

Gov. Carey to Ford: "Troops or Funds!"

Labor Must Mobilize to Shut Down NYC!

OCTOBER 12 When New York City union leaders stomped out of Mayor Beame's office last Wednesday muttering about a general strike it did not mean a "left turn" by the labor bureaucracy. It was only a cheap drama to support the banks and local politicians in their campaign to deflect anger to Washington and crack opposition to federal aid to bail out the city. As the bourgeoisie suddenly grasps that NYC "default" could trigger a banking collapse that would send destructive shock waves through an already depressed economy, support grows in Congress for a federal aid bill. The play for the money is on.

Although the need for a powerful city-wide general strike to smash the capitalist austerity program is more urgent than ever, the bureaucrats' hollow bluster outside the Mayor's office raised immediate skepticism on all sides. The call for a general strike was literally unbelievable coming out of the mouths of men like Victor Gotham who not two months ago said *any* kind of strike was a "sign of weakness"; from Albert Shanker who agreed to the disastrous UFT settlement and later said that the strike was a "mistake"; or John DeLury whose mem-

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New York cops failed to prevent militant hospital workers from marching across Brooklyn Bridge in July.

WV Photo

Not Putschism—For Workers Revolution in Portugal

Defend Porto Barracks Revolt!

OCTOBER 14—Last week 600 soldiers of a Portuguese army unit in the northern city of Porto moved into installations of the local artillery brigade, ran up a red flag and declared their intention to remain until an order disbanding their unit is rescinded and its author, the regional commander, removed. This barracks revolt by the military transport center (CICA) and its supporters in the artillery brigade is now seven days old, making it the longest open defiance of the military command by rebellious leftist soldiers to date in Portugal. But it is by no means the only case. At this point the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) is deeply divided and the discipline-minded general staff is hard-pressed to find dependable units.

The intra-MFA struggle began in late July as a faction fight at the top, with one wing grouped around then-Premier Vasco Gonçalves and pro-Communist Party (CP) elements, a second around the supposedly "far left" General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, and a third com-

posed of the "moderate" Group of Nine. The latter won out in the officer corps, forcing the retirement of Gonçalves and placing the present sixth provisional government in power. But since the beginning of September the splintering of the armed forces has rapidly accelerated. Soldiers committees of various political hues have arisen to challenge the command structure, and units in various parts of the country have refused to obey orders. So far, Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo's program for a purge of the left has flopped.

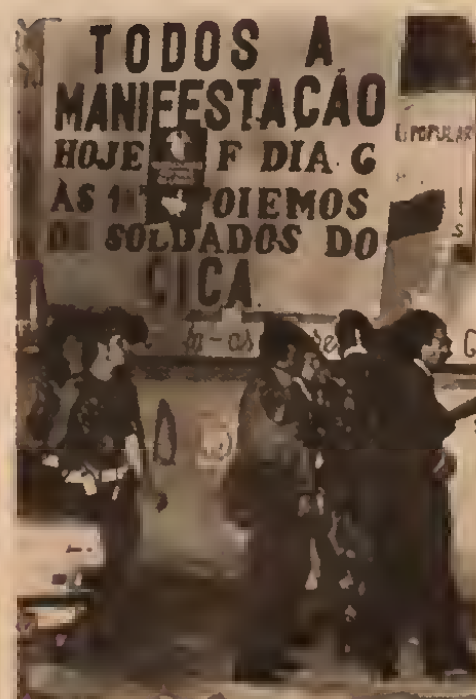
Ranks Rebel

The first of the leftists soldiers' "mutinies" was a refusal by the Military Police Regiment to embark for Angola at the end of August. On September 1, some 200 MPs, led by the Maoist Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party (MRPP), marched in battle dress before the presidential palace to win support for their defiance of orders. They were joined by several thousand workers and stu-

dents. President Francisco da Costa Gomes, who is simultaneously chief of staff of the armed forces, responded by dissolving the regiment, but the military police remain in control of their installations. Meanwhile an internal struggle has been going on within the regiment between the MRPP and the soft-Maoist Democratic Popular Union (UDP), with the latter gaining the upper hand in alliance with the unit commander, Major Tome.

The rank-and-file revolt in the military continued to spread throughout the country, leading to the creation of the clandestine "Soldiers United Will Win" (SUV) organization which led a demonstration in Porto against the Azevedo government on September 10. The SUV is generally linked with the "revolutionary (or popular) united front" (FUR) set up by eight leftist parties, including the CP, on August 25 to support the faltering Gonçalves "fifth government." While the SUV declared that soldiers had made a

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Porto poster backs rebel soldiers.

Liaison

Berkeley Teachers Back to Work with No Contract

BERKELEY, October 6 -The longest teachers' strike in California history ended today in disaster for Berkeley teachers. Despite the sporadic militancy and length of the strike (over a month), union leaders cynically betrayed even their own expressed goal, restoration of the terms of an April 15 agreement with the school board. This initial agreement, unilaterally dumped when the city discovered a "fiscal crisis," was itself a setback: it traded off a total freeze on wage and fringe-benefit improvements for the school board's promise that there would be no layoffs. In order to engineer today's deal, the teachers' leaders actually concurred in wiping out an agreement negotiated during the strike to restore a 1.2 percent salary cut, one of the main issues which precipitated the walkout.

The two unions involved, the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT) and the Berkeley Teachers Association (BTA), voted jointly to submit all issues to a special three-man "fact-finding" panel consisting of Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian and two additional members chosen by the teachers and the school board respectively. The panel, an idea originally proposed by State Superintendent of Schools Wilson Riles, is empowered to investigate the issues and recommend a solution acceptable to all sides. Although the panel has no enforcement powers, the strike is effectively over,

affiliated to the National Education Association. But the BTA protest was not aimed at the pay cut or the sellout April 15 agreement which it helped draft. Instead BTA leaders opposed the "Riles plan" because it had no "teeth" in it. What these phonies wanted was *binding arbitration*, giving some "neutral party" total control over the contract settlement!

Their proposed "solution" was the "Dellums plan" (named after its author, Congressman Ron Dellums) whose key components included "immediate resumption of regular classes under an interim agreement" and a third party to intervene with a decisive vote. The snag was that no one could agree on what the "interim agreement" would consist of. Consequently, the Dellums plan was scrapped in favor of a modified version of the Riles plan, which achieved the school board's aim of ending the strike, while keeping the exact terms of the new contract under wraps for the time being.

The school board added insult to injury with its condescending offer to allow individual teachers to borrow up to \$600 to be repaid through payroll deductions over the next four months. The board did not even reveal whether teachers will have to pay interest while amortizing their strike losses.

The school board was as intransigent during this strike as the City Council was during the firemen's strike. Not to be



Berkeley teachers picket, September 9.

WV Photo

Teachers have returned to work pending the panel's decision, which is supposed to take anywhere from two to three weeks.

Without the strike weapon the teachers are in no position to bargain for anything, and the likelihood of their going out again after this demoralizing rout is extremely remote. This "truce" on the bosses' terms leaves the unions defenseless in the face of cutbacks in special education programs, elimination of class size restrictions, arbitrary transfers and other school board demands which forced the teachers to strike in the first place.

A significant "no" vote (about 25 percent) reflected deep disgust on the part of many teachers as well as a meek protest registered by leaders of the BTA, which is

outdone by its liberal union-husting friends in City Hall, the school board actively tried to break the strike by hiring scabs at \$50 a day and spending thousands of dollars on vicious anti-union propaganda aimed at parents and students. Despite this campaign, the strike remained solid throughout. Nevertheless, because of the leadership's narrow strategy of reliance solely on community support, the teachers' strike was fatally isolated from the rest of the labor movement. The BFT and BTA bureaucrats, more concerned with their respectability and professional image, took not the slightest step toward joint action with striking Berkeley firemen or with other

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Letter

10 October 1975

To the editor

The article "Racism and Gun Control" in *WT* No. 80 (10 October) makes clear the racist and anti-working-class aims of the hypocritical bourgeois liberals' gun control campaign, as well as their inability to move definitively on this front given the widespread determination by the white middle class and many others to own guns. It is this real felt need on the part of millions that gives the right-wing National Rifle Association (NRA) and the gun manufacturers their enormous lobbying power, although both have their own motives: the strongly conservative NRA wants to suppress black militants and revolutionists (while safeguarding sports weapons), while the arms makers seek a bigger cut of the market by backing bans on cheap and imported "Saturday Night Specials."

In addition to obscuring the real social motivations behind demands for gun control, both pro- and anti-gun pressure groups make much of the Second Amendment. In fact, schoolchildren are taught, and most Americans believe, that "A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed" guarantees their personal right to arms. But this was neither the expressed intent of the slaveholders who founded the republic, nor of the jurists who interpret their views.

James Madison penned the Second Amendment as part of the concessions to states-rights advocates at the First Congress, assuring the right to state militias. The personal "right to bear arms" was only debated once. The old radical Samuel Adams felt the "right of revolution" withering fast and offered an amendment at the Massachusetts ratifying convention, that the "Constitution be never construed to authorize Congress to ... prevent the people of the United

States, who are peaceable citizens from keeping their own arms." Under pressure of the Federalists he voted against his own amendment and it was defeated.

It is clear that the real question in the initially weak federal structure was locating control over the armed bodies of men that are the essence of state power. The real concerns involved were indicated in a review of early Constitutional history, which points out: "The overriding concern of the delegates to the federal convention was the need for a strong central government, with particular emphasis on the need to contain insurrection. Shay's rebellion and other disorders nurtured the fear of anarchy and the conviction that a strong militia under the supervision of the central government was necessary" (*Northwestern University Law Review*, March-April 1966).

Judicial review has been consistent with this extremely narrow interpretation of the "right to bear arms." In an early test of the allegedly anti-gangster National Firearms Act of 1934 (which requires taxation and hence registration of submachine guns, sawed-off shotguns, etc.), a Florida district court noted simply that "it [the second amendment] refers to the militia, a protective force of government; to a collective body and not individual rights." In upholding this view, the Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Miller* (the first and only time the Supreme Court has ruled on the constitutionality of a federal firearms regulation) ruled that since a sawed-off shotgun had no "reasonable relationship to the preservation or efficiency of a well-regulated militia," its ownership was not protected by the Second Amendment.

Thus the criterion of the Constitution's authors and their judicial inheritors has consistently been the preservation and protection of the armed state power, not the armed masses. If the particularity of American conditions, especially the racial polarization of the 1960's and 1970's, paralyzes the ability of the bourgeoisie to monopolize the use of firearms, it is not that they lack the intent or desire.

Comradely,
K.D.

Hungary 1956

IWP Supports Khrushchev's Tanks, But Not Very Well

At an October 4 Spartacist League forum in New York, entitled "The Politics of Crazy" and dealing with the recent rash of mock-leftist terrorism, a supporter of the International Workers Party (IWP) rose in the discussion period to denounce the SL for not defending the cultist Symphonese Liberation Army (SLA) as part of the left. He further accused the SL of "cheerleading the misled workers of the actual counterrevolution" in Hungary in 1956. The following exchange ensued:

Burroughs (for the SL): "... Now you also mentioned Hungary. What you must explain about this 'counterrevolution' in Hungary are the soviets. That's all. That all over Hungary workers' soviets sprang up. The Cepel workers had a program, the first point of which was to keep factories in the hands of the workers. That's all you have to explain. *That* you don't support. The SLA has a program to get you in a room and blow your brains out, right? Kill school superintendents and enemies on a hit list that DeFreeze made in prison. *That* you support...."

