved, that a real program to strengthen the labor movement and create jobs for maritime and all workers, and to stop inflation, must include:

- 1) an independent trade union price control committee with powers to mobilize solid union actions;
- 2) union action for full employment through shorter working hours with no cut in pay, and full cost-of-living protection, instead of protectionist grovelling; and
- 3) international labor solidarity—for a strong labor struggle against the international conglomerates, defending the Soviet Union from the attacks of business interests around the world, while at the same time supporting the struggle of Soviet workers to rid themselves of the privileged bureaucrats running the government, just as we must oust the pro-company officials who are running our union onto the rocks.

Vote UFW—Teamsters Out of the Fields!

Farm Workers Convention: Fighting for Survival

FRESNO—On August 28 the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act will go into effect. In short order a five-member board appointed by Governor Brown will be deluged with petitions from farm workers on ranches throughout the state requesting government-supervised union representation elections. Although Cesar Chavez expresses public optimism, the United Farm Workers union has already run up against roadblocks in the new legislation which could easily spell defeat in its battle against the agribusiness moguls and their Teamster allies. Saddled with a legalistic, pacifist and, above all, class-collaborationist leadership, the UFW is struggling for its life.

The Second Constitutional Convention of the United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO), held here on August 15-17, clearly revealed the dangers which threaten to shipwreck the embattled union. Nervous rank-and-filers complain of stepped-up grower intimidation, labor federation officials hint at a withdrawal of support and lawyers report a legal conspiracy to prevent UFW organizers from reaching workers in the fields. Just a few days before the convention a large UFW rally in Merced was broken up by club-wielding cops, to which Chavez responded by suing the local police department! At the convention he bureaucratically rammed through resolutions and presented no strategy but "application of the law."

The entire policy of Chavez & Co. is founded on maintaining the goodwill of a few capitalist politicians, Catholic bishops and their cohorts in the UAW and AFL-CIO bureaucracies. Thus Chavez liquidated strike activity in the summer of 1973, capitulating before the violence of the Teamster/grower/government alliance. When two farm workers were killed and hundreds arrested that summer, he scattered dedicated UFW organizers across the country to engage in impotent consumer boycott activity.

The results were disastrous. While the official convention tally boasted 534 delegates representing 71,359 workers, it is generally known that only about 7,000 of these workers are currently covered by Farm Workers union contracts. The rest are "covered" by Teamster sweetheart agreements, maintained by a combination of maneuvers ranging from the blatant gun-wielding intimidation to negotiating token wage gains in order to outflank the severely weakened UFW. Chavez sought to escape from this impasse by supporting passage of Governor Brown's compromise labor relations bill last May, and is clearly banking everything on a favorable outcome in government-run representation votes. Based on the growers' desire for some semblance of labor peace in the fields, Brown's bill amounts to government arbitration and should have been opposed by class-conscious workers.

Already the board has set up serious obstacles to UFW efforts to sign up farm workers for elections next month. The law requires that 50 percent of the peak harvest workforce at a particular ranch must sign cards calling for an election. On the last day of the convention union counsel Jerry Cohen explained some of the legal problems presented by the act:

Access to the fields: So far the board has refused to allow UFW organizers access to ranches to talk to the workers.

Especially at ranches under IBT contract this gives the Teamster strikebreakers an enormous advantage. According to the *Fresno Bee* (16 August), board chief Bishop Mahoney "said there is some question as to whether the board has the authority to grant access to private property." Thus once again Chavez' alliance with the church hierarchy means upholding the capitalists' holy property rights against the workers' interests.

Petitions: The board has not decided whether dues-deduction cards the Teamsters coerced farm workers to sign should constitute a petition.

Ballots: Likewise the government arbitrators have not determined if the UFW's Aztec eagle symbol can appear on the ballot. Since many farm workers can't read, use of the union symbols is vital to enable them to express their opinion. But again, Bishop Mahoney is "concerned that workers may be more familiar with one union symbol than another" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 August).

Despite the ominous signs, the Chavez leadership wasted the convention's time with a deluge of lengthy skits, musical acts, demonstrations for prominent speakers, a Sunday wedding ceremony for two organizers, and so forth. The first batch of resolutions were rushed through early on Friday. Then resolutions 15 through 41, including a resolution on the controversial "illegals" question, were hurriedly adopted en bloc during the last hour of the convention on Sunday. Delegates had had no opportunity to discuss the resolutions and most people in attendance (including fraternal union guests) were completely in the dark as to the content of the resolutions. Many delegates were unaware that they had even been passed.

Following the convention Chavez announced the content of the resolution on "illegal aliens" to the press. Attempting to cover up his disgusting campaign to deport undocumented workers, the resolution calls on the U.S. Congress to grant "amnesty" to illegals if the growers continue to bring them in to scab. Instead of appealing to the rest of the labor movement to fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers Chavez appeals to the very government which staged the deportation campaigns! In the same vein, another resolution reaffirms the union's dedication to non-violence, going so far as to assert that it would be better to have no union than to see the death of a farm worker or grower!

Chavez had other means than entertainment to avoid open floor fights. The entire convention was heavily patrolled by large squads of sergeants-at-arms who endlessly eyed the audience. Their job, of course, was not to expel agents of the capitalist class—indeed, several of the featured speakers were capitalist politicians, such as Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally. At the 1973 convention these squads were used to expel reporters from the left press, including *Workers Vanguard*, and the UFW called in Fresno police to clear away left-wing literature tables outside the hall. It was obvious to anyone who remembered the 1973 events what would happen this time if a left opposition developed on the floor. When it comes to maintaining his own power base Chavez does not believe in non-violence.

Among various speeches by union dignitaries at the convention, the threaten-

ing remarks by California Labor Federation secretary-treasurer John Henning were noted both by the delegates and the capitalist press. Few missed the point of his lecture: "You can't lose the elections and survive as a union," he emphasized. Furthermore, "you have to do the job... nobody can do it for you..." If you fail, he said, the UFW will be a "museum piece."

While the convention served as a platform for the bourgeois politicking of such notables as former SDS leader Tom Hayden, now campaigning to win the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. senator, it was only in the short question-and-answer sessions that the enormous anxiety of the farm worker ranks managed to find expression. Friday evening many delegates stated their fears

authorities for deportation.

