

CIA Funnels Millions to Socialist Party

Showdown in Portugal

SEPTEMBER 30—Events in Lisbon during the last ten days have escalated to the long-expected showdown between discipline-minded "moderate" generals of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) seeking to reassert bourgeois law-and-order, and militant workers and soldiers determined to defend their conquests against government attack. Caught in the crossfire is the left wing of the officer corps, torn between the realization that their heads, too, are on the chopping block in the rightist purge, and their commitment to preserve at all costs the capitalist army.

The brewing confrontation burst into the open yesterday as the acting president and premier, Vice Admiral Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo, declared a "de facto state of emergency" and sent troops to occupy radio and television stations controlled by leftists. Azevedo issued a statement accusing news media of launching a "provocative campaign of seditious attitudes" and placed nearly all military units on alert, with guards at barracks doors to keep civilians out and rebellious soldiers in. In response to the occupation, the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) issued a call to workers to "mobilize against the counterrevolution, occupy plants and business and stop all work" (quoted in *New York Times*, 30 September), while the Communist Party (CP) reportedly mobilized in the factories and neighborhoods. All sides were poised in tense expectation.

Workers and Soldiers Fight Back

The stage for a bloody clash was set with the September 19 swearing-in of the sixth provisional government since last year's April 25 "revolution of the carnations." The flowers have been long since removed from the rifle barrels. The new regime dominated by the right wing of the MFA, the Socialists (SP) and Popular Democrats (PPD) is committed above all to restoring order in the rapidly disintegrating armed forces. In his inaugural speech Premier Azevedo pledged to establish "authority, stability, peace, security, order and freedom." His governmental program called for "severely repressive legislation against armed groups of civilians."

The workers' response was immediate. "In the southeastern Alentejo wheat belt, Communist-led workers kicked out landowners and occupied 25 farms over the weekend and said they would turn the land into Soviet-style cooperatives," UPI reported (22 September). "The Socialist-dominated government sworn in last Friday has vowed to halt such actions but the region's Communist rural union has threatened a general strike..." Tensions continued to mount as disabled veterans demonstrated non-stop in front of the presidential palace, broke into the national radio transmitting station to demand broadcast of their demands, and took over the bridge linking the capital with the industrial belt south of the Tagus River.

What really jolted the MFA commanders was a massive march led by the clandestine SUV (Soldiers United Will Win) soldiers committee Thursday night. According to the rightist weekly *Expresso* (27 September) the demonstration drew "around 100,000 persons, bringing together dozens of workers and neighborhood commissions, and



Lisbon demonstrators sack Spanish Embassy and burn contents in protest over execution of Spanish militants by butcher Franco.

Avenge Martyred Spanish Militants!

The September 27 executions in Spain of two Basque nationalists and three Maoists triggered a wave of international protest against the bloody Franco regime. Demonstrations were held in several European capitals; ambassadors were hastily recalled; Pope Paul and U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim appealed for clemency. As a concession to the worldwide outcry, the five prisoners were executed by firing squads rather than the barbaric garrote. Six others were granted a last-minute reprieve.

Outrage against the latest atrocities by the Franco butchers swept major European cities in the wake of the executions. The Spanish embassy in Lisbon was gutted by an angry crowd, as was the consulate in Porto. Demonstrators turned the posh Champs-Élysées into a battlefield as a massive Paris demonstration set up barricades to ward off the police. Large demonstrations and some attacks upon Spanish embassies were also reported in Switzerland, Turkey, the Netherlands and Sweden.

The Spanish masses are once again showing their hatred for the 36-year-old Franco dictatorship. The day after the executions a militant demonstration of thousands in the Basque city of San Sebastian was met by police machine-gun fire. As we go to press, thousands of Basque workers are responding to the call for a two-day general strike against the regime.

In its death agony the tottering Franco dictatorship lashes out frantically to suppress mounting social protest. But for every left militant cut down, more rise up to join the struggle. It is by a powerful proletarian revolution that the murders of hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers and peasants must be avenged! Only under the rule of a victorious working class can it be assured that the sadistic torturers and blood-stained butchers will be brought to justice.

DOWN WITH FRANCO—DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!

BUILD A SPANISH TROTSKYIST VANGUARD PARTY!

FORWARD TO A SOVIET FEDERATION OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA!

continued on page 8

CSL Is Dead

Platsky/Varga: Anti-Spartacist Odd Couple

It is too seldom that justice is both poetic and rapid, but the recent demise of the tiny rotten bloc known as the Class Struggle League (CSL) provides a rare example. The CSL, which for two years had been a fetid culture medium for slimy cliquism and unprincipled combinatinnism, has dissolved itself into two deformed creatures, each of which inherits the worst features of the discredited parent. Having failed together, the CSL leaders are now busy failing separately.

One wing of the former CSL, headed by Henry Platsky, has "fused" with the "Truth" group, itself the product of a clique fight in the Revolutionary Socialist League. "Truth" follows the Paris-centered Internatinnal League Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI) led by the highly dubious figure, Michel Varga.

Platsky, let us remember, is distinguished chiefly by his position in support of the suppressinn of the 1956 Hungarian revnlution. This baggage of betrayal he has carried around for years: from Sam Marcy's Workers World Party to the

Vanguard Newsletter (VNL) group, to the CSL and now to "Truth."

But who is this Varga with whom Platsky has now "fused"? The only bright spot in his political history is that Varga (Balazs Nagy) was one of three secretaries of the Petöfi Circle, whose demands for educational reform and the truth about the Stalinist practices of the brutal Rakosi regime helped spark the Hungarian revolution. Thus the Platsky-Varga "fusinn" turns out to be a shot-gun marriage of a new type—with guns pointed at each other's heads!

Varga ought to be tormented by recurring nightmares in which he sees himself speaking to assembled students and workers during a mass meeting in Budapest, 1956, only to link up and see Henry Platsky riding in atop a Russian tank preparing to blow his head off in the name of "the global class war."

The other CSL remnant, headed by Harry Turner, now styles itself the Trotskyist Organizing Committee (TOC). The disintegration of the CSL puts Turner back on square one of his shell game of "revolutionary" politicking; he shares the square with a few friends who agree only to disagree.

In 1969 Turner had announced that his VNL would "begin, in effect...as a discussion group. It is our hope that agreement on principle and program will be forged, so that a democratic-centralist organization will emerge from the circle." But nothing emerged from the circle except a smaller circle. Six years later the TOC offers "what the forerunner of the Trotskyist Organizing Committee, Van-

guard Newsletter, also offered, 'discussion, debate and a principled unity in action,' so as to achieve the necessary clarity of program...." Even after the short-lived fusion which created the CSL—a rotten bloc between Turner's VNL and the former "Leninist Faction" of the SWP (headed by Vukovich and Stein, now departed for parts unknown)—had crumbled, Turner is still waiting for programmatic clarity to emerge from organizational unification, rather than the other way around.

As we reported in *WV* No. 71 (20 June), the document of Turner's wing of the CSL had four signers, only one of whom agreed fully with the program (Turner). After each of the other signatures asterisks appear, footnoting disagreements: one signer objects to the section on China; another is for revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Near East; the third takes exception to the position that Cuba is a deformed workers state.

Now this document is circulating again, along with a TOC cover letter of 25 June 1975 proclaiming it "the basic programmatic document of the TOC." But wait! It is not exactly the same document. It has gained a new signature—and, of course, one more asterisk. This supporter disagrees with Turner's positions on Vietnam, the Near East and the Equal Rights Amendment!

The one constant point of programmatic agreement shared by all and sundry in the pathetic Platsky and Turner combines has always been and remains their gut hatred for the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League. ■

The Invisible LIRQI

From its inception in 1973 as a split from the French OCI, the International League Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI) of M. Varga has brandished its voluntarism as a sign of seriousness. In particular, as early as January 1974 the LIRQI has insisted that from its "Fourth Open International Conference" would emerge the "rebuilt" Fourth International not later than the summer of 1975 (letter to the Spartacist League, 12 September 1974). The LIRQI later pinned down the date of the resurrection of the Fourth International for the thirty-fifth anniversary of Trotsky's death, 20 August 1975 (*Quatrième Internationale* No. 10, March 1975).

As the date approached, the proclamations became ever more triumphant. But on July 5 the LIRQI had to announce that "The delay in fulfilling our tasks cannot be camouflaged by artificially maintaining dates without regard to the content of the goals which have been set. 'The IEC has therefore decided to postpone the date for proclaiming the IRJ [Revolutionary Youth International] in Berlin to the month of December 1975. Consequently the Fourth Open International Conference, whose goal was the reconstructing of the Fourth International and whose date was set for 20 August of this year, has also been postponed to the end of January 1976.'"

Quatrième Internationale No. 14, July 1975

Normally, the LIRQI does not even bother to publicly announce its failures. The founding conference of the IRJ was postponed from "spring" to July of 1975 without a mention. The LIRQI proudly acclaimed the affiliation of the Chilean

OMR in September 1974; all references to the OMR, however, ceased abruptly and finally in February 1975 the OMR's split was admitted in print. A "dossier on the OMR" was promised in March but has not appeared.

Public demonstrations much trumpeted in the LIRQI press also tend not to materialize. A Paris demonstration against repression in Spain announced for 11 June was cancelled at the last minute.

Varga's U.S. satellite, the "Truth" group (now billed as the Trotskyist Organization/U.S.), is similarly embarked upon the construction of a phantom "mass revolutionary party." They have advertised one public function after another for which even they themselves have not bothered to show up.

When supporters of the SL/SYL went to the scheduled first meeting of the Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International in Chicago on April 5, they found nothing to expose; the room had not even been reserved. A founding meeting of the "Ford-Torrence Worker-Youth Circle" announced for August 9 likewise failed to materialize.

The TO/U.S. actually brought off one picket line to defend its imprisoned Spanish co-thinkers, but a planning meeting to build a second one never took place, nor did a rally announced for August 2.

Even such die-hard Potemkin Village organizers as Wohlforth/Mazelis would blush at the ghost town being built by Varga's little band of con-men. ■

Mao's Army Smashes Workers' Strikes

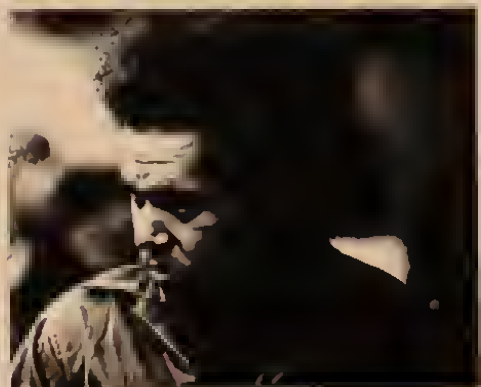
In late July over 10,000 troops of the Chinese army, navy and air force were reportedly sent into 18 (some accounts say 22) factories in the industrial and port city of Hangchow, near Shanghai, to quell labor disturbances and "help with production." More recently, a 3 September UPI dispatch speaks of troops being dispatched to steel plants in Hefei and Huhehot and to a coal mine in Kiangsu province. A part of the troops in Hangchow were sent from distant regions after some local units went over to the side of the workers. Unrest in the coastal Chekiang province (of which Hangchow is the capital) has included workers' strikes for higher wages, factional struggle in the party and youth organizations, and a mini-purge of two party secretaries, the commander and the commissar of the military district. Already many of the striking workers of Hangchow have been sent to "re-education" camps for rehabilitation through physical labor.