IWP supporter: "... On this question of Hungary, yes there were soviets in Hungary. Workers were in soviets that were springing up. If you take the time to read Lenin's *Fourth International and the Renegade Kautsky* [sic], you'll see that he doesn't fetishize soviets as somehow inherently revolutionary. In fact, there was a Kronstadt soviet in 1921 which rose up against the Bolshevik party and which Lenin and Trotsky personally were prepared to smash, in blood. This is no kind of argument for saying that there was a revolutionary upsurge. What was happening in Russia was the workers were essentially being misled by the peasants. [In Hungary?] the Smallholders Party and one of the bourgeois parties and Cardinal Mindszenty were misleading them and actually using democratic demands for soviet democracy, the same way Kronstadt was used in '21 as a cover for bourgeois restoration...."

Burroughs: "I just want to answer one point. The slogan of the Kronstadt soviet was 'soviets without communists.' The program of the soviets in Hungary was 'soviets without Stalinists.'"

IWP'er from the floor: "Same thing!"

Burroughs: "Now for you it amounts to the same thing. That's the difference. That's the critical difference between your group out of Marxism and pro-Stalinist and our group. You see, we don't think of the Bolsheviks in 1921 as the same as the Stalinists [in Hungary, 1956]. That's the critical difference.... You know what they [Nagy] told the soviets in Hungary? They said, look, why don't you make soviets like they have in Yugoslavia. The workers answered, no, we want the kind of soviets we read about in our school books, the kind they had in Russia in 1917!" (Applause)

Stop the Scabs at Washington Post!

WASHINGTON, D.C. A bitter confrontation has been raging between the *Washington Post* and its craft employees since pressmen and stereotypers of Local 6 of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union walked out on strike October 1. Contract negotiations were suspended October 9 with a report of "no progress" and no date set to resume. Despite a reputation for political liberalism and enlightened labor relations, the *Post* is pursuing a vicious union-husting offensive.

Much of the sensationalist publicity surrounding the strike flows from what the *Post* calls a "riot" by pressmen as they walked off the job with the expiration of their contract. In the pre-dawn hours on October 1, a foreman was beaten up and extensive damage done to the *Post* pressroom. One press was set on fire, the electrical controls on others were destroyed and parts of all nine presses were jammed and destroyed. Following this a militant picket line was set up, which caused scabs to complain of being kicked, shoved, spat on and "verbally abused." The *Post* obtained an immediate Superior Court restraining order imposing strict controls on the pickets, including limiting the number of pickets to nine to cover three entrances.

Hypocrites' Outrage

The striking pressmen's alleged sabotage brought forth gales of self-righteous protest from the *Post* management and other papers such as the notoriously anti-labor *New York Times*. What these organs of capitalist opinion do not report is the war which they and their reactionary American Newspaper Publishers Association have been waging against the printing trades for years. One local Newspaper Guild official reported in a membership newsletter that the Publishers Association wanted the *Post* to lead a union-busting attack because of complaints against the *Post's* allegedly too-high wages. But no doubt foremost in the pressmen's minds was the record of defeats printing crafts have suffered because of strikebreaking techniques such as live-in scabs, and the failure of union leaderships to counterattack with effective measures. Informed by sympathetic Guild members that management had scabs lined up on the upper floors ready to commence work the moment they walked out, the pressmen knew that such a defeat was being prepared for them.

Darling of the liberal establishment, the *Post* has been lauded in recent years for its revelations on Watergate and Vietnam, and its publisher, Kathryn Graham, sits on the board of several corporations. The true face of the *Post's* liberalism has been increasingly revealed

in its anti-union drive. The 3 October scab edition wallowed in its own demagoguery: "No doubt it is possible to say that the immediate recourse to violence is the temper of our times. It is the same spirit as that of the hijacker in the airliners, or the sniper on a Belfast roof, or the assassin in the crowd that turns out to welcome a politician. But surely our times have by now taught us the wrongheadedness, and the immorality, of acquiescence to violence and threats.... People who oppose burning hooks will also oppose burning printing presses." Comparing its employees to assassins and hook-burners, the *Post* hails the federal grand jury which is currently calling pressmen to testify in an investigation of the violence.

The "Right to Publish"...and Break Unions

In fact, despite the "hook-burning" hoveyman, the *Post* has continued to publish a limited edition in part by flying the page duplicates by helicopter from the roof to six heavily-guarded press rooms of small, non-union papers in areas as much as 150 miles away. Graham's political pull was no doubt required to obtain clearance for the helicopter flights only three blocks from the White House, in a zone in which all flights are prohibited and in which the Civil Aeronautics Board had banned helicopter service. Now three of the damaged presses are back in operation, repaired by scab labor after the Machinists' Union refused to do the work.

For at least two years the *Post* has been carefully preparing a union-husting "contingency plan" for the present strike, training supervisory and other workers to substitute for pressmen, paper handlers, photoengravers and typesetters. Strikebreakers began their training at a fully-equipped mechanical plant in Oklahoma City, supported by the Publishers Association and several hundred newspapers specifically for the purpose of training scabs. According to the 12 October *New York Times* they received further "work experience" training at "various cooperating newspaper plants" starting in July as the unions' September 30 contract deadline approached. Some Guild and SEIU members have been trained to perform craft operations, and many crossing the picket lines now are doing craft work. When the Newspaper Guild recently demanded a list of its members who had been cross-trained the *Post* refused to supply it.

Post Operating Services Director John Taneill admitted in an interview with the Charlottesville *Daily Progress* October 5 that the newspaper began to purchase special offset equipment several months ago designed to be operated by "management, without assistance." This equipment was subsequently moved secretly to a management area in the *Post* building. Strikers told *WP* that management had openly boasted to them that it was prepared to operate the machinery during a strike.

Newspaper Labor War

During the past 20 years many of the large metropolitan dailies have gone bankrupt, and many of the remaining monopoly publishers have viciously assaulted the unions by introducing unlimited automation and hammering traditional craft union-enforced work rules. Over the past ten years, unions have been broken in lengthy strikes in Portland, Oregon, Shreveport, Louisiana, and at the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* and the *Miami Herald*. The *Post* strike marks a fever pitch in a determined series of union-busting attempts. Kansas City and Dallas pressmen are also currently under attack, locked out while scabs do their work.

The *Post's* incredible bargaining demands, which are designed to drive up



Damaged presses at the Washington Post.

Daily World

the wealthy paper's already high rate of profit, give the lie to its phony portrayal of the issue as one of free speech or the "right to publish." Management wants the right to reduce manning scales on the presses; to abolish the existing rules which enable the union to designate special press crews at overtime rates under certain conditions; to demote some regulars to the status of substitutes, ineligible for fringe benefits; and to permit management virtually unlimited power to alter work rules during the life of the contract. These attempts to roll back union gains, eliminate jobs and weaken union control of shop conditions amount to pure and simple union-busting.

The *Post* pressmen's "violence" is an expression of their just anger at the company's vicious, utterly cynical union-husting assault and an elementary act of self-defense. Labor militants must defend all those accused of damaging company property and interfering with scabs, and demand that the grand jury "investigating" the *Post* strike be disbanded! But sabotage does not represent a strategy for success. Its effectiveness is limited by its temporary effect. It is also used by the employers to distort the issues and smear the strikers. Members of the *Post* unit of the Newspaper Guild, already carefully prepared by management to play a strikebreaking role, were able to swing three votes in favor of crossing the pressmen's picket lines using "destructive vandalism" as their excuse, despite a unanimous recommendation from the union's executive board to honor the lines. Use of mass picketing, spreading the strike to include other operations of the same employer and plant occupations are far more effective methods of dealing with strikebreaking. For example, strikers at the *Parisien Libéré*, a Paris daily, have occupied the plant as well as employed armed patrols to prevent scab editions of the paper from being shipped into France from Belgium.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats who have given lip-service support to the *Post* strike while deploring the destruction of property have no intention of leading such a campaign. They offer only such tokenisms as a campaign to boycott the *Post* and its advertisers, in favor of subscribing to the *Washington Star*, and impotent appeals to the government to enforce the air corridor restrictions. The effective

alternative to sabotage is to shut down the *Post* completely through mass picketing and to call out the entire D.C. labor movement. But the present union misleadership fears a militant showdown with the newspaper magnates and doesn't want to jeopardize its ties with the capitalist politicians who run city and federal government.

The failure to spread the strike to the *Washington Star*, whose contracts expired at the same time as the *Post's*, is an especially egregious betrayal. Though the *Star* unions in the past have accepted worse conditions than *Post* workers, *Star* management is pressing for even more concessions, including a one-year moratorium on wage increases. Now is the time for coordinated strikes at both newspapers!

The despicable scabbing by members of the *Post* Guild unit is a testament to the weakness instilled by the historic proliferation of unions in the newspaper industry. By allowing "elite" bargaining units isolated from the more militant trade unionism of the traditional crafts, the union tops now find a Guild permeated with "professionalism" and an individualistic mentality that is alien to waging strikes. An essential ingredient for labor militancy is the amalgamation of the diverse newspaper unions along industrial-union lines.

The weakened bargaining position of the newspaper unions today flows from far-reaching cutbacks in personnel caused by automation which the union leaders have previously agreed to. Washington printing industry workers are covered by the same basic agreement that the New York International Typographical Union signed not long ago, allowing management an essentially unlimited right to eliminate jobs through attrition. Existing wages, fringe benefits and work rules cannot be defended let alone improved—without union commitment to a fight against automation-caused layoffs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all newspaper workers. A serious struggle for such a program would challenge the right of capital to maintain a "reserve army of the unemployed," and thus demands a new leadership for the unions, opposed to the inevitably defeatist, pro-capitalist policies of the present labor skates. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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An Exchange

Marxist Policy Toward the British Labour Party

Ontario
10 August 1975

Dear Comrades,

...The British Labour Party (BLP) developed as a reformist child of the trade-union movement. Its development in the 1920's was greatly influenced by the Russian Revolution. It was at its inception, and still is, an amalgam of many tendencies from the Wehhs and the Fabians on the right to those claiming adherence to Marxism on the left. At all levels from branch upwards the trade-union movement has been closely affiliated to it. All branches are entitled to send delegates to the local management meetings of the party. All members of an affiliated (most are) union are, unless they specifically request otherwise, affiliated to the Labour Party by virtue of the general political levy.

During periods of economic and political crisis the rank-and-file local parties are often regenerated by a sudden increase in delegates from various union branches. This process is probably occurring at the present time, given the bankruptcy of the leadership and the severe crisis facing British capitalism. It is precisely at this time that the revolutionary movement should be looking to the Labour Party rank and file to answer the many questions being raised with a series of *transitional* demands and programme. This can only be effectively done by people who have consistently raised these demands over a period *within* the party. This brings me to the question of "entrism"....

From the beginning to the mid-1960's, [Gerry] Healy's organisation, later to become the SLL [Socialist Labour League], behaved in an opportunist manner with regard to the Labour Party, capturing positions by manoeuvres as opposed to ideas and programme. At one time they tried to capture control of *Tribune*, the "left" weekly paper of Michael Foot and others. We were treated to the spectacle of SLL members vigorously selling *Tribune*, a blatantly reformist paper. In the mid-sixties Healy finally decided to break from the Labour Party. His members did all they could to cause their expulsion which the BLP leadership organised obligingly. During this period the SLL did a lot of damage to the name of Trotskyism. The SLL had turned 180 degrees from opportunism to adventurism....

In Britain the deeply entrenched history of reformism presents an obstacle to revolutionaries. At the same time the existence of a politically oriented trade-union movement with its own political party dedicated (in principle anyhow) to the nationalisation of the basic means of production (Clause 4 of the party constitution) tends to undermine the reformist leadership in a period of economic and/or political crisis. During this present crisis the question of programme and leadership will constantly be raised. Centrist tendencies possibly forming around Wedgwood Benn and others will arise. These will be the tendencies to do battle with in the next period. They will disguise their reformism in Marxist phraseology. It will be essential for revolutionaries to be prepared for battle, many in the Labour Party itself. A well organised and disciplined group of revolutionaries within the BLP at this time putting forward transitional demands, raising the need for a programme,

would have a fundamental role to play in challenging the centrist current and offering alternative leadership.