On Sunday a question arose as to how to deal with the vicious attacks by sheriff's deputies. Chavez replied that when those deputies are recruited from among "your sons and daughters," then "things will change." When asked what to do if a grower refuses to negotiate after the UFW wins an election, Chavez glibly answered that "we could apply the law to them"! Clearly the UFW ranks are feeling intense pressure from employers and their government for which Chavez has no answer.

Class-conscious workers must support the UFW against the strike-breaking Teamsters in the upcoming elections, but the traitorous Chavez leadership has ensured that this will be far from enough



UFW leader Cesar Chavez talking to farmworkers in California this month.

UPI

about attending the convention, some saying they were already fired or expected to be fired when they returned to the ranches. Questions about how to stop such firings were evaded with suggestions to get legal service from local UFW offices, or with empty threats to widen boycott activity.

A question about how to deal with "illegals" was met with hesitation by Chavez. As the audience began to chant "organize, organize," Chavez shrugged his shoulders and mumbled "organize them." Evidently the UFW ranks, unlike their treacherous leadership, prefer class solidarity to fratricidal back-stabbing and take issue with Chavez' policy of fingering "illegals" to the immigration

to stop the Teamster/grower alliance. Only a class-struggle leadership based on a fundamental break from class collaboration can show the way forward. Stop the produce at the source—strike the fields! Issue a call to "hot-cargo" seab produce, as longshoremen did in 1965! Appeal to the Teamster warehouse workers, cannery workers and transport workers for solidarity against the Fitzsimmons gang! For militant defense of the picket lines and a state-wide general strike to defend the UFW! Teamsters out of the fields—no reliance on the state agricultural board! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Break from the capitalist parties—build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Bangladesh...

(continued from page 4)

belonged to the previous government (*Le Monde*, 18 August). Thus the business-like corruption fighters of the "Islamic Republic" turn out to be the same clique (minus Rahman and a few others) who ran the "People's Republic" into the ground!

Whether or not the change of image will enable these parasites to entice Arabian and Iranian royal governments to fork over some oil gold, it is clear that old masters and a new name will not solve the myriad problems of Bangladesh: for this task only the program of proletarian revolution is adequate. The fate of the working masses of East Bengal is closely bound up with that of West Bengal and the entire Indian subcontinent. Socialist opponents of Indira Gandhi, particularly those misled into supporting the popular front of social uplifter J.P. Narayan, should pay close attention to the course of

the "new" regime in Dacca. Should their unholy alliance of left and right succeed in taking power in India, it would have no more capacity to abolish corruption, poverty and national oppression than the bourgeois "reformers" who now rule Bangladesh.

Three and a half tragic years of Bangladesh "independence" should serve as a powerful proof (among too many others) of the inability of any section of the bourgeoisie, or even the radical petty bourgeoisie, to solve any of the fundamental social, economic and political tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the colonial and ex-colonial countries. Only permanent revolution, through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (supported by the peasantry) by united working-class action throughout the whole subcontinent, linked to revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, can free the exploited masses of Bengal and bring about national emancipation, prosperity and socialism. ■



Detroit, July 29: cops move against black youths protesting killing of Obie Wynn.

Detroit News

Black Youths Riot Against Detroit Cops

DETROIT—This city is a giant tinderbox of racial and class tensions. The economic depression and drastic cutback in auto production have produced an "inner city" unemployment rate of 23 percent, the highest in the country. Meanwhile city services have been slashed to a minimum as Mayor Coleman Young has laid off almost a quarter of the city workforce. And while murder and the general crime rates soar, and the lumpenized population grows due to prolonged ghetto unemployment, there is a massive exodus of Detroit's white population to the segregated suburbs.

In this context it is not surprising that the slaying of an 18-year-old black youth by a white businessman in northwest Detroit in late July sparked two nights of angry street violence. The entire city expected a repeat of the 1967 riots, in which the National Guard and then federal troops occupied the ghetto areas and at least 40 were killed. The liberals credited "progressive" black Mayor Young and the "restraint" of the cops for the fact that the rioting was quickly contained this time. But it took a massive mobilization of police and firepower to do it, and the lid could easily blow off tomorrow over school busing, police brutality, jobs or any number of issues.

The case of the killing of Obie Wynn is a classic example of the race and class bias of capitalist "justice." Andrew Chinarian, the killer, is the owner of a bar frequented by white policemen but located in the predominantly black Livernois-Fenkell community. He claims that Wynn turned on him with a "glinting object" when he confronted a group of youths who were allegedly tampering with his car in the parking lot behind the bar. However, the autopsy showed that the victim was shot in the back of the head.

A crowd soon gathered outside the bar and became enraged when it was learned that Chinarian was simply released after questioning, with no charges filed against him. In contrast, three precincts were mobilized to disperse the crowd with tear gas and clubs. Police re-arrested Chinarian hours later only to release him once again on a paltry \$500 bond. As word of Chinarian's release reached the Livernois-Fenkell area young blacks exploded in outrage, taking to the streets. In their frustration they pelted cops with stones and bottles, overturned cop cars and set fire to numerous store fronts.

Chinarian was later charged with second-degree murder and a \$25,000 bail

posted, but a comment by Lieutenant Ray Smith, the officer responsible for releasing Chinarian, dramatically highlighted the injustice: "I released the man," said Smith, "because he's a bar owner, a business man, and a citizen of the area." In contrast, swift and brutal treatment was meted out to the blacks who responded to the senseless killing of Wynn. Over one hundred were arrested and given charges ranging from malicious destruction of property and larceny to murder.

Despite the bourgeois press' praise of the police for their "conscientious self-restraint", there were numerous complaints of police provocation and brutality. Mayor Young himself was forced to admit, "I know there are police provocations. A white cop shot a gas grenade at me last night. We'll have all the black cops that we can get out there tonight. There's just not enough to go around" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 July). But changing the color of the face on the other end of the revolver does not change the oppressive character of the occupation force. It was necessary to demand that the cops be disarmed and removed from the area immediately and to call for the organization by labor, black and neighborhood groups of self-defense against cop terror.