Mention of the Hangchow incidents has been made in a broad range of media, from the bourgeois Western news agencies to the Soviet papers, with some echoes even in the official Chinese press. According to a 15 August UPI dispatch, the workers' demands, at least in some regions, were not completely economic in nature. In Heilungkiang province, "some of the dissidents demanded 'independence from the (Communist) party.'" One report quoted the Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao* ("People's Daily") of 14 July as saying that "a few counter-revolutionaries" and "followers of the capitalist path" were guilty of stirring up the trouble. U.S.-monitored radio broadcasts from Hangchow claim that the workers were "unable to increase production under the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and bourgeois factionalism, and due to the



Varga (Balazs Nagy)

Informations Ouvrières



Henry Platsky

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

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sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies" (*New York Times*, 29 July).

Regarding the origins of the strikes there is some speculation that the publicity given them indicates backing from a faction of the ruling bureaucracy. The 17-18 August *Le Monde* writes: "But is it surprising that the workers go on strike in Hangchow to protest against their leadership precisely when Mao, who a few weeks earlier had the right to strike written into the constitution, was staying there?" Other reports talk of anonymous letters received by diplomatic missions in Peking attacking persons who were purged during the "Cultural Revolution" of the 1960's and rehabilitated recently.

The Soviet press and that of the pro-Moscow Communist Parties have reported the Chinese workers' strikes with undisguised pleasure. A TASS dispatch notes that "dissatisfaction is growing not only in the cities, but also in the country.... In the south-western provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan there have been uprisings of peasants" (*Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, 20 August). The *Daily World*, mouthpiece of the CPUSA, picked up on this with an article subtitled "Workers Battle for Rights" (23 August) from the Soviet press service, Novosti.

Closer to home the Russian bureaucrats have always imposed a news blackout on strikes in the Soviet Union and East Europe, or label them the product of CIA machinations. In this case, however, they report the Chinese strikes as being the result of popular discontent with Mao's anti-working-class policies, which they no doubt are. This phony pro-worker stance can boomerang against the Kremlin as Soviet workers could easily be inspired by the example of the Chinese strikers.

The recent Chinese strikes are not an isolated phenomenon and must be seen in the context of continuing repercussions from the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the 1960's. Although the "GPCR" plunged China into turmoil and chaos, arousing millions of youth to political action, its only concrete result was the ousting of a few "capitalist roaders," most of whom are now back in power. In 1966 the Maoist wing of the bureaucracy, frightened by its extreme isolation, declared that, in Mao's words, "it is right to rebel." However, given an opening, the Chinese workers rebelled as much against Mao as against his bugbear, Liu Shao-chi. Mao's program for the workers was the same as Liu's—low wages and speed-up—and labor resistance culminated in the January 1967 Shanghai general strike and a major railway strike.

After a few months of indiscriminately inciting peasant and student youth against all "persons in authority," Mao soon realized that arousing the workers could quickly lead to a powerful proletarian political revolution which would topple all wings of the bureaucracy, including his own clique. In Shanghai, where the workers overwhelmingly supported the anti-Mao forces, organized as the Scarlet Guards, Mao discouraged even those few workers who were loyal to him from taking part in the "Revolution":

"Even the Central Committee in Peking seems to have been reluctant to take the lid off the urban proletariat. Most instructions from the Center were cautious or ambiguous; workers were urged to 'stay at their jobs but take part in the movement after hours,' and the slogan coined for them was the practically meaningless 'Make Revolution: Boost Production'."

—Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal: An Eyewitness Account of the Cultural Revolution*, 1969

The Hangchow events of this July must be seen as a continuation of the Chinese workers' strikes at the time of the "Cultural Revolution." According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 15 August, the official sent to Hangchow to conciliate the workers, Wang Hung-wen, is the same man who performed that rôle in Shanghai during 1967. Although the government press labelled the striking workers either class enemies or their dupes, the People's Liberation Army

(PLA) is allegedly treating these "enemies" mildly:

"The bid to win hearts and minds is not confined to the presence of uniformed soldiers unswervingly devoted to Peking's policies. Considerable attempts have been made to improve welfare amenities in the factories through the efforts of army doctors, cooks, barbering and laundry teams."

The fact remains, however, that after all the talk of "winning hearts and minds," both in the touted "Cultural Revolution" and today, working-class unrest has been put down above all by sending in the army. Unlike the centrists and pseudo-Trotskyists like Mandel and Healy who, during the "GPCR," tailed the Red Guards and the overwhelmingly peasant PLA, the Spartacist League unambiguously denounced the Maoists and their strike-breaking activities and called upon the workers to split the army and win it over to the Trotskyist program of political revolution to oust the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy.

Among adulators of the Peking regime, such as Carl Davidson of the Maoist *Guardian* (27 August), the recent Hangchow strikes called forth diatribes against "economism," buttressed with quotes from Lenin's speeches on the need for austerity measures during the Russian civil war when the very existence of the Soviet state depended on maximum self-sacrifice by the proletariat. However, under present conditions in the degenerated and deformed workers states (from the USSR and East Europe to China, Vietnam and Cuba), economic demands of the workers are directed not against sacrifices necessary to win a civil war, defeat imperialist invasion or fulfill crucial plan goals, but rather against anti-working-class measures imposed by arbitrary and self-serving bureaucracies.

That strike movements in the deformed workers states almost instantaneously become political confrontations with the bureaucracy was clearly shown by the Polish strikes of December 1970. Beginning as a protest over price increases on basic necessities, they rapidly triggered military intervention by the Gomulka regime. The proletariat of the port city of Szczecin, led by workers council leaders from the shipyards, marched on the Communist Party headquarters and burned it down while singing the Internationale. But the area-wide general strike in the Baltic coast cities was eventually squelched through the appointment of a new premier, Gierek, as a reform gesture.

What the Polish workers lacked—as did the East German workers in 1953, the Hungarian workers in 1956, the Czech workers in 1968 and the Chinese workers both during the "Cultural Revolution" and today—was a Trotskyist party fighting against all wings of the bureaucracy. Revolutionary Marxists must support the just demands of the Chinese workers while warning against dangerous illusions of pressuring or reforming the despotic Stalinist misrulers. Only under the leadership of a conscious Trotskyist vanguard can the Chinese workers and their allies among the students, soldiers and collective farm peasants go forward to the proletarian political revolution, precondition to advance on the road to world socialism.■

Forum:

"The Politics of Crazy"

Speaker:

Charles Burroughs
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 4
at 7:30 p.m.

306A Barnard Hall
Barnard College
NEW YORK

Smash the Anti-Red McCarran Act!

Let Hugo Blanco Into the U.S.!

The well-known Peruvian socialist militant and former peasant union leader Hugo Blanco has been denied entry to the U.S. by the State Department. After stalling until the last minute, Washington announced that Blanco, who applied for a visa in July and has a long list of speaking invitations, was "ineligible" under political exclusion sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act). This law is blatantly anti-democratic, arbitrarily denying entry to those who "write or publish or advocate or teach... communist doctrine" as determined by the State Department. Once a person is declared "ineligible," the only way he can gain entry is with a special individual waiver from the government.

Blanco is only the latest victim of anti-communist harassment in the recent rash of political exclusions by the U.S. government. Among those denied entry are Cuban official Melba Hernandez, Ceylonese Trotskyist Edmund Samarakody, Australian labor leader Laurie Carmichael, Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat," Italian CP functionary Sergio Segre and a throng of Chilean militants, most recently MIR spokesman Carmen Castillo.

It is critically important for the U.S. left to initiate a campaign aimed at striking down the cold-war McCarran-Walter Act. However, in the case of Segre the Italian Communist Party, rather than fighting the witchhunting law, has apparently decided to seek a deal on a waiver before even formally applying for a visa. Similarly the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) led by it have taken the tack that exclusion of Blanco "would violate the recent Helsinki Agreement" provisions for international freedom of movement, in particular provisions for promoting "international contact and communications between authors and publishing houses."

It is perfectly in order to point to the bottomless hypocrisy of Ford and Kissinger, who attack the Soviet Union's anti-democratic restrictions on travel for dissidents and then exclude alleged communists on undisguisedly political grounds. But this is no basis to fight McCarthyite exclusionism. Not Helsinki, but a massive international defense campaign is necessary to smash the witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act. We demand freedom of entry for all representatives and supporters of the international workers movement!

Now the decision to deny entry or issue a waiver rests with Henry Kissinger. One of the main authors of the Chilean coup of September 1973 is to sit in judgement over one of the Latin American militants who barely escaped that bloodbath alive. We protest this anti-communist exclusion! Let Hugo Blanco into the U.S.! Smash the McCarran-Walter Act!

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League/U.S., urges that telegrams protesting Blanco's exclusion be sent to: Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C. 20520.

TELEGRAM

Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State
U.S. State Department
Washington, D.C. 20520

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, protests the denial of a visa for Hugo Blanco and demands that he be allowed to enter the United States. The viciously anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act, under which representatives of the international working-class movement are arbitrarily and unconstitutionally barred from entry, must be struck down.

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Copy to: USLA
156 Fifth Ave., Suite 600
New York, N.Y. 10010

NDP: From Trudeau to the Tories

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is slightly abridged from *Spartacist Canada* No. 1, October 1975, published by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. We congratulate our Canadian comrades on the publication of the first issue of their newspaper. Copies of *Spartacist Canada* can be obtained by writing to TLC, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

For the first time since the 1972-74 national "corridor coalition" with the Liberal Party, the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) today finds itself wielding the balance of power in a minority government. The 18 September Ontario provincial elections brought an end to more than three decades of relatively stable rule by a majority Progressive Conservative government, reducing the PC's representation in the Legislature from 74 seats to 51 and elevating the NDP to the position of official governmental Opposition with 38. The provincial Liberals under Robert Nixon were displaced by the NDP, finishing third with 36 seats.

For Premier Bill Davis' Conservatives the situation is quite unstable. Unable to govern on the strength of their own votes, the Tories must seek an alliance, formal or otherwise, with one or both of the opposition parties in order to "make the minority government work." Historical animosities and their current relative political weights nationally mitigate against any viable Tory-Liberal alliance. Despite their third-place finish in this election, the Liberals are generally seen as the main bourgeois alternative to the Tories. Thus, just as the federal Liberals did when faced with a minority government in 1972, the provincial Tories are turning for support to the eager social democrats of the NDP.

In 1972, national NDP leader David Lewis agreed wholeheartedly to a bloc with the Liberals, proclaiming a strategy to "make Parliament work." Eighteen months later in the 1974 national election campaign, Lewis stated his party's intention to continue the corridor coalition "perhaps for two, three or four years" (*Globe and Mail*, 18 June 1974). The NDP was unable to do so only because it lost its balance-of-power position, dropping 15 of its 31 seats as the Liberals swept to a new majority. Lewis himself lost his seat in the Liberal sweep and was forced to step down as national leader.