This activity within the Labour Party does not remove the need for an open Trotskyist tendency. It does mean that the members in the Labour Party have to avoid being formally associated with the open tendency in order to avoid expulsion. It does not mean hiding your ideas or developing a fetish about Labour Party work. It is a question of tactics and forces available.

Now to the points I feel need some comment contained in the article ["After Healy, What? WSL Adrift," *Workers Vanguard* No. 69, 23 May 1975].

Dealing with the question of the WRP [Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party, formerly SLL] fielding candidates in the last national elections, at the bottom of column 2 page 9 the statement: "The question of electoral policy represents in a concentrated form the central problem facing British revolutionaries, how to break the masses from the Labour Party...." How indeed? Given the situation at present, limited *revolutionary* forces, what is the purpose of running a candidate in opposition to an (albeit reactionary) Labour Party candidate? What is to be gained? The question of a Labour Party candidate's personal views is of interest in the main to those fighting such views within the Labour movement. To the mass of the working class it is a class question: the candidate represents the working-class party. To raise candidates in opposition means either you are in a position to challenge the leadership of the Labour Party or you have fallen into the petty-bourgeois trap of viewing events purely in terms of this or that candidate's backward views, without appreciating the question of class loyalties. The first possibility is doubtful, to put it mildly. The WRP is certainly not in a position,

nor are objective conditions right, for a challenge to the Labour Party leadership at this time. One can only assume that the WRP has fallen into the last-mentioned trap something they condemned the peace movement candidates for doing when they opposed some Labour MPs who refused to vote for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

It does not of course follow that the revolutionary organisation should never run candidates. It is a question of forces available, the objective situation, and also remaining in close touch with the politically advanced workers in the Labour Party. With a force of revolutionaries inside the Labour Party preparing themselves for the inevitable split between the reformist leadership and large sections of the rank and file, it may be necessary for the open tendency to field candidates in an election, in conjunction with the cadres in the Labour Party challenging the centrists for leadership.

The first paragraph of column 3 page 8 raises the question of the attitude of the workers to the Labour Party. It is not a question of non-antagonism on the part of the revolutionary [organisation] to the Labour Party, but who is the WRP, an organisation unknown to the British working class, to offer a viable alternative to the Labour Party? Indeed, why did the WRP run Vanessa Redgrave if they weren't unknown? If the WRP were known in this working-class constituency and fielded a well-known local militant class fighter who adopted a critical but not blindly antagonistic attitude to the Labour Party there may have been some point. To field a candidate known for her undoubtedly theatrical ability only is yet another example of their "opportunist adventurism."

With the third paragraph of column 3 page 8 I take issue: "For a British revolutionary propagandist group it is essential to project itself as an *organizational* opponent...." Why is it essential? The writer does not tell us. In fact for a *propagandist* group it is essential to reach the most politically class-conscious workers, most of whom are active within the broad Labour movement. It would be far easier to reach them from *within*. It is as an agitational organization that the real need for an open alternative will arise. But this task would require organisation of tens if not hundreds of thousands....

Comradely greetings,
Colin P.

WP replies: Before discussing tactics toward the British Labour Party (BLP), it is necessary to describe the unusual two-tier structure of that party. The BLP is composed both of trade unions and of individual members organized in local (constituency) branches. It is the trade unions, not the local party branches, that are dominant. Thus at the national conference, the unions (each one casting a bloc vote proportional to its membership) constitute about 80 percent of the total vote.

Formally and in reality the BLP is controlled by the trade-union leadership. In the 1950's, for example, the local branches were solidly pro-Bevan, while the union bureaucracy imposed the right-winger Hugh Gaitskell as party leader. The BLP bureaucracy tends to treat the local branches and youth group as a sort of playground for leftists giving them the

illusion, but not the substance, of influence in the mass party of the British proletariat.

The term "entrism" is generally used in the British "Trotskyist" milieu to refer to an organization whose main arena of activity is the BLP local branches, youth group, etc. In other words, an entrism tendency is one whose main form of political struggle is that of a faction within the BLP. Thus the press of the entrism Grant group, the *Militant*, describes itself as internal to the BLP.

We are certainly in favor of work in and struggle for the leadership of the trade unions. Under British conditions, trade-union work necessarily involves factional activity within the BLP. Thus, our comrades would certainly contest positions as union delegate to various BLP bodies. But this is not what is generally meant by "entrism."

At this time, we would reject the entrism tactic for a small, newly formed Trotskyist organization. Our central tactic would be one of regroupment, seeking to develop a solid cadre organization through effecting splits, and fusions within the "revolutionary left," concentrating on the ostensibly Trotskyist groups. One obvious and important difference between an entrism versus a regroupment perspective is that our press would be formally associated with an open Leninist organization even if this meant that the BLP apparatus proscribed it—i.e., that Labour Party members were prohibited from selling it.

In arguing for BLP entrism, Comrade Colin P. projects the development of centrist tendencies, mentioning Tony Benn as a likely leader. That centrist currents will emerge from the Labour Party is a legitimate *historic* projection. However, the art of tactics is very much in timing—specifically what to do when. The Grant group has predicated its entrism on the emergence of leftward-moving centrist forces in the BLP for the last twenty years! During these two decades, no serious left-social-democratic—much less centrist—factional opposition has emerged in the BLP. Tony Benn is not a centrist, but a left-of-center reformist, an outright supporter of American imperialism and NATO, and of British rule in Northern Ireland. In our opinion, the Tribune/Benn wing of the BLP will not launch a serious factional offensive against the Wilson/Denis Healey leadership in the next period.

Comrade Colin P. implies that only an organization which has long been in the BLP can take advantage of a future leftward-moving centrist tendency. We flatly deny this. To effectively put forward its program as an alternative pole of attraction in the eyes of serious leftward-moving currents, even a small revolutionary organization, to complement and concretize its propaganda, certainly seeks to directly intersect important developments of the class struggle. But factional activity within the BLP is neither the only nor even the best means of developing authority among layers of the advanced workers. For example, the decision not to devote significant organizational resources to intra-BLP oppositional activity at this time is in no way counterposed to undertaking exemplary work within the

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Greetings to Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

Sri Lanka
25 September 1975
Dear Comrades,

We congratulate you for the transformation of the [bi-weekly] "Workers Vanguard" into a weekly.

It was with great interest that we have followed the progress of "Workers Vanguard", which is playing an important role in the building of the revolutionary leadership in the United States, and also in bringing clarification on the burning questions of the Trotskyist movement, at a time when the forging of the World Party of the Fourth International is the unpostponable task for revolutionary Marxists the world over.

With comradely greetings,
Revolutionary Workers Party

Philip Allen...

(continued from page 12)

the Sheriff's Office in the course of its "investigation" framed Philip Allen in an attempt to cover up the unavoidable conclusion that the cops shot each other.

During the trial the prosecutor argued that the murder was premeditated. The motive? "The prosecutor said Allen had taken a black history course in school and had it in his mind to go get some white police," said his mother.

In closing, Ms. Allen described what happened when she and Bob Castille, co-chairman of the L.A. Philip Allen Defense Committee went down to pay Allen's bail and were told it had been revoked. Castille protested, and the court clerk told him to get out before she called the deputy sheriff. Next week at the bail hearing, the judge called Castille up to the bench and asked him what his interest was in the case:

"Justice," said Castille.

"Well, get out," said the judge. "You'll find it outside."

Speaking as staff counsel for the PDC, Valerie West pointed out the truth in the judge's statement that justice is not available in the courtroom. "The PDC will use any legal means that are available to gain freedom for Philip Allen," she said, "but we believe his freedom will only be achieved through massive publicity, activity, demonstrations and protest against both the frame-up and the violation of his constitutional rights."

The PDC, said West, is committed to a class defense of all working people and all the oppressed. Its anti-sectarian, class-struggle policies are in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League.

A PDC spokesman read statements of solidarity received from the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League, and from two trade-union caucuses, the Committee for a Militant UAW (Local 1364) in Fremont, California, and the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 of Mahwah, New Jersey. He quoted from the Militant Solidarity Caucus statement: "Once again an innocent victim is railroaded to prison while the real criminals, the giant corporations who daily exploit millions of working people, the mass murderers of Vietnamese peasants, the Nixons and the Rockefeller, go scot-free. This is the meaning of 'justice' in the context of capitalist law and order."■

British Columbia NDP Breaks Forest Workers' Strikes

VANCOUVER, October 12—Last week the provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) government of Premier Dave Barrett took decisive action to crush the most extensive continuing strike wave in North America since the onset of the current economic downturn. Recalled for a special emergency session on October 7, the British Columbia legislature overwhelmingly passed (with only three NDP backbenchers breaking party ranks to vote against) a bill ordering almost 60,000 workers involved in four major strikes across the province to return to work within 48 hours under the terms of their old contracts and without the right to strike for at least three months. Affected by Bill 146 (the Essential Services Continuation Act) are over 50,000 workers in the forest-pulp industry (the backbone of the B.C. economy), 5,000 supermarket workers in the Vancouver area, as well as Teamster truckers involved in propane gas delivery and trainmen in the United Transportation Union.

This act of mass strikebreaking is the most severe attack yet inflicted on the B.C. union movement by the ostensibly pro-labor government of the social-democratic NDP. Announcing the bill at a press conference Labor Minister Bill King decried the unions' "irresponsible" attitude, while Barrett stated that the government was "telling them both [labor and management] to grow up" (*Vancouver Sun*, 7 October). After some initial bluff and bluster about how they would recommend defiance of the bill and give "full support" to any affiliate refusing to return to work, the executive of the 300,000-member B.C. Federation of Labor (BCFL) submitted to their friends in the NDP, "reluctantly" urging their members to return to work.

With the union bureaucrats' capitulation to the new law and the strikers' return to work, Barrett has now convincingly demonstrated to a previously skeptical capitalist class that the NDP can provide the strong government necessary to deal with English-speaking North America's most volatile labor movement during economic hard times. Having successfully undercut the election strategy of the right-wing opposition Social Credit Party by taking a hard anti-union stand, the premier is now out on the hustings to drum up support for a snap election campaign on a populist platform of economic restraint and "responsible government."

The NDP was swept to provincial power for the first time in 1972 on the crest of a wave of strikes and protest action against the reactionary anti-labor policies of W.A.C. Bennett of the SocCred government which had ruled uninterrupted for over three decades. B.C. workers look to the NDP as "their party," and expected that the social democrats in power would act consistently in their interests against the bosses.

Instead the NDP proved its loyalty to the capitalists by smashing strikes, instituting compulsory arbitration and passing anti-labor legislation rivalling and occasionally even surpassing that of the SocCreds. While more sweeping in its scope, Bill 146 falls into place with the Barrett government's earlier betrayals of its working-class base—all testaments to the consequences of class-collaborationist reformism.

Again this year industrial unrest has been running at a fever pitch throughout the province, with well over 600,000 man-days lost due to strikes and lockouts in the first seven months of the year alone—



Dave Barrett

Globe and Mail (Toronto)

before the forest strikes were even fully under way. As a result of this militancy, wage settlements have been generally much higher than anywhere else on the continent, with contracts negotiated in the first quarter of 1975 averaging pay increases of 20 percent per year.