Far from defending the black masses, Young seized upon this incident to demonstrate that a black city machine can be an effective weapon for policing

Detroit's majority black population. The mayor walked the streets for two nights in the riot-torn area attempting to persuade blacks to "cool it," something former police commissioner John "Blackjack" Nichols (Young's opponent in the 1974 elections) could have done only at great peril to his life. But Young has proven unable to deal with the fundamental problems which give rise to the tensions and frustrations which periodically erupt in massive ghetto rebellions. His primary concern has been to contain Detroit's working masses through his "bring the cops to the people" campaign—the creation of a "sensitized" police force in touch with the people through hundreds of "mini-stations" around the city.

Not only does Young pass off the crisis of the bourgeoisie onto the backs of working people through layoffs, wage cuts and cutbacks in services, but this supposed champion of black people is not even willing to fight for their democratic rights! In blatant capitulation to white pressure, Young has been in the forefront of the fight to abort a busing plan for Detroit's public schools. Two separate plans—one offered by the Board of Education and the other by the NAACP—both of which would have involved extensive busing, were stopped in the courts. A third, ordered by Judge Robert DeMascio on August 16, will in fact decrease integration of Detroit's

continued on page 11

Boston ...

(continued from page 12)

they were tailing. Their opposition to the Spartacist League's campaign for black and labor defense of the buses was symptomatic of their systematic unwillingness to politically challenge the labor bureaucrats or the black reformists. While militant trade unionists fought in the Boston Teachers Union, United Auto Workers, Communication Workers, National Maritime Union, and elsewhere for support to busing and for the mobilization of integrated workers defense guards to smash the racists, the SWP and YAWF joined the chorus of black liberals and nationalists in writing off the labor movement.

In major demonstrations in December and May these groups subordinated themselves to the political interests and conceptions of aspiring black Democrats. On December 14 YAWF hitched its wagon to one William Owens, a militant-talking bourgeois politico fresh from electoral victory in the state senatorial race and eager to establish a national reputation. In a politically irrelevant dispute over the route of march, Owens engineered a criminally adventurist confrontation with the police which narrowly avoided disaster. YAWF, the best builders of the senator's march, were also the most eager kamikazes.

On May 17, the SWP and its creature NSCAR joined hands with Atkins on a red, white and blue-draped platform and pledged their defense of the constitution. The SWP was even more vociferous than the NAACP in its demand for the dispatch of federal troops to Boston. If busing foe Gerald Ford does decide to realize the SWP's program and send his imperialist armed forces into Boston, they will far more likely be used to suppress black youths in Roxbury (just as they were used in Detroit in 1967) than to defend the rights of black people.

As Boston moves, apparently inexorably, toward widespread racial violence, nothing stands between the city's besieged black population and the increasingly frenzied anti-busing backlash except the dubious and at best wholly unreliable "protection" of federal troops. If in the course of a racial clash troops or police did in fact episodically move against bands of white racists or stood between an embattled black minority and a more powerful military force of white terror, revolutionaries would certainly not at that moment demand, "Troops Out." But under no circumstances would socialists build dangerous illusions in the military arm of the capitalist state by calling for troops to Boston.

Faced with marauding white racist gangs, blacks in Boston can be expected to defend their communities. The SL supported the Columbia Point residents' defense of their lives and homes last year. But chimerical proposals for an aggressive strategy of "black self-defense" would be perilously provocative. Such slogans could well intersect the understandable impulse of oppressed blacks for retaliation—for example punitive expeditions into white neighborhoods—and could have tragic consequences, encouraging disparate blacks to play the racists' game when the cards are overwhelmingly stacked against them.

The only way out of this ominous impasse is the call, raised by the Spartacist League, for united labor-black defense. Only the social power of the trade unions and the presence of significant numbers of whites among the defenders provide a means for unlocking the intensifying racial polarization confronting Boston's black people. This perspective means a political struggle within the pro-busing forces, and above all within the unions against the class-collaborationist misleadership, to turn the tremendous organized strength of the labor movement toward active support of the basic rights of all the working people. ■

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Joanne Little Acquitted

Drop All Charges!

AUGUST 15—After little more than an hour of deliberation, a Raleigh, North Carolina, jury acquitted Joanne Little of second-degree murder charges in the death from stab wounds of jailer Clarence Alligood. The "not guilty" verdict was virtually a foregone conclusion by the end of the trial, as the prosecution presented no case whatever. Beyond the humiliating procedures usual in rape cases (insinuations of "loose morals," accusations of enticement, attempts to "break" the female victim by repeated brutal questioning about specific details of the traumatic experience), the state tried to convict Little simply for being a black woman prisoner who defended herself from sexual assault by a white jailer.

The bulk of the defense evidence was provided by Joanne Little herself, who described how Alligood held an ice-pick to her face while forcing her to perform acts of oral sex. She stated that she was able to grab the ice pick and stab her assailant, then fled in terror. The atmosphere of the trial was captured by a *New York Times* (13 August) report of the prosecutor's brutal "cross-examination":

"Repeatedly, the chief prosecutor, William Griffin Jr., asked Miss Little in a sharp sarcastic voice: 'You didn't holler, you didn't scream, you didn't fight him off?'"

"Finally, Miss Little, who answered the questions put to her quietly, but with an air of defiance, said: 'Mr. Griffin, if you had been a woman, you wouldn't have known what to do, either. I didn't know whether he was going to kill me or not.... I was scared so I just let him....'"

"...At one point, the prosecutor, in almost a shout, asked, 'Did you go down on your knees in front of the bunk?' where the jailer was sitting. When Miss Little remained silent, the prosecutor shouted the question again, then again and finally a fourth time before the witness an-

swered, quietly and flatly: 'He forced me down....'"

From the courageous testimony of several women prisoners (who could suffer reprisals at any time) it was established that the jailer had a long history of sexual harassment of female inmates at the Beaufort County Jail.

