

NAACP Office Firebombed

Racists Riot Against Court Takeover of South Boston High

BOSTON, December 14—Judge Arthur Garrity's decision on December 9 to put the strife-torn South Boston High School into court receivership was met with an immediate outburst of vicious racist violence. Within hours of the judge's ruling, firebombs had been thrown into the NAACP office and the home of a prominent black minister. Hearing the judge's decision on the NAACP suit to close the high school, city councilwoman Louise Day Hicks, ringleader of the anti-busing movement, ominously threatened a return of the lynch-mob frenzy which has punctuated the struggle over Boston's busing plan for the past fifteen months: "Responsible leaders in South Boston have been working quietly to avoid community disturbances. Now, in the light of this unjust decision, it will be extremely difficult to continue this process successfully." For all her pious hypocrisy, Hicks is no passive spectator to the racist mobilization in "Southie." Her whole political career has been built on the reactionary theme of resistance to "forced busing." And the "community disturbances" she promised were not long in coming.

On December 10 a meeting of the anti-busing group ROAR, held as usual at City Hall, called for a "day of mourning" and a school boycott on December 12. In response, black-bordered signs reading "Remember Black Tuesday," a reference to the day Garrity ruled on the suit, began appearing throughout South Boston. Tension electrified the streets surrounding the high school, crowds gathered and trash fires were set.

On Thursday, fights broke out in the school. Black students walked by a screaming white mob and passed through metal detectors, installed to electronically search for weapons, into a maelstrom of pent-up racist fury. Screams, curses and the sound of glass breaking were clearly audible to passers-by. To keep battling students apart, teachers and policemen pushed them into "holding rooms" in a gymnasium. Three students, all black, were arrested. Two others, both black, were injured, one requiring 20 stitches to close his slashed arm. "It's wild in there," a harried teacher told reporters. "They're going crazy." On Friday, the boycott was nearly total. Out of 774 white students enrolled in South Boston High School, only 18 attended classes.

Catching the scent of blond, fascist elements have begun to slither back into the limelight. David Duke, national director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, returned to Boston to preach his genocidal creed. Unlike his last visit, in the fall of 1974, this time Duke was invited by some leaders in the anti-busing movement. He appeared at a press conference with Warren Zaniconi, leader of the South Boston Marshals,

Duke announced that he was in Boston, at Zaniconi's invitation, "to coordinate the local fight against forced busing and to return their rights to white people." Zaniconi was chief marshal of the racists who attacked last August's NAACP demonstration at Carson Beach in South Boston. He said that his group was "formed to protect the people of South Boston. It's our job to protect them against these Communist, Socialist and agitation organizations that have been coming in here."

The temper of South Boston can be gauged by the brazen manner in which the reactionaries broadcast their intentions. The November 26 issue of the *South Boston Tribune* carried a column of "South Boston Information Center News." Just two weeks before the office of Boston NAACP president Thomas Atkins was firebombed, militant racist Dan Yotts penned this vile threat: "Well, old gorilla-face Atkins is at it again... if Garrity closes Southie and Atkins is not wiped out and NAACP Headquarters along with him, I'm going



Boston Globe: Ted Dully

Tom Atkins, president of Boston NAACP, surveying office firebombed by racists last week.

to be the most surprised and disappointed guy in Southie."

Garrity's decision represents an escalation of his battle against the systematic obstructionism of the Boston School Committee. The judge accused the committee of doing everything possible "to frustrate and delay" his Phase Two desegregation plan. As in the Office of Implementation, he said, the School Committee "left it to twist in the wind." After reviewing the well-documented charges of blatant racist abuse, he found that black students at the school "are presently being subjected to discriminatory treatment and

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L'Express

Soviet-supplied armored personnel carrier during November 11 MPLA independence celebration in Luanda.

U.S., South Africa, Mao Back FNLA/UNITA

Smash CIA-Led Forces in Angola!

DECEMBER 16—Last week the *New York Times* published several articles amply confirming that the Central Intelligence Agency has been covertly pouring arms and money into Angola. The CIA's purpose: to buoy up a cahal of right-wing nationalist, Portuguese mercenary and South African regular troops lined up against the Havana- and Moscow-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Since September the U.S. spy agency has reportedly channeled \$25 million in arms and support funds to the MPLA's rivals, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), with another \$25 million earmarked to follow. There are also said to be as many as 300 American soldiers of fortune in the area (although the government naturally disavows them), and in the United States CORE is now gearing up to send paid black veterans to bolster the imperialist-led FNLA/UNITA forces.

Liberal Finger-Wagging

In the "pnst-Watergate era," given the steady leak of information concerning the CIA's latest gambit of global privateering, it was predictable that liberal congressmen would eventually respond to these new revelations with pro-forma finger-wagging. The Senate has held up passage of the military appropriations bill, scheduled for yesterday, until they learn whether any of the \$120.9 billion is destined for Angola. (Kissinger is asking for \$39.4 million in military aid to Zaïre—up from \$3.8 million last year—and the liberals wonder whether any of it is destined for neighboring Angola!) Meanwhile, a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee is considering an amendment to end assistance to the FNLA and UNITA

unless authorized by Congress. As usual, the liberals' concern is congressional prerogatives, not the bloody results of imperialist intervention.

More revealing than the ritual of demurring liberal criticisms is the information that Nathaniel Davis resigned in August as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs to protest administration approval of Henry Kissinger's recommendation of CIA intervention. This same Davis was ambassador to Chile from 1971 to 1973, i.e., at a time when the CIA was hankrolling and advising the right-wing generals preparing to slaughter the proletariat. His opposition to the Kissinger line on Angola does not flow from any compunctions about covert operations or from newly discovered humanitarian impulses. According to a State Department source:

"Davis told them that it won't work. Neither Savimbi [head of UNITA] or Roberto [head of FNLA] are good fighters—in fact, they couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag. It's the wrong game and the players we got are losers."

—*New York Times*, 14 December

Davis is certainly aware that not only the right-nationalist groups but the radical-nationalist MPLA as well can be bought if the price is right. With a few broken strikes already under its belt, the MPLA is no less violently opposed to independent working-class organization than are its FNLA/UNITA opponents—or its friends in the petty-bourgeois nationalist parties now in power in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, with which the U.S. recently agreed to establish diplomatic relations.

Liberals claim to have learned the lessons of history as they compare Angola today to the early days of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. "It is shades of

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"Thanks, Harry"

Bosses Throw a Party for Bridges

ILWU Ranks Stay Home

Harry Bridges was feted late last month in a gala event at the swank Fairmont Hotel on Nob Hill. Landed by the assembled plutocrats and bureaucrats as one of San Francisco's "distinguished citizens," the ILWU president was "officially welcomed into the establishment" at the affair according to the UPI. Bridges listened ("with a wry smile") as political hawks and corporate fat cats, maritime commissioners and shipping bosses, came forward to pay tribute to his "outstanding contributions." And why not? Ever since Harry learned to play ball with the bosses, he's done all right by them. Former California governor Pat Brown said he was "proud as hell to regard him through all these years as the closest of friends." And there was plenty of back-slapping with outgoing S.F. mayor Alioto and his cronies.

But there was one group that didn't feel like honoring Bridges' "accomplishments" and stayed away in droves - the longshore and warehouse union membership. Instead of the predicted 1,800, there were only "792 glittering people" (*San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle*) dining at the Fairmont on November 29. In fact, at the November ILWU Local 6 General Executive Board meeting where 40 tickets, bought with union funds (\$2,000 worth), were raffled

off, only 12 members even wanted to go. Yet at the October meeting which decided to purchase the tickets, the only executive board member to vote against spending union members' hard-earned dues money for dinner with the bosses was a member of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the local.

The press wondered how the "stormy labor leader" who led dock workers in the 1934 S.F. general strike had "somehow won the friendship of local businessmen and politicians." It's not hard to figure out, though, for a man whose services rendered include the World War II no-strike pledge, breaking the 1944 Montgomery Ward strike, signing "modernization and mechanization" pacts that have reduced the number of longshoremen by more than half, creating a category of second-class dockers ("B-men") without union rights and protection, sabotaging the 1971-72 port strike and most recently ramming through a longshore contract which threatens the Pay Guarantee Plan and the union hiring hall. As a fitting end to his career of service to the employers, Bridges is now trying to carve up the ILWU.

And the money collected at the feast? Rumor has it that it will buy Harry a new Volvo. His old one, though, will long be remembered; he drove it through the picket lines of striking ILWU office workers last February! ■

Harry Bridges driving his Volvo through ILWU office workers' picket lines in February.



San Francisco Chronicle

"PEACEFUL PETREL: Harry Bridges, now a feisty 74, is submitting to his first and last testimonial dinner—Nov. 29 at the Fairmont, with some 1800 worshipers expected at \$50 a head. This will not be a retirement party, since Harry will serve through '76 as Pres. of the ILWU; then he and the man who has spent most of his life waiting to succeed him, Lou Goldblatt, will be out (mandatory retirement at age 65 goes into effect in '77)... For an indication of how radically this ex-radical has changed, consider that Bridges, whom the Gov't. tried to deport three times as a Communist (and failed), will be honored by the Pres. of Matson [Lines], the Defense Dept. and the Maritime Commission!... As for the money raised at the banquet, 'I guess after we pay the expenses we'll just give what's left to Harry,' says ILWU Veep Bill Chester. 'He's earned it.'"

—Herb Caen in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 November

Letter

[India]

28 November 1975

To the editor:

First, I have to thank you for all the copies of *Workers Vanguard* and other literature that you are sending me. I begin to discern the differences in the Trotskyist movement from your angle too. We in India, however, are more interested in our own difficulties and have little time for international problems. We think it is better for the different groups of Trotskyists to discuss their differences and close the ranks. We supported the FI [Fourth International, i.e. "United Secretariat" (USec)] in 1963, although we justified the earlier split too. We are aware that there is no homogeneity in FI at present. But this is not a hangover of the past. I view it to be a result of the undigested youth radicalization of 1960's, which the FI could not digest because of a weak proletarian content in it and lack of roots in mass working class organization. This I say without any concession to trade-unionism.

Be that as it may, the present letter is concerned with your article on Indian Pabloism in *WV* of Nov. 14, 1975. I make only brief comments to clarify things to you and hope you will publish them in your paper.

1. We are no Pabloists nor any other brand and don't like this way of polemics.

2. We are not less concerned about democracy in India than you are. We hold the traditional Trotskyist view. This we made clear in the July issue of the same *MKK* [*Mazdūr Kisan Krānti*, the main press organ of the Communist League of India (CLI)] that you mention by publishing Trotsky's article of 1938 which was published by *IP* [*Intercontinental Press*, published by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP)] in relation to Portugal.

3. We ran a series of articles in *MKK* before the declaration of emergency in India differentiating ourselves from the "people's movement of JP" [Jayaprakash Narayan] on the ground that this was a movement with a non-class programme and composition. But instead of opposing the movement from outside, we shaped our criticism from inside, insisting that the movement should adopt a programme based on the demands of workers and poor peasants and should base itself on workers and poor peasants organization instead of political parties.

4. "The Danger of the CIA" statement does not represent the whole of the CLI's view. It is a statement in relation to a specific topic, which filled Congress propaganda in early July. So you need not read into it a conflict with the views expressed in [the SWP's] *Militant* of 15-8-75. Our statement is, however, in line with Hugo Blanco's remarks on Bolivia which *IP* published in December 1974 and we (*MKK*) in August 1975.

5. Our statement does not support the anti-rightist line of the Congress and the CPI [Communist Party of India, pro-Moscow]. It rather presents an alternative policy even in respect of fight against rightist reaction.