The forest dispute was seen as the most important test-case for pulling wages back to a level more commensurate with the employers' "reasonable profits" and competitive position on the North American market. Management took a hard line, claiming that the industry was broke and could afford to give the union no protection whatever against layoffs and no wage increase, only a modified cost-of-living escalator clause. After the strike had dragged on for over two-and-a-half months to the point where it was wreaking havoc on the provincial economy, the NDP government came under increasing pressure from industry spokesmen, the bourgeois media and opposition parties to impose a "solution."

Bill 146 proved satisfactory to all concerned capitalist interests: Thomas Rust, chairman of the Council of Forest Industries of B.C. praised Barrett for being "the first of our government leaders to lift his head out of the sand" (*Vancouver Sun*, 10 October), while both Vancouver dailies wrote editorials with fulsome praise for the legislation. Even W.A.C. Bennett's son Bill, the new SocCred leader, had to admit in the legislature that he was "proud" to vote for "one of the government's finest moves in showing leadership" (*Vancouver Sun*, 8 October).

While the NDP was giving resolute pro-capitalist leadership that even Bill Bennett could respect, the leaders of the

trade unions hit by the legislation could provide no alternative. At no time was a program put forward for successful defense of the union movement against government attack, through massive defiance of the law supported by a province-wide general strike against anti-labor legislation. In a statement issued just hours before the return-to-work deadline, the BCFL tops could only "deplore" the government's "dishonest political opportunism" and wistfully call for a "true NDP government which will be true to the honorable traditions of J.S. Woodsworth, Angus MacInnis and Tommy Douglas!"

The alternative to NDP strikebreaking is not, of course, to be found in the traditions of venerable old anti-communists like former social-democratic leaders Woodsworth, MacInnis and Douglas. Douglas himself, today a federal MP, attested to this in giving his personal endorsement to the legislation. He reminded BCFL secretary-treasurer Len Guy of certain past NDP betrayals like the party's support to legislation breaking the strikes of railway workers in 1966 and 1973, and those of B.C. longshoremen in 1968 and early 1975. The only real alternative to the treacherous Barretts and Douglasses, and to the labor fakers who preach faith in them, is a revolutionary party rooted in the trade unions which will expropriate the capitalists and bring the working class to power.

In the absence of such a mass revolutionary party, communists may in certain circumstances critically support a social-democratic party running independently in elections, in order to expose in practice the falsity of its pretensions to stand for the independent interests of the working class. In this manner we seek to split and destroy a reformist roadblock to the proletarian revolution, winning over the party's working-class base to the communist program. A well-executed critical-support tactic toward the NDP in the 1972 B.C. election, for example, could have significantly increased the influence of a small revolutionary nucleus in intervening years.

However, the mere fact that revolutionaries lack the social weight to directly counterpose themselves electorally at a given time by no means obligates them to call for a vote to any and all mass reformist parties. Thus following September provincial elections the NDP in Ontario is presently in a corridor coalition with the Progressive Conservative minority government; during the 1974 federal elections the NDP declared its willingness to continue support of Trudeau's Liberals if the latter had failed to obtain a majority. Calling for votes to NDP candidates in these elections would have been giving backhanded support to class-collaborationist coalitionism.

In addition, in the coming B.C. elections support to the NDP, however "critical," would be generally interpreted as support to the strikebreaking, overtly anti-union program and record on which the party will be running. The passage of Bill 146 was not a single, isolated anti-labor act but, as the BCFL said at one point, a "complete betrayal of the working people who helped elect this government." To call on the tens of thousands of workers whose strikes were just broken by Barrett to nevertheless reelect the NDP would be turning the tactic of critical support into mindless tailism.

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Trotskyist League Forum: Problems of World Revolution

Speaker:

James Robertson

SL/U.S. Central Committee

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Sidney Smith Hall

Room 2102

Wednesday

October 15

7:00 p.m.

Donation: \$1

ILWU Local 10 Exec Motion

Strike for Jobs for All Longshoremen!

For a Sliding Scale of Hours, with No Loss in Pay

SAN FRANCISCO, October 14—In a move which points the way toward a militant coast-wide struggle against the maritime bosses, the executive board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 voted Thursday night to take strike action to win a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all longshoremen. The action, which is strongly opposed by International president Harry Bridges' forces in the union, now goes to the membership for ratification. Supporters of the motion, introduced by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, expect a protracted battle. The shipping magnates' friends in the International will pull out all stops to prevent any strike action by Local 10 since it could precipitate a coast-wide rebellion.

The Local 10 action comes amidst a growing sense of crisis on the waterfront as the employers—the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) mount an open offensive against the union. As we reported two weeks ago, recent arbitration decisions allowed PMA to cut back drastically on the number of gangs and men employed on the night dock board. Emboldened by the lack of official union resistance to the cuts, the employers have now broadened the attack. They are demanding total elimination of the general dock board on both day and night shift, as well as the dock exemption board and car board.

The purpose of the wholesale elimination of job categories is to flood the remaining boards with workers, creating a clear oversupply of labor and giving PMA an excuse to begin deregistration and layoffs. Widely circulated rumors report that up to 1,000 A and B men will be eliminated coast-wide under the section of the contract which allows layoffs should "unusual circumstances" arise.

To this sweeping employer attack on jobs and the union hiring hall have been added drastic cuts in the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), the weekly wage supplement. While at the time of our last report longshoremen were already taking a 31 percent cut, this week's PGP will reportedly be slashed by 40 percent! Adding insult to injury, the employers are seeking to eliminate all PGP benefits to any partially-disabled longshoreman. Shortfall payments, monies paid by PMA to longshoremen at the end of a 13-week period to reimburse them for any cuts made in weekly payments during the quarter, have themselves been cut by 66 percent. This despite a claim in the union newspaper, the *Dispatcher* (19 September), that there was more than enough money left in the fund to take up the slack.

The situation facing the Canadian ILWU is even more explosive. There the existing SUB fund (a token \$400,000) has already been completely exhausted as work opportunities in the Vancouver area have dropped nearly 50 percent in six months. The *Dispatcher* reports that

among 700 longshoremen on Vancouver Island scarcely a single day's work has been obtained since mid-July. Canadian ILWU officials predict the worst is yet to come since the depression in Canada is deepening, lagging behind the U.S. economy. The Canadian situation is particularly unstable because, without even a show of resistance, Bridges permitted the Canadian longshore strike last spring to be broken by the federal parliament in Ottawa. The ranks were defeated but not crushed, and with a spark from Local 10 in the U.S. they could again move into militant action.

It is in this context that Gow and Keylor, both executive board members, long-time militants and editors of the oppositional *Longshore Militant*, intro-

duced their motion which reads:

"ILWU Local 10 opposes all the cutbacks and revisions made by PMA and the arbitrator on boards, gangs, and PGP. We demand full PGP for all members including the dock exemption board and call-back rights for B men. We demand jobs for all longshoremen by a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members. The local will take strike action to enforce these demands and calls on other ports to join us in solidarity."

The motion was made as an amendment to another motion by Rudy Garcia which stated flatly, "We turn down the PMA's demands on the boards, refuse to negotiate, and take the issue to the membership." Another amendment, also passed, read: "To open up miscellaneous categories and all steady categories to disabled longshoremen."

The motion was passed by a board which is generally conservative and follows the dictates of the Bridges camp. This act of rebellion can be ascribed to growing pressure from the ranks who are rapidly discovering that all Bridges' claims that this is a "depression-proof" contract are a package of lies.

Strike action by Local 10 would have immediate repercussions up and down the coast. Historically, the San Francisco local is the most militant on the mainland, dating from the S.F. general strike in 1934. This year, together with Los Angeles Local 13, Local 10 rejected the initial contract offer, marking the first time in the ILWU that a contract sponsored by Bridges was rejected. While I.A. has not been hurt as badly as Local

10, containerization is forcing more and more of its members onto the PGP.

A large obstacle to effective strike action is the internal warfare which has paralyzed the Local for the past two months. Bridges' supporters went after Local 10 president Larry Wing, who opposed the pro-raiding policy which Bridges has been pushing against other maritime unions in order to cover for his failure to defend ILWU jobs. Wing alienated much of his support when he sued the union to prevent his ouster instead of mobilizing the ranks to defeat the pro-raiding forces. As a result the ranks sat back, allowing him to be suspended and tried. In an outrageous travesty of union democracy he has since been convicted by a trial board both for



Ship docked in S.F. harbor.

failing to step down when he was originally charged and for refusing to carry out the Executive Board's decision to raid. His pro-raiding rival, Bridges' man Carl Smith, was acquitted on all counts.

The same meeting which considers the call for strike action will review the trial results. The Bridges forces will undoubtedly seek to prevent any vote on the strike by tying up the entire meeting in a review of the trials, as a vote by the ranks to take strike action for a shorter workweek will amount to a repudiation of Bridges' policy of raiding as a means of obtaining jobs. The proposed raids were justified on the alleged grounds that the seamen's unions, particularly the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, are lily-white. A strike by Local 10 could demonstrate decisively that the road forward for black and white workers is not backstabbing competition but racial unity in a struggle for jobs for all.

The fight for jobs goes far beyond passing a resolution. Strike action by Bay Area longshoremen must be part of a coast-wide struggle for the shorter workweek, matching in scope the general strike for union recognition and the hiring hall of 1934. To carry such a struggle through to a successful conclusion requires a fight to break the grip of the reactionary pro-capitalist bureaucracy which dominates not only the ILWU but all of U.S. labor. The policies put forward by Gow and Keylor point the way to a new leadership in the unions dedicated to the defense of the workers through militant class struggle. ■

Labor Must Mobilize to Shut Down NYC!

(continued from page 1)

hershhip had to wildcat against him in the sanitation walkout last July.

Another Plan to "Save NYC" by Shafting Labor

At the meeting Beame had announced yet another plan to slash the budget by an additional \$200 million beyond the cuts which have resulted in over 13,000 layoffs this year. The plan extends the wage freeze of city workers for another two years, freezes cost-of-living adjustments and suggests further layoffs. The day before, a new state-imposed Emergency Financial Control Board sent back the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) contract for renegotiation, demanding even further concessions in a contract already widely recognized as a grotesque defeat for the teachers.

By the time the general strike headlines had hit the street, the union leaders were backing away from their suggestion. While Barry Feinstein, President of Teamsters Local 237, who first called for the strike, still says he will put up this motion at the October 14 meeting of the Municipal Labor Council, it is virtually doomed, with Victor Gotham, head of the council, now publicly against it and other members reported "cool."

Having earlier made light of the prospect, the capitalists now look a New York default in the face, and they don't like it too much. The prospects of void paychecks for city workers and slashed welfare rolls have been titillating for the corporate magnates and bankers, but the reality of plummeting values of billions of dollars in outstanding bonds, foreclosures on properties, the exodus of businesses from the city—in short, the upset of the banking system in the finance capital of U.S. imperialism—is a different story.

Thus Congress is now tilting toward a federal aid bill. "I believe we are going to get help," said Edward Koch, Democratic Congressman from Manhattan. "It will not come because of justice, equity or even charity, but because it will finally be driven home to the members that, if New York sinks, they'll all go with us" (*New York Times*, 12 October).

Despite the capitalists' increasingly felt necessity to bail out New York, resistance is strong during an election year against policies which inhibit candidates from taking a hard line against "sin city," the haven of immigrants and minority populations. Thus while his own economic advisors announce that a New York default could plunge the economy into another sharp downturn, Ford continues his paternalistic, chauvinist comparisons of New York to a frivolous housewife who has to learn the hard way how to balance a budget. While politicians grumble about teaching New York a lesson, in fact the city would be solvent today were the same federal monies applied to it as to other cities. Unlike most other cities, New York has for years taken almost complete responsibility for welfare and other city services.