Like Father, Like Son

Today the national NDP is temporarily too weak to pursue its tacit coalitionist strategy. But such is not now the case for its provincial affiliate in Ontario, where David Lewis' son Stephen led his party into the elections against a weakened Conservative Party and the seemingly resurgent Liberals with a stated strategy of fighting for (at best) second place and on a program which did not repudiate the coalition policy....

In his key campaign debate with Premier Davis, Stephen Lewis said *not one word* about the interests of labor or the unions. Lewis explicitly posed the NDP program as one to be taken up by the Tories—indeed as the campaign progressed Davis was forced to adopt key planks in the NDP's arsenal of populist reforms, such as a rent review board empowered to lower the rate of rent increases.

As early election night returns pointed toward a Conservative-led minority government with an NDP Opposition, Davis moved quickly to take up Lewis'

implicit offer of support to a PC government willing to implement certain NDP policies. He praised the social-democrats' "constructive" campaign, pointedly remarking that "if this same kind of constructive approach is carried forward into the Legislature, we can look forward to progressive government" (quoted in *Globe and Mail*, 19 September). Lewis was quick to respond, pledging to approach the new Legislature "in good faith" and promising that the Conservative government "can last as long as the government meets the needs of the people of Ontario" (quoted in *Toronto Star*, 19 September)....

A number of bourgeois journalists have been predicting that the NDP's strategy is not a long-range coalition, but a goal of bringing down the government in six to nine months. The NDP is maintaining the "clever" politician's evasiveness on its future strategy and such analyses are simply speculative. No doubt the NDP will behave in accordance with the "realities" of political power maneuvers and may very well seek power in its

policy by electing Edward Broadbent as the new party leader, a prominent member of the NDP's right wing who actively participated in the 1972-74 bloc. Broadbent symbolizes the rightward motion of the NDP in recent years, from the expulsion of the left-reformist Waffle caucus in Ontario in 1971 to the 1974 electoral policy. Disgruntlement within the party was reflected in the fact that Rosemary Brown, a black feminist from British Columbia and a relative unknown in leading NDP circles, came in as a surprise second to Broadbent in the elections.

The election campaign of the Ontario NDP was based on the same strategy of bourgeois coalitionism as the 1974 federal campaign, even if less overtly expressed and despite Lewis' disavowals of any intent to enter a more formal coalition. In this context it would have been folly to consider critical support a useful tactic in the election.

A far more useful policy, one that would have made an impression on the workers disgruntled with the party's



Stephen Lewis (left), leader of Ontario New Democratic Party with father David Lewis (center), former head of federal NDP.

own name in Ontario in the next year. However, so long as its approach is a tacit coalition with the Conservatives, it is the task of communists to expose this class-collaboration for the betrayal that it is.

Conditional Opposition to the NDP

Communists can give critical electoral support to reformist workers parties running in their own name—not as some kind of "prize" for their class betrayals, but as a tool to expose them.... Critical support to the NDP in the 1972 British Columbia elections would have been a valuable tactic, enabling Marxists to exploit the contradiction between the NDP's stated intention to act in the independent interests of the working class and its betrayals once in office.

When a reformist workers party enters a government coalition with bourgeois parties, however, this contradiction is suppressed. The organic tie to the bourgeoisie that such coalitions represent means that the crucial question of class independence cannot be addressed through a critical-support tactic, but only by a policy of conditional opposition to the workers parties in the class-collaborationist bloc.... Communists must call upon workers parties within actual or tacit alliances to break with the bourgeois parties as a precondition to even the most critical support.

The NDP has not repudiated the policy of bourgeois coalitionism which it most clearly stated in the 1974 federal elections. In fact the party's July national convention implicitly confirmed the coalition

class-collaborationist strategy and with their current economic situation, was a call for conditional opposition centered on the demand that the NDP repudiate coalitionism. This was the position of the Trotskyist League of Canada, as outlined in a 12 September statement distributed at NDP rallies and meetings of left groups during the week prior to the elections.

Canadian Left on the Elections

This position of conditional opposition was not, however, adopted by any of the ostensibly revolutionary groups on the Canadian left. The Communist Party, rather than directly addressing the question of the NDP, ran 33 of its own candidates on a call for the election of a "wide progressive bloc" to include everything left of the Conservatives, that is, an explicit call for a popular front. The CP thus did not represent an independent class pole in the elections and in no way merited support.

The ostensible Trotskyist groups all called for some variant of "critical" support to the NDP. The third-campist Independent Socialists (sometime self-proclaimed Trotskyists, depending on which member one talks to) and the Canadian-nationalist Socialist League both east themselves in the role of pushing the NDP to the left, the IS pointing out that the NDP in power means progress in the fight against inflation and unemployment (*Workers Action*, 15 August 1975), and the SocL paying homage to the NDP's wretched program which they claim "clearly challenges the priorities of big business"

(*Forward*, September 1975)!

The Revolutionary Marxist Group has covered itself with a more left, and essentially self-contradictory, veneer this election period, calling for an NDP vote with "no confidence," running through a list of the NDP's betrayals and then posing the question to which they clearly do not know the answer themselves: "After all this, why vote NDP?" ("NDP the Solution?," undated RMG leaflet, distributed in September). The RMG's only answer is—"in order to show

"I shall turn to my father as my political mentor. Not only does David Lewis have advice for me, but he will have to hold my hand from time to time. After all, he's Canada's resident expert on minority governments."

—Stephen Lewis, quoted in *Toronto Star*, 19 September 1975

what side of the class fence we're on"—precisely what the NDP's coalitionist policy prevents an NDP vote from showing.

Critical Support to the LSA Candidate

The League for Socialist Action, reformist co-habitants with the RMG in the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," was the only left organization besides the CP to run a candidate in the name of its party in the elections. The platform of Robert Simms, LSA candidate in Brampton, was yet another variant of the minimum/maximum program so dear to the social-democrat's heart. Prior to the final plank calling for socialism (the maximum demand), the LSA program outlines a series of reform (minimal) demands which in no way can provide a bridge to the stated ultimate goal....

Despite the reformist nature of the LSA's program and its support to the NDP, the LSA was the only organization in the campaign which represented an independent working-class pole. For this reason, the Trotskyist League called for a vote to the LSA candidate, while pointing out that the LSA's overall program of reformism contradicts and will work against the political independence of the working class, that is, will betray the class in practice.

The compromise of labor's interests in favor of political blocs with the lackeys of the bourgeoisie is the strategy for working-class defeat. In Portugal today thousands of worker militants face a possible bloodbath at the hands of rightist reaction, because of the popular-frontist strategy of the Stalinists and social democrats and the adaptation to this popular frontism on the part of ostensible Trotskyists.

In a situation where much more is concretely at stake than in the recent Ontario elections, the logic of the politics of the LSA, RMG and IS can be seen in Portugal where their fraternal groups, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionario do Proletariado, have joined an explicit class-collaborationist alliance, the so-called "revolutionary" or "popular united front" (see *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., 12 September). Only the working class, independent of the bourgeoisie and conscious of its historical role under the leadership of an authentic Trotskyist vanguard, can lead a victorious socialist revolution. ■

"Particularly dangerous has been the role of the Portuguese Socialist Party, which has sought to give a 'left' cover to the actions of openly counterrevolutionary elements. With CIA agents at work and the 'Portuguese Liberation Army' poised across the border in Spain, genuinely revolutionary forces must redouble their efforts to create organs of workers power, the only means to decisively crush bourgeois reaction."

—*Workers Vanguard*, 1 August 1975

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

"In fact, the anti-Communist feeling in the SP demonstrations was less backward, since it was a reaction to real efforts at repression suffered at the hands of the Communist Party and its allies."

—*Militant*, 8 August 1975

"United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said, amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months."

—*New York Times*, 25 September 1975

SWP Fronts for "State Department Socialism" in Portugal

For 10 years the Spartacist tendency has denounced the abject reformism of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Many militants, however, have been taken in by the SWP's utterly fraudulent pretense of Trotskyism. We have put forward many proofs: its class collaboration in the antiwar movement, its capitulation to union-busting black nationalism and expressions of confidence in the cops and troops of the bourgeois state. But nowhere is the SWP's belly-crawling support for the bourgeoisie more dramatically revealed than by its policies on Portugal, currently the sharpest focus of the international class struggle.

Against virtually unanimous evidence to the contrary from both the bourgeois and left-wing press, the SWP's *Militant* has brazenly portrayed the Socialist Party (SP) of Mario Soares as fighting for "democracy" in Portugal. But last week this fairy tale was blown sky-high as the U.S. government confirmed what had been widely alleged, namely that the Portuguese SP has been receiving massive financial backing, literally millions of dollars a month, from the CIA!

Catching the scent of a social-democratic party on the rise, the SWP began chasing after Soares after the Socialists totaled up 38 percent of the vote in elections last April. During the summer, the SWP press systematically obscured the manner in which the Portuguese SP's break to the right from the bonapartist Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was serving as a smokescreen for a wave of vicious anti-communist terror. The *Militant* of 8 August hailed the SP demonstrations, initiated in mid-June in order to pressure the military regime to crack down on militant workers, as a "turn to the masses." While reporting some of the anti-communist chants at the Socialist rallies, *Militant* writer Gerry

Foley claimed that this sentiment was "less backward" than charges by the Portuguese Communist Party (CP) that the SP was "reactionary."

In France, the SWP's new-found friend, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), goes even further, baldly asserting that "the SP is defending, on a whole series of fundamental questions, that which is essential to the development of the combat of the working class..." (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-18 September 1975).

As it became increasingly impossible to ignore the rightist mobilization led by Salazarist agents, clerical fascists and pro-NATO generals, the SWP has attempted to cover its tracks by backing off ever so slightly from its contemptible role as American press agents for Soares. The SWP's position had become so exposed that even the wretched American Stalinists were able to pose in a series of polemics in the *Daily World* as being to the left of the "Trotskyite" SWP. In

defense, the *Militant* (19 September) wrote that "the general approach of the SP is not different from that of the Stalinists," but quickly came to the "exception" which tips the SWP's hand: "However, for a period of about seven weeks, from early June until late July, the SP took the lead in organizing mass demonstrations in the streets against the government's attempts to restrict democratic rights."

No less a luminary than Joseph Hansen, the agile pen of U.S. Pabloism, was called upon to glue this house of cards together. Conjuring up the shades of Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein, he described socialism as "expanding" bourgeois democracy "qualitatively, that is, extending it into the economic structure and thereby liquidating one of the features that distinguishes capitalism—totalitarian command on the level of production." The League for Industrial Democracy may have said it first, but they never claimed such social-democratic garbage was Trotskyism!

Now the SWP's fragile structure has collapsed as it turns out that Mario Soares' struggle to "expand democracy" is nothing more than classic "State Department socialism" on the CIA dole, and the Portuguese SP's heroic "seven weeks" came shortly after the U.S. Treasury turned on the spigot!