The prosecution investigation was conducted "in a lot of confusion," as the state's star witness, Willis Peachey, admitted on the stand. In addition, there were numerous indications of an attempted cover-up of the evidence. The cell and dead body were washed up, but the original examination did turn up tell-tale evidence of semen on the thigh of the dead jailer, who was found naked from the waist down. Also, Alligood's trousers (which reportedly had no rips or holes, indicating they were off during the struggle for the ice pick) were "lost" for a period, and no attempt was made to find fingerprints. The prosecution barely even attempted to present evidence, relying instead on racist prejudices and quotes from the Bible: "Joanne Little has broken the law of god...and the law of North Carolina," the state's attorney hellowed.

The case against Little was so weak that after the prosecution rested and before any defense presentation, even Judge Hobgood reduced the charges from first- to second-degree murder. After the trial the jury stated what most of the reporters covering the trial had already noted, that the state had proved nothing. One juror said: "I was always waiting for the state to bring something in, kind of like a homeshell, I was surprised when the state rested" (*New York Times*, 16 August). The prosecution obviously knew it hadn't a leg to stand on and wanted to get the trial over quickly in order to end the

unfavorable publicity for North Carolina.

Although there was never any doubt that the killing was a clear case of self-defense, the state originally went after Joanne Little with a vengeance. In prison hell-holes where women are regularly subjected to sexual abuse, where TV cameras scan every inch of the cells including the showers, her example of self-defense infuriated and frightened the authorities. (And with good reason. Only a few weeks before the Little trial opened inmates rioted at a North Carolina women's prison.) A spirit of vengeance permeated the trial. Judge Hobgood sentenced the chief defense attorney, Jerry Paul, to 14 days in jail for remarks made during jury selection and William Kunstler was held in contempt of court.

Joanne Little was lucky. Except for the massive nationwide and international publicity, she would have been quickly railroaded. The state's "sloppy" investigation underlines the capriciousness of capitalist class justice, for under normal circumstances no evidence at all would have been necessary to convict a poor black woman prisoner for resisting a jail guard. (And only because she had the good sense to flee after the incident was Little spared the fate of so many found heaten to death in their cells "trying to escape.")

Fortunately the Joanne Little case became a cause célèbre as numerous demonstrations and newspaper articles transformed it into a major political trial. Her defense fund was enormous (over \$300,000 by the beginning of judicial proceedings), thus covering the astronomical costs of running a first-rate legal defense. She was not only able to secure a full team of lawyers and legal assistants,



Joanne Little

AP

experts on jury selection and stenographic reports for possible appeal, but her legal advisors were able to obtain expert testimony from a famous criminologist.

The acquittal was an important victory, but we must not lose sight of the fact that other Joanne Littles are convicted with impunity. Today 81 prisoners are being held in the cells lining North Carolina's death row. This time the unusual occurred, largely because a broad defense campaign was waged, but the victims of capitalist injustice are many, and recent traditions of non-sectarian political defense are weak.

Although Joanne Little has been acquitted she is not free. Currently out on \$15,000 bond pending appeal of a seven-to-ten year sentence for breaking-and-entering, the charge on which she was originally jailed, her life would be in constant danger should she be sent back to prison. We must not permit this to happen. Despite a favorable verdict, it is still necessary to demand: Drop the charges! Free Joanne Little!■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

July. The Socialist Workers Party, for instance, tries to paint a picture of healthy leftist rejection of CP bureaucratism by revolutionary-minded workers, with a few minor incidents involving reactionaries on the sidelines. The fact that by mid-August more than 50 offices of the Communist Party and other left groups had been sacked and burned in northern Portugal is nowhere mentioned by these fake-Trotskyists.

A flavor of what is really going on comes through clearly in accounts of an August 10 rally in Braga which was addressed by Msgr. Francisco Maria da Silva. Da Silva, who is known as a supporter of the former right-wing corporatist Cactano regime, spoke elliptically, but his supporters shouted back, "Order yes, anarchy no," "Radio Renascença is ours," "Long live the Portugal of Fatima," "Long live the Portugal of Holy Mary," and chanted "Christ the King" (*Le Monde*, 12 August). As soon as the rally was over several hundred of the participants attacked the CP headquarters screaming "Death to the Communists."

Another of the myths being circulated is that the "sectarian" CP wants to dominate the government and rejects alliances with the Socialists. The SWP goes so far as to make comparisons with Stalin's ultra-left "Third Period," presumably implying that the Portuguese CP had miraculously become "bureaucratic centrist." But the reality is that the CP is terrified at its present isolation and has repeatedly offered to unite with just about anyone save openly fascist forces. The real crime of the Stalinists is their class-collaborationist reformism, their at-



Melo Antunes

Informations Ouvriers

tempts to tie the proletariat to the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The six week-old government crisis in Portugal has been caused by a hard right thrust by the SP and military officers close to it in order to remove the CP from any semblance of power and to decisively smash any and all elements which threaten "social harmony."

The treacherous role of General Carvalho and various Maoist groups in the whole scenario should be clearly understood. Carvalho poses as the great admirer of the Cuban Revolution, personal friend of Fidel Castro and the like, but is in fact the most dangerous element of all the MFA leaders. For the moment he is content to let SP-influenced majors replace his main enemy, Gonçalves, in order to get rid of the CP. But as soon as Antunes and Fábão are discredited, Carvalho could step in as the leader of a *rightist* coup and fulfill his dream of playing the role of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Maoists, by blindly tailing after him and lining up with the priests and fascists

against the CP (all in the name of fighting "Soviet social-imperialism"), are concretely preparing not only their own destruction but also the annihilation of flower of the Portuguese proletariat.

While not every popular front ends in a bloody Chile-style massacre, events in Portugal have gone too far to be peacefully resolved. With the institution of unit assemblies apparently now extended throughout the armed forces, the spread of workers commissions and reports of at least some leftist army units giving military training to these commissions, nothing short of a massive crack-down by the top officers can enforce capitalist "law and order."

If Portugal is to avoid becoming another Chile (or another Spain, or another Indonesia), no confidence can be placed in the MFA or any sector of the bourgeois officer corps to defend the working masses. It is necessary to organize democratically elected workers councils, recallable at any time, in order to mobilize the entire working class in

defense of its organizations. Also necessary is the arming of the proletariat and the formation of workers militias, as well as the splitting of the army by forming soldiers committees in opposition to the command structure of the bourgeois military.