Labor's Contradiction

City labor leaders have been noticeably more reluctant than the hankers to raise the spectre of a city descending into anarchy unless it receives federal aid. While Governor Carey threatens the Senate Banking Committee that it had better send "federal money or federal troops" (*El Diario*, 12 October), Gotham and Shanker have rushed to abandon the call for a general strike. While told to put on a show of militancy, even at the meeting with the Mayor, they were nervous about putting their authority behind the demand, allowing it to be

raised by Feinstein, who until now has been a silent Gotham flunkey. The hankers and the government feel confident they have taken the measure of New York labor, which has swallowed whole the onslaught of wage cuts, freezes and layoffs. But the trade-union leadership is less sure it can safely fling around the slogan of a general strike—a slogan expressing the left need of several hundred thousand city workers and which it undertaken could quickly go beyond the bureaucrats' control.

Their ability to contain even ordinary contract strikes is precarious. So deep was the resentment over the UFT settlement, with more than a third of the membership voting against it, that when the control board overruled the settlement in an unheard-of provocation, Shanker did not dare hint of a second strike. He has yet to schedule the final contract vote.

While the labor fakers' talk of a general strike is only bluster in order to milk dollars from Washington, a general strike built by mobilizing the union ranks is vital to smash the capitalists' union-busting austerity program. The Spartacist League has raised the demand for a city-wide strike action since the beginning of the fiscal showdown last December. The gun-point renegotiation of the teachers' contract is an opportunity to reverse the sellout, to demand the reopening of all city contracts to rescind all layoffs, wage cuts and freezes and to demand a full cost-of-living escalator and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to spread the available work among all who need jobs.

But a general strike will bring the unions into immediate confrontation with the state. The urgent need is for the construction of a class-struggle leadership in the unions, one which would raise a political program capable of mobilizing the working population and carrying the action forward to victory. Such a program would include:

Rescind all layoffs of city workers! End the wage freeze! Reopen the contracts! Make basic city services free! The hankers and city rulers reap millions in interest charges on bonds while they force through layoffs and wage freezes and rail against "excessive" welfare for the poor, some of whom are unable to find work because of already high unemployment. Basic services such as phones, public transportation, hospitals should be made free and available to all and expanded to make more jobs, not fewer.

Kick the Cops Out of the Unions! It is constantly demonstrated that the fundamental loyalty of the police—the hired guns of the capitalist class—lies in suppressing the struggles of workers and the oppressed. Two recent brutal confirmations of their role came with the indictment last week of three cops for murder and assault after their "investigation" of a Bronx robbery left Israel Rodriguez dead of internal bleeding and Luiz Santiago in need of three operations on his jaw from cop beatings. In late September, a Transit Authority cop shot to death a 43-year-old black man who had jumped a subway turnstile!

Smash Big MAC! Cancel the Debt—Nationalize the Banks Without Compensation! Forward to a Workers Government! Six months ago, Gotbaum called First National City Bank labor's main enemy, then dropped the issue as fast as he dropped the general strike. The Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party call for a debt moratorium is so tame even Treasury Secretary William Simon is now talking about such a measure (*New York Times*, 11 October)! The banks will continue to feed off the city's resources until they are nationalized without compensation and a workers government put in power committed to replacing the profit system with a planned economy. This will require ousting the bureaucracy which saddled New York labor with Mayor Beame and the building of a workers party based on the trade unions. This is a task not just for New York City labor but for the entire working class. ■

Avakian's New Clothes

RCP: Jim Crow Maoism

In an act of self-inflated cynicism, the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) last month waved a wand and transformed itself into the "Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA" (RCP). Bob Avakian, the RU's little Napoleon, pompously announced in the October issue of *Revolution* that with the formation of the RCP the working class now "has its own general staff capable of leading it according to an understanding of the nature of the class war against the ruling class and in accordance with an overall battle plan." As usual, Avakian's



Bob Avakian

verbose boasting is a lot of hot air. The founding of the RCP was not even noticed, much less celebrated, by the American workers—and with good reason. The RCP has neither the historically developed authority within the working class, the international democratic-centralist party nor the Marxist program needed to mobilize the working class to seize power.

The single sharpest refutation of Avakian's grandiose claims is his courtship of the racist anti-busing movement. What kind of "general staff" is it whose "overall battle plan" amounts to competing with the Ku Klux Klan for leadership of the lynch mobs that surge through the streets of Boston and Louisville? Certainly not the vanguard of the working class!

The RU/RCP's desire to win a niche as the "left" wing of the racist movement is crystal clear in its description (in *Revolution*, October 1975) of the KKK-led anti-busing riots in Kentucky: "When school opened in Louisville under a new court-imposed busing plan, the spontaneous fight back was tremendous—a powerful school boycott, street demonstrations, a first day protest strike at several area plants and determined resistance to police attack."

The RU/RCP hopes to provide a "winning strategy" to a movement that violently opposes every democratic principle that communists have ever fought for: "they [the bourgeoisie] promote the Ku Klux Klan and similar scum to try to direct the struggle, mainly white at present, down a dead end." "The Klan

has modernized its act to appeal to some of the real concerns of the people—for instance, in the aftermath of the fighting with the cops, they began holding rallies against 'police brutality'..." Like Victor Berger and the Jim Crow "socialists" who infested the U.S. Socialist Party in the early 1900's, this so-called vanguard party leads nothing but only tails after the most reactionary sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers.

The RU-led Committee for a Decent Education (CDE) in Boston claims to cut across the racial divisions within the working class. In fact, it comes down hard on the racist side of the busing question. "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan" screamed the front-page headline of the October 1974 issue of *Revolution*. "Stop Phase 2 any way we can!" rang the chants at a CDE demonstration on the first day of school in Boston this year. Its signs called for "Strike - Stop Phase 2." The appetite to ingratiate itself with the racist workers and lumpen youth of South Boston and Louisville has led the RU into a reactionary line-up extending from the National Socialist White People's Party to Gerald Ford. The anti-busing movement is directly linked to the proto-fascist elements who burn school books in West Virginia.

The attempt to stop busing, whether by constitutional amendment, court action or mob attacks on school buses, is the opening salvo in a dangerous right-wing campaign to strip black people of modest gains made during the last two decades of struggle for democratic rights. The intense racial polarization in Boston, Louisville and elsewhere poses the question starkly: do the racists get their way or does the "white only" sign come off the schoolhouse door? Together with the offensive against busing come attacks on open admissions, black studies programs and other special educational programs, as well as on equal access to jobs.

The RU/RCP makes a great deal out of school closings under the Boston busing plan and claims that the plan itself is a "massive cutback" in education. While it does not require Mao-think to show that desegregation through busing will not by itself upgrade schools or improve teaching, the ruling class is not pushing a "busing plot" to undermine "quality education." Rather the philosophy of "benign neglect," articulated by Nixon advisor Daniel Moynihan, is used to justify cutbacks in social services to working people, especially the black and Latin populations trapped in decaying urban ghettos.

Avakian & Co. are willfully ignorant of the fact that the broad opposition to busing reflects a marked rightward shift in bourgeois opinion—a depression-conditioned hardening of the ruling class' resolve to ignore the plight of oppressed minorities and, if necessary, to drown ghetto protests in blood. Perhaps the RU/RCP can explain why, if the bourgeoisie advocates busing as a "divide and rule scheme," all major bourgeois politicians—from Ford to House Democratic leader "Tip" O'Neill to the governors of every major state affected by busing—oppose the court-ordered plans. Perhaps Avakian can tell us why busing programs in Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, etc., were shelved this fall if they are so useful to the bourgeoisie.

The exceptions, like Boston's busing plan, do not flow from a grand conspiracy but, at least in part, from ideological divisions which are often present in the bourgeoisie between advocates of the carrot and advocates of the stick. More-

over, it took ten years for a desegregation plan to be enacted in Boston (the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act was passed in 1965) because the question was tossed like a hot potato from the State Department of Education to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the federal courts, while the



Young Spartacus

RU supporters call for strike against busing in Boston, September 8.

racist School Committee threw every conceivable legal and political obstacle in its path.

As in its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, the RU/RCP advances the idiot proposition that, since the bourgeoisie never consistently advances democratic rights and always attempts to take back with one hand what it gives with the other, the working class must therefore reject steps (like busing and ERA) which weaken legally-sanctioned forms of sexual or racial discrimination. Behind this capitulation to racism and chauvinism is not ignorance but a grossly opportunist appetite for a piece of the action at any price.

We live in a racist society. The working class cannot be united by simply ignoring the special oppression of black people. Desegregation through school busing must be defended by the working class because it aids the breaking down of sharp racial divisions among the workers. Moreover, putting black and white students in the same schools and classrooms will generate pressure to improve the present abysmal conditions in ghetto schools, as would extension of busing to the more privileged suburban schools. A real vanguard party of the proletariat must act as tribune of the people, defending every extension of democratic rights and fighting to root out every vestige of bourgeois-inspired racist, sexist and national-chauvinist filth from the consciousness of the working class. ■

FORUM

Women, Culture and Class Society

Helen Cantor
SL Women's Commission
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 18 at 8 p.m.
Indiana Memorial Union
Room M44

Indiana University/Bloomington
For more information: 332-3235

Anti-Racist Militants Framed in East Boston Police Court

BOSTON—Last week eight people were sentenced in East Boston District Court to draconian jail terms ranging from six months to a year for the "crime" of self-defense against racist attacks.

The one-day kangaroo-court trial on October 8 was part of a pattern of vicious repression unleashed by local authorities against black tenants in East Boston's Maverick and Sumner Street housing project. In recent months the tenants had organized an integrated defense force to prevent gangs of racist youths from driving them out of the project in this nearly lily-white section of the city. On several occasions the black residents, aided by a city-wide tenants' coalition and East Boston People Against Racism (a group supported by Youth Against War and Fascism), had faced down these hooligans and stopped their rock-throwing rampages.

On the night of August 25, however, the police (who had allowed the vigilante attacks to continue) moved in to arrest not the racists but their victims. One of the cops at the scene that night commented about the would-be lynch mob, "These are nice kids. We grew up with them here in East Boston."

The defendants were railroaded on the testimony of the racist cops in District Court Seven, notorious as a "police court" which convicts on whatever charges (fabricated or otherwise) the state dreams up. The main witness for the prosecution, Sgt. McNamara, testified that he had made the arrests because the defendants were "creating a disturbance" by their presence, allegedly used "loud and abusive" language and refused to disperse when ordered. Of course, the only instance of such language that he specifically recalled was when the defendants "loudly and abusively" demanded that he "arrest the people causing trouble," i.e., the mob of racist rock throwers. Under cross-examination, McNamara stated that he was unaware of any "racial problems" in the project.

Defense witnesses gave a vivid picture of the racist terror and police attacks which oppressed minorities have experienced here. Mrs. Lucille Roberts, a long-time East Boston resident and wife of one

of the defendants, testified that the tenant guard was mobilized when a mob of white youths wearing hoods and waving hats, iron pipes and knives started to stone the homes of black project residents. When the police arrived, they accosted several members of the defense guard who were clustered in a hallway after one had been struck in the head by a rock.

The other defendants were arrested when cops broke into the home of Mrs. Anna Mae Lewis, a member of the East Boston bi-racial council set up under the court-ordered busing plan. Even the prosecutor admitted that the police didn't have a warrant. Following the conviction, the prosecutor (satisfied that he had legitimized this cop atrocity) urged presiding Judge James Mellen to go easy. Instead, Mellen cut the prosecutor off and threw the book at the defendants.