6. It didn't express concern at the personal safety of Mrs. Gandhi but at the growth of violence. Our attitude was the attitude of Lenin and Trotsky against Russian terrorism.

7. We have never changed our views on arrest and the methods adopted in relation to the railway strike. But we had to "discipline" our expression in view of the press guidelines.

8. The statement does not talk about an organized people's force. Your translation is wrong. The right word is "mass organizations".

9. These policies don't represent

"only" a quantitative extension of the programme of the Congress. Even, on June 27, Mrs. Gandhi declared that she won't nationalize private sector by using emergency powers. In Nov. she has made it clear that her socialism will allow private sector. So our demand for nationalization give(s) or projects an alternative programme.

10. We have not become Gandhi's supporters. Yet we are not adventurists to launch movements or protest actions without mass support.

I hope this will clear your misunderstandings about us.

Yours,

R.N. Aiyar

for UP [Uttar Pradesh] State Committee of CLI

WV replies: In our article "Indian Pabloists Apologize for Indira Gandhi" (*WV* No. 85, 14 November) we sharply criticized the CLI for bolstering the Gandhi regime's "leftist" pretensions by refusing to expose the government's trumped up "anti-fascist" scare campaign as a pretext for the unleashing of draconian repression against both leftist and rightist opponents. By accepting Gandhi's demagogic denunciations of the CIA/fascist threat as good coin, the CLI objectively buttresses the regime's spurious "progressive" facade and legitimizes its wholesale assault on bourgeois-democratic rights.

WV quoted the CLI's Hindi-language statement, "The Danger of the CIA":

"We have expressed our views on the danger of fascism, about which the [pro-Gandhi] Communist Party of India and Mrs. Gandhi have warned the people. It is our strong belief that only an organized people's force can combat the danger of CIA conspiracies or even fascism and that freedom of speech and unimpeded criticism are necessary for organizing people's power in a vigorous way."

The CLI is calling here not for a proletarian-based movement organized independently of the ruling class to oppose the Gandhi regime as well as the threat from the far-rightist forces, but for a populist mobilization against Gandhi's opponents.

Comrade Aiyar maintains that this is an application of the "traditional Trotskyist view" and that the CLI's concern with "the growth of violence" is fully consistent with Lenin's position on terrorism. The statement, however, hemoaned not the brutal and often murderous repression of the working masses and class-struggle prisoners by the regime, but rather the assassination of justly hated Congress Party boss L. N. Mishra and an alleged assassination plot against Gandhi. Lenin sharply opposed individual terrorism as an inexpedient and self-defeating tactic.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

but the Bolsheviks always solidarized with the plebeian indignation underlying attacks on tsarist officials and other direct representatives and symbols of oppression. The CLI over this issue parallels the ultra-respectability of the American SWP, which decried the recent assassination attempts against Gerald Ford and ten years ago actually sent a message of condolence to the widow Kennedy!

Comrade Arya protests our assertion that the CLI, in calling for an "organized people's force" (the only possible translation for *sangathit jana-shakti*) against reaction, accommodates the illusions raised by the massive anti-corruption movement of Jayaprakash Narayan. Unfortunately, we have not received any issues of *Mazdūr Kisan Krānti* which separate the CLI from Narayan's "people's movement"; our examination of the December 1974 issues of *IP* has uncovered no statements at all by Hugo Blanco.

Comrade Arya declares that the "people's movement of JP" should be based "on the demands of workers and poor peasants" and "on workers and poor peasants organization instead of political parties." An authentic Trotskyist propaganda group in India, rather than pressuring the bourgeois Narayan movement to become the vehicle for workers' demands, would fight to expose Narayan and split the anti-corruption forces along class lines in the process of building a workers political party.

Our purpose in terming the CLI's positions "Pahloist" was not to offend Comrade Arya, but to characterize the programmatic liquidationism of the CLI, which limits its program to reformist demands such as a call for nationalization which leaves open the question of compensation. Comrade Arya's letter, which eschews the struggle for international democratic centralism and explicitly justifies a nationally-centered perspective, is another confirmation of our charge.

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Abolish NYC Red Squad!

DECEMBER 12—Amidst the official government revelations of CIA assassination plots and the FBI's massive disruption of left and civil-rights organizations, the day-to-day activities of local police red squads do not often catch the public eye. Yet the use of secret police agents for surveillance, harassment, provocation and entrapment of political and labor dissidents is a key weapon in the bourgeoisie's arsenal of repression.

A recent Long Island newspaper account of New York City's security expenditures for the United Nations focused on the role of the NYC Police Intelligence Division (PID), formerly the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS). Emanating from 325 Hudson Street in Manhattan, the ubiquitous red squad maintains a constant surveillance of the activities of left organizations. In the "Newsday photo" they show the uniformed cops—"only the tip of the iceberg"—watching a recent Spartacist League demonstration to free class-war prisoners in Argentina. The importance of the PID to federal intelligence agencies was described by a "police intelligence source":

"We usually know things before [the Department of] State or the Secret Service... They have to come to us for a lot of their information. Let's face it, New York is the seat of everything that's going on. If there's a dissident group anywhere, it's in New York."

—Newsday, 7 December

The New York "red squad" routinely "covers" every public meeting or rally of a political nature. A 24-hour log book lists every such event, every picket line and demonstration, every expiring labor contract, etc., and PID agents are responsible for reporting the names of participants, the content of speeches, size of crowd and other such details. The red squad's official functions include investigation of labor disputes, guarding visiting dignitaries, deportation investigations and anti-left activities. It has gone by many names since 1912: Radical Bureau, Neutrality Squad, Bureau of Criminal Alien Investigation, BOSS, etc. The model for other red squads around the country, the New York bureau has infiltrated and spied on trade unions, leftist groups, organizations of the foreign-born, the antiwar movement, right-wing groups and, particularly in the last decade, black militant groups.

Hounded for Ten Years

The hearing on the case of veteran black activist Robert Collier, which concluded this summer, illuminates the extent of the cloak-and-dagger escapades of the local political police. Charges of conspiracy to possess explosives and illegal possession of a gun and stolen goods were dismissed on July 28 by New York State Supreme Court judge Peter McQuillan. The judge was unable to countenance the ludicrous disproportion between the intensive surveillance, aimed at intimidation and harassment, conducted over the course of two years by Oswaldo Alvarez of the PID/BOSS and the flimsy charges brought against Collier.

The judge's decision provides some insight into the magnitude and breadth of local police surveillance by citing some of the monumentally irrelevant information contained in the 534 daily handwritten reports that Alvarez submitted to his superiors between 18 May 1971 and 5 July 1973:

"On another occasion, while visiting defendant, he [Alvarez] looked in a shopping bag that defendant's wife brought into the home and confirmed that the bag contained grocery items." "He reported to BOSS officials, seemingly, each and every movement by defendant during the two year infiltration, e.g., defendant's effort toward winning admission to college, the presence of 'political' pictures, books and leaflets in defendant's home and such minutiae as that defendant and his wife 'went to the movies,' or that they were going to Brooklyn to visit her family."

That Collier is a free man today is no tribute to the "justice" of the bourgeois legal system. For over ten years he has been the victim of a vicious police vendetta. He has been arrested three times as the result of BOSS undercover operations and has spent nearly four years behind bars. Collier's first two arrests provide a capsule history of the New York red squad's efforts to smash militant black organizations through planting *agents provocateurs* in their midst.

While somewhat moribund in the years following the McCarthyite inquisition, BOSS and local red squads across the country experienced new growth with the rise of the civil rights and antiwar movements in the sixties. Between 1968 and 1971, BOSS expanded its staff from 60 to 90 (to which must be added an estimated 55 undercover agents). The Los Angeles Police Department doubled its intelligence division in a single year, 1969-70. In Chicago and Philadelphia, according to a 1971 article by lawyer Frank Donner, more police were involved "on police intelligence assignments than are [were] engaged in fighting organized crime." To get their chosen victims as well as to justify larger budgets and staffs, cop spies repeatedly produced results in the

first assignment was to join the Bronx chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1964. He rapidly got himself and CORE chapter chairman Herbert Callender arrested while attempting to make a "citizen's arrest" on then-mayor Robert Wagner. Callender briefly found himself held for psychiatric examination, and Wood moved on to a new group called the Black Liberation Front (BLF), one of whose members was Robert Collier.

On 16 February 1965, Collier, Wood, two other BLF members and a member of a Quebec separatist organization were arrested in New York on charges of conspiracy to blow up the Statue of Liberty, as a symbolic act of protest against racial oppression. Wood had conceived the idea, provided a car (with BOSS money) to travel to Montreal to arrange the purchase of explosives and even made a trial run to the statue alone, telling the others about it later. As the result of this blatant entrapment, the three black militants were jailed (the woman from Montreal turned state's evidence and was sent home). Collier served 21 months of a five-year sentence. Police agent Wood was promoted to detective, given a medal and grabbed front-page headlines like "Hero Cop Infiltrates Terrorists."

Cop Provocateurs in the Panthers

Another black undercover agent, Gene Roberts, was taken like Wood directly into the red squad upon joining the police in 1964. He infiltrated the Harlem-based Organization of Afro-American Unity, formed by Malcolm X after he broke from the Black Muslims. Roberts was at Malcolm's side, ostensibly as a bodyguard, when the latter was



Newsday Photo / John H. Cornell Jr.

NEWSDAY reported recently on activities of the NYC red squad: "The uniformed personnel are only the tip of the security iceberg—the visible portion." Photo was taken at recent SL demonstration at the Argentine Mission.

form of "conspiracy" indictments for crimes which the agents themselves conceived, advocated and planned.

One of the first such agents to infiltrate the black liberation movement was Raymond Wood. According to a master's thesis written by BOSS member Anthony Bouza, Wood "was inducted into the Police Department secretly and no unauthorized eyes ever saw a record or photograph of his that could possibly tie him to police work." His

gunned down during a speech at the Audubon Ballroom on 21 February 1965. From that assignment he passed through a Muslim mosque and the Harlem Mau Mau until the summer of 1968 when he became one of the founding members (along with at least five other BOSS operatives) of the New York chapter of the Black Panther Party.

After five years of masquerading as a
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Reinstate the Victimized B-Men, Full Union Rights for All Longshoremen!

WV Photo

Stan Weir's Court Suit Threatens ILWU Local 10

Don't Sue the Unions—Fight Bridges in the Labor Movement!

SAN FRANCISCO—Ever since S.F. longshoremen emerged victorious from the city's historic 1934 general strike, their union, Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), has had no shortage of powerful enemies. Presently being hit by a massive job-cutting attack from the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), Local 10 is in imminent danger from another quarter as well. The Local is the chief defendant in a court suit filed in 1964 by the Longshore Jobs Defense Committee (LJDC), representing 51 out of a total of 82 longshoremen arbitrarily forced out of the industry by ILWU President Harry Bridges and the PMA in 1963. After years of stalling tactics by Bridges, including a libel suit aimed against some of the prominent hackers of the fired longshoremen, the suit went to trial in 1974 and is now in the hands of the judge, with possible damages having escalated enormously. Depending on how its fate is weighed in the stuffy backrooms of federal district court, the Local could be held liable to pay fines and damages amounting to several millions of dollars—much more than it could possibly raise. The very existence of Local 10, one of the strongholds of West Coast labor, is threatened by this court case.