A command center, too, is needed for such a proletarian resistance, and must be formed by unifying the workers councils, soldiers councils, self-defense groups into a national soviet, the basis for a workers government. And while continuously fighting for the establishment of soviet forms of workers power which alone can enable the proletariat to decisively crush the counterrevolutionary offensive, it is essential also that the Marxist vanguard take advantage of possibilities for a temporary military bloc with the Communist Party and those officers willing to fight a reactionary putsch.

The Portuguese working class has suffered through 18 months of repeated betrayals by the CP and SP leaders, the incredible confusion of Maoist and centrist organizations who tail after those who tomorrow would be their butchers, and now more than a month of reactionary mobilization. But there has yet to be a sharp defeat of the working class such as would demoralize its militants to the point of failing to resist a reactionary onslaught. The "moderate" officers are well aware of this, and there is no doubt that the main deterrent holding them back from striking at once is the spectre of civil war. Revolutionary leadership can only come from those who take advantage of every available moment to organize a Trotskyist party, in the struggle to re-create the Fourth International, which is the indispensable tool to organize the necessary proletarian resistance and lead it forward to a soviet republic.■

Rival Maritime Unions Gang Up on SUP

Scabbing, Raiding and Union-Busting in West Coast Sailors' Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, August 22—In a blatant union-busting move smeared with personal corruption, S.F. Mayor Joseph Alioto is backing efforts by Pacific Far East Lines (PFEL), a locally based shipping company headed by his son, John Alioto, to break the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP). Still worse, the mayor has been aided with an orgy of scabbing by the National Maritime Union (NMU), Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS) and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Their shameless raiding shows how completely worthless are the union bureaucrats' phony convention resolutions on waterfront unity and makes the struggle to defend the SUP an acid test of real maritime labor solidarity.

The ostensible legal rationale for the attempt to break the SUP is the plan by PFEL to sell its Australia run, including four LASH vessels and two container ships, to the New York-based Farrell Lines for the sum of \$47 million. In the process, PFEL is seeking to transfer jurisdiction over approximately 200 jobs involved to the NMU, even though the Pacific route jobs have been under SUP jurisdiction for many years. Thus the sale amounts to a runaway shop. Besides the jobs involved, SUP and MFOW (Marine Firemen's union) pension funds are also threatened as the PFEL contributes approximately 27 percent of the total monies in those funds (*Marine Fireman*, 18 July).

In a report to the membership, the MFOW president warned that the sale would "enable Alioto to undercut other shipping companies in West Coast trade by operating with NMU cheap labor cost vessels." It is well known that the SUP and MFOW have generally better wages and manning scales than their East Coast counterparts because of more militant trade-union traditions of the West Coast unions. However, West Coast sailors are also saddled with narrow business-unionist leaders who have allowed the union's strength to dwindle over the years, to the point where the SUP today reportedly has less than 3,000 members. It is vital to the SUP and MFOW that there be a militant fight now to protect the jobs, since in 1977 PFEL plans to terminate another ship, the *Mariposa*, and a year later the *Monterey*.

The SUP and MFOW are currently in contract negotiations with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), giving added significance to the PFEL's union-busting move. The last contracts expired on June 15, but in typical business-union fashion sailors have been working on a day-to-day basis without a contract, despite a golden opportunity to link up with ILWU longshoremen who were in contract negotiations during this period.

Strike Explodes

On July 10, to protest against the PFEL sale, the two unions adopted a "no sign-on" policy for the ships involved. The issue came to a head ten days later when in a disgusting scabbing operation MCS bureaucrats signed a fink crew onto the *Thomas E. Cuffe*, one of the ships being struck. It is also reported that among those shipping through the MCS hall were NMU deck hands. By four o'clock that afternoon, the SUP and MFOW had thrown up a 200-strong picket line at Pier 96, tying up the *Japan*

Bear and *Hawaii Bear*. A small counter-picket was set up by the MCS, but was prevented from hoarding these ships. In a display of class solidarity, rank-and-file Teamsters, machinists and longshoremen refused to cross the SUP/MFOW lines. The strike received sanction from the S.F. Labor Council, Teamsters Joint Council 7 and other labor groups.

On the East Coast the raiding was condemned by an opposition grouping in the NMU, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, whose special 28 July *Beacon* supplement denounced the scabbing by

is "absolutely indispensable to make the company viable" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 July). Alioto not only confirmed the telegram to Hall, who had supported Alioto's bid for governor in 1974, but defended it with incredible hypocrisy, saying that since he had helped so many unions in the past, "Why can I not help a member of my family in the present circumstances?"

The mayor is also counting heavily on his close relationship with ILWU president Harry Bridges to bust the SUP strike. On July 28 PFEL president John

supported by four Local 10 officers along with the chief and assistant chief dispatchers, who issued their own "Longshore Bulletin" the next day. Calling the SUP strike simply "a family fight as far as we're concerned between the offshore sailors' unions," they denounced Wing and asked, "Does Local 10-ILWU come first or does some other union have your loyalty?" It is now reported that the pro-raiding group of Local 10 is attempting to impeach Larry Wing. If they pull this off, he would automatically be replaced by a pro-Bridges International loyalist.

The only real, continuous opposition to Bridges has come from *Longshore Militant*, a newsletter published by two long-time ILWU militants, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor. At a meeting of the Local 10 executive board on July 24, Gow was the only board member to vote against raiding (Wing abstained). In an emergency leaflet dated August 4, Gow and Keylor called for a fight to "end race and sex discrimination in all maritime unions" and warned that "the rank and file must not allow our local to be prostituted to serve the interests of the shipowners." They demanded an end to jurisdictional raids and scabbing, and pointed to the need for a joint maritime union fight for 8 hours pay for 6 hours work in order to create additional jobs.

The fate of the SUP/MFOW action against PFEL is now under negotiation with the PMA and the PFEL. Although on July 22, an S.F. Area Arbitrator declared the unions' picket lines to be legitimate, behind-the-scenes maneuvering produced a court injunction against the picketing on August 1, alleging that the SUP was illegally attempting to impose conditions on the PFEL sale.