Since August 25, the racist attacks in the project have continued and one family's home has been firebombed twice. These frame-up convictions and the pattern of repression against black people in East Boston are not isolated incidents. In another case, 74 supporters of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), led by the Progressive Labor Party (PL), were arrested on September 8 on charges of "disturbing the peace" for attempting to demonstrate in favor of busing in South Boston on the opening day of school. Eighteen of the defendants were acquitted on October 2 after the prosecution failed to deny that the site of the PL/CAR demonstration was suggested by a police official, and that the police never forbade CAR to demonstrate there! In contrast, a "mothers' march" held by racists the next day in Charlestown tried to break through police lines to get at the buses, yet not one arrest was made.

These incidents should underscore the racist and thoroughly treacherous character of the capitalist police and courts, to whom liberals and reformists (such as the NAACP and SWP) appeal for protection of black people. The outrageous convictions of the eight East Boston anti-racist militants must be answered with vigorous protests from the left, black organizations and the labor movement. ■

British Labour Party...

(continued from page 4)

trade unions.

The ability to influence any leftward-moving centrist current will depend, not on the date of BLP membership cards, but rather on the capacity, breadth and cohesiveness of an organization's cadre and the credibility of its politics within the left. When the Spanish Socialist Party moved sharply to the left in 1934-35, significant sections of that party (e.g., the official youth leadership) *openly invited* Andres Nin and the Trotskyists to join the SP and take on leading roles within it.

Likewise, a genuine leftward-moving centrist current in the BLP would be open to and attracted by what it viewed as the "revolutionary left." Ted Grant's *Militant* group, despite its many years of toil in the local branches, will have no monopoly at all on the attention of forces breaking to the left from British social democracy. We maintain that a necessary *precondition* for a small Trotskyist organization to take advantage of serious left factionalism in the BLP is the growth and development of its cadre through struggle within the "revolutionary left."

Are the most advanced workers in Britain today supporters of the Labour Party left? On a numerical scale relevant to a small Trotskyist group, the answer is no. If one includes the International Socialists (which claims to stand in the Trotskyist tradition), there are in Britain more than 4,000 ostensible Trotskyists in about a dozen organizations. It is obvious that only in this political milieu could a small, newly-formed Trotskyist organization achieve significant growth.

There are perhaps 1,000 Maoists in Britain. The official, pro-Soviet CP has about 20,000 members, substantially proletarian and with many, many trade-union officials. There is a large, heavily proletarian Irish population in Britain. Among this population are many sympathizers of left Irish nationalism (e.g., the IRA Officials, Irish Republican Socialists). In general, a left Irish nationalist will be more open to communist politics than a typical supporter of the BLP *Tribune* group.

There is also a large population of foreign workers, mainly from South Asia and the Mediterranean area, in Britain. Thousands of these workers consider themselves revolutionary socialists and have no loyalty at all to Harold Wilson's party. Thus in Britain today there are

several thousand workers, students and other political activists standing outside and to the left of the BLP. It is from among this political population that a small Trotskyist propaganda group can grow and develop to a point where it can make serious gains among the left-Labourite masses.

Having rejected the entrism tactic, we defend the position of standing parliamentary candidates against the BLP. We should clarify two points. We support electoral opposition to the Labour Party *as such*, not limited to right-wing BLP candidates. It is obviously tactically wiser to run against a right-wing rather than a left-wing Labour candidate, but that is not a matter of principle by any means.

In the article which our correspondent criticizes, we noted that for a very small, weak propaganda group to contest a parliamentary election may be a gross misuse of resources. However, it would seem that Comrade Colin P. is, in general, opposed to a revolutionary propaganda group contesting parliamentary seats against the BLP.

What is the purpose of the Leninist tactic of critical electoral support to a mass reformist party? It is designed to destroy the masses' illusions in such a party by actually placing it in power. In a more immediate sense, critical support allows a communist propaganda group to get a more sympathetic hearing for its views among the majority of workers. Critical support is designed to aid supporters of a reformist party in gaining a clear appreciation of that party in the context of presenting a revolutionary program. Critical electoral support is not a self-sufficient tactic. It is, in a sense, only half a tactic.

The question arises of what to do with those who are already disillusioned with left Labourism and drawn to a revolutionary program. It is here that electoral opposition to the reformist party is a necessary complement to critical support. Electoral opposition to the BLP is a means by which those moving left from British social democracy can be encouraged to make a decisive commitment to a revolutionary program and place themselves under the organizational influence of the communist vanguard.

To support Labour electorally, raise certain left criticisms of the BLP, but never stand independent candidates against Labour is to act as a left pressure group upon British social democracy. In effect, one is telling someone who agrees with one's criticisms to fight for a revolutionary program through the Labour Party, to transform the Labour Party into a revolutionary instrument. Such a policy is equivalent to acting as an external, but loyal, faction of the BLP.

Because of the inclusive nature of the BLP and because British social democracy has never been seriously challenged by a Leninist or Stalinist party, the attitude of the Labour leadership to the "far left" is quite different than in most other countries. In the U.S., West Germany and France, the leaderships of the mass workers organizations are violently hostile to the "revolutionary left," often using state repressive measures against them. In contrast, the British Labourite bureaucracy tries to co-opt and neutralize the "far left" through friendly social intercourse, through an attitude of chumminess ("I completely agree with what you want—I was a red once myself—but your tactics are unrealistic").

A Michael Foot or a Hugh Scanlon is quite willing to treat Ted Grant, Reg Birch (Maoist union official) or even Tariq Ali as "one of the boys." This posture of chumminess is one of the methods by which social democracy retains its dominance, despite the catastrophic worsening of the conditions of life for the British working people. The family-of-Labourism attitude, the left's desire for respectability in BLP circles and the pervasively friendly social intercourse between the counterrevolutionary social-democratic bureaucracy and the "revolutionary left" are major obstacles to the construction of a genuine communist vanguard in Britain today. ■

Berkeley Teachers...

(continued from page 2)

teachers' unions, which negotiated contracts throughout the Bay Area during September.

But the bureaucrats were not alone in engineering this defeat. At every step they were cheered on by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its supporters in the union. In an article in the October 3 issue of the SWP's *Militant*, Dave Warren, a Berkeley teacher, had no criticism of the unions' leadership and raised no demands beyond the call to return to the conditions of the April 15 agreement. In a pitiful endorsement of the bureaucrats' no-win strategy, the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism issued a leaflet stating:

"TEACHERS ARE NOT STRIKING FOR MORE MONEY.... they are on strike to stop these cuts and maintain a zero percent wage increase agreed to last

April 15th.... We call on the board to return to the April 15 Agreement."

According to these so-called socialists, unions should be proud when their leaders knuckle under to wage freezes in a period of skyrocketing inflation!

What was lacking in the Berkeley teachers strike—as in New York, Boston, Chicago, etc.—was a resolute leadership committed to a class-struggle program. A winning strike strategy would be prepared to face the government's strike-breaking efforts with a broad mobilization of the labor movement in militant strike actions. The pathetic defeats suffered by teachers across the country in the past month reflect a serious weakening of the unions in the face of massive cutbacks in education, health and other social services and a continuing high level of unemployment. Reliance on bourgeois politicians, such as the bureaucrats' support to the Dellums and Riles plans, paves the way for such defeats. ■

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Socialist Party Wins Majority in Austrian Elections

VIENNA Contrary to predictions, the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) led by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky has emerged from the elections held on October 5 again holding an absolute parliamentary majority (93 out of 183 seats in the *Nationalrat*, the same as after the 1971 elections). The conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) won 78 seats, a loss of two, and the extreme rightist Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) obtained 11 seats, for a gain of one. The Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ), with only 1.2 percent of the vote, remains as before unrepresented in Parliament.

The elections came at an opportune time for the SPÖ government: though unemployment, at an official 1.3 percent, remains low and inflation has hovered at a "tolerable" (!) 9 percent, there are ominous signs auguring a spread to insular Austria of the international capitalist recession and price spiral: foreign workers are being discharged from all branches of industry in large numbers, while short workweeks and compulsory "vacations" are becoming the

Party (whose leader is a former SS officer). The latter solution was less agreeable to the bourgeoisie, since the minuscule FPÖ in their view lacked the social weight to guarantee class peace and restrain "wild-eyed" Socialists.

For its part, the SPÖ did everything possible to convince the bourgeoisie of its reliability in instituting and policing an austerity program: the just-submitted 1976 draft budget foresees a massive increase in overall taxes, a radical cutback in social expenditures, an increase in postage costs and transit fares, a wage freeze for civil servants—all this coupled with new tax handouts to employers. De facto collaboration between the ÖVP and the SPÖ already exists: during the campaign the ÖVP pointed to the fact that in the last Parliament some 75 percent of the laws represent a joint effort by the two major parties. The People's Party also claimed (truthfully!) that it could fully accept the electoral platform of the SPÖ.

Moribund Social Democracy

Although adopting a left social-democratic posture ("Austro-Marxism") in the inter-war years, the SPÖ since World War II has become one of the most right-wing parties in the Second International. The SPÖ party program drawn up in 1958 meekly advocates "a system of living conditions and inter-human relations which is aimed at the free development of the individual personality": "class distinctions" should be "removed" instead of classes being abolished, and the "rewards of labor" should be "justly distributed" rather than the bourgeoisie expropriated.

But despite its readiness to carry out the dictates of the bourgeoisie, despite its history of throttling strikes in collaboration with the trade-union bureaucracy (to which it is closely linked), the SPÖ remains what Lenin termed a bourgeois workers party, organically part of the working-class movement. In the absence of a credible revolutionary counterpole that could unmask the SPÖ's socialist posturing, the working class still regards the SPÖ as "its" party.

Faced with a large reformist party, revolutionary propaganda groups under certain circumstances can employ the tactic of critical electoral support as a means of exposing the pro-capitalist leadership and splitting the base from the top. However, in the recent elections the SPÖ's explicitly proclaimed readiness to form a popular-front government, preferably with the FPÖ, and the setting up of local "test coalitions" meant that it was not possible to draw even a minimal class line by urging Austrian workers to vote for candidates of the SPÖ. Because "critical support" would have in fact constituted support for explicitly planned class collaboration, the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), sympathizing sec-

tion of the international Spartacist tendency, came out against a vote for the SPÖ.

Other "Alternatives"

What, then, should be the attitude of revolutionaries to the Austrian Communist Party? Like the DKP in West Germany, the KPÖ lacks any significant mass base and is really only a largish propaganda group. To call for a vote for the KPÖ would only build illusions among the working masses in what is a reformist party of the second mobilization. While the KPÖ rejects the policy of "social partnership" propounded by the SPÖ and talks of extra-parliamentary action, these tinges of verbal radicalism are attributable only to the former's minute size. Were the SPÖ to be totally discredited, the KPÖ would instantly leap into the breach to stem any proletarian upsurge and tie the workers once more to the bourgeoisie. No votes for the KPÖ!

The only other socialist tendency to run in the parliamentary elections was the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM), Austrian section of the United Secretariat (USec). Only in one electoral district, in Vienna, was the GRM able to obtain the required number of signatures

to appear on the ballot. The ÖBL signed the GRM's petitions, just as we would support the right of any organization in the workers movement to appear on the ballot. However, the centrist GRM carried out its electoral campaign on a classically reformist basis.

The GRM's main campaign brochure asserted that "In an election every party presents its overall perspective." But the GRM's "overall perspective" consisted of the time-honored social-democratic division of its platform into a minimum program for workdays (including democratic demands such as equal rights for foreign workers, freedom of abortion, full equality for national minorities, etc.) and a vague maximum program "For Council Democracy and Socialism" to be used in Sunday speechifying at the University.