And should Hansen & Co. seek to discover a "right turn" by the SP in August or September, we would remind them that Soares' program has been absolutely consistent throughout. Leaving the government on July 11 in protest against the "communist dictatorship" represented by MFA plans for the creation of local "popular assemblies," the SP leader issued a program on July 28 calling for a "government of national salvation," headed by a "personality of the MFA," whose task it would be to crush all forms of "parallel power to the state apparatus" and "severely punish the armed militias...and popular vigilance committees." Some defense of democratic rights!

In sharp contrast to the SWP's shameless apologetics for Portuguese social democracy stands the revolutionary policy of the international Spartacist tendency. From the beginning of the pre-revolutionary situation following the overthrow of the rightist Salazar/Caetano dictatorship last year, we have called for the creation of soviets and for workers revolution, not the stabilization of bourgeois democracy. We have consistently raised democratic demands against the bonapartist measures of the demagogic officers, while calling on the working class to place no confidence in either the social democratic or Stalinist misleaders who tie it to the MFA.

Caught in *flagrante* by revelations of U.S. bankrolling of the SP, the SWP has apparently decided to, brazen it out, continuing to wave the banner of the "Yellow International" while brushing off the CIA connection. Nevertheless, this cravenly counterrevolutionary policy has caused it considerable embarrassment and turned a September 26 New York forum into a virtual debate with the

Spartacist League on Portugal. In his speech, SWP national organizational secretary Barry Sheppard, remarked:

"The Spartacist League, which likes to pride itself on being strong against Stalinism and really answering the Communist Party, has flopped right into line like all the other ultra-lefts...looking at the SP as the main danger. Stupid error! The reality is that the Socialist Party in Portugal became the rallying point of a majority of the working class and therefore a key element in the radicalization of the workers and petty-bourgeoisie."

After implicitly equating radicalization of the masses with anti-communist lynch mobs, it was no trick at all to redefine socialism as "complete democracy," which Sheppard explained as the masses' "democratic right to think [!], to discuss, to make their own decisions and to struggle to change their economic and social conditions and to fight for a new society that would be in their interests."

Supporters of the Spartacist League countered this classless rhetoric of "complete" (formerly "consistent") democracy. They pointed out that the SL never claimed the SP was "the main danger," but rather that Soares played a particularly dangerous role in providing a cover behind which openly counterrevolutionary terror was mobilized. One SL supporter pointed out that, "What a real revolutionary party would have done was to call for united-front defense of the left...united-front defense of the CP offices that were under attack. Incidentally, the Socialist Workers Party did not even mention that the CP offices were under attack for three weeks, or two weeks and six days behind the *New York Times*."

Other SL supporters challenged Sheppard's deceitful portrayal of the Russian Revolution as a sort of single-issue campaign for the constituent assembly. They pointed out that while the Bolsheviks fought for democratic demands (including convocation of a constituent assembly, as the SL also called for in Portugal), they never struggled to create a bourgeois parliamentary system but to establish a *proletarian* state power, based on destroying the capitalist state and replacing it with organs of workers' rule. (The soviets ordered the dissolution of the constituent assembly in January 1918 when it sought to oppose soviet power.)

It is obvious that the appetite of the SWP is to fill the political niche left vacant by the absence of a mass reformist workers party in the U.S. This instinctively leads them to search out kindred spirits elsewhere. While Pablo in the 1950's abandoned the struggle for independent Trotskyist parties in order to tail after the Stalinists, the Pabloist SWP (like reformist social democrats worldwide) today tails directly after the bourgeoisie. Of course Hansen and Sheppard have criticisms of Mario Soares. But as every good Pabloist is nurtured on the theory that "blunted instruments" (such as Castroist guerrilla bands) can take power just as well as Trotskyist parties, the SWP today sees State Department socialism as a blunted instrument...for "complete/consistent" bourgeois democracy. ■



Socialist Party demonstration in Lisbon, July 19.

Informations Ouvrières

Bandaranaike Coalition Dumps LSSP

by Edmund Samarakkody

EDITOR'S NOTE: We are publishing below an article written for WV by Edmund Samarakkody, veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist and head of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Sri Lanka. This valuable account illuminates the political bankruptcy of the LSSP, which broke from the ostensibly Trotskyist movement to pursue unhindered its coalitionist parliamentary cretinism, only to finally reap the bitter reward of ignominious ouster from the Bandaranaike government. Due to space considerations it has been necessary to slightly shorten the article.

COLUMBO, September 15—The break-up of the Bandaranaike-led coalition government came on September 2 with the removal from office of the three Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) ministers, N. M. Perera, Colvin de Silva and Leslie Goonewardena, by the president on the advice of Prime Minister Bandaranaike. What remains now is a Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) government, although the Communist Party (pro-Moscow) minister, Keuneman, continues in office.

The alleged provocation for the sacking of the LSSP ministers, which led to the break-up of the coalition government, was the speeches made by Perera and de Silva at a public meeting of their party in which they indulged in some criticism, by no means hostile, of the SLFP and its late leader, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

But the alleged denigration of the name of the late SLFP leader was not the issue for the break-up of the coalition, especially as the LSSP decided on abject surrender by a public apology. And this could well have been the end of the matter. But the response of the Prime Minister was, significantly, to reject this apology out of hand and to inform the LSSP that she was re-shuffling her Cabinet and that Finance Minister Perera and Transport Minister Gnanawardena would hold lesser portfolios.

Bandaranaike's move was too obvious. She believed that the LSSP would not be able to agree to this demotion of its ministers, especially N. M. Perera, and that she would then be free to take the next step to remove the LSSP ministers and push the LSSP out of the coalition.

But the question, to be or not to be in the coalition government, was from the point of view of the LSSP a momentous decision. The party is wedded completely to coalition politics, and divorce was inconceivable for its leaders. It was no surprise that the LSSP Central Committee debated the issue for several days. Apparently, some leading members argued strongly for accepting the proposal of the Prime Minister, however damaging it would be for the party, and in that way remaining in the government. But the majority apparently thought otherwise and decided to say "no."



Edmund Samarakkody

WV Photo

Nevertheless, having said "no," the LSSP leaders looked hopefully for a miracle to turn up to save them from what, in their view, was a calamity. The miracle they hoped for was opposition to the expulsion of the LSSP ministers by the SLFP left wing. But there was no such miracle. The SLFP Executive Committee, as well as its parliamentary group, lined up behind the Prime Minister, and the decision to expel the LSSP from the coalition received unanimous approval...

The reality behind the sacking of the LSSP and the break-up of the coalition is linked to the pressing problems of the survival of capitalism in Sri Lanka. The services rendered by the LSSP and CP in the bourgeoisie through the coalition government were indeed invaluable. For the last five years these two parties have successfully contained and controlled the working class and the masses when the government and the capitalist class struck ruthlessly at their living standards. What is more, the LSSP and CP helped the SLFP to strengthen, more than ever before, the repressive apparatus of the state and even massacre in cold blood thousands of youth who were suspected of being involved in the April 1971 youth uprising.

But all the past services of the LSSP and CP to the SLFP and the bourgeoisie are of no avail in the situation facing Sri Lanka's bourgeoisie. The SLFP and the bourgeoisie need to go much further. The maintenance of capitalist profits in the context of the backlog of recurring and ever-growing balance-of-payments problems in a backward country, in a continuing world economic crisis of capitalism, calls for a more systematic and ruthless squeeze. And this can be achieved only by breaking all resistance of the working people to such attacks.

Concretely, this means that the trade unions and all other organisations of the working people, and the left movement, have to be smashed. And this is in line with the needs and advice of Sri Lanka's imperialist mentors, especially the U.S.

It is in such a context that the decision was taken to oust the LSSP and break the coalition. And this decision was made, not on September 2, but about as far back as the middle of 1974. And what is more, the LSSP as well as the public was made well aware that there was a drastic change in the relations of the SLFP to the LSSP when Prime Minister Bandaranaike launched her public attack on Marxism in a rural constituency of the SLFP. Soon thereafter, Bandaranaike left no room for doubt about her intentions toward the LSSP when, while still on her visit to the Soviet Union, she sent orders from Tashkent banning the rally and public meeting organised by the LSSP-led Ceylon Federation of Labour a few hours before it was due to take place. She even ordered a curfew to be declared to make it abundantly clear that the LSSP would be out of the coalition sooner rather than later.

But the LSSP followed an ostrich-like policy of burying its head in the sand when the storm was approaching. LSSP leaders stressed the need for "unity" and blamed unnamed enemies of the coalition government for seeking to bring rifts between the parties of the coalition. And they disarmed their ranks and supporters with declarations that complete harmony prevailed within the coalition.

Furthermore, the LSSP, even after it was sacked, far from even appreciating the reality of the coming offensive against the working people by the SLFP government and the forces of capitalist reaction, continues its faith in coalition politics. Its preoccupation after being ousted was to prove that it was loyal to the coalition and that it was Bandaranaike who broke the coalition; that she took this step because she was pressured by the reactionary forces. Far from endeavouring to draw a balance sheet of the coalition politics that led to the extraordinary strengthening of capitalist reaction, and to the catastrophic situation facing the working class and the masses, the LSSP leaders seek to go along the same road for another such betrayal. The LSSP is seeking only to disarm the working class and the left in this gravest hour for the working people.

The LSSP has expressed faith in the so-called left wing of the SLFP. It lost no time in calling for a "left front" and has already indicated that it considers the left wing of the SLFP among the left forces in the country. The LSSP has not forgotten how it... called for and formed the "United Left Front" which included the Stalinists and the petty-bourgeois Philip [Gunewardena] group. N. M.



LSSP leaders Colvin R. de Silva (above) and N. M. Perera.

Perera and the LSSP leaders know that at the appropriate moment they broke even this "left front" to form the coalition government with the SLFP in June 1964.

The coalition politics of the LSSP will continue. It has been, without any such intentions on its part, thrown into the opposition benches in parliament. While its leaders are denouncing the reactionaries in the SLFP and blaming the Prime Minister for succumbing to the pressure of the newly emerging industrial bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces, the party has not re-defined its attitude to the SLFP government. It is inconceivable that the LSSP will take the correct position of irreconcilable opposition to the government as a capitalist government. On the contrary, it is very likely that the party will adopt the so-called policy of "responsive cooperation" by which the leaders of this party deceived their ranks and the masses

continued on page 11

SWP Rewrites History of Betrayal by Ceylonese LSSP

The recent ouster of the LSSP from the Sri Lanka government has prompted the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to reiterate its version of the sordid story of the descent into full-fledged reformism of the LSSP, until 1964 the Ceylon section of the revisionist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). An article entitled "Balance Sheet of the LSSP's Betrayal" by Peter Green appeared in the 29 September 1975 issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press*. *IP*, edited by Joseph Hansen, is the SWP's international news digest and de facto factional organ of the USec's reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

In the main, the "Balance Sheet" is simply a bland rehash of the elaborate evasions concocted by USec leaders in 1964 to whitewash their complicity in this historic betrayal. It quotes liberally from 1964 articles by Ernest Germain and Pierre Frank as well as from documents (reprinted in *IP*, 22 September 1975)

which found the USec madly scrambling to dissociate itself from the LSSP following the latter's entry into a bourgeois government in 1964.