Chief responsibility for this potentially mortal blow rests with the bourgeois courts, the star chambers of capitalism. There are other culprits as well, not the least of which is Bridges himself, chief perpetrator of the 1963 atrocity and supposedly the main target of the 11-year-old suit. But the 51 victimized longshoremen made the mistake of placing their fate—and the fate of their union—in the hands of capitalist "justice," outside the house of labor. It should surprise no one that Bridges, a long-time master at cynically maneuvering within the system, solely for his personal gain, has by now all but succeeded in deflecting this misguided legal blow away from himself, and at the target marked "Local 10" instead. Yet this ominous fact has not dissuaded the initiators of the suit from their destructive course.

Mechanization and Deregistration

Harry Bridges' almost limitless willingness to betray the working class was demonstrated by the whole history of second-class "B-list" longshoremen and the arbitrary purge of several scores of them in 1963. Formed in 1959, the B-list was a new category of longshoremen. Kept out of the union, and lacking benefits and protection afforded by the ILWU contract, B-men were required to be available for work 70 percent of the time and forbidden to hold other full-

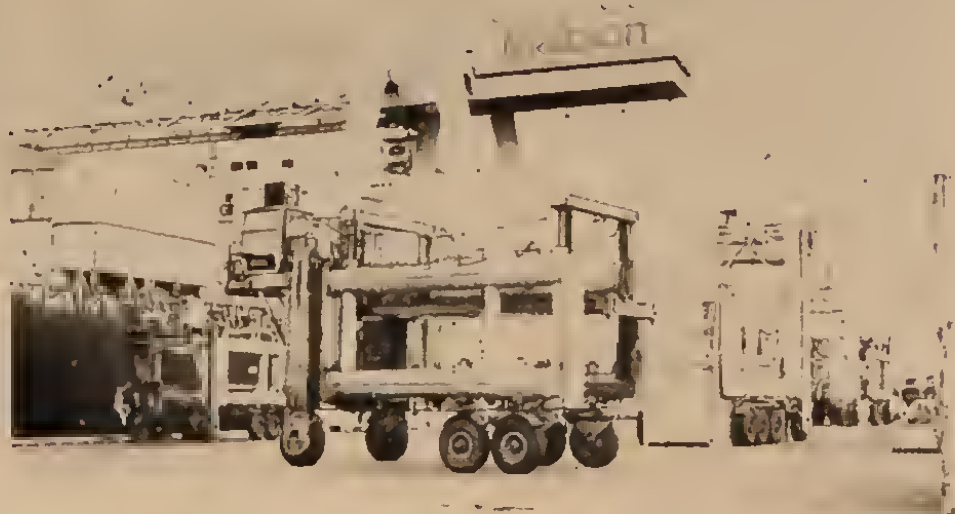
time jobs or attend school, on pain of deregistration. They had no guarantee of getting work. When they worked, it was to take the dirtiest and most onerous jobs, usually in the holds of ships moving cargo by hand. The B-list category was only supposed to last six months to one year, but Bridges intervened to prevent the promotion of any B-men to "A" (union member) status for four years.

The reasons for this long delay were hound up with the "Modernization and Mechanization" (M&M) contracts of the 1960's. Planning to "rationalize" the industry through containerization and automated systems, the employers demanded liquidation of longshoremen's historically won job conditions, such as load limits, which stood in the way of massive production speed-up. Bridges argued for giving up these working conditions to the employers in return for guaranteed pay as a protection against layoffs due to automation. A fund (the Pay Guarantee Plan) was set up for this purpose, but it did not stop the tremendous speed-up nor the catapulting accident rate which resulted from "M&M". Moreover, Bridges sharply restricted the traditional recourse to direct strike action on the docks to settle grievances. And now, in the throes of the current depression, with the West Coast longshore workforce reduced by over half since 1959, even the Pay Guarantee has been drastically reduced.

Under the "M & M" contracts the International controlled the size of local memberships, and Bridges used this to keep the B-men out of the union. The B-men formed a second-class labor force, without union rights, to perform the most onerous tasks at the point of production. They were thus key to jacking up labor productivity for the employers' benefit. In addition, the B-men were younger and more volatile than their older union brothers. This militancy grew over time as the B-men won the right to attend (but not participate in!) union meetings, and to have three elected officials represent their interests. After four years, the pressure to admit them to full union status was growing irresistible.

Bridges' Purge

The 1963 purge was Bridges' scheme for turning the militant B-men into more docile union members. There had been sizeable opposition to the first "M & M" contract in 1961, and Bridges had reason to fear that simply admitting the 500 B-men could block future acceptance of such sellouts. So he proposed to admit all the B-men except some, close to 100, who were to be *deregistered*. Supposedly "deregistered for cause," the 82 victimized B-men were arbitrarily selected on the basis of minor infractions of rules over a four-year period. It later came out that even the rules were phony—Bridges and the PMA cooked them up for the purge! In



Automation of the S.F. docks. Under modernization and mechanization contracts Bridges abandoned fight for jobs.

addition, 90 percent of the victimized B-men were black.

It was clear to the rest of the B-men that any one of them could have been picked on the basis of similar "infractions," and the result was devastating. The majority of the B-men were admitted with the fear that they had no security and could be deregistered at any time. The 82, meanwhile, were "tried" in secret, denied presentation of formal charges and slandered as "chiselers, ne'er-do-wells and men who paid their dues late." But this divisive scheme was not accepted without opposition. As most of the B-men were being admitted, Local 10 voted down Bridges' proposal to screen out some of them. Fuming, Bridges threatened to stop all the promotions to "A" status "until you quit letting a few stand in the way of the many." Making good on this threat, Bridges got his way, although Local 10 voted again to reverse Bridges' scheme and admit the fired B-men.

At this point the victimized B-men were organized into the Longshore Jobs Defense Committee (LJDC) primarily by Stan Weir, one of their former elected representatives. Described as a "long-time socialist" by the social-democratic *New Politics* (Summer 1966), to which he has been a frequent contributor, Weir has also been a featured public speaker for the International Socialists (I.S.) over many years. The LJDC filed suit in federal court against both the PMA and the ILWU in April 1964, ten months after the firings. Weir described the suit in two articles in *New Politics* (Winter and Summer 1964). It sought "full registration, full union membership, lost wages and \$600,000 in damages."

The suit's initiators claim to be only going after responsible individuals such as Bridges, and not after the union itself. "No damages are sought from the union," said Weir. But Weir has proven unable to control this even if he wanted to. When the trial was held last year, the lawyer for the PMA argued that the deregistrations were not the responsibility of either the PMA or the International, but of Local 10, which had held the hearings to screen the B-men through its Labor Relations Committee. Despite Bridges' responsibility in ordering the deregistrations, lawyers for the International and Local 10 accepted the PMA's argument, leaving Local 10 the main defendant. Since the judge has the power to allocate guilt among the defendants, it is likely that Local 10 will bear the brunt of any decision favorable to the plaintiffs. Thus the Local 10 members who voted several times against Bridges' purge will be victimized for it, and the original victims have joined the perpetrators, through the courts, to help bring this about!

Bridges has no lack of reasons to want to see Local 10 victimized as a result of this suit. For several years, Bridges'

friend, San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto has been trying to gain control of valuable waterfront real estate where the Local 10 hiring hall is located. Bridges' forces supported a Labor Department legal action to have the property of Local 10, held by the independent Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association (BALMA), declared an asset of the Local rather than a separate legal entity. Bridges supporters within Local 10 have also worked strenuously to bring this about.

The fight in Local 10 came to a head in late 1973 when Frank Stout, then president of BALMA, engaged in legal action against Bridges to retain the independent legal status of the property. Partly on the basis of this jockeying back and forth, Stout was elected president of the Local and his ally Herb Mills became secretary-treasurer. The Stout/Mills regime immediately moved to keep the hall ownership with the BALMA trustees. With an oppositional regime in office, Bridges' desire to curb the Local only increased. It was about this time that the Weir suit finally went to trial. Since the B-men's suit settlement could bankrupt Local 10, leading to seizure of the latter's assets, it has now become part of Bridges' attempts to beat down a politically volatile local while doing a favor for his pals in city hall, eventually transferring the property to Alioto interests.

Don't Sue the Union—Fight Bridges in the Labor Movement!

Weir never had any intention of drawing a distinction between suing the officers of the union for damages and suing the union, nor did he pursue the struggle for reinstatement within the union. Weir admits that when the LJDC was formed, it "immediately began investigating ways of using the law to get back [the] jobs" (*New Politics*, Winter 1964). He reduces efforts to get help from the union ranks to a single, brief parenthetical comment. Noting that Local 10 had "overwhelmingly" demanded the return of the frame-up victims, he reports that "this demand was killed when it reached the area committee of the ILWU-PMA apparatus," by the traitorous vote of one union official. This occurred at a rump meeting, excluding representatives of several locals, and should have been immediately exposed in an ongoing campaign to enforce the will of the membership. But not for the impatient Weir! His parenthetical effort to fight within the union ended with this setback.

The suit itself—resorting to the courts of the class enemy to settle a dispute within the labor movement—had a disastrous effect on efforts to support the cause of the fired B-men within the union. Bridges has been able to cover his own treachery by references to the

continued on page 11

Angola...

(continued from page 1)

Vietnam all over again," says Frank Church (*New York Post*, 16 December). The liberals are mainly worried that, like Vietnam, Angola will become a fruitless and costly venture. There are certain superficial similarities (the military/political vacuum created by a departing colonial power, the presence of Soviet-backed troops), but there the analogy stops.

Unlike in Vietnam, where despite the Stalinists' popular frontism the worker and peasant masses were lined up against the forces of imperialism and a brittle but real domestic bourgeoisie, in Angola the defeat of the imperialist-led troops will not lead to the end of capitalist rule. Nor is there an immediate question of "falling dominoes," for the white supremacist South African regime is immeasurably more powerful than Indochina's neighbors. Moreover, in the limited Angolan theater and with the presence of South African forces, massive direct U.S. military intervention would represent an absurd "overkill" and is not being considered even by the anti-Moscow hawks.

In Vietnam the U.S. spent hundreds of billions and lost; in Angola a mere \$50 million in CIA funds is sufficient to produce a major military impact. Those who, like Senator John Tunney, oppose funds to Angola "for anything except intelligence gathering" are simply en-

In the weeks immediately preceding the November 11 termination of colonial rule, a motorized column of about 500 white soldiers, mostly South African and Portuguese, appeared at the head of a joint FNLA UNITA force. The column entered Angola from South West Africa (Namibia) and swept up the coast, driving MPLA from key ports. As the joint column pushed north, FNLA forces, led by pro-Spinola Portuguese reactionaries and supplied by U.S. arms channeled through Zaïre, moved south in a coordinated pincer attack on Luanda. To create a credible neo-colonial regime in competition with the MPLA's "People's Republic of Angola," the U.S./South Africa axis effected a paper unification of FNLA and UNITA in a puppet "Democratic People's Republic" with its capital in Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa).

Simultaneously the South Africans more shamelessly admitted their intervention (now estimated at more than 1,000 regular troops). In early December General Jack Dutton, South African army chief of staff, visited his troops in Angola (referred to in Johannesburg newspapers as the "zone of operations") taking along foreign newsmen. The Pretoria government is claiming as its pretext the need to protect the Cunene River dam and thereby "ensure the irrigation of South West Africa's cattle pastures" (UPI dispatch, 5 December).

On the other side, internationalization of the conflict has also proceeded apace as the MPLA was

to stand to the left of the Stalinists, such as the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" majority, call for "all power to the MPLA" (i.e., political support), sowing illusions in the revolutionary pretensions of the MPLA.

Running Dogs Run for Cover

Other forces besides the imperialists have aided the right-wing nationalists in their drive to "flatten" Luanda and "kill every single Communist" in the Angolan capital. The Maoist bureaucracy in China supplied military advisors to FNLA troops in Zaïre and joins Kissinger in denouncing Russian "interference" and "expansionist policies" in Angola.