While rejecting "socialism à la CSSR [Czechoslovakia]," the GRM "neglected" to mention the Trotskyist demand for political revolution in the deformed workers states, or the indispensable call for unconditional defense of these states against imperialism. The GRM carefully limited its "Trotskyism" to economically foreshortening the Transitional Program's call for a sliding scale of wages and hours. All references to expropriation of the capitalists and socialist economic planning were left out. And in those electoral districts where the GRM was unable to run, it called for a vote for the KPÖ on the specious grounds that a vote for the KPÖ was a vote against "social partnership," i.e., against class collaboration. This is a typical example of Pahlöist illusions regarding the Stalinists.

For these reasons the ÖBL refused to give critical support to the GRM. Since voting is compulsory in four provinces of Austria and more than 90 percent of the electorate regularly votes, the ÖBL, in the absence of a supportable alternative, called for casting invalid ballots.

Forward with the ÖBL to the construction of a Trotskyist party in Austria, as a section of the reborn Fourth International! ■



Bruno Kreisky

rule rather than the exception. Already bourgeois economists are cheerily predicting 100,000 out of work by winter (triple the present number). This prompted the president of the Austrian National Bank, who is also a high SPÖ leader and official of the labor federation, to declare that even 3 percent joblessness would be "full employment" and that recent rates have meant "overheating the economy."

Impending Social Crisis.

The bourgeoisie read the handwriting on the wall and, worried about the social democrats' reliability, had assiduously promoted expectations of a Socialist defeat. Despite the largest profits since World War II under the incumbent SPÖ administration, ruling-class strategists saw that a sharp attack on the living standards of the working class would shortly be necessary. For this the bourgeoisie considered a "government of national salvation," including, along with the social democrats, the two Austrian bourgeois parties, to be the best guarantor of tranquility and continued stable bourgeois rule. The People's Party wooed the Socialists with the slogan of a "concentration government." But while the SPÖ was not averse to a popular front (it had been in one with the ÖVP from 1947 to 1966) should it fail to win a parliamentary majority, federal Chancellor Kreisky indicated a preference for coalition with the ultra-right Freedom

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Gerry Healy's Legalistic Underbelly

The British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy has always eagerly sacrificed its every ostensible principle to the single-minded worship of its one real god: publicity. Eschewing the laborious task of building an organization of revolutionary cadres and of patiently working to establish and deepen its authority among advanced workers, the WRP is characterized by overweening fondness for a high organizational profile and for publicity stunts which it thinks will dupe the working people into crediting the WRP with mass influence. Hence the WRP's strident crisis-mongering, its unreadable and unread daily newspaper, its concentration on the volatile youth who do not long remain with the organization but turn up for suitably impressive demonstrations, its penchant for celebrities.

But the WRP's cynical flamboyance sometimes backfires and lately it has found itself on the receiving end of some much less welcome attentions, as a consequence of sensationalist and anti-communist coverage in the bourgeois media. On September 27 the British cops staged a raid on a WRP center in Derbyshire; they claim to have discovered, among other things, "nine .22-cal. bullets in a stairway cupboard (but no guns)" (*Time*, 13 October 1975).

The English press had splashed the "red menace" of the WRP across a goodly number of pages, assisted by the "true confessions" of an embittered former WRP supporter (English left and ex-left circles crawl with unregenerate cynics and other graduates of Healy's school of political banditry and Stalinist organizational methods, who have taken refuge in "softer" groups, apolitical demoralization, or worse). Actress Irene Gorst's tale of her alleged grilling by WRPs who accused her of working for Special Branch (Britain's counterpart to the FBI) got front-page coverage in the 28 September 1975 London *Observer*.

The Healyites' well-deserved reputation for browbeating their members—as well as their apocalyptic and increasingly paranoid political style—facilitated the media's scandal-mongering campaign. But what really made the "Red House" affair front-page material was the prominence of its participants. The WRP was hoping to become a household word by capturing a clique of entertainment personalities, the best known being Vanessa Redgrave. It was the defection of one of these hoped-for shortcuts to fame and fortune which catapulted the WRP into the headlines.

Squirming Toward Respectability

In response to the threat of repression, the WRP has crawled for cover. A recent issue of the American Healyite press (*Bulletin*, 7 October) has printed a declaration by the WRP baldly promising the bourgeoisie that "If anyone in the WRP was found to have a firearm, they would be expelled at once." We certainly defend the WRP against this recent police raid on its premises. But a Marxist defense against red-baiting and witch-hunts has nothing in common with the dive the WRP is taking.

Marxists do not engage in mock-terrorist shtetle-rattling. There would be nothing objectionable about putting forward a critique of petty-bourgeois adventurism, in the context of explaining the strategy of preparing the mass of the toilers to resist the onslaughts of brutal reaction which the capitalists will unleash

when their stranglehold on society is challenged by the revolutionary action of the class-conscious workers. But for self-styled Trotskyists to issue gratuitous guarantees of toothlessness is disgraceful.

Marxists are not terrorists. But so often, "anti-adventurism" is found to dovetail with anti-Marxist reformist legalism. When the U.S. Socialist Party expelled Big Bill Haywood in connection with its 1912 "anti-sabotage referendum," what was really involved was a ruthless political purge of the left wing. Marxists are not gun nuts but neither do we run around disarming worker militants.

The Healyites may believe, as reformists explicitly posit, that the British legal structure ("bobbies" without guns, for instance) is god-given and eternal, or that the armed fist of the class enemy is reserved for faraway places like Palestine or India (or, most distant of all for the Healyites, Ireland). But we would remind the WRP of Lenin's adamant view that the proletarian who does not know the use of arms is a self-willed slave.

For Marxists, the idea of a pacifistic bourgeois state is a criminally dangerous illusion which virtually invites the capitalist class—to say nothing of ultra-rightist extremists—to attack the workers movement with impunity. The WRP rips up the core of Lenin's teaching in *State and Revolution* with the same touching faith in a high-minded, benevolent bourgeois state that the Socialist Workers Party manifests when it calls for the American armed forces to protect blacks.

The English left milieu makes much of the third-period sectarianism and obtrusive organizational beastliness of the Healyites as a convenient horrible example justifying its own pervasive squishy-soft chumminess. But the WRP's cringing rush for respectability is not a new or isolated phenomenon. The surface super-leftism of the Healy group has never been much more than skin deep.

In 1966, the Healyites found themselves widely scandalized on the left for the exercise of their usual practice of physically intimidating political opponents, in this case Ernie Tate of the English United Secretariat group. To silence Tate's protests, the Healy organization ran to the bourgeois courts to sue Tate under Britain's harsh anti-libel laws, then explicitly justified and generalized this criminal crossing of the class line. Healy's *International Correspondence* (6 February 1967) defended the use of the courts against opponents within the labor and left movements, putting forward the bourgeois state machinery as the proper arbiter to defend revolutionaries against expulsion-minded union bureaucrats or "slenderous" criticism by fellow leftists.

The WRP's sanctimonious pacifism in the attempt to deflect provocation today is not different in kind from the panicky piety of the SWP in 1963, when Farrell Dobbs dashed off a telegram of condolences to the widow Kennedy following the assassination of America's chief imperialist executive. Healy has always relished the SWP's embarrassment over this revealing display of reformist cowardice.

The current gutless "defense" by the notoriously ultra-"hard" WRP against the threat of repression may come as a surprise to impressionists, but Marxists have always recognized the grovelling opportunism which lurks at the core of Healyism. This incident reveals the legalistic underbelly beneath the brittle ultra-left veneer of the WRP. ■

Defend Porto Barracks Revolt!

(continued from page 1)

grave error by subordinating their struggle to the MFA, the FUR called for strengthening the "MFA-People Alliance." These counterposed positions on a key question of the revolution—what policy toward the bourgeois officer corps represented by the MFA—are characteristic of the confusion reigning in the "far left" line-up.

Shortly after the formation of the FUR, the CP departed from this class-collaborationist alliance in order to secure a cabinet seat in the popular-front sixth government headed by Admiral Azévedo. It also appeared to lack influence in the SUV. However, the pro-Moscow Stalinists are currently playing a game of semi-opposition, and have kept ties with the "far left" groups through the intermediary of the Popular Democratic

order (*Le Monde*, 5-6 October).

The CICA revolt had similar origins. Early this month the northern regional commander, General Antonio Pires Veloso, ordered the transfer of two officers and five enlisted men suspected of being active in the SUV. When the CICA unit delegate assembly voted to oppose the purge, Pires Veloso sent paratroopers to take over the buildings and expel the soldiers. Two days later (October 7) the dislodged troops joined with the artillery regiment in open rebellion. Immediately the regimental grounds were surrounded by civilian leftist supporters.

Led by the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD), a mob of several thousand rightists moved on the unit but were dispersed by gunfire and tear gas. Pires Veloso then tried his hand with five armored cars, which were countered by two armored personnel carriers. The regiment continues to be surrounded by makeshift civilian-manned barricades, and the government has backed off from a direct assault. But the stand-off will not last forever. As virtually everyone in



Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho

Movement (MDP), a CP electoral front group which continues in the FUR. And in early October the Communist Party moved to create its own SUV, this one supporting the MFA, in the south.

Barracks Revolts Spread

A leftist anti-government demonstration in early October drew several hundred soldiers from throughout the southern region. The regional commander promptly moved to transfer 49 airmen from a base in Beja for participating in the protest. The ranks thereupon took over the base. While the chief of staff sent in five planeloads of parachutists to restore order, the presence of 1,000 civilians and armed troops from other units surrounding the barracks convinced the regional commander to withdraw his transfer



Major Dinis de Almeida

Portugal realizes, the country is on the brink of civil war.

The left-wing officers have not been aloof from this turmoil, and some have begun to denounce the government. UPI reported on 6 October that Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho, the second-ranking officer of the Navy, told a Lisbon workers conference that "You should suspect paternalistic attitudes of those who want to first impose discipline and order before they make revolution." Another leading officer, Major Dinis de Almeida, commander of the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment (RALIS), stopped a rightist commander from removing several thousand automatic rifles from the main arsenal in Beirolas, in spite of a written requisition by General Carvalho authorizing the transfer. (Almeida and the rightist commander are both part of Carvalho's COPCON security force.) Almeida reportedly said the arms would be distributed to civilian leftists in the event of a fascist attack.

Not Putschism But Workers Revolution

The right wing of the MFA is now worried about its ability to emerge on top in a battle with leftists. There are reports of up to 30,000 weapons disappearing from government arms dumps during the last year, allegedly distributed to civilian leftists or in the hands of "insecure" units. A new Military Intervention Group was created last month to replace the unreliable COPCON, but has had great difficulty finding units which will join it. And at a marathon meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the leading body of the MFA, the military chiefs discussed the possibility of a leftist coup, making plans to withdraw the government from the capital in the event of a "Lisbon Commune" (*Expresso*, 4 October).

But while the "far left" military units seem to have a preponderance of firepower-

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Demonstration by "Revolutionary United Front" in Lisbon.

Poder Popular

er in the key Lisbon and Porto districts, a left-wing putsch would not bring about the workers republic fervently desired by tens of thousands of Portuguese socialist militants, nor could it even guarantee the military suppression of counterrevolution. Only the tremendous power of a united proletariat, mobilized in organs of soviet power and around a revolutionary program, can transform resistance to the "moderate" generals' attempts to reimpose military discipline into an insurrectionary assault on capitalism.

Unfortunately, the "far left" groups of the FUR have never put forward a Marxist program of working-class independence which could bring this potential power into play. Instead they have cheered allegedly "progressive" or "revolutionary" sectors of the *bourgeois* MFA. Nor have they proved capable of assembling the multitude of workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, etc., into a unitary organ which could serve as the base for a dual power to challenge the capitalist state apparatus. The most left-wing officers continue to cling to the MFA in part because they see no alternative.