For seamen and longshoremen, faced with a scarcity of jobs and incessant infighting among the union bureaucrats, one thing is clear: only by ousting the present scab misleaders can genuine maritime labor unity be achieved and the tie broken with the capitalist shipowner politicians. Only by fighting for a full class-struggle program can the fratricidal traditions of pro-capitalist business unions be replaced by the struggle of all workers against the exploiters. ■



SUP strikers manning picket lines in July.

WV Photo

their union officials and stated that the SUP should continue to crew the ships in question regardless of what company owns them.

Meanwhile, Ed Turner, leader of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, refused to say whether he had ordered the scabbing. Earlier he indicated that the MCS would not support the SUP/MFOW against the company, and then signed a new contract with PFEL. Ironically, just weeks beforehand the MCS agents conference report stated that "cooperation among the three Pacific District unions is not only possible but desirable." But as Morris Weisberger, leader of the SUP, said, "with friends like these, who needs enemies?" (*West Coast Sailors*, 25 July).

On July 26 the strike spread to Los Angeles where SUP pickets tied up the *Australian Bear*. U.S. marshalls were moved in and, claiming there was military cargo aboard, they urged ILWU officials to unload the ship. When this failed, the marshalls claimed to have deputized non-union scabs and for three hours began to discharge cargo. As a consequence ILWU locals 13, 63 and 94 each notified employers that if this was not stopped, they would shut down the port of Los Angeles. Faced with this threat, the PFEL relented and work was halted once more.

The Alioto Connection

Meanwhile, "friend-of-labor" Joe Alioto is pulling all stops to support the union busting effort of his son's company. SUP leader Weisberger revealed that the mayor sent a telegram to Seafarers' International Union (SIU) president Paul Hall (the SUP and MFOW are West Coast affiliates of the SIU), urging him to intervene on the Alioto family's behalf since, according to the telegram, the sale

Alioto sent a letter to officials of ILWU Local 10 offering to meet the following day and openly calling on the longshoremen's union to take over 50 container maintenance jobs traditionally handled by the SUP. The ostensible basis for the offer was that the ILWU has a "better record" of supplying minority workers than the SUP, which is notoriously lily-white. Since the PFEL must abide by federal anti-discrimination laws, he contended, the ILWU was preferred (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 August).

This sudden concern for the welfare of blacks reeks with self-serving hypocrisy considering Mayor Alioto's blatantly racist "Operation Zebra" campaign last year, when he ordered S.F. police to indiscriminately round up all young black males. Moreover, Alioto's LASH barges employ the almost exclusively white Operating Engineers! For the SUP, though, this maneuver shows how their union's racist record on hiring has now opened them up to possible scabbing by unemployed minority workers.

The meeting between ILWU Local 10 leaders and PFEL management took place on July 29 and caused a split in the union leadership. It also highlighted graphically the class collaboration of the ILWU bureaucracy: the company representative was Charlie Velson, who is PFEL vice-president as well as being a member of ILWU Local 34 (clerks) and former assistant to Bridges during the 1971 longshore strike! Local 10 president Larry Wing, although he had just capitulated to Bridges in the contract fight, denounced the proposed deal and walked out of the meeting. In his July 31 "Longshore Bulletin" Wing correctly called the PFEL proposal "strikebreaking and raiding."

Unfortunately, however, PFEL is

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SP campaigned in tandem with the capitalist PPD and against the CP.

This false interpretation was then expressed in an opportunist political line when the OCI began raising the slogan for an "SP-CP Government Headed by Soares" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 18-25 June) or, more recently, for a "Soares Government" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 23 July-6 August). If ever there was an example of reformist parliamentary cretinism, this is it! To call for a Soares government while the SP is leading an anti-Communist mobilization is like calling for a Scheidemann and Noske government in Germany in early 1919! Those who make this call should ponder the fate of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German Communist Party who were assassinated by agents of that social-democratic government in the latter's desperate effort to strangle the revolution. With its present political line, the OCI (and presumably the SWP as well) would applaud the installation of Mario Soares in Belem Palace as the Portuguese Scheidemann!

Revolutionary Trotskyists are far from indifferent to the fact that the masses still have illusions in their CP and SP misleaders. On several occasions the Spartacist League has called for reformist workers parties to take power in their own name and carry out a revolutionary program. The reformists' refusal to break

with bourgeois allies, or their failure to defend the workers' interests once in power, can be a powerful educational tool in convincing the social-democratic and Stalinist ranks of the need to split from the labor lieutenants of capital in order to form a truly Leninist vanguard party.

But the demand for a CP-SP government is not a slogan for all seasons. In Portugal prior to the April 25 elections this year there was no ostensibly democratic national representative body which could serve as the framework for a CP-SP government. Only a coup d'état or an insurrection could have brought it about. Since Marxists do not call for a bonapartist regime (such as would result from a putsch) and an insurrection implies that the masses have already broken with the pro-capitalist reformists, it would have made no sense to call for a CP-SP government (although we did call on the reformists to break from their bourgeois allies, including the MFA). After the formation of the constituent assembly the SL briefly called for a CP-SP government, while continuing to call for the formation of democratically elected workers councils (*WV* No. 71, 20 June).

However, when the SP initiated a broad anti-Communist mobilization following its resignation from the coalition government on July 11, to call for Soares to power would mean asking for strangulation of the workers organizations, particularly the "far left" groups and nascent organs of workers power (such as the Lisnave workers commission). When the reformists literally place themselves on the other side of the barricades from the revolutionary workers, unleashing (or fronting for) a reactionary terror campaign against them, only those with suicidal instincts could call for placing these betrayers at the head of the government. Ostensible Trotskyists should recall that Lenin dropped the slogan of a Menshevik-Social Revolutionary government responsible to the soviets when Kerensky launched a ferocious witchhunt against the Bolsheviks following the July days of 1917.