At a press conference in New York on October 24, MPLA spokesman Saydi

maintained an embarrassed silence, although its support to the racist anti-busing movement in Boston and Louisville should be adequate preparation for a bloc with *apartheid* South Africa. Others, notably the October League (Mao's most loyal American sycophants), simply rubber stamp China's stance.

But the *Guardian*, always acutely sensitive to radical petty-bourgeois public opinion, has been forced to openly criticize Peking's obscene policy, although in the most obsequious manner. In its November 26 "Viewpoint," it writes:

"The *Guardian* respects, but differs with, the position of People's China on this issue. China insists that the only solution to the Angolan crisis is for the three sides to join together in a united



MPLA military/political training camp in Cabinda.

Augusta Conchiglia



L'Express

MPLA soldier in Luanda.

gaging in a cynical cover operation. Revolutionaries, too, are against "another Vietnam intervention," but not, like the liberals, because Angola is a "bad investment" for American imperialism (unlike the Near East, where Vietnam "doves" become Israel "hawks"). Rather we demand that the U.S. get out of Angola—and call for the defeat of the U.S./South African-led forces because we want to smash imperialism, not modify its policies.

Internationalization of the Angolan Civil War

Kissinger chose to escalate. Beginning in late October, a rapid-fire succession of events transformed the three-cornered civil war between competing, generally tribally based formations into a "proxy battlefield between the major powers" (*Economist*, 15 November). Evidence emerged of the decisive subordination of UNITA and FNLA to imperialist and neo-colonial forces eager to oust the Russians and fill the power vacuum left by the removal of the Portuguese army.



Mercenaries from Zaïre and France captured by the MPLA.

Augusta Conchiglia

reinforced by several thousand Cuban troops and equipped with Soviet tanks and rockets. These forces and materiel have already begun to turn the tide. On three fronts the MPLA has pushed back its opponents, retaking key positions, especially along the central stretch of the Benguela railroad in south central Angola.

Thus the recent confirmations by State Department and other government sources do more than expose Kissinger's cynical claims that the U.S. is opposed to "outside interference" in Angola and favors an "African solution" to the conflict; they also underline the decisive internationalization of the Angolan civil war. It is no longer simply the Soviet-backed MPLA versus the virulently anti-communist, Zaïre-based FNLA and the pro-colonialist, South Africa-supplied UNITA. Massive American aid to FNLA/UNITA and direct South African intervention have turned the country into a battlefield between the U.S. and USSR.

In this conflict—as opposed to the previous three-way struggle between competing petty-bourgeois nationalist forces—revolutionary Marxists call for military victory of the MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition, without placing the slightest political confidence in the radical petty-bourgeois nationalists. The Moscow Stalinists, in contrast, support the MPLA only because they seek a bourgeois Angola in the Russian orbit, or at least a pawn to be bargained away in the interests of "détente." In turn, groups which claim

Mingas accurately characterized the thrust of China's position:

"The Chinese use the term 'superpowers', by which I understand they mean the U.S. and the Soviet Union. They say they are against both. But the Chinese are cooperating with the Americans and with the American Central Intelligence Agency. I suppose this is what the Chinese call 'fighting social-imperialism' or something."

The question of Angola was reportedly on the agenda for Ford's talks with Chinese leaders during his recent trip to Peking. The U.S., too, noticed it had a "mutual interest...in countering any expansion of Soviet influence in Western Europe, Angola and the Pacific," as the *New York Times* (5 December) reported.

China's bloc with South Africa and the CIA has evoked deep revulsion among many black and "third-world"-oriented groups, and is causing major problems for U.S. Maoists. Some, like the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union), have,

government, as requested by the OAU [Organization of African Unity]."

If the *Guardian* were honest, it would note that at a November 25 news conference in Detroit, Henry Kissinger was singing exactly the same tune to cover up naked imperialist aggression. It is the vile Washington-Pretoria-Peking axis which the *Guardian* apologizes for.

These weak-hearted sometime Mao backers are not the only ones who "respect" China's counterrevolutionary policies. The press in white-supremacist South Africa is increasingly interested in the possibilities opened up for a China alliance. The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote that, "In principle there is no reason why we cannot talk to the Chinese. A Pretoria-Peking dialogue would be very beneficial to South Africa." It noted "enthusiasm" in ruling Nationalist Party circles for such a proposal (quoted in the *Daily World*, 5 December).

Today Peking intimates that the 200 Chinese military advisors to the FNLA have been withdrawn and Chinese military aid to FNLA and UNITA is terminated. There is no reason to disbelieve this report, for the U.S. has now stepped into the breach on a far larger scale. But CIA aid to the FNLA has been known ever since the early 1960's, and FNLA leader Roberto's anti-communism has never been a secret. With the logic of bureaucrats irrevocably hostile to world proletarian revolution, the Chinese leaders have shown themselves always willing to kiss the imperialist jackboot whenever it aids them against their Kremlin rivals.

Revolutionaries must resolutely break politically with both Moscow and Peking brands of Stalinist class collaboration, and with their respective petty-bourgeois nationalist allies. Military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition is a necessary tactic in the context of our fundamental strategic aim: the struggle to build an independent working-class Trotskyist party. Such a party, basing itself on the powerful South African and copper-belt proletariat and the fledgling working class in Luanda, and supported by the peasant masses, must be built in order to wipe out capitalist exploitation and the oppression of the black masses and construct a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

CORRECTION

In the article, "Charges Dropped Against Michael Zinzun" (*WP* No. 88, 5 December) we indicated that Zinzun was part of the "Pasadena Seven" arrested on August 21. In fact, although the seven were arrested in a police attack on Zinzun's Pasadena Community Information Center, the charges against him stemmed from earlier police harassment.

Their Corrections and Ours

Recent events in Portugal have been giving the tinker-toy radicals of the International Socialists (I.S.) nothing but trouble. First their 24-cirrit "Portuguese soldier and revolutionary" António Silva unexpectedly announced to a Seattle audience that "the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] does not exist" and later echoed General Otelo de Carvalho's call for "councils without parties" in Portugal to put an end to the deplorable political struggles of the Communists, Socialists and others within the workers commissions.

As if things were not bad enough, last month the I.S. newspaper *Workers' Power* ran a front-page article heralding the outbreak of proletarian revolution in Portugal at the very moment that the Portuguese working class was suffering its worst setback in the last 19 months!

On 28 November *Workers' Power* wrote:

"The first shots in the Portuguese civil war have been fired. The lines have been drawn and there can be no turning back. It is only a matter of time.

"There is just one question left—who will win, the workers or their exploiters. Right now, in the working class quarters of Lisbon, Oporto and Setúbal, arms are being distributed. The revolutionaries are mobilizing...

"...There can be no hesitation. In Portugal, everything is at stake...

"...All power to the workers. Long live the revolution."

On the inside pages readers learned that in Portugal, "Today, there is no effective capitalist government." Whoops! When they woke up the next morning I.S. leaders were already regretting this bombastic announcement.

In its 5 December issue *Workers' Power* was compelled to print a small correction box explaining: about that revolution in Portugal...well, it was a "mistake"; in fact, the real situation is "very different"; and actually, as a result of tremendous confusion in Portugal "much of what we said was way off base."

It is incumbent upon a Marxist organization to maintain the highest standards of accuracy in its press, including the public acknowledgment and correction of previous errors. But an "error" consisting of the failure to distinguish between an abortive revolt of "left-wing" soldiers in Lisbon unsupported by a single significant section of the Portuguese working class and a mass revolutionary insurrection of that class understandably raises as many questions about the organization's political integrity as it resolves.

How could such an "error" have been made? The I.S. assures us that it is not to blame. After all, it points out in its correction box (as it does in each and every one of its articles on Portugal), "*Workers' Power* coverage of Portugal is based on information we receive by phone directly from Portugal."

But, comrades, who is on the other end of the line? And why are they feeding you such misinformation? And above all why are you swallowing it?

In fact, the "error" which appeared in *Workers' Power* was due neither to the "confusion" in Portugal nor to some faulty telephone connection, but to the I.S.'s shameless tailing after the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) which was itself tailing after the "left-wing" officers upon whom it relied for

leadership—particularly its hero, General Carvalho.

The PRP had written of Carvalho: "We underline the courage of this soldier who is always ready to advance without fear" (*Revolução*, 8 May 1975). Apparently carried away by its own rhetoric and illusions in the "revolutionary generals," on November 25 the PRP put forward the slogan of immediate insurrection. What a surprise when "fearless Otelo" not only refused to give the slightest encouragement to the "left-wing" regiments which waited for his orders, but stood at the side of President Costa Gomes when he appeared on television to denounce the leftists and appeal to the insurgent troops to surrender!

So now we are treated to a deeply cynical rewrite of the November 25 military revolt. Instead of the beginning of the workers' revolution, the I.S. now claims it was a "Communist Party Adventure" as the 5 December *Workers' Power* headline declares. This article is a deliberate lie from beginning to end. It claims the revolt was started by militant paratroop units "under CP officers' leadership." No one else—not even the right-wing Lisbon newspapers who are trying to saddle the CP with responsibility for the revolt—claim the Stalinists led the paratroops.

Workers' Power (5 December) says the events were a "planned, cynical maneuver" by the CP, that the PRP was "not taken in" and "does not support trying to take power with a military coup." The Communist Party does bear a major responsibility for the defeat suffered by the Portuguese workers in the wake of the collapse of the November 25 paratroop revolt. It actively sabotaged efforts to organize a general strike against the state of emergency and the elimination of civil liberties decreed by the victorious generals, instead counseling "serenity." But the PRP bears a large measure of responsibility as well. It had lulled the workers' vigilance toward the "left" officers, particularly Carvalho, whose support for General Costa Gomes aided the breaking of the rebellion. It sowed illusions that the Armed Forces Movement, i.e., the bourgeois officer corps, could and would abolish capitalism. And during late October and November the PRP was deliberately playing at a left-wing coup with its repeated calls for "insurrection."

Moreover, *Workers' Power* (28 November) reported proudly that, "The PRP and the Socialist Left Movement (MES) issued a joint statement at 6 AM Tuesday, [i.e., at the beginning of the revolt]...The statement called for a workers' insurrection..." Needless to say, this joint communiqué is conveniently forgotten in the next issue's transparent attempt to absolve the "heroic" PRP of blame for the setback.

Unlike the I.S., the Spartacist tendency has proven consistently capable of predicting significant developments in Portugal and of offering correct and unambiguous political leadership. Our success is principally attributable to the fact that our vision of reality is not distorted by an appetite for political compromise and that our concern for truth and principled leadership is a central part of our struggle for international workers' revolution. ■



Left to right: Mattie Shepherd, Ellery Allen, Joyce Calhoun and PDC spokesman Martha Phillips.

Stop Racist Police Terror!

Bay Area Defense Forum Unites Allen, Calhoun, Guyton Cases



WV Photo

OAKLAND, December 6—Under the slogan "Stop Racist Police Terror!" three of the most important recent defense cases on the West Coast were brought together last night for the first time. The speakers at the Partisan Defense Committee-sponsored forum here were relatives of three well-known victims of California cop "justice": Joyce Calhoun—sister of Floyd Calhoun, the 23-year-old black youth gunned down last August on the streets of Oakland's ghetto by trigger-happy police; Mattie Shepherd—mother of Tyrone Guyton, the 14-year-old black junior high school student shot in the back by Emeryville cops in November 1973; and Ellery Allen—mother of Philip Allen, the 20-year-old black college student now out on bail and fighting frame-up charges that he killed and wounded Los Angeles county sheriff's deputies. Of the three, only Philip Allen is alive; the Calhoun and Guyton families have brought court suits against the murderous cops.