In the course of the last year and a half, thousands of left-wing soldiers—and, no doubt, even some officers who are sincere in their professions of socialism—have come to profoundly distrust their demagogic superiors' willingness to fight against a restoration of the bestial conditions of the Salazarist "New Order." But their political education to date has consisted of a series of coups and attempted coups (last year's April 25 overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship, the defeated "silent majority" power-grab by General Spínola six months later, the frustrated rightist putsch of March 11). Thus it would not be surprising if the most audacious among them should think in terms of yet another coup, albeit with "support" from civilian leftists.

Yet this would still place power in the hands of the bourgeois armed forces. A more-left-than-ever MFA cannot carry out a socialist revolution! As Trotsky wrote of Spain in the 1930's:

"...at the approach of the proletarian revolution the officers' corps becomes the executioner of the proletariat. To eliminate four or five hundred reactionary agitators from the army means to leave everything basically as it was before. The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch."

—"The Lesson of Spain," July 1936

Audacity and Timing

There is another ominous danger in the prospect of a left-wing coup, namely isolation of the most advanced elements.

The process of radicalization has been extremely uneven in Portugal, and there is no doubt that soldiers of certain military units, the industrial red belt around Lisbon, and agricultural workers in the south are well in advance of the rest of the country. It is necessary to deepen and broaden the working-class mobilization, and to give it unity.

However, the right wing of the MFA is attempting *now* to crack down on "indiscipline." It is necessary to resist the sallies launched against the left by the government, but evasion and maneuver must be employed when the terrain is unfavorable. The workers movement must show that it has teeth without being provoked into premature actions. At present the top generals are seeking to avoid massive casualties, but any incident can be seized upon to launch a bloodbath. Thus tactics like the stationing of a defenseless "human barricade" in front of the Porto artillery barracks are criminally dangerous. The enemy is not a bleeding-heart liberal—this is an invitation to him to turn ill-prepared confrontations into demoralizing defeats for the workers.

But when the showdown comes it is essential to strike with audacity and ruthlessness. Hopefully this will come when the revolutionary forces are ready. Yet there is no revolutionary party in Portugal today which has prepared such favorable conditions. It is still necessary to resist, even under adverse circumstances. The proletariat which goes down without a fight will not rise again for a long time. The experience of Hitler's unopposed march to power—and the utter destruction of the workers move-

ment which followed—should be a lesson in this regard.

In the Moscow uprising of December 1905, for instance, conditions were not favorable to the revolutionaries; the strike movement in Petersburg was losing momentum; the army had not yet been decisively won over, despite a number of barracks revolts; the Bolsheviks were a minority in the soviets. But when the artillery units opened fire on the barricades and crowds of strikers, the Moscow Bolsheviks nevertheless threw themselves into the struggle. In the aftermath of the defeat Lenin analyzed the struggle, pointing to weaknesses and errors. But he never concluded, as did the Menshevik Plekhanov, that "they should not have taken to arms!" "On the contrary," wrote Lenin, "we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively" ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," August 1906).

Today the latter-day Mensheviks are already preparing to condemn the Portuguese masses for their heroic will to resist. The ex-Trotskyist and now cringingly reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has gone to new lengths in its endless cowardly blubberings against what it sees as tens of thousands of Portuguese "ultra-leftists." Having acted as shameless apologist for the Socialist Party (SP) as the latter was fronting for a vicious anti-communist mobilization of rightist terror in late July and early August, the SWP was understandably embarrassed by revelations last month that the CIA has been sending \$2 to \$10 million per month to finance Mario Soares' operation.

Ever resourceful in the cause of licking

the hoots of the bourgeoisie and its Portuguese lackeys, the SWP has found a way out: the European social democrats are to blame!

"No one has claimed that the CIA simply gave the SP a check each month. The money, it is said, was channelled to the SP through the European Social Democratic parties and unnamed European unions."

"Thus, unless one wishes to argue that the Portuguese SP has no right to accept funds from Social Democratic parties and unions in Europe, responsibility for giving the CIA an entry belongs in the first place with the conduits that agreed to 'launder' Washington's money."

Milnant, 17 October

Mario Soares' press agents are not fazed by anything.

The SWP's reformist dedication to bourgeois law and order is so profound that, after describing the diversion of 1,000 automatic rifles from the military arsenals to a "far-left" group and the freeing of two soldier members of the SUV from a military prison by a crowd of several tens of thousands, it mutters disapprovingly about "direct action" which "isolated the left still more" (*Intercontinental Press*, 6 October). Instead of surrounding the fort and demanding the liberation of their comrades, the SWP thinks the demonstrators should have mounted a "broad campaign"! The trouble, you see, is that the Lisbon workers haven't got an NPAC.

No—the problem is that the Lisbon workers do not have a revolutionary party! In the July Days during 1917, the Bolsheviks counseled caution to the angry masses, but they did not abandon them or stand on the sidelines clucking their tongues in disapproval. If there has been any oscillation in the SWP's despicable counterrevolutionary policies in Portugal it has been between the posture of Plekhanov, who wanted to hide in the face of danger in 1905, and that of Kerensky in July 1917 as he lined up with the darkest forces of reaction in seeking to drown the revolution in blood. ■

NDP...

(continued from page 5)

This is not the methodology of communism.

It is, however, the methodology of the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), "official" Canadian representative of the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat, a group with many years of practice in the art of *building*, not destroying, illusions in the social-democratic misleaders. Thus just three days after the NDP government had seen Bill 146 through the legislature, the LSA proudly announced at a public forum its intention to call for the re-election of the same government in the coming election campaign!

The social-democratic cretinism of the NDP and their hootlicking fellow-travelers in the LSA cannot show the way forward for the Canadian working masses. Only the program of intransigent class struggle and exposure of the working-class misleadership, fought for in Canada by the Trotskyist League, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, can mobilize the proletariat for socialist revolution. ■

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PDC Press Conference

Bail Revoked, Allen's Life in Danger

OCTOBER 13 Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, spoke at a press conference held by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) today at New York's Diplomat Hotel. Attending were reporters from CORE, *Liberation News Service*, the International Workers Party, *Workers Vanguard* and others. Philip Allen, a 20-year-old black college student, is the victim of a vicious racist frame-up by Los Angeles-area courts and cops. He recently received the maximum sentence of life-to-life for assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. The state alleges that on New Year's eve, the 5'3", 135-pound Allen overpowered four hurly, fully-armed L.A. county deputy sheriffs and disarmed one of them, killing one deputy and wounding two others. All this is alleged to have occurred while Allen was lying on the ground, receiving a



Philip Allen

WV Photo

heating so savage that he had to be hospitalized following the arrest.

"There is blatant racism in the system," Ms. Allen said. "Daily, policemen beat up blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, hippie-looking types.... A simple arrest is almost never effected.... They have to get their punishment and aggression out before taking the chance that the court will do justice sometimes and let the people go."

Ms. Allen explained that bail was revoked for her son after he spoke in his own defense at a rally on the Los Angeles City College campus October 1. The

American Civil Liberties Union has entered the case in his defense against this blatant violation of his constitutional rights to free speech.

On October 2 Allen had been granted a continuation of bail. But when his lawyers arrived the next morning, they were told that bail was revoked. The reason: the prosecutor had informed the judge that Allen had spoken in his own defense at LACC and planned to appear at an October 4 rally for the San Quentin Six. At the October 7 bail hearing Allen was labelled an "agitator" and poor bail risk for the supposed crime of continuing to proclaim his innocence!

Now in Chino state penitentiary, Allen's life is in constant danger. He is accused of killing a cop and is being subjected to the naked brutality of the racist prison system in which savage beatings are part of the daily routine.

Ms. Allen thanked the PDC for help in publicizing "these grave injustices perpetrated on myself and my son." In a moving account she described her outrage about this grotesque frame-up:

"Philip Allen professes his innocence. I will always say openly and whenever I get a platform that he did not touch that gun; he could not have touched that gun; it was not proven that he touched the gun; and I am of the belief by past experience of reading the papers that had he touched the gun they would have killed him."

"We have weekly accounts that the L.A. law enforcement people murder suspects, people who they go to apprehend sometimes for minor offenses and then the report comes out... 'he seemed to have a gun,' or 'he moved his hand and his bracelet looked like a gun,' or 'he had a cigarette'—and right away they kill this person."

No fingerprints were found on the gun, no paraffin or other tests were ever done to determine who shot the gun, and no one, she pointed out, could testify to seeing Allen take the gun from Deputy Sheriff Grimes, including Grimes himself. Ms. Allen recalled the deputy assaying in court, "'I lost my gun.' 'And how did you know you had lost the gun?' came the question from the defense attorney. Grimes said, 'By instinct.'"

"He would have had to somehow take the gun," she continued, "turn around for the fellow who was holding him from behind was the guy who was shot—he flat on the ground, do the shooting...and nobody saw him take the gun!"

Ms. Allen reported that the shootout "investigation" had been carried out by the L.A. Sheriff's Office. It is clear that

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WV Photo

Ellery Allen addresses NSCAR conference.

NSCAR Conference Backs Philip Allen

BOSTON, October 12—The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), dominated by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), held its second national conference this weekend at Northeastern University. One of the few positive steps taken by the conference was to support the defense of Philip Allen, the young black student framed by Los Angeles county cops.

The conference was boycotted by the Communist Party, the Maoists and most black nationalist groups, and the attendance was considerably smaller than at last year's founding conference. The SWP maintained its organizational hammerlock and, for the first time, put its creation on record for the use of federal troops to "protect" black school children. One leading NSCAR spokesman, Rasheed Ali, even called for use of tactical air strikes and A-bombs to pacify South

Boston!

The only political opposition at this otherwise sterile gathering came from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which presented major resolutions counterposed to the SWP's reformist reliance on "educational campaigns" and liberal marches to pressure the bourgeois state into defending black people and their democratic rights. SYL spokesmen referred to the testimony of black students from Boston high schools who vividly described to the conference the racist treatment they had received at the hands of the cops who are supposed to defend them.

While the SWP rammed all its motions through with little difficulty, a significant division occurred on an SYL amendment which delineated the difference between the SWP's manipulative, sectarian practices in defense work and the united-front defense activities of the SYL and the

Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), an anti-sectarian legal defense organization which stands for working-class defense policies in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

The SYL and PDC supported all the numerous resolutions introduced for defense of class-war prisoners and victims of racist frame-ups with one important

Partisan Defense Committee Motions Passed at NSCAR Conference

This conference condemns the vicious, racist frame-up of Philip Allen and also condemns the subsequent gagging through imprisonment of Philip Allen's constitutional right to speak and campaign in his own defense, and this conference demands freedom for Philip Allen.

This conference supports the Committee to Defend the SYL in its struggle against the witch-hunting Los Angeles City College administration's threatened suspension.

exception. That exception was a motion calling on NSCAR to "take the lead in working with the San Quentin Six Defense Committee." This obvious statement of political confidence in NSCAR was protested by the SYL, which offered an amendment to change the wording to "NSCAR must work with" the committee. So persuasive was the argument that such a defense motion must not hinge on support to any particular political group that the first vote split the body evenly. On a second vote the SWP leadership appeared to succeed in imposing discipline on their wavering ranks and in a typical display of sectarianism voted down the amendment, forcing the SYL to abstain on the original motion.

The conference did unanimously pass two PDC motions, one condemning the frame-up of Philip Allen and another supporting the SYL's struggle against a political purge at Los Angeles City College. Ellery Allen, Philip Allen's mother, addressed the conference this morning, describing the legal atrocity committed against her son. She referred to the PDC who "were instrumental in getting me here. These people have taken up the defense of Philip Allen as a major campaign. They are committed to see that justice is done." She was loudly applauded, and the PDC representatives succeeded in collecting \$79.91 for the Philip Allen Defense Committee.■