Confusion and Rotten Blocs

The United Secretariat and its various sections have been all over the map on Portugal. Not only did the majorityite French LCR make apologies for Stalinist-organized censorship in the *República* affair while the minorityite American SWP opposed the suppression of SP views, but *La Gauche* (the newspaper of the USec's Belgian section, reflecting the views of majority leader Ernest Mandel) reportedly also condemned the closing of *República* (according to *Informations Ouvrières*, 18-25 June). Moreover, there is not even unity in the minority, for while the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) agreed that it is necessary to oppose a press takeover by the MFA in advanced capitalist countries, it supported a similar move by the military regime in Peru last year (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 July). This is indicative of broader differences in the USec minority, as the PST also disagrees with the SWP characterization of Allende's government in Chile as a popular front.

Even more dramatic proof that the USec is an unprincipled rotten bloc, as are both of its constituent factions, is a dispute within the minority over Portugal. After characterizing the MFA for some time as a bourgeois bonapartist formation (which is the view of the SWP), the Portuguese sympathizers of the minority, the Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores (PRT) recently published a "necessary rectification" sharply changing its views. It is wrong, says the PRT, "to 'standardize' everything as proletarian or bourgeois," and the MFA must be understood as a "new phenomenon, a momentary result...of the Portuguese Revolution."

The reason given for the changed evaluation is that the MFA, a "petty-bourgeois movement," has "introduced another organization, another power into the bourgeois Armed Forces, a dual

Maoist Thug Attack in Melbourne

A vicious and unprovoked gangster attack on members of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) was carried out in Melbourne on July 30 by the Maoist Radical Student Movement (RSM) and its supporters at LaTrobe University. Badly outnumbered, the three Spartacists received injuries from repeated kicking. One of our SL/ANZ comrades, Andrew Georgiou, was pushed into a plate glass window, resulting in a deep laceration wound requiring hospital treatment and 50 stitches.

The cowardly attack came at a protest demonstration against provincial premier Rupert Hamer of the bourgeois Liberal Party. One of the SL/ANZ placards read: "Down with Hamer! Down with Capitalist Parties!" This communist attack on the class enemy enraged the Maoists, who sought to restrict the demonstration to prison reform. In addition to defending the bourgeois politician from the political attack of the Trotskyists and physically assaulting our comrades, the Maoist scum also tried to finger SL/ANZ supporters to the university authorities and police.

The Maoist thug attack has received national press coverage in Australia and embarrassed the LaTrobe administrators and even other Stalinist and reformist groups (though they, too, are well-known for their gangster attacks on political opponents to their left). A motion was subsequently passed by the LaTrobe Clubs and Societies Council calling for the disaffiliation of the RSM. The Spartacist Club, however, voted against the motion and opposes disaffiliation of the Maoists.

It is necessary to vigorously denounce the RSM's use of violence and expose the political bankruptcy at its source, but exclusion by the university authorities is not the answer. (The precedent would soon be used against other left groups as well.) The *Campus Spartacist* of 31 July pointed out that it is the workers movement that must be organized to defeat such assaults and teach these Stalinists some lessons in proletarian democracy:

"The RSM must be exposed as the wretched national-chauvinist reformists that they are through open *political struggle* not by acts of bureaucratic political censorship and suppression by the Clubs and Societies Council. The Spartacist Club wants the Maoists on campus where we can politically destroy them."

power." The article goes on to refer to a "semi-soviet tendency" in the MFA, and to COPCON (General de Carvalho's elite strike force) as "the most radicalized expression of the rank-and-file democracy which is developing in the barracks" (*Combate Socialista*, 10 July). The same view, that there is a "semi-soviet," "petty-bourgeois" "progressive sector of the MFA" is also reported to be held by the Argentine PST.

The instabilities in the USec rotten bloc are sharply highlighted over Portugal. While the petty-bourgeois centrist USec majority continues its on-again, off-again gyrations, currently trying to tail after the CP, the Maoist-led workers commissions and "revolutionary officers" of the bourgeois MFA—all at the same time! minorityite elements in this fake-Trotskyist swamp may coalesce around the grotesque reformist impulse to front for the counterrevolutionary mobilization. It is far from certain that even this divergence will compel a split, as both USec wings have repeatedly demonstrated their cagerness to subordinate political line to petty factional maneuvers. Presently the main pressure for split appears to be coming from the SWP, which may want to use Portugal as the lightning rod to generate a new unholy alliance between the SWP and PST and the right-centrist OCI.

We cannot permit these antics to obscure the crucial point: the Portuguese working masses face the grave danger of a bloody repression, politically disarmed in advance. Despite the presence of two (what else?) sympathizing groups in Portugal, the USec, in all its myriad revisionist shadings, has proven itself incapable of providing the revolutionary leadership whose lack stands between the Portuguese workers and the prospect of victorious proletarian revolution. It falls to the international Spartacist tendency to take up the banner of Trotskyism which the USec revisionists besmirch.

Toward the Reforging of the Fourth International!■

Detroit...

(continued from page 8)

heavily segregated school system.

While busing cannot solve the problem of achieving quality education for all or prevent the channeling of blacks onto the lowest rungs of the economic ladder, integration and equal access to existing educational facilities are basic democratic rights which must be defended, if necessary through massive mobilization of labor, black and community organizations. But Young simply wants to keep the lid on at any price, refusing to take even token steps to alleviate the desperate plight of Detroit's black population for fear of disturbing the status quo.

Bourgeois politicians like Young who pose as "defenders" of the black masses while catering to racist reaction offer no solution for Detroit's black population. While the ruling class and its government find race riots inconvenient and costly, they certainly prefer fratricidal racial conflict to a united working-class offensive against racial oppression and capitalist exploitation. Only the forging of a revolutionary workers party, fighting in the interests of the working class and all the oppressed, can unite workers—black and white—to fight their common enemy, the bourgeoisie.■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Boston on the Brink of Race War

BOSTON, August 21 The escalating wave of violence in Boston points ominously in the direction of outright race war when Phase Two of the court-ordered busing program goes into effect this September. The last month's events demonstrate a marked deepening of white racist frenzy in the streets and the possibility of widespread black counterviolence.

For three successive weekends the stench of a pogrom hung over Carson Beach in South Boston as hundreds of youths gathered with bats and hockey sticks to keep their turf lily-white. On July 27 six black traveling salesmen were chased from the beach, and one was hospitalized. A week later a leaflet distributed door to door by the South Boston Defense League successfully mobilized a large force. When a rumored demonstration by black people did not materialize, the mob let off steam by attacking passing cars with black and Puerto Rican passengers.