Among the 100 people who attended the forum at Laney College were many from left and black organizations, including the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League, International Socialists and Black Muslims. The forum raised over \$150 for the three defense committees represented by the speakers: Justice for Calhoun Family Committee, Justice for Guyton Family Committee, Philip L. Allen Defense Committee. All agreed more broadly based efforts like this one were needed to build a powerful defense of the victims of police savagery. Emotions ran high as the speakers told their stories of cop brutality and courtroom injustice. Ellery Allen sounded the call for unity in defense without factional regard: "This has been a dark year, but it has been illuminated by people like you, and by organizations like the PDC who say, 'With solidarity there is strength!'"

Workers Fed Up With Strikebreaking Government

NDP Swamped in British Columbia Election

Excerpted from Spartacist/Canada No. 3, January 1976

VANCOUVER—On December 11 British Columbia's first New Democratic Party government was swept out of office by the bourgeois Social Credit Party after three years of social-democratic rule. The NDP lost 20 of the 37 seats it had held in the 55-seat Provincial Assembly, as the right-wing Socreds capitalized on the collapse of the provincial Liberals and Progressive Conservative organizations to grab 36 seats and return to power. NDP Premier Dave Barrett suffered the personal embarrassment of losing his home riding [election district] of Coquitlam to one George Kerster, an unknown Socred used-car dealer.

Barrett and the NDP chose to fight the election on their demonstrated ability to provide "strong leadership for B.C."—i.e., their ability to control the province's volatile trade-union movement. Gone was the anti-capitalist rhetoric of the old oppositional days, as the NDP fastidiously cultivated a campaign image of such "reasonableness" as to compel even the bourgeois media to encase the party's "socialism" in quotation marks.

The Socreds and the big-business dailies no longer sought to play out their usual anti-labor theme against the NDP in this election, however—and for good reason. After the government's passage on October 7 of Bill 146 which smashed the strikes of 60,000 workers in the biggest single strikebreaking act in B.C. history, no one in the province (least of all those unionists legislated back to work!) would have swallowed the old story about Barrett being a "puppet" in the hands of the trade-union leadership.

...In addition, the NDP's anti-labor policies undercut its support among its historical electoral base, the B.C. working class. Where the 1972 campaign featured widespread active campaigning by trade-unionists on the NDP's behalf, this year endorsement by the union bureaucracy was formal and unenthusiastic, while rank-and-file support was passive and cynical at best....

TL: No Vote to the NDP Strikebreakers

The Trotskyist League propaganda in the elections was aimed at those advanced workers who were disgusted by Bill 146 and the other strikebreaking activities of the NDP government. The TL's intervention in the campaign, which included mass leafletting and a public forum in Vancouver on December 6, centered on the call for no electoral support to the NDP strikebreakers and clearly posed the necessity of a revolutionary alternative to the social democrats' anti-working-class treachery.

Revolutionaries approach bourgeois elections with the perspective of breaking workers from their loyalty to reformist betrayers like the NDP in order to win them to a revolutionary program. In the 1972 elections, when the masses of workers believed that the NDP would rule in their interests and because the party was running organizationally independently of the bourgeoisie, the best way of exposing its true

nature would have been through a tactic of critical support aimed at putting it in office and exposing its betrayals in practice.

The recent election, however, took place under very different circumstances. The NDP had been in power for three years, during which time it repeatedly attacked the most elementary rights of the trade-union movement. Following Bill 146, the true nature of the social-democratic NDP has been amply demonstrated—the B.C. working class has today very few illusions in the NDP's capacity or intention to consistently defend workers' interests and only voted NDP in the absence of a genuine alternative. NDP campaign speeches at many union meetings, notably the B.C. Federation of Labor convention, were marked by walkouts of militant workers who only three years ago were greeting Barrett with standing ovations.

Barrett himself put his finger on it: "What we want to know is if the people are ready to back us on tough action" (*Vancouver Province*, 10 November 1975)—the crucial issue in the B.C. elections was strikebreaking. A call for a vote to the NDP on December 11 could only have been seen as a call to give the Premier the mandate he sought—to continue to enact anti-labor legislation and break strikes. Support to the social-democracy in this election would have been a position of mindless tailism, having nothing in common with the Marxist tactic of critical support.

Opportunists Cover for Barrett

Predictably, most of the ostensibly socialist organizations in B.C. did fall mindlessly into line behind the B.C. Federation of Labor bureaucracy in supporting the re-election of the NDP. The largest of these organizations, the

pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), ran 13 candidates on its familiar anti-monopoly program which essentially amounts to a call for the creation of a popular-front government composed of the CP, the NDP and the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. The TL gave no support to these Stalinist reformists nor to their class-collaborationist program.

Both wings of the dis-"United Secretariat" in Canada, the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA) also ran candidates in the elections, at the same time calling for a vote to the NDP.

As a small social-democratic propaganda group in a country which already has a mass social-democratic party, the small-time Kautskyites of the LSA had to content themselves with being the best waterboys for the treacherous NDP bureaucrats. The LSA's program highlighted a call to "win the NDP to a socialist course," and also contained a list of reforms intermingled with vague references to the desirability of achieving socialism at some point in the indefinite future. The LSA's electoral campaign boiled down to an attempt to convince the workers of B.C. that socialism could be achieved by a two-stage struggle: first, replacement of the current leadership of the NDP with a more "progressive" set of fakers and, second, to vote these new improved social-democrats into office.

The RMG's election campaign reflected its strategic perspective of tailing the episodic motion of various non-proletarian and reformist "mass movements." The RMG election program was a compendium of specially tailored reformist programs for each of the "sectors" to which they were hoping to appeal (women, students, immigrants and native people), garnished with a few references to a "democratically-controlled workers government."

In so far as the RMG addressed the working class it was to counsel that the capitalist offensive against the labor movement could best be met by pressuring the trade-union bureaucracy: "...the B.C. union brass will have to be pushed very hard [!] to adequately [!] respond to federal and provincial anti-labor policies" (*B.C. Militant*, December 1975). In a willful capitulation to the anti-communist prejudice of the masses, the RMG roundly denounced the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the USSR while omitting the Trotskyist call for defense of these states against imperialist attack.

While pointing out that neither the LSA nor RMG represented a revolutionary alternative, the TL called for critical support to their candidates as the only way in which working-class militants could register both an anti-capitalist and anti-strikebreaking vote in the election. However, as TL noted throughout the campaign, these groups, with their reformist electoral programs and support to the NDP strikebreakers, can in no sense provide the necessary revolutionary alternative to social-democratic cretinism. Only a Trotskyist vanguard party, forged in hard programmatic struggle against the current reformist misleaders of the working class and their opportunist hangers-on, can show the way forward for the working class in B.C. and across Canada. ■

"At root, Landy never really broke from his 20 years of Shachtmanism."

the *Torch* on Landy's expulsion, 1975

...

"For the past fifteen years, Landy has been fighting as a Shachtmanite against Trotskyism. Now he comes here and claims he was born two months ago."

SL spokesman in SL-RSL debate, 1973

Eureka! A Shachtmanite in Their Midst

Sy Landy Expelled from RSL

The current issue of the *Torch* (15 December-14 January 1976), newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), stridently proclaims the expulsion of Sy Landy, one of its founding leaders. In the two and a half years since its split from the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), the RSL's history has consisted of a seemingly endless succession of bitter organizational squabbles between rival cliques. The ultimate recourse in these clique battles has been the technique of political expulsion, for which documented instances of indiscipline are not considered necessary. The Landy expulsion is certainly no exception.

The self-righteously bureaucratic RSL apparently sees no irony in purging Landy for the crime of Shachtmanism. Yet this is surely a sublime example of the pot calling the kettle black. The RSL founding cadre, led by Ron Taber and Sy Landy, broke to the left from the I.S.

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Sy Landy

WV Photo

Chicago Strike Enters Fifth Month

Victory to the Capitol Packaging Strike!

MELROSE PARK, Illinois, December 15 After 19 weeks on the picket line, some 200 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-507 strikers at the Capitol Packaging plant here remain spirited and determined in the face of repeated strikebreaking efforts by the giant Alherto-Culver Corporation, owners of Capitol. Virtually ignored by the do-nothing leaderships of their own and other unions, the strikers face local police, federal government and judicial attacks, and one striker has been killed on the picket line. The story is typical of many small strikes, and the union at Capitol hangs

in the balance.

The plant continues on partial operation as the company speeds salaried personnel through the strike lines under the watchful eyes of Melrose Park police. The cops have loyally protected A-C's scabs, arresting and harassing strikers, but when Local 7-507's black vice president, David Watson, was run down and killed by a truck breaking through the picket line, the driver was released on \$25 bond, charged with "failure to yield to a pedestrian"! An inquest recently concluded with a ruling that this bloody slaying was an "accident," and no charges were pressed against the driver.

In a clear threat directed at the many Chicano strikers, agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service two months ago arrested an allegedly undocumented Mexican striker, Angelo Claudio, who had been working at the plant for the previous year and a half. A legal fight has won this worker a three-month stay of deportation, during which time he may acquire "legitimate papers," but the threat of federal persecution of the strikers remains.

The strikers have gotten only the barest minimum of support from their union, the OCAW. Not a single outside local has contributed a cent to the strike, and the International office has threatened to cut off the strikers' meager \$25 weekly strike benefits for a second time on the grounds that its strike fund is depleted. Strike benefits were cut off once already for several weeks. The OCAW leadership of Al Grosipiron in Denver has gone no further than to pass tepid convention resolutions mourning the death of Watson and calling for a consumer boycott of A-C products, which it has done nothing to build or publicize.

The real attitude of the OCAW tops was reflected in the *OCAW News* (October 1975), which said that Watson had been "assigned to Capitol Packaging strike duty to be sure the pickets were maintaining an orderly and peaceful line." In this the bureaucrats are clearly in agreement with the bosses' court, which recently issued an injunction limiting picketing to four pickets per gate. Previously pickets had numbered from 12 to 20 at the main gate, including some supporters from other unions.

Three unions in the area have made financial contributions to the strike: United Auto Workers Local 6, at the Melrose Park International Harvester plant; United Steel Workers Local 1033, at Republic Steel; and Boilermakers Local 1247. A small but positive step was taken last week when a union-endorsed strike support committee was set up. In addition to strikers and strike leaders, officials from two United Steel Workers locals and members of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 were present at the first meeting. Also represented were the Revolutionary Communist Party, the October League, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, and several individuals and smaller left groupings.

A steering committee composed of a representative of each group was select-

ed. Noticeably absent when the steering committee was selected were two supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, who had observed an earlier part of the meeting. Today the support committee led a militant march of 80 strikers and supporters to the plant. In addition, plans have been laid, chiefly on the initiative of the strikers, the Spartacist League and members of UAW Local 6, to carry the as yet unpublicized consumer boycott to downtown department stores with militant picketing.

The strike support committee has the delicate task of initiating militant support for the strike in the face of massive conservative resistance from the union leaderships. It must refuse to kowtow to this conservatism while also avoiding futile attempts to substitute itself for the mobilized power of the organized workers, who alone can conduct and win strike actions. The Labor Struggle Caucus called for smashing the injunction through mobilizing the power of the Chicago Federation of Labor. A Spartacist League spokesman noted in agreement that it was necessary to extend the strike and suggested that the strike leadership call on transport workers to refuse to handle A-C products (which include several nationally known brands of deodorant and hair spray.)