In July of 1964 the LSSP accepted the invitation of Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, to join a coalition with her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). In constituting this classic *popular front*, sought by the bourgeoisie to enlist the services of a mass reformist party in disciplining the working masses and deflecting them from struggle, the LSSP demonstrated its complete abandonment of even lip-service to the fundamental proposition of revolutionary Marxism: the perspective of *class against class*.

The USec revisionists' need to maintain the pretense of fidelity to Trotskyist principles compelled them to speedily disavow this action by their Ceylonese section. They expelled the LSSP from the USec—hastily recognizing in its place the

LSSP minority which split from the LSSP at that time and later constituted the LSSP (Revolutionary).

Germain and Frank were faced with the job of "proving" that the USec leaders had always opposed the reformist course of the LSSP. The *IP* recapitulates these 1964 efforts to claim that the USec (and its pre-1963 predecessor, the International Secretariat) had resolutely fought the LSSP's courtship of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. It resurrects a rather mildly phrased 1960 public criticism of the LSSP's electoral policy of a mutual support bloc with the SLFP (as well as a more outspoken criticism emanating from the SWP, which had little to lose as it was not then associated with the International Secretariat).

The central falsification is the attempt to discover a sharp breakaway into reformism by the LSSP in 1964, although weaknesses are acknowledged as predating the entry into the government. In fact,

the LSSP had begun openly courting the Ceylonese bourgeoisie much earlier. Almost in passing *IP* mentions the party's vote for the "Throne Speech" in which Bandaranaike laid out the intentions of her government after its 1960 electoral victory. *IP* follows the same tactic by mentioning the LSSP's policy of "responsive cooperation" without locating it precisely in time. This policy, undertaken vis-à-vis the 1956 government and prefigured even earlier, meant that the LSSP explicitly defined itself as not in opposition to the capitalist government.

An interesting aspect of the *IP* account, perhaps unintended by its editors, is that Edmund Samarakkody emerges as the hero of the piece. The story of the struggle against the LSSP's capitulation cannot help but feature Samarakkody as a pre-eminent figure: Samarakkody, along with Meryl Fernando, breaking party discipline to vote against the "Throne Speech"

continued on page 10

Calls Cops to Suppress Spartacist Literature

Lawyers Guild Tramples on Workers Democracy at Berkeley "Extravaganza"

BERKELEY, September 27—The National Lawyers Guild, an organization of radical/liberal lawyers and "legal workers" which claims to be the defense arm of "the Movement," today called on the police to protect its "Law Student Extravaganza" from exposure to Spartacist League literature. But despite their best efforts to "quietly" get rid of the SL, Maoist leaders of the Guild were unable to prevent the issue of this anti-communist exclusion and use of the cops against left groups from erupting on the floor of the conference and drawing sharp criticism from many participants.

The incident began as supporters of the SL set up a literature table outside the conference in the hall of Hastings Law School on the University of California (Berkeley) campus. A group from the Guild, apparently in charge of maintaining "law and order" at the Extravaganza, sent a school watchman to tell the Spartacists to take down the table. When this failed Guild organizers surrounded the table and tried to take it down themselves. SLers were told that they were not invited to the conference and that no political groups had the right to sell in the building. However, inside the meeting a representative of China Books, run by the pro-Peking U.S.-China Friendship Association, set up a table and displayed a huge poster of Mao without objections from the Guild.

The Extravaganza organizers, including known Maoists, then turned to the bourgeois state to do their hatchet work. A squad of city police arrived in the hallway, alarming many conference participants who came outside to find out what was happening. Perplexed at the Guild's explanation of why the SL should not be permitted to sell there, one cop asked, "What's the matter, are they [the SL] too revolutionary for you?" Discovering that the Guild did not represent Hastings Law School and had only rented

rooms for the day, the cops said it was out of their jurisdiction and summoned the California State Police. The latter also turned down the job, turning it over to the campus cops. After some time a dean appeared, flanked by a Guild organizer, and told the Spartacists to take down the table until they could fill out a permit to sell in the building.

Many law students and others at the conference were outraged at this grossly anti-democratic political exclusion. Spartacist supporters at the table were baited as "macho women" by a Guild organizer, who accused the SL of "inverted chauvinism" because women supporters of the SL present were prepared to defend their table and their right to an organizational presence outside the conference. This obscene sexism can be expected from the various Maoists who embrace the reactionary nuclear family and propagate bourgeois puritan bigotry on sexual questions. (Supporters of the Maoist October League reportedly are pressuring to prevent homosexuals from holding office in the Guild!) On the other hand, one Spartacist supporter was told by a Guild organizer that he thought they should have kicked the SL out themselves—a real macho exclusion!

Meanwhile, inside the conference a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), non-sectarian legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, was invited to the podium by keynote speaker Howard Moore, a prominent black civil rights attorney, to protest the vicious harassment outside. The PDC spokesman denounced this violation of workers democracy as a deliberate political exclusion, pointing to the prominently displayed Mao poster to prove her point. Moore then condemned the Guild organizers for calling the cops and said the SL should be invited inside the conference.

Seeing that many present were furious at the incident, a Guild organizer rose to

defend calling the police. "We shouldn't be ashamed of calling the cops," he said, because "it's true that police can be an arm of oppression but also true that police are an arm of protection against violent crime. Oppressed masses [i.e., the National Lawyers Guild!!] have to be able to call on police for protection." Moore took issue with this absurd "analysis," stating that police are parasitic and a law unto themselves, and can never be relied upon to protect the oppressed.

Workshops followed the opening address. A member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the Communications Workers of America, who attended the labor law workshop told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that most of the discussion centered around suits against various unions by labor law collectives inside the Guild. In particular, two suits based on the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act have been brought against San Francisco Culinary Workers Local 2 over elections and accountability of funds.

Dan Siegel, a member of the Fruitvale law collective who is reportedly sympathetic to the views of the October League, discussed plans to bring in the U.S. Labor Department to monitor elections in a San Jose Teamster local of cannery workers. It is only logical that those who call on the police to suppress communist literature should make the axis of their strategy inside the labor movement an open invitation to the bourgeois state to "clean up" the unions. The class line apparently bends a little around the cops and courts for these Maoist "radical" lawyers when they attempt to bring their expertise to the working class. Recent injunctions against United Farm Workers organizers during the government-run union representation elections should disabuse any thinking person of the notion that the state is neutral toward the labor move-

ment. Ousting the parasitic labor bureaucracy and turning the unions to the path of class struggle is the job of militants armed with a revolutionary program, not cops and courts of the class enemy!

Siegel finished by saying that the Fruitvale law collective only handled cases in which they had political unity with the defendants. "We would never defend members of the SL," he said, "because that would be political prostitution." Such a narrow, sectarian conception of legal defense work only strengthens the bourgeoisie's attacks on the left. Under James Cannon, a founder of American Trotskyism, the Communist Party-led International Labor Defense (ILD) vigorously supported the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti during the 1920's, despite political differences. In sharp contrast, the Stalinized CP in 1941 refused to defend 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for opposing World War II as an imperialist war. This sectarianism only paved the way for jailing of CP leaders under the same witchhunting Smith Act later in the decade. (Despite the Stalinists' despicable sectarian backstabbing, the Trotskyists nonetheless defended CP defendants against the government.)

Continuing the tradition of the ILD, the PDC seeks to build a non-sectarian pro-working class legal defense organization, defending socialist, labor and left militants (regardless of their political affiliation) against attacks by the capitalist state. Radical lawyers and students in the Guild who desire to use their knowledge in the service of the left and labor movement should contact the Partisan Defense Committee for additional information. They should also vigorously protest the Stalinist-style exclusion of the Spartacist League from outside the Guild conference. ■

259 Wilmington Teachers Under House Arrest

One-Day State-Wide Strike Backs Delaware Teachers

WILMINGTON, Delaware—In the midst of a series of teachers strikes throughout the country, labor leaders here took the unaccustomed step of calling a one-day state-wide work stoppage September 24 to protest the vicious government assault against striking members of the Wilmington Federation of Teachers (WFT). Faced with a clear attempt to break both the strike and the union, state AFL-CIO leaders had no choice but to denounce as a "union-buster" their "friend" in the Democratic Party, Mayor Thomas Maloney.

After first provoking the strike and then stalling negotiations, despite groveling attempts at appeasement by WFT officials, Maloney ordered his cops to move on strikers picketing the Board of Education building only two days before the planned Delaware-wide "sympathy" action. Some 259 teachers were arrested, released, and then ordered by a judge to remain "quarantined" in their homes from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. in order to prevent them from picketing.

This sweeping house-arrest order only further incensed the embattled teachers. Asked if he intended to return to the picket lines in spite of the "quarantine," one teacher replied defiantly, "Hell, yes!" Signs at the downtown Wilmington rally on the day of the state-wide stoppage included "Stop Fascist Terror Tactics" and "No Contract, No Work."

Having gained a well-deserved reputation as a hard-line opponent of labor in earlier dealings with firemen and sanitationmen, Maloney has personally directed the attack on the teachers union, thus graphically demonstrating the futility of labor officialdom's one-way "alliances" with capitalist politicians. Four of the seven members of the school board are Maloney's appointees, and the "negotiations" are being conducted by an assistant city solicitor who is also the chief prosecutor of the arrested teachers in court!

There have been no real negotiations so far. Mayor Maloney refused to extend the

WFT contract as requested by the teachers union leaders to permit further bargaining, and obtained an injunction against the strike before it began. It took two weeks to get the school board to even begin talks, during which time registered letters were sent to the teachers breaking their contracts individually. According to WFT president James Warnick, the board then walked out of the session after only an hour, despite concessions made by the union at the meeting!

Local and state union officials have done their best to restrain the teachers' struggle and keep it within the bounds of the bureaucracy's perspective of class collaboration. While defending the union principle of "no contract, no work," Warnick has followed the defeatist lead set by AFT president Albert Shanker's capitulation in the recent New York City teachers' strike. Although the official demand for a 12 percent increase in each of the four years of the contract would probably fail to keep teachers abreast of inflation, the WFT head declared that this was "only the asking price. We're willing to settle for less than that."

Despite Maloney's attacks and Warnick's conciliation, the strike has remained about 85 to 90 percent effective, with good morale in the 1,200-member union and good response throughout the city. Teacher demands for such improvements as lower class sizes have produced support from the predominantly black population of Wilmington. In addition, the rally on the day of the support strike drew a number of construction workers. However, the demonstration was attended by only about 400, out of roughly 25,000 AFL-CIO members in Delaware.

While the very calling of a state-wide general strike to back the teachers was a welcome break from the established pattern of letting each union win or lose in total isolation, the poor turnout must be laid at the doorstep of the labor bureaucracy. Since the courts had enjoined teachers and other public employees from participating in the work stoppage, WFT



Wilmington, Delaware, police handcuff one of 259 teachers arrested during strike.

and state AFL-CIO leaders urged them to stay away from the September 24 rally. It was clear that the union leaders did not mobilize anywhere near the full force of labor for the "general strike."