On the following Sunday, August 10, they got their confrontation. Black leaders organized a "picnic" at the beach, reminiscent of Southern civil rights demonstrations of a decade ago. The seven hundred black "picnickers" were cordoned off from twice that number of local whites by a massive police force. Rocks and bottles flew back and forth over the police lines for more than an hour until the cops used motorcycles and horses to clear the beach. Ten people were arrested and 40 injured, including a black woman run down by a police motorcycle.

The days following this dangerous foray onto Carson Beach were marked by violence in both white and black areas. In a distorted response to the racist violence they have faced for the past year, black youths from the city's decaying housing projects lashed out indiscriminately, stoning cars driven by whites and severely beating their occupants. The police responded with routine brutality. Several projects were besieged and the residents terrified by the use of attack dogs. A black-owned bar was stormed, and the patrons were clubbed and sprayed with mace.

In the tense weeks preceding school opening a grim scenario is unfolding. Phase Two opens new areas of the city to the busing program although one all-white neighborhood, East Boston, will remain segregated. The extension of busing into these areas, especially Charlestown (a social and ethnic mirror image of South Boston), will almost surely be met with violence by the racists, who have demonstrated the ability to mount large armed mobs on a few hours' notice. Black children may pay in blood for the crimes of reformist misleaders who preach reliance on cops and courts to secure and defend the democratic rights of black people. For their part, the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association has made its sympathies amply clear by its financial contributions to ROAR, the umbrella anti-busing organization. In the many attacks on black people, the police have either been conspicuously absent (as on the first day of school last September when a mob of white youth had a free hand in trashing school buses taking black children home from South Boston) or else criminally slow to act (as in October when a black Haitian worker was dragged from his car and nearly beaten to death, or in December when a lynch mob kept black students trapped in South Boston High School for several



Boston cops form barricade between black and white demonstrators at Carson Beach.

Boston Globe/Tom Landers

hours). Seething with race hatred, "Boston's finest" certainly cannot be relied upon to defend black children on the beaches.

On the other hand, the evidence of Carson Beach and its aftermath is that the liberal pacifist strategy of the NAACP and its small-time carbon copy, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), will not be able to contain the rage of black youths who have watched their brothers and sisters harassed and attacked in South Boston this past year. Without a political leadership to provide an alternative to the hard race lines drawn by the capitalist system, the road is open to bloody, large-scale confrontations between blacks and whites. This will give the police the opportunity to point their guns in the direction to which they are accustomed.

Concretely, some 2,000 state and local police are scheduled to be involved in the first day of Phase Two. Units of the Massachusetts National Guard are being briefed in case they are deployed in Boston. Their new commander is state public safety secretary Charles Barry, who as a deputy superintendent of the Boston police directed last September's brutal occupation of the Columbia Point housing project after the black tenants organized to defend themselves from racist vigilantes. The isolation of the city's black minority and the deepening racial polarization could lead to a massacre of black people, by white racist mobs, by the police/National Guard or by both. It is toward the creation of integrated defense forces based on the trade unions and tied to black and community organizations that labor and black militants must work in order to cut through this polarization and provide an adequate defense for the school buses.

Major responsibility for this ominous situation belongs to the vacillating policies of liberal bourgeois politicians. They have performed a *danse macabre* with the racist forces, alternating steps toward desegregation with capitulation at every level. While upholding school desegregation programs in Boston, Louisville, Denver and other cities, the Supreme Court overruled cross-district busing in July 1974. This allows the court to pose as champion of integration and black people's rights while leaving the status quo fundamentally unchanged. Suburban schools with better teachers and facilities are off limits to poor and working-class children from the cities.



Don Preston/George Rizer

Police cordoning off Bromley-Heath housing project in Roxbury during racial clashes last month.

Meanwhile, the reshuffling of black and white students from one decaying city school to another exacerbates the opposition from whites and broadens the base of support for racist politicians like George Wallace or Boston's Louise Day Hicks.

However, the credibility of such demagogues relies on their ability to provide legal channels for anti-busing forces. The federal courts have so far denied all the appeals launched by the Boston School Committee. While politicians at every level from Gerald Ford down have disavowed "forced busing," thus encouraging the racist mobilization against it, the peaceful and legal forms of obstruction have been eliminated step by step. Legislative attempts to repeal the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act were blocked by federal court orders, and the racists' panacea of a constitutional amendment outlawing busing, although it picked up broad Congressional support is clearly a far-off prospect.

Locally, as the September school assignments were mailed out, police forces beefed up for opening day and other measures taken to prepare for Phase Two, local politicians read the writing on the wall. While making clear their personal opposition to the plan, Boston's mayoral candidates, Joseph Timilty and incumbent Kevin White, have conspired to entirely eliminate the issue for the election. This marks the first time for years that the anti-busing forces have not had a vociferous spokesman in the campaign. With the resignation of one member, even the arch-racist School Committee may develop a majority of

"moderate" anti-busers who counsel cooperation with the court order. The door is wide open for the growth of incipiently fascist elements which thrive on the violent extraparliamentary mobilization of racist vigilantes.

While the deepening polarization objectively cries out for an independent working-class policy to avert race war, the approach of so-called socialist organizations over the past year has merely vacillated between the two poles within the bourgeois camp. The most grotesque response was that of the Maoist Revolutionary Union which embraced objectively racist policies with their slogan of "People Unite to Smash the Busing Plan." These one-time uncritical enthusiasts of Panther-style black nationalism are now consciously tailing the most backward sentiments of white workers. Only a few days before the violence began at Carson Beach, these vile opportunists led an anti-busing demonstration against Phase Two at the State Board of Education.

Other groups, notably Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), temporarily shelved their enthusiasm for black separatism as they watched the struggle over busing deepen into a national attack on the few tenuous gains won by black people over the last two decades. While opportunistically defending busing, which is counterposed to their usual panacea of "community control," these fake leftists defined their policies within the limits set by various black liberals that

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