Silent throughout the lengthy discussions on support strategy, the Maoist RCP and OL have had essentially only one suggestion: the support committee should do "only what the strikers want us to do." The RSL, on the other hand, wanted the strike support committee *itself* to attempt to break the injunction through mass picketing and organizing A-C plants in other areas, thereby completely ignoring the ability of the official union leaderships to isolate and smash such actions.

After lengthy discussion, the steering committee adopted the SL suggestion to urge the strikers' leadership to call on transport workers to refuse to handle A-C products, and to request support from other unions, including for smashing the injunction. The strike committee, some members of which have been critical of their official leaders at support committee meetings, is open to suggestions for militant, class-struggle strike support work. Thus the strike support committee has a role to play, neither tied to the conservative "strategy" laid down by the trade-union bureaucrats, as desired by the Maoists, nor launching into adventurist substitutionism, which would quickly become suicidal. The decisive battle lies within the unions themselves, for class-struggle leadership. ■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

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Sy Landy Expelled from RSL

(continued from page 7)

but in fact never even approached, much less transcended, the leftist face of early Shachtmanism.

The I.S. founding cadre, led by Hal Draper and including Landy, made its way in the early 1960's out of the moribund cold-warrior Socialist Party into which Max Shachtman (who had broken from Trotskyism in 1940) had liquidated his organization in 1958. Under the pressure of the deepening disaffection of the left-liberal milieu with U.S. imperialism's losing Indochinese adventure, the I.S. gradually slid toward an increasingly leftist facade: a "harder" approach to organizational functioning; a call for military victory for the Stalinist-led forces in Vietnam (in flat contradiction to its "third camp" line that no qualitative difference can be discerned between Stalinism and imperialism); a downgrading of its congenitally petty-bourgeois approach in order to implant forces in industry.

The I.S. left turn reflected an attempt to accommodate the shift in radical public opinion toward anti-imperialism and workerism. Some of the more impatient forces in the organization, however, wanted to go faster and further than the I.S. as a whole. This was the left hudge which subsequently became the RSL—a more leftist version of the I.S. which still incorporated the politics of Shachtmanism and the endemic cliquism of its parent organization.

The newly emerged RSL smugly claimed to be more Trotskyist than Trotsky himself. But it quickly proved itself incapable of examining its own political family tree. Its refusal to repudiate the "third camp" theories—the theoretical means whereby Shachtman himself passed definitively from the camp of Trotskyism to eventual reconciliation with imperialism—exemplified the RSL's affinity for the fundamentals of Shachtmanism despite its sloughing off of Shachtman's cold-warrior excrecences as no longer opportune.

According to the *Torch* account, Landy charged the RSL leadership with "being a clique" of "corrupt individuals" pursuing policies of "bureaucratism and opportunism." The article rails that "he described the organization's increased intervention in and leadership of the struggles of the proletariat as a drastic turn to the right." The *Torch* accuses Landy of a "pathological fear of the working class" and terms him a "house intellectual" who wanted "a talk shop where he could freely spout any idea that wandered into his head." Essentially, the article paints Landy as an irresponsible dilettante.

Perhaps the shameless illogic of expelling Landy for never having "really" broken from Shachtmanism bothered the RSL a bit, for the *Torch* finds it incumbent to assert that Landy even "stood in the right wing" of the old Shachtmanite organization—a charge which is simply factually a slander. The RSL has hacked out Landy's apparent political obituary with an obviously factional ax. We are certainly in no position to render an informed verdict on this latest falling out among opportunists. But it seems to us that Landy is a personally inoffensive Shachtmanite who gradually fell by the wayside in the viciously personally invidious, politically unprincipled and clique-ridden neo-Shachtmanite swamp which is the RSL. Chewed up in the service of class collaboration, Sy Landy has now become the victim of the unprincipled political creature he helped to create. ■

Wipe Out All the Convictions! Free Martin Sostre Now!

Martin Sostre's case is likely to be considered by Governor Hugh Carey in late December. Urgent protests must try to prevent Carey from taking only half-measures that would place Sostre's life in immediate danger. Besides his original frame-up conviction Sostre has been sentenced to an additional term for allegedly attacking prison guards who in fact assaulted him. Sostre, now in federal custody, must not be sent to New York Penitentiary where prison guards have made threats against his life. All the convictions against Martin Sostre must be wiped out.

TELEGRAM

Governor Hugh Carey
Executive Chambers, State House
Albany, New York

A vicious frame-up in 1967 placed Martin Sostre behind bars for a crime he did not commit. For his defense of prisoners' democratic rights Sostre has been subjected to more than four years of solitary confinement since his unjust conviction. We continue to stand by Martin Sostre in his struggle against this frame-up and insist that he is innocent. We demand that Martin Sostre be granted freedom!

Partisan Defense Committee

NYC Red Squad...

(continued from page 3)

black militant in various organizations. Roberts was instrumental in the indictment of 21 Panthers on 2 April 1969, on charges of conspiracy to bomb subways, police stations and other targets. One of the defendants in that mass trial was Robert Collier. Although in 1971 the defendants were all acquitted by a jury which refused to believe the fabrications of Roberts and the other police provocateurs, the majority of them, including Collier, spent two full years in prison before the trial concluded. And five days after Collier's acquittal, BOSS dispatched Oswaldo Alvarez to move into the Lower East Side and establish a reputation as "another guy on the street... a guy that was game..."

The same pattern of infiltration, provocation and entrapment, a technique perfected by the tsarist secret police, the Okhrana, marked other cases engineered by the red squad during the late sixties. The alleged plot of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a tiny black nationalist group, to kill moderate civil rights leaders in Queens was hatched by a BOSS agent in 1967. The trial of the Harlem Five, accused of a conspiracy to kill a cop a week, was concluded the day after the mass Panther trial. Unlike the earlier trials of RAM and BLF members, the Harlem Five were acquitted by a jury which concluded that the two BOSS agents involved were responsible for the "conspiracy" which they invented.

Cops and Rebels, a book by civil liberties lawyer Paul Chevigny, deals with the little-known case of three

Brooklyn Black Panthers tried at the same time as the Panther 21. Alfred Cain, Jr., Ricardo De Leon and Jerome West were charged in August 1969 with conspiracy to commit robbery, attempted robbery, illegal possession of weapons and attempted murder. The Black Panther Party leadership repudiated the three men and refused to lift a finger in their defense.

The three defendants were arrested in a car driven by Wilbert Thomas, a BOSS operative, while allegedly on their way to rob the New Dunston Hotel in Harlem. The car contained an M-1 rifle, a knife, a canister of red-pepper spray, a sawed-off shotgun hidden in a bag by Thomas and a sketch of the hotel drawn by Thomas. The state's case rested almost exclusively on the police agent's testimony that the four men were en route to rob the hotel when they were stopped by a small army of police in a pre-arranged ambush. The jury responded to the blatantly obvious evidence of police entrapment by finding the defendants not guilty of the conspiracy charges but convicted on several other counts. West got an indefinite term of up to three years. De Leon was sent up for seven years. After spending a year in jail during the trial, Cain was released on five years' probation.

While the Black Panther Party was the most militant expression of the black liberation movement during this period, it was also an organization rent by political contradictions and ripe for the sordid activities of *agents provocateurs*. The glorification of lumpen violence, the paramilitary mode of organization and the amorphous Panther program permitted agents like Wood, Roberts and Thomas to push their adventurist schemes and even to play leading roles in the party.

Persecution of Leftists

Red squad agents were not infiltrated solely into black nationalist groups. The frame-up conviction of Progressive Labor Party (PL) leader Bill Epton on charges stemming from his courageous opposition to the July 1964 Harlem police riot was largely the result of a BOSS agent, Abraham Hart. In November 1965, Epton was sentenced to a year in prison for conspiracy to commit riot and two counts of criminal anarchy. Every one of the prosecution's witnesses was a cop, including Hart who had infiltrated PL and was expelled for provocative activities at the time of the riot.

During Epton's trial the bourgeoisie initiated a witchhunt against PL, setting up a grand jury to find proof of a "communist conspiracy" behind the resistance of black people to police terror. As the repressive net widened, *Spartacist* editor James Robertson was called before this grand jury. The subpoena was served by a member of the red squad while Robertson was in a picket line protesting the grand jury investigation. The Spartacist League was dragged into the investigation because of our detailed exposure of the police role in the riots; our determined defense of PL against legal intimidation and persecution; and our initiation of the militant Harlem Solidarity Committee which rallied working-class support in New York's garment center for the embattled people of Harlem.

One New York-based antiwar group, the Veterans and Reservists Against the War (V&R) actually went out of existence as the direct result of persecution by BOSS. The group was infiltrated by agent Richard Lyons almost from its founding in 1967. Lyons aroused suspicion by constantly advocating adventurist acts during antiwar demonstrations. He was allowed to remain in the group, however, and was primarily responsible for the arrest of three other members during a demonstration against presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey. Lyons' cover got blown during the trial, and the red squad moved to direct harassment of V&R. Members were visited at their jobs and at home late at

night by BOSS agents. Red squad member John Finnegan threatened some V&R people that they would be physically attacked if they showed up at any more demonstrations. The group folded up as the result of this outrageous campaign.

Labor Spies

The existence of BOSS and other red squads is a constant menace to the labor movement. The notorious labor spies of the twenties and thirties are still around, many of them in the employ of police departments. BOSS insider Bouza testifies to this in his thesis:

"The character of the Bureau of Special Services was stamped most indelibly by the original mandate to inquire into radical activities. This has, from the first, been the organization's *raison d'être* and, as such, the threat posed by the Trojan Horse of Communism vis a vis the union movement became automatically the concern of the Bureau. As this threat faded, the function of inquiring into labor disputes shifted in emphasis from an investigation into the nature and extent of communist infiltration to an enforcement oriented philosophy that centered on the dislocations created by a strike and the potential law violations existing in a given labor dispute."

—"The Operations of a Police Intelligence Unit," February 1968

Bouza cites as a case history a bitter dispute between the Social Service Employees Union and the Welfare Department in 1967. Red squad spying proved "the value of advance intelligence. By this is meant anticipating the work stoppage, discovering the tactics to be used (the 'work-in'), determining vulnerable locations and guarding them and generally anticipating the law enforcement problems posed by the strike." The massive police presence in that strike, orchestrated by BOSS, helped the Welfare Department to wear down the militancy of the strikers and, aided by the treachery of the union leadership, to make major inroads into the 1965 contract.

Numerous court suits have been brought against red squads across the country, charging consistent violations of democratic rights. In response, some police departments—among them New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and the Michigan state police—have been subject to legislative hearings or cosmetic reforms, such as destruction of their massive files of information on "subversives." Such court suits, in the post-Watergate period, have the support of bourgeois elements uneasy over the growing public awareness of the criminal practices of U.S. imperialism's spy network. While the measures which make it more difficult for these swine to carry out their dirty work are supportable, the key task is to build a political struggle, especially mobilizing the ranks of labor, to abolish the capitalist secret police root and branch, from the high-powered international operatives of the Central Intelligence Agency to the relatively amateurish thugs of the New York red squad. ■

The Struggle Continues—Stop the Frame-Up!

Philip Allen Out On Bail

LOS ANGELES After two long months in Chino State Penitentiary, Philip Allen has been released on bail. On Thursday, December 11, Judge Lawrence Rittenband reversed his earlier decision to revoke Allen's bail and set bail at \$25,000, with no restrictions on Allen's activity or travel.

Release of the victimized black youth from prison was enthusiastically welcomed by his supporters. A delegation from the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee, including a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee, attended the court session. Rittenband only reversed his earlier ruling when, in light of a massive legal counterattack, it became clear that it would be overturned on appeal. The delegation heard the judge attribute his new decision to "the Christmas spirit," while noting that the legal brief filed on behalf of Allen by the American Civil Liberties Union was "enlightening."