The perspective laid out by speakers at the rally was less than promising. John Campanelli, president of the Delaware State Labor Council, speaking about the law prohibiting public employee strikes, said, "We are going to demand a law where not only we have to sit at the bargaining table, but they have to sit there too, regardless." Such a law would not even provide free collective bargaining, but simply compulsory bargaining. Without the right to strike, public workers would remain chained to compulsory arbitration, at the whim of the employers' state.

Worst of all was the officials' predictable ignoring of the political lesson of the WFT strike. Campanelli was quoted in the Communist Party's *Daily World* (24 September) as calling for the state-wide work stoppage in order to "bring to the

attention of the community the sorry political mess" that forced teachers to prolong their strike into the third week. What neither the labor bureaucrat nor the reformist CP said is that labor support for capitalist politicians is responsible for creating this mess.

At the Wilmington rally Campanelli admitted to a *WV* reporter that the AFL-CIO had supported Maloney for election, adding that unions are now threatening to withdraw their support if the mayor does not mend his ways! Such "threats" are impotent, for at best they represent nothing more than cheap maneuvers in a futile "strategy" of class collaboration. Instead of a token general strike and political support to the class enemy, Wilmington teachers (and all workers) need to dump the sellout labor bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership committed to a class-struggle program for victory, including demanding a workers party to struggle for a workers government. The treacherous policies of the Campanellis and Warnicks only increase the dangers of union-busting. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

also about 15 units and services of the Lisbon Military Region" along with elements from the navy, some parachutists and "quite a few officers dressed in civilian clothes."

After a march through Lisbon, the demonstrators gathered to listen to speakers. A spokesman for the SUV expressed solidarity with the disabled veterans, then called a demonstration the next day at a military prison across the river in Trafaria to demand the freeing of two soldiers jailed for distributing SUV leaflets attacking the military command. According to *República* (26 September) the crowd shouted back "today, today," and then "now, now!" Protestors quickly commandeered a fleet of buses and, accompanied by hundreds of cars, streamed across the April 25 Bridge, exchanging revolutionary greetings as they passed toll booths occupied by the veterans.

In Trafaria the fort was surrounded and barricades were thrown up in the

streets. UPI reported tanks stationed on the suspension bridge to prevent reinforcements from reaching the besieged jail. Finally, in the early morning hours the two soldiers were released, on orders from General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho.

General Staff Challenges COPCON

General Carvalho also played a role in yesterday's events, sending troops to take over the "far left" dominated Radio Renascença. The troops reportedly did not stop the staff from broadcasting but also did not leave. When Carvalho attended a meeting at the Information Ministry he was booed by left-wing demonstrators.

Usually referred to as leader of the extreme left of the Portuguese officer corps, Carvalho is head of the elite COPCON strike force and governor of the Lisbon Military Region. This makes him the most powerful commander of combat troops not part of the now-dominant right wing of the MFA. In fact, however, Carvalho is only the most opportunist of the top officers. And while alternately leaning toward syndicalist-led

workers commissions and then the "Group of Nine" anti-Communist officers, he has always been consistent in two things: opposing anything which threatens the existence of the armed forces (e.g., workers militias or soldiers committees) and denouncing all political parties.

Carvalho has given the general staff a good deal to worry about lately. Upon leaving for a short trip to Sweden last week he declared that "As soon as I feel betrayed [by the government], I have no doubt that from that moment on I will immediately betray the government" (*Diário de Notícias*, 22 September). In addition to the by-now universal plotting, there is the far more serious matter of 1,000 G-3 automatic rifles which disappeared during transport in early September. Last week the COPCON officer in charge of moving the arms, Captain Alvaro Fernandes, declared in an interview that he diverted the guns to "revolutionary workers and peasants." Fernandes, who is in hiding, stated that he considers Carvalho still a revolutionary, and that he merely "extrapolated" his orders from the COPCON chief (*República*, 24 September). Carvalho replied

that the arms "are in good hands" since they are with the left.

Given the small size of the Portuguese army (less than 50,000 combat troops in the country) and the very few relatively secure units controlled by the top command (not even a handful), MFA leaders are deeply worried by the spectre of armed workers uniting with dissident leftist soldiers. The high command answered the workers demonstrations the day after the SUV march in Lisbon by creating a new strike force, the Military Intervention Group (AMI). The AMI is clearly intended to shunt the "unreliable" Carvalho aside, having functions identical to those of COPCON and a commander firmly part of the "moderate" right wing. In response, General Carvalho immediately convened an assembly of delegates of the Lisbon Military Region which adopted a communiqué backing COPCON against the new intervention group.

Split the Army!

Since the beginning of the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal, the Spartacist tendency has called for the



Left: workers commission at Lisnave shipyards leads march of 6,000 against government no-strike law, 12 September 1974. Right: members of "popular vigilance committees" stop cars entering Lisbon to check for arms during attempted rightist putsch, 11 March 1975. Goal of the new Portuguese government is to suppress all soldiers committees and workers militias, and to break the back of workers commissions.

establishment of workers councils, workers militias and soldiers committees, and their unification in a national soviet as the means to advance toward socialist revolution. We also called for united-front defense of the left against the wave of anti-communist terror this summer, and (during the recent drive for power by the MFA right wing, as in attempted rightist putsches on 28 September 1974 and 11 March 1975) for a temporary military bloc even with leftist sections of the MFA.

But while emphasizing the need for united-front initiatives and joint military action, we have always stressed the central importance of building an authentic Trotskyist party and the need to break the masses' illusions in the bourgeois MFA. In contrast, much of the left has tailed after the so-called "progressive sector of the MFA," and in particular General Otelo de Carvalho. Much was made, for instance, of his recent statement that "in case of emergency, I would immediately turn over arms to the people." However, he immediately defined "the people" as those in whom COPCON units have confidence. He also criticized the seizure of the guns as unnecessary and potentially harmful, since they were allegedly given to a political party.

Carvalho saved his sharpest criticism for the SUV soldiers committees which, he said, "however well intentioned they may be, appear as a counterrevolutionary

activity.... I watch with a certain preoccupation the appearance of such organizations which... increasingly disintegrate the armed forces" (*República*, 26 September). Likewise he denounced as inopportune the demand "reactionaries out of the barracks right now!" and declared that "the great majority of the Portuguese people is of a conservative frame of mind" and is "afraid" and "shocked" by activities such as those of the SUV.

But this commitment to the maintenance of the capitalist armed forces is not limited to generals. The lowly captain Fernandes who "diverted" the 1,000 guns complained that if the privates and sergeants had "assumed their responsibilities and together had supported the officers who placed themselves decisively on the side of the working class, my gesture would not have been necessary." In other words, it is only the desperate situation posed by the threatened purge of the military by the high command that led Fernandes to break discipline. This is not insignificant, for Fernandes is one of two authors of the famous "COPCON document" (calling for "popular assemblies" to cement the "MFA-People Alliance") and also the main initiator of the "Revolutionary (or Popular) United Front" (FUR) formed on August 25 by the CP and five other leftist parties to support the "fifth provisional government" headed by Vasco Gonçalves.

Even in going underground the best-known "revolutionary officer" in Portugal reaffirmed his support for the bourgeois military. Even when threatened with dissolution of his command, General Carvalho condemns soldiers committees and sends troops to repress leftist workers. This should be a graphic lesson to those impressionists who believe the MFA, or its "progressive sector," can be a revolutionary force. It is necessary to split the capitalist army, organizing the soldiers *against* the command structure and in alliance with the workers movement. The signers of the August 25 FUR communiqué, supporting the MFA and the Gonçalves government, tied the workers to the class enemy, thereby proving themselves to be *obstacles* to the independent mobilization of the proletariat.

CIA Gold to Soares

While events in Portugal centered on the confrontation between the government and leftist workers, the *New York Times* reported on 25 September that vast amounts of U.S. money have been funneled to the Portuguese SP, as well as to anti-communist nationalist movements in Angola (the FNLA and UNITA). According to "four official sources in Washington,"

"United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said,

amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months.... "Until the spring, most of the Western aid to anti-Communist forces in Portugal was being given secretly by the West German Social Democratic party and the Belgian Socialist party without any American involvement."

Although Socialist Party leader Mario Soares heatedly denied receiving CIA dollars, the information was confirmed the next day by a State Department official, who put the amount received by the SP as "\$2-million to \$10-million a month" according to Associated Press.

The heavy flow of U.S. backing to the SP, the bourgeois PPD and several far-right groups has long been presumed. But by publicly confirming these facts, for whatever motive, the U.S. government was admitting the utter hypocrisy of President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger's warnings to the USSR in August to keep "hands off Portugal." The rhetoric of the Helsinki accords on "non-interference" in other countries is shown to be just so much cant, and Ford's statement that while "Western European countries are helping their Social Democratic friends in Portugal... because of the [Congressional] CIA investigation and all the limitations placed on us in the area of covert operations, we aren't able to participate with other Western European countries" (*U.S. News and World Report*, 11 August) is revealed as an outright lie.

While the CIA is now trying to clean up its image, insinuating that "dirty tricks" are a thing of the past, this money is far from being the sum total of U.S. intervention to shore up capitalist rule in Portugal. The very real Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP), which has been increasingly active in recent months, is reported with good evidence to be advised by Latin American CIA operatives, and several known American intelligence agents have been observed at the U.S. embassy in Lisbon in recent months. There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism is doing its best to "repeat Chile in Europe."

But to revolutionaries this should not be surprising. The CIA funnelled millions of dollars to West European social democrats and anti-Communist unions during the late 1940's and early 1950's as well, just as it greatly aided reactionary plotters and ultra-rightists in Chile. It is necessary to demand the abolition of the CIA and removal of all U.S. forces from Europe. But in the main, counterrevolution, just like revolution, grows out of the internal contradictions and the concrete political struggle in Portugal. The Portuguese trusts, Salazarist bishops, domestic fascists, pro-NATO generals and admirals, etc., are quite capable of raising the banner of counterrevolution themselves.

A showdown looms on the Portuguese horizon, as it did in Chile in 1973. It is not too late for Portuguese militants to learn the tragic lesson of Chile. Those who had been the most unshakeably confident in Allende's "road to socialism," who had dismissed as "sectarian purism" all warnings that the "progressive Chilean bourgeoisie—unless expropriated as a class, and its state power destroyed—would unleash a bloody reaction against the workers, scrambled to lay the entire responsibility for the junta's bloody coup at the CIA's door. To be sure, the CIA exists to promote and assist reaction, and seeks to smash revolutionary struggles wherever they break out. But the "revolutionary" Pollyannas of today reveal on the morrow their underlying defeatism, for the logic of their self-alibi position is that so long as the CIA exists, no revolution can possibly win.