Allen's bail was revoked in the first place because he dared to speak in behalf of his own innocence. Now that he is out of jail, he continues to tell the truth about the frame-up conviction. The Los Angeles City College campus, which had planned a day of fund-raising activities—"Philip Allen Day"—on Monday, December 15, celebrated his release from jail with a rally. Over 100 attended the event, but the LACC Philip Allen Defense Committee marred the occasion by a sectarian refusal to allow the Spartacus Youth League, active defenders of Allen, a speaker.

Philip spoke briefly to the crowd inside the student center, thanking everyone for the work which made his release possible and stating that he had a long fight ahead: "City College hasn't united around anything in a long time. This might mean the shock that gets something going."

Philip Allen's release from jail is a victory. Now mass protests must be built to squash the entire racist frame-up conviction and free Philip Allen!

To send messages of support and greatly needed donations, contact the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005. ■

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Demonstrators in Los Angeles demand freedom for Philip Allen.

Argentina Arrests 13 Pinochet Foes

No Extradition to Chile—Free the Prisoners!

NYC Demonstration at Argentine Mission to the UN

NEW YORK, December 5 — More than 70 demonstrators marched today outside the Argentine mission to the United Nations protesting the arrest in Buenos Aires of ten Chileans, two Argentines and a British citizen on charges of providing arms and money to Chilean resistance groups. The protesters demanded that the 13 be immediately freed, chanting vehemently that there must be "no extraditions" to the blood-soaked Pinochet regime. The Chilean junta has already murdered more than 30,000 leftists.

Allegedly members of a Chilean Revolutionary Coordinating Committee ("formerly Chilean Resistance in Exile"), the prisoners are accused of gun-running, smuggling funds from Europe and spiriting "subversives" back and forth across the Andean cordillera (*La Nación* [Buenos Aires], 3 December). The 13 arrested are: Sergio Muñoz Martínez, Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, Guillermina Alicia Galiasso Gavilán de Pizarro, Luis B. Moreno, Ximena Savala San Martín, Sergio

Letelier Sottomayor, Catalina Palma Herrera, Roberto Pizarro Hofer, Juan José Bustos Ramírez, all Chileans. Also Rafael Mario Toer and Cristina Elvira Lange de Whitecross, Argentines; and Richard Whitecross, a British citizen.

The demonstration was called on one day's notice by the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) in an effort to stave off threatened extradition to Chile by registering immediate international protest. Placards carried by the marchers included "Free class-war prisoners" and "Boycott all military goods to Chile." Among the chants were, "No extraditions—Junta's 'justice' means workers' death" and "Abajo la junta—Obreros al poder" ("Down with the junta—Workers to power").

A statement by the PDC protesting the arrests was delivered to the Argentine mission during the demonstration. It demanded immediate release of the prisoners and no extradition: "To turn them over to the murderous Pinochet junta is to pronounce their death sentence." The mission official who received the statement sought to assuage the protesters, remarking that "the



WV photo

judicial system in Argentina is quite a good one. There won't be any problem." As to extradition, he said, "it couldn't be done."

The demonstrators were not swayed by mealy-mouthed assurances. A Spartacist League speaker recalled the 1972 Trelew massacre of 13 leftist prisoners to illustrate Argentina's bloody class "justice." The regime has since changed but political murders continue daily, with more than 600 killed by anti-communist death squads during the last year. Referring to the sadistic torture which awaits the prisoners if handed over to Chile, the speaker pointed to the case of folksinger Víctor Jara. Jailed in the National Stadium shortly after the 1973 coup, Jara's hands were cut off and his tongue ripped out before he was finally killed.

The SL spokesman emphasized the continuing massive repression in Chile, which has reached the point that two top leaders of the Revolutionary Left

Movement (MIR), including its general secretary Andrés Pascal Allende, recently fled to the Vatican and Costa Rican embassies in Santiago. Previously the standing policy of the MIR was to automatically expel any member who left the country without permission or sought asylum in an embassy.

International protests by labor and socialist forces can exercise real leverage in the defense of class-war prisoners such as the 13 recently arrested in Argentina. An earlier campaign initiated by the international Spartacist tendency brought attention to MIR leaders Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero at a time when most of the left was ignoring their plight in favor of concentrating on more "respectable" victims of the junta's terror. Militant demonstrations of international solidarity and protest are vital to publicize the barbarities of Pinochet's hangmen and to prevent further slaughter of valiant working-class militants. ■

Racists Riot...

(continued from page 1)

other lack of support by the predominantly white faculty and staff of that school." He agreed that the NAACP had proved by "a clear preponderance of the evidence" that black students in the high school are subject to constant verbal abuse and physical attacks by white students.

The ruling indicated that Garrity is now pursuing a strategy of limited confrontation with the School Committee while maneuvering for support from other elements in the school system. He stripped the lame-duck committee of much of its power, forbidding any last minute patronage appointments and setting up desegregation implementation and safety departments responsible to superintendent Marion Fahey rather than the committee. At the same time, he expressed his "enormous respect" for Fahey. In assuming jurisdiction over South Boston High School, he appointed assistant school superintendent Joseph McDonough as receiver. McDonough is a well-connected administrator, the brother of two anti-housing politicians who sit respectively on the City Council and School Committee.

Garrity's order also called for transfer of the South Boston High School headmaster and full-time academic administrators by the first school day in January, and for the transfer of the school's football coach, Arthur Perdigao. The "Southie" football team, said the judge, was deliberately "kept segregated": interested black students were not sought out, none were recruited until after the first week of practice, and when they did try out Perdigao "removed them [from the team] at the first available instance." The charges against the football coach were extensively

documented; action against other teachers was dropped because of conflicting testimony.

However, two days after his initial ruling in the case, Judge Garrity added another dimension to the furor by granting the new court-appointed receiver authority to make sweeping changes in the school's teaching staff. After he reviews the qualifications and performance of all faculty, McDonough has blanket powers to transfer from South Boston High "such persons as he may determine." The teachers' wishes and seniority rights are to be ignored, and no provisions for hearings are mentioned.

The Boston Teachers Union (BTU) reacted to Garrity's decision by completely ignoring the blatantly racist conditions which motivated the NAACP suit to close the school. A BTU meeting on Wednesday voted (without discussion) to endorse the report of the South Boston faculty. The union condemned the court ruling and voted to consider a work action against it. The union has demonstrated that it wants to whitewash the racist actions of some of its members (Perdigao is a BTU member) while lining up with the School Committee. Similarly, on the question of busing the BTU has sought to block desegregation by calling for a one-year delay of Phase Two.

The court order does, however, pose a potential threat which should not be ignored. Forced transfers must be opposed as an arbitrary incursion on teachers' job rights. At the same time, the BTU has the responsibility to clean its own house, investigate (in cooperation with parents and students) the serious charges made by black students against some teachers at the high school and take firm union action against those teachers who have been guilty of racist actions.

It was significant that the judge's

ruling simply skipped over charges that police in the school have actually aided racist assaults. There were allegations that in interracial fights the cops held black students while white youths continued to hit and kick them. However, Garrity did admit that black students "continue to be subject to physical attacks by groups of white students," and "more often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the black students involved in the incident, but only one or two whites" (*Boston Globe*, 10 December).

The latter admission only begins to scratch the surface of the racist nature of the police. While Garrity's move has incensed the racists, the bourgeois courts cannot stop their offensive. At most Garrity can maintain a precarious hold on the situation by increasing the already massive police presence in the school. But the cops, as black students at South Boston High can and did testify, are part of the problem. Cops are

not neutral in class and race conflicts—enforcers for bourgeois "law and order," they are the enemies of the exploited and oppressed.

Black people and class-conscious unionists in Boston must place no confidence in the capitalist authorities. Liberal Judge Garrity shows his class bias by his silence on cop participation in racial attacks and his anti-union order for arbitrary transfer of teachers. The court order will not eliminate racist practices in Boston schools, and its provision for forced transfers of BTU members must be opposed. A real struggle to implement desegregation and undercut the racial polarization in Boston requires winning labor support to implement the busing plan. The BTU must play a leading role in this struggle and must organize integrated defense teams of teachers, aides, parents and students to put an end to the racist violence and get the cops out of the schools. ■

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Weir Court Suit

(continued from page 4)

treachery of the suit. He was able to secure a denunciation of the Weir group as "enemies of labor" at an ILWU convention, and screams that the court suit is an attack on the union treasury. Weir gave his cynical response to this in another article in *New Politics* (Winter 1969): "...Bridges barrages the members with the urgent news that it [the suit] will cost them money. And it will may if the members allow Bridges to pass the costs on to them. ..." So it is up to the members to attempt to dodge the damages! Such footwork might not even be possible under the terms of the ruling.

Supporters of the Communist Party (CP)—faithful lapdogs of the Bridges regime for decades—followed the same tack as Bridges, denouncing the suit as "an attempt to destroy the union hiring hall procedures that were won in the bitter maritime strike of 1934" (*People's World*, 26 September 1964). As late as 1970, well-known CP supporter and Local 10 member Archie Brown helped beat back a resolution critical of Bridges' B-man purge at a Northern

California Rank and File Action Conference. Although the suit was not aimed against the hiring hall and the hypocrisy of the CP in supporting the vicious purge knows no bounds nevertheless legal restrictions on the union's control of hiring could result from the suit, since official Local 10 committees in charge of deregistration of longshoremen are charged with conducting the purge.

Some members of Local 10, caught up in the B-men struggle at the time, have subsequently drawn important lessons from the experience of suing the union. One of these, Howard Keylor, was a leader of B-men and casual workers in Stockton in the early 1960's. Supporting the Weir suit at the time, Keylor has since repudiated this action. In 1974 Keylor, together with Stan Gow, issued a statement on the Weir case in their local newsletter, the *Longshore Militant*:

"The question of the B-men and the [Local 10 hiring] hall has to be fought out within the union. To rely on the government to come in and do it for us is worse than futile; it ignores the lesson taught by the Taft-Hartley [injunction] in the 1971 strike and the government's early attempts to break the ILWU and deport Bridges. Opening the door to

government is opening the door to smash us."

Now that the danger of massive damage to the union is clear, and the smokescreen of seeking damages "only from responsible individuals" has been blown away, Weir reveals his true colors by persisting. His "strategy" has always consisted of finding friendly, anti-communist labor bureaucrats and government agencies to "help" the workers. His attitude toward Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers was typical. While critical of Reuther's actions in specific situations, Weir hoped that Reuther's "program" had new possibilities for progress as late as 1966! He praised Reuther's "list of reforms...against poverty, communism and all forms of totalitarianism..." (*New Politics*, Summer 1966). Thus the Draper group continued the social-democratic policies of the SP from which they emerged.

Weir's suit quickly took on the characteristics of an anti-communist crusade through its prominent backers and its focus on Bridges, the famous pro-CP bureaucrat. The suit's defenders included A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president and Kennedy supporter; James B. Carey, chief hatchetman of the anti-communist purge which

led to the split in the United Electrical Workers union during the late 1940's; Michael Harrington, SP hack who supported Johnson in 1964; and Norman Thomas.

The disastrous consequences of going to the capitalist courts to settle disputes within the workers movement—even the most obvious cases of victimization—have been made clear by the Weir suit. The labor laws under which suits must be conducted were written to hamstring the unions, not reform them or eliminate corruption and bureaucracy, and the courts which interpret them are equally instruments of capitalist class rule. The outcome of the B-men suit, if a "victory" for the purge victims, could mean there will be no local union for them to be admitted to! The only road forward is a class-struggle fight within the unions to oust traitorous bureaucrats like Bridges and mobilize the ranks for struggle against the companies and their government.

—Demand that the Weir suit against the ILWU be dropped! Reinstate with full seniority the 82 victimized B-men! Demand that the PMA provide back pay lost! Full "A" status for all B-men now! ■

CLUW...

(continued from page 12)

clause produced self-righteous outbursts from the majority. UAW International representative Edith Van Horne complained that CLUW can't be expected to take in just anyone who signs a union card. "We can't swallow the Atlantic Ocean," she said. To the job-trusting labor bureaucracy, any real move to organize the unorganized and build a working women's movement which reaches beyond the limits of narrow trade unionism would set in motion the possibilities for the militant labor action it most dreads.

Majorityites in the AFSCME caucus railed that the South in particular is full of reactionary anti-union women whom CLUW simply would not want in the organization. Minority supporters pointed out that the women under question were members of *union organizing committees*! In the CWA caucus, when a militant worker spoke against CLUW's vicious red-baiting policies, Chairman Cathy Conroy responded by holding up a copy of *Workers Vanguard* in one hand, the *Call* in the other, and testified how she had to "save" the young people in her local from corruption by reds. She said CLUW should not be taking up questions like "the price of vegetables in Chile, which war we are fighting, or what kind of governments other countries should have," but should get down to the "real issues" of the constitution.

Jane Margolis, member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the CWA and former executive board member of CWA Local 9415, who has been fired by the phone company for her political activities, rose to protest the idea that the unions are not involved in politics. "The CWA is knee-deep in international politics," she said. "In Chile it supports the American Institute for Free Labor Development, a joint union/corporation/CIA organization founded by the late CWA president Joe Beirne which was active in toppling the Allende government and slaughtering thousands of trade unionists. At every CWA convention, there is a whole

packet of foreign policy resolutions. This union supported the war in Vietnam. You can 'get down to business' and pass any constitution you want and it won't make any difference—as long as the Olga Madars, the Lorraine Pauls and the rest of the sellout bureaucrats control this organization, it will go nowhere!"

Affirmative Action Issue Dodged

With the help of OL supporters, the bureaucracy managed to completely sidestep the controversial "affirmative action" question which has divided CLUW chapters across the country in a three-way split. Ruth Ryan, member of the Committee for a Militant UAW explained the issue. "The bureaucrats say, 'lay off the women.' Most of the left says, 'lay off the men.' We say, 'don't lay anybody off.'"

Usually the October League campaigns for a group of women workers at the Fremont, California, GM plant who brought the bosses' courts into the UAW by a suit demanding that male workers be laid off before women. But its supporters were inhibited by the presence of CMUAW members who had organized a petition campaign signed by 700 workers at Fremont to stop the court suit and instead fight all layoffs. At two open houses called by Washington, D.C., CLUW (a chapter influenced by the OL), attending unionists were interested to hear CMUAW's account of the Fremont events and were appalled to learn that OL supporters in the plant had voted *against* a CMUAW motion at a union meeting calling for sit-down strikes against layoffs! After the sorry experience at this open house, the OL was reluctant to rehash the question on the convention floor.

So after hours of stalling, when the bureaucrats could no longer delay discussion on Article I, CLUW's statement of purpose, members of D.C. and Atlanta CLUW rushed to the mikes, elbowing out many leftists who were lined up to place political motions on the floor. Anne Galloway from Atlanta CLUW and member of the "CLUW Fight Back Group" supported by the OL, got the floor and called for moving the agenda. This was immediately passed by a relieved bureaucracy. When a *HV* reporter told her she would appear in the press as chief lackey of Olga Madar, Galloway said, "You just don't understand the dialectics of the struggle."

With political discussion permanently sealed off, speakers from the MAC and the CMUAW took the floor to denounce the rigged conference while

the remaining "opposition" geared up for the upcoming delegate fight. Fight Back supporters who had been virtually invisible during the fights over the agenda, membership and affirmative action began crawling out of the closet. Active in several CLUW chapters, particularly in the South, they had a lot to lose by passage of a majority motion limiting seats on the National Coordinating Committee to one delegate per 75 chapter members. Largely because of support from majorityites seeking similar organizational weight in their own chapters, the Fight Back group won a motion for one delegate per 50 members.

Having only hours before betrayed rank-and-file women by closing debate on Article I, the Fight Back supporters burst into choruses of "Solidarity Forever," joined by SWP hackers who had just voted to exclude from CLUW women in organizing drives!

Boycott Bella's Breakfast!

Chanting "Open CLUW to the Working Class—Kick Out the Ruling Class," about 30 militants picketed the Sunday "Breakfast with Bella." Protesting the honorary CLUW membership of the Democratic Party congresswoman, the picket was organized by CMUAW and supported by MAC, the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906, supporters of the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Socialist League, and auto workers from the Detroit area. Picketers jeered "Out Now! Out Now!" as SWP supporters crossed the line, and prevented IS supporters from sneaking in a side door, forcing them to cross the line to enter the hall for their breakfast with the bourgeoisie.

In a leaflet distributed at the breakfast the Committee for a Militant UAW said, "To wives of striking miners, CLUW is closed. To women struggling desperately for union recognition, CLUW is closed. To striking nurses in Houston, CLUW is closed. But to Bella Abzug, spokesman for the class enemy, CLUW rolls out the red carpet. This breakfast is a monument to the union bureaucracy and their policy of collaboration with the enemies of the working class. It is a gross insult to the millions of oppressed and exploited women that CLUW falsely claims to defend."

In Detroit this year, only 1,200 women attended the convention as opposed to over 3,200 in Chicago one year ago. In 1974 there was present a layer of independent union women who thought they were joining an organiza-

tion dedicated to working-class struggle against women's oppression. With a strong grasp on reality, unlike much of the "socialist" left and without its bureaucratic appetites, these women are no longer around CLUW. At the first convention, although the organization was even then totally dominated by the bureaucracy, it was possible for a floor fight to break out over support to the United Farm Workers, albeit one marked by grotesque back-stabbing and much delayed. That this independent layer is now totally absent, that not one single political issue could be raised on the floor, confirms that CLUW is now completely moribund. The bureaucrats and their apologists have failed to coopt into their private CLUW sandbox the just anger of women workers; this tremendous potential reservoir of working-class militancy remains to be organized by a programatically based class-struggle opposition which can shatter the stranglehold of the Meanys and the Madars and mobilize the union movement to fight on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

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NOTICE

During December **WORKERS VANGUARD** is published bi-weekly. Beginning with the 2 January 1976 issue **WV** will resume weekly publication.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fake Lefts Grovel at Detroit Convention

Bureaucrats Slam Lid on CLUW

DETROIT, December 7 The second annual convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) opened in Coho Hall yesterday as a female chaplain invoked divine intervention to "give Olga the strength, Lord, to recognize these infiltrators, these disruptive forces that are with us today." So with god on its side, as well as a hefty goon squad of UAW officials, CLUW's leadership successfully carried out the ultimatum handed down by George Meany in October. The AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco had refused to endorse CLUW, making it clear that the Detroit meeting had to either smash the "reds" and bring CLUW firmly in line with official policy or suffer continued denial of the labor tops' official support.

Every conceivable means of stacking the convention was taken to ensure the bureaucrats a six-to-one majority over the dissidents. Detroit—home base of CLUW's president Olga Madar, a former vice president of the UAW—was deliberately picked to guarantee the presence of hundreds of Madar loyalists. The credentials committee systematically "lost" membership records of known trade-union militants. And while "reliable" unionists had transportation costs subsidized by their respective bureaucracies, many rank-and-file members who could not write off the plane fare and registration fee on union expense accounts were kept away.

The mood at the convention was apparent by Friday evening at the UAW "hospitality" caucus where juiced-up goons had to be physically held back from elobbering United National Caucus member Edie Fox when she tried to speak for a minority proposal to increase local chapter autonomy. With the collapse of the touted "Houston opposition" even before its alternate agenda hit the convention floor, the majority railroaded through its schedule of constitutional trivia, neatly managing to avoid a single discussion on key issues such as layoffs or discrimination. A bottomless bag of parliamentary tricks, a squad of thugs at every microphone and a liberally-applied microphone cut-off switch on the stage ensured the defeat of all attempts to raise politics from the floor. With a little extra margin provided by the votes of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the major convention challenge—an amendment to open CLUW membership to women in organizing drives and to laid-off women workers—was easily defeated. Without discussion, the convention voted to reaffirm the bureaucracy's racist, job-trusting position on minority employment. By refusing to take up the fight against layoffs, the convention blatantly turned its back on the last-hired, first-fired minority and women workers.

After nearly making it home free in a weekend of political suppression and bureaucratic abuse, the bureaucrats were enraged when their grand finale—the Sunday morning "Breakfast with Bella Ahzug"—was disrupted. Practically going into a fit, Madar screamed "Get them, Get them!" as she and her cronies kicked the demonstrators and



CLUW officers taking oath at Detroit convention, left. Chaplain opened convention with a prayer for CLUW president Olga Madar, right, to ferret out "infiltrators" and "disruptive forces."



WV Photo

WV Photo



Ruth Ryan of the CMUAW.

WV Photo

tried to tear leaflets out of their hands. As in 1973 when she was part of a squad of bureaucratic goons who smashed a wildcat strike at Detroit's Mack Avenue auto plant, at Bella's breakfast "Mad Dog" Madar rushed around trying to organize a flying wedge to charge the picket line. She was physically restrained by fellow bureaucrats who soothed her with assurances that the security cops were on their way.

In contrast to the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) which initiated the militant picket—one protester carried a sign demanding "Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party"—the spineless supporters of the International Socialists (IS), October League (OL) and SWP were not only vastly outnumbered, but by their failure to mount a real opposition only aided Madar's steamroller tactics. While criticizing the CMUAW for "splitting the opposition" by its insistence on waging a hard programmatic fight against the labor bureaucracy, these phony unity mongers were busy stahing each other in the back. Olga Madar did not need her goons when she had OL supporters to lead the fight to close debate on CLUW's statement of purpose. SWP supporters, in turn, voted down a proposal to include a discussion on husing in the minority agenda (a betrayal which may not go down so well

with the few independents left in the SWP-led National Student Committee Against Racism). As for the IS, in the "Rank and File Action Caucus" meeting Friday evening, Barbara Winslow, author of recent *Workers Power* articles on CLUW, was down on the floor pummeling an RSLer who had tried to raise a criticism! While servilely kowtowing to get a piece of the action from a bureaucracy which had no need to make any deals, the fake lefts took out their frustrations by going after each other.

During CLUW's brief but truly sordid existence, these avowed "socialists" have perpetrated the fraud that the organization was something other than a rabid anti-communist obstacle to the growth of a fighting movement of women workers. Long schooled in opportunism, they were incapable of breaking out of the bureaucrats' trap at the convention and confined their demands to useless organizational amendments to the CLUW constitution. Instead, it was the Committee for a Militant UAW which put forward a program proposal for an all-out political fight against the sellout labor fakers.

Houston Opposition

For weeks prior to the convention, the SWP's *Militant* had been publicizing a challenge to the leadership agenda. Centered in the Houston CLUW chapter, the minority had the support of the SWP, IS, RSL, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and Radical Women. Billed as an "alternate agenda," the proposed Houston motion called only for a three-hour discussion on "affirmative action," the Equal Rights Amendment and jobs for all, handing over the bulk of convention time to discussion of the Madarite constitution.

At the Friday evening "Houston caucus" called to assemble a joint opposition, the Committee for a Militant UAW proposed its counter-motion, "A Real Alternate Agenda for CLUW." CMUAW called for totally overturning the majority agenda and substituting for it discussion of an action program for CLUW including