The CIA, an arm of American imperialism, is not all-powerful. In Portugal today the key to proletarian victory is a revolutionary policy. U.S. imperialism, its allies and lackeys seek to defend, with all the formidable weapons of terror at their disposal, a decaying social order. A revolutionary Trotskyist party would turn the struggle to defeat reaction in Portugal into a struggle for proletarian power—breaking the workers from their illusions in the MFA, splitting the army, arming the workers, creating organs of dual power and fighting for soviet power. It is the treacherous misleaders of the Portuguese working masses, with their policy of class collaboration, who give the bankrupt bourgeois order a new lease on life and facilitate the murderous machinations of the CIA. ■

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Letter:

29 September 1975

To the Editor:

Workers Vanguard No. 74 (1 August) reprints a Partisan Defense Committee telegram denouncing the State Department's denial of entry into the U.S. to Cuban official Dr. Melba Hernandez. The telegram also called for striking down political exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act (officially entitled Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952). It should be clear that the PDC is for abolishing the rest of the McCarran-Walter Act as well. In addition to the reactionary exclusion provisions, this act is the foundation for the class-biased, racist and chauvinist immigration policies of the U.S., as well as provisions for deportation of "undesirable aliens."

The Partisan Defense Committee fights for the abolition of all legislation associated with McCarthyism and the Internal Security Act of 1950 (popularly known as the McCarran Act) whose unconstitutional and anti-democratic provisions include setting up "detention camps" for "subversives" (of which the government kept at least one list with over 10,000 names) in times of "national emergency." The struggle to defend and extend the democratic rights of working people in the U.S. is intimately linked with, and necessitates a relentless struggle for, the right of entry for all supporters and representatives of the international workers movement.

Comradely,

Reuben Shiffman

for the Partisan Defense Committee

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Bridges' Contract

(continued from page 12)

work gangs would be reduced by approximately 25 percent through attrition as the gang bosses die or retire.

Local 10 Paralyzed

Unfortunately, Local 10 has been paralyzed in the face of the drastic cut in the PGP and the PMA's move to crack down on working conditions. The civil war in the Local, between Bridges supporters and those led by now-suspended Local 10 president Larry Wing, continues with full fury.

Thus the Thursday, September 18 union meeting was dominated by squabbles between the pro-Wing and pro-Bridges forces. As reported in a recent issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the pro-Bridges forces, incensed by Wing's opposition to their policies of raiding and scabbing during the recent SUP/MFOW strike, moved to impeach the Local 10 president on trumped-up and vague charges of "malfeasance and misfeasance in office." This was done despite five votes by the August 21 membership meeting rejecting these charges as being too vague to constitute a basis for a trial.

As we also reported, Wing retaliated by moving to impeach the pro-Bridges secretary-treasurer Carl Smith for suspending him in disregard of the August 21 votes. Then Wing went running to the bosses, suing the union in the capitalist courts to get his job back.

Longshoremen who attended the Sep-

tember 18 meeting thus faced two petitions calling for removal of the Local's two main officers. Wing and Smith. Immediately the issue was posed of who would chair the meeting. With Luper, a long-time Bridges supporter, chairing, a vote on this question was taken. It was immediately protested since only those on the floor of the hall had their votes counted, but not those in the balcony of the packed meeting hall. Wing lost the "vote" by a small margin, and vice-president Watson chaired the meeting.

The meeting then proceeded to vote to accept the charges and select trial committees for both Wing and Smith. This reflected real anger among the members of the Local aimed at both officials—for raiding on Smith's part and Wing's dragging the union through the bosses' courts.

With both main officers of the Local suspended pending trial there is a real danger that Bridges will take the opportunity to move in and put the Local into receivership. Disgusted with the antics of Smith and Wing, a certain section of the membership might well be prepared to accept receivership. Bridges has been involved in a long war with Local 10, originally to gain possession of the Local's hall in order to sell it to the Alioto family, and more recently because the Local has become a center of opposition to his last contract sellout.

If Bridges is able to put this explosive Local into receivership it will simplify his job of forcing longshoremen to accept the employers' terms without a struggle. West Coast longshoremen must not allow this

to happen. Any move by Bridges toward receivership must be resolutely opposed. The first step to eliminating this danger is to get both sides to drop their charges and put an end to the wrangling that is preventing the Local from getting down to the business of fighting the PMA's attacks.

The September 18 union meeting showed that a lot of the ranks share this sentiment. Thus a motion by CP supporter Archie Brown urging both sides to drop their charges got loud applause. Unfortunately, Brown's motion and a similar one put forward by Stan Gow of the *Longshore Militant* were arbitrarily ruled out of order.

While an end to the bureaucratic squabbling is vital for conducting a struggle against the PMA bosses, it is far from sufficient. Neither Bridges nor Wing nor reformist fakers such as Archie Brown have shown the capacity or will to fight the capitalist bosses. The attack on longshoremen is not an isolated attack. The attacks on wages and working conditions, the whipping up of racial hysteria, chauvinist protectionism and campaigns against foreign workers—all these are part of a general capitalist drive toward a new imperialist war. Simple trade-union militancy and reformist horse-trading are not adequate in this situation. Only a leadership committed to the international perspective of putting an end to capitalism can show the way forward. The problem of forging such a leadership is not simply the problem of the ILWU but the problem of the entire working class. ■

SWP Rewrites ...

(continued from page 7)

in 1960; the "Samarakody-Tampoe motion [which] was opposed in principle to any coalition" at the 6-7 June 1964 LSSP split convention; the founding statement of the minority which split rather than enter the government, issued by Samarakody; Samarakody's 15 July speech in which the "revolutionary wing" "scathingly attacked the LSSP traitors" thereby preserving "the program of Trotskyism and the honor of the Fourth International."

A full and authoritative account by Edmund Samarakody of the history and definitive degeneration of the LSSP and the fight of its revolutionary elements to uphold the essential principles of Trotskyism appeared in *Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-74. It illuminates the battle waged beginning in 1957 by the tendency around Comrade Samarakody to reverse the LSSP's degeneration. It documents the fundamental disinterest of the International Secretariat in this struggle and its sudden discovery of the LSSP's reformism only after the 1964 split (Pierre Frank had refused to support

the minority at the convention itself). Hansen and the USec have never dared to respond to this account.

But prior to this recent article, *IP* had not been entirely silent about Edmund Samarakody—far from it! The recent "Balance Sheet" notes in a footnote that Samarakody "split from the section with a small group after the April 1968 conference." We are curious as to the restraint shown by *IP* on this occasion. For on 19 March 1973 this same *IP* levelled the gravest of charges against Comrade Samarakody and the Spartacist tendency.

In the fall of 1972, *Spartacist* No. 21 had precipitated an international furor by publishing suppressed documents of the USec's own "Ceylon Commission" at its April 1969 "World Congress," supplied to us by Comrade Samarakody. The two reports of the Commission described "actions and policies of Comrade Bala [Tampoe, head of the USec's Ceylon section] and the LSSP(R) brought to our attention by Comrade Edmund and not denied by Comrade Bala." Among these "actions" were a trip by Tampoe to the U.S. financed by the CIA-funded Asia Foundation and a private chat with U.S. imperialism's minister of war, "Defense" Secretary McNamara.

The tack taken by *IP* on 19 March 1973 was to deny the authenticity of the documents and the very existence of the Ceylon Commission, to lump Edmund Samarakody and the Spartacist tendency together with the notorious Healyite tendency (which had picked up the Tampoe scandal following the publication of *Spartacist*) and to label Samarakody, along with the rest, "slandrers and liars in the working-class movement." (*IP* did not see fit to openly abandon this colossal bluff even following *Spartacist's* subsequent publication of a photograph of a page of the SWP's own internal bulletin showing that a point on the Ceylon Commission appeared in the "World Congress" minutes!) ■

We are gratified that *IP* has now apparently abandoned its policy of sneering Comrade Samarakody. We hope (but do not expect) to see in the pages of *IP* a public apology to Comrade Samarakody explicitly repudiating *IP's* monstrous assault on the integrity of this veteran fighter for socialist principle. ■

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Bandaranaike...

(continued from page 6)

in 1956 when S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike formed his government. The LSSP, while remaining in the parliamentary opposition benches, gave "critical" support to the Bandaranaike government....

In fact considerable sections of the masses, including the working class, are severely critical of the LSSP. The leading part that LSSP ministers took in pushing through some of the unpopular measures of the coalition government, like price increases in food and essential commodities and cuts in food rations, is brought out against the party now. The SLFP has been quick to exploit the situation in its favour, by attempting to throw the whole responsibility for the sufferings of the people onto the LSSP ministers. It will by no means be easy for the LSSP to defend itself in the face of these criticisms and charges....

But the SLFP government and the rightist forces will not watch in silence any growth of an opposition movement, especially of left currents. On the contrary, they will seek to counter not only the moves of the LSSP but of all other oppositional currents.

The options for the SLFP government and the rightist forces in the period ahead are not altogether clear. There cannot be any doubt that there is general agreement among rightist forces that what is needed in this situation is the "strong government" of the capitalist class that could deal firmly and even ruthlessly with the working class and the left....

This evolution of a "strong government" of the bourgeoisie has to be considered in light of the policies of U.S. imperialism and of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies, which make common cause in promoting the forces of counterrevolution. Since despite the needs of "détente" power politics will continue, the Kremlin cannot favour the growth of U.S. influence in Sri Lanka to its detriment. But that is not the case in regard to the Peking bureaucracy, which considers the USSR a capitalist country and "Soviet Social Imperialism" more dangerous than U.S. imperialism. It is in this orientation that Peking is calling for a continuing, and even greater, presence of U.S. imperialism in Asia and South East Asia. If the Peking bureaucrats and U.S. imperialism intervene in strengthening the SLFP government, it would mean that the "strong government" of the bourgeoisie would be realized sooner than expected....

In regard to the task of reorientation of the working class, the LSSP and CP still remain the biggest obstacle. The CP believes that it could even remain while the LSSP and the left are under fire; the LSSP has not even posed the danger to the working class and the left from the SLFP government and the rightist forces. The LSSP is functioning under the perspective of reforming the coalition with the SLFP under cover of a "united left front."

Thus the LSSP opposition to the government will not mean a mobilisation of the working class and the masses against the government from an anti-capitalist perspective. Once again, their policies, in and outside parliament, will remain parliamentarist. They will continue to discourage and blunt the class struggle when it breaks out, especially in the context of preparing for the elections.

Nevertheless, in spite of the LSSP and the CP, the class struggle will break out and it will not be as easy for these two parties to block or hold back the working class as when the LSSP was in the coalition. There are even now real possibilities for a reorientation of the working class and toilers.

But what is likely is that the government's repression would come faster than the rise of the class struggle. Thus the principal question today is the defense of the working class and the left movement from the coming offensive from the right. In this context, united-front action is

sharply posed as the need of the hour. But it is the aim of the LSSP to confound the Marxist united-front tactic with the so-called strategic united front, the so-called "united left front" leading to coalition with the bourgeoisie....

For a long time now the Bala Tampoe group (United Secretariat) has been calling for the rebuilding of the "left movement." Even after the break-up of the coalition, Tampoe has repeated this call.... Like the LSSP, Tampoe has no perspective of mobilising the working class for struggle in the gravest hour of the Sri Lanka working class. As for the Revolutionary Communist League (Healyite) it has been obsessed by the fact that it supported the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition in the 1970 elections. Having soon thereafter publicly confessed its error, about three months after the coalition government was set up the Healy group called upon the LSSP and CP to break from the bourgeoisie and take the power, a slogan that was put forward by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia during 1917 under very different conditions. Thereafter, its next slogan was calling upon the LSSP and CP to organise the left independently of the SLFP. It has repeated this slogan even after the break of the coalition, and thus the politics of this group come very close to those of the LSSP....

It is the view of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) (RWP) that the alternative revolutionary leadership cannot be built on the shifting sands of opportunism, parliamentarism or adventurism based on Stalinist or neo-Stalinist "theories" of two-stage revolution or on varieties of pragmatism masquerading as Trotskyism, but only on the granite foundations of the revolutionary program, or more precisely, the Transitional Program flowing from the theory of the permanent revolution. This means the need to categorically reject all forms of coalition politics pursued under the guise of strategic united fronts. A revolutionary program means concretely today mobilising the working class and toilers for the defence of the working class against the coming onslaught of the government and the capitalist class, on a united-front basis. And this means the mobilising of the workers for struggle for their immediate day-to-day demands, like wage increases, linked to the anti-capitalist demands of workers control; nationalisation under workers control of all capitalist enterprises without compensation; formation of workers committees, defence squads and workers militias. The slogan in this context cannot be the so-called united left government in parliament, or any such parliamentarist slogan, but a workers and peasants government. In the RWP's view, the alternatives sharply posed today are either proletarian revolution or the smashing of the working class and the left for naked capitalist dictatorship. ■

— LOS ANGELES —

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Black-White Unity

(continued from page 12)

eliminated and that teachers work an extra unpaid class period per week. They also refused to seriously respond to the union's demands for job security provisions and preparation time for elementary school teachers. The Committee, which hypocritically counterposes "quality education" to "forced busing," is obstructing the BTU's proposals for educational improvements such as new remedial reading programs and music, art and science teachers in elementary schools.

In addition, the 27 August *Boston Globe* noted that "The committee tactic... is to generally give the union a hard time—to 'stick it' to them—for not buying tickets to fund-raising testimonials, a practice the BTU ended several years ago!"

Despite this unanimous opposition from Boston's rulers the strike remained solid right down to the day of the sellout. Attempts to keep the schools open were an obvious farce, with principals herding the few students who showed up into auditoriums for attendance taking, after which they let them slip out the back door.

The bosses' courts played their typical role. A Suffolk Superior Court judge first fined the union \$5,000 a day, then upped this to \$25,000 a day, and threatened to jail BTU leaders. The racist cops, treacherous and totally unreliable as "guardians" of black children on buses, have proved more enthusiastic in enforcing a ban on picketing within 100 yards of the schools. At some sites this made it impossible for striking teachers and aides to confront scabs entering the buildings.

The NAACP, plaintiffs in the desegregation suit, requested Judge Garrity to issue a federal injunction against the strike. Garrity backed up the School Committee and accused the BTU of "bad faith" in the negotiating. Even the *New York Times* (24 September) chimed in and piously condemned the strike as "a no-win contest that reflects poorly on the teachers' comprehension of their self-interest and of larger social issues confronting the schools."

The liberals' opposition to the strike underscores the hypocrisy of their narrow bourgeois approach to busing. While some support integration of black and white students within the Boston school system, they oppose the teachers' demands to upgrade the city's schools and refuse to extend busing to the more privileged suburban schools. Racial oppression is deeply rooted in the capitalist system, and the liberal "champions" of racial equality instinctively draw back from any fundamental challenge to that system. The NAACP's strategy of reliance on the bourgeois courts and cops to protect black people's rights leads them to line up against the labor movement.

The Spartacist League proposed a winning strike strategy for Boston teachers based on labor solidarity and a BTU appeal for black community support, through reversing the union's position of delaying Phase Two and instead adopting an unequivocal stand for immediate school desegregation and labor action to protect black school children. Not so the fake-socialist camp followers of the liberal bourgeoisie. Instead of calling for resolute working-class struggle, the reformists advised the teachers to give up. A leaflet distributed at BTU meetings by a "Concerned Teachers Committee," hacked by the Maoist October League, called for "continued negotiations up to and including arbitration." New England Communist Party spokesman Ed Texeira issued a statement urging teachers to "look to other tactics than the strike such as refusing to work the extra 45 minutes" (*Daily World*, 25 September)! And although the Socialist Workers Party supported the strike, it pointedly refused to criticize the union-busting tactics of its friends in the NAACP.

In contrast, the black members of the

BTU demonstrated a laudable understanding of the need for racial unity to win the strike. For a brief period early last week it appeared that some black teachers and aides had been disoriented by the NAACP's demagoguery and by the difficult intersection of the strike with the busing controversy. A union member reported to *WV* that a meeting of the Black Educators Alliance (BEA), headed by aspiring Democrat politico John O'Bryant, decided by a slim margin (and after three votes) to advise black teachers to enter the schools in order to protect black children during the strike. This policy, fortunately never carried out, would have led to black teachers' crossing picket lines, greatly poisoning the atmosphere within the union and tragically playing into the hands of the School Committee.

Discussion between BEA supporters and other members of the union soon led to a reversal, however. At a strike information meeting held on September 24, a newly formed Black Caucus, whose membership overlaps with the BEA, distributed a statement saying that caucus members "unanimously support the present strike" and "intend to become an effective force for change within the BTU." While the Black Caucus' support to the strike was an extremely positive step, what is needed to oust the present union bureaucracy (which capitulates both to racism and union-busting capitalist politicians and courts) is not a caucus drawn on racial lines but a militant opposition committed to fight for class-struggle policies and in defense of the rights and interests of oppressed minorities.

In the absence of a powerful class-struggle opposition within the union, the BTU leadership has been able to run the strike from the top down. At daily informational union meetings BTU president Henry Robinson prohibited all floor discussion and motions. In addition, the executive board claimed that it was empowered to send teachers back to work as soon as it was ready to recommend acceptance of a settlement (as it did today). Such bureaucratic procedures could only weaken the struggle.

More generally, the greatest obstacle to a strike victory has been the union leadership's craven pro-racist "neutrality" on the busing question and its refusal to adopt class-struggle policies. In particular, the BTU did not challenge the ban on picketing near schools nor did it call on the Central Labor Council for concrete solidarity actions (demonstrations, sympathy strikes). Robinson's real strategy was revealed at the strike rally yesterday where he said, "I call on the courts to force the School Committee to remain at the bargaining table."

All along, the union tops hoped that the School Committee would agree to some minimal face-saving compromise under pressure from Garrity's court. When Garrity sided with the Committee, the bureaucracy simply capitulated, in the process stabbing the provisionals in the back. So long as pro-capitalist leaders such as Robinson remain in control, sellouts like this will be the norm and promising steps to racial unity in militant struggle will be sacrificed on the altar of class collaboration. ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 9, Summer 1975

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote "No" Against Sellout Contract!

Black-White Unity in Boston Teachers' Strike

BOSTON, September 29—This afternoon Boston teachers returned to work on orders from their union executive board. Despite militant table-thumping by bureaucrats at yesterday's strike rally, the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) leadership accepted a settlement that seriously undermines the union and saddles teachers with an extra 40 minutes of unpaid work every week. Protection against inflation is wholly inadequate (6 percent wage increase and no cost-of-living escalator), and union proposals for educational improvements which would have created more teaching jobs were thrown out the window. Provisionals can expect layoffs despite their solid support to the strike.

During the last two weeks local politicians from liberal Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered the busing plan for desegregation in Boston schools, to the

racist School Committee, which opposed it, joined hands to crush the strike. Against them stood the ranks of the BTU, black and white alike, who refused to allow their leadership's miserable record of capitulation to racism to divide them in the struggle against the threat of layoffs and pay cuts, and for decent education for all the city's students. But the miserable settlement will destroy the tenuous unity between black and white, provisional and permanent teachers that was forged on the picket lines. The rank and file must reject this wretched sellout.

The venal politicians on the School Committee hoped to wear down the BTU through intra-union negotiating and by forcing a strike just as Phase Two of the busing program was being initiated. They provoked the strike with outrageous demands that class-size restrictions be

continued on page 11



WV Photo

Boston teachers demonstrate outside School Committee office September 26.

ILWU Local 10: Stop the Bureaucratic Squabbling, Fight the Bosses!

Hard Times Under Bridges' "Depression-Proof" Contract

Pay Guarantee Slashed, Further Work Cuts for "B-Men"

SAN FRANCISCO, September 26—Just a few months ago, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Harry Bridges was crowing that his new longshore contract would be "depression proof." The real needs of longshoremen—the need for a manning scale on all operations, to eliminate the steady man category and strengthen the hiring hall, to upgrade all "B men" to A status and permit no deregulations; the need for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, for a big wage boost and a full cost-of-living escalator, for the right to strike over safety and work conditions—did not find a place in Bridges' new contract. But Bridges did insist that the ILWU/PMA Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) would give every "A man" his 36 hours' pay a week, depression or no depression.

Yet the Pay Guarantee fund, like the auto workers' SUB fund, is proving hopelessly inadequate in times of slump. In the last few weeks the PGP has paid only 88 percent of the full guarantee. Next week it is rumored that the PGP will be cut by 31 percent!

These cuts in the income of longshoremen, many of whom are dependent on the PGP to get a "full week's

pay," are unprecedented on the West Coast. What's more, the situation can only get worse. This time of year shipping is at its peak. During the usually slow winter period loss of work may reduce the guarantee money paid to less than 50 percent of the full guarantee.

Bridges' strategy of selling out the real needs of the membership in exchange for crumbs from the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) capitalists is a recipe for defeat. But thanks to Bridges, more is in store for longshoremen than a slash in the PGP. Under the terms of his new contract Bridges has essentially put the area arbitrator in control of the dispatch hall, giving the PMA a powerful lever in its drive to smash long-established work rules.

In one instance under the last contract an employer ordered longshoremen to do work that was in direct violation of the contract. Rather than grieve the matter and continue working (a sure guarantee nothing would happen), the men stopped work. In stepped the area arbitrator, an ex-attorney for the PMA named Barsimian. How did he rule on this beef? He noted the employer was wrong to order the men to work in violation of the contract. However, he also declared that the men were wrong to stop work. His conclusion: no punishment for the company, time off for the men who stopped work!

Now Barsimian has begun to release his rulings on the exact terms of the recent



San Francisco ILWU hall, subject of dispute between union president Bridges and Local 10 leaders a year ago when Bridges tried to sell it to Alioto business interests.

contract as they apply to Local 10. As reported at the September 18 membership meeting he ruled that the night dock board will be reduced from 300 men to 50 men (PMA had asked for 25). This will force many longshoremen who had chosen to work nights onto days, where they will compete with other longshoremen for a shrinking number of jobs. Barsimian also ruled that B men, who are

coming under especially heavy economic pressure aimed at forcing them out of the industry, will lose their right to job call-backs and only be allowed to be dispatched for one day's work. At present both A and B men can be called back for one or more days after the initial dispatch to finish a job. To cap it off, this "arbitrator" ruled that the number of

continued on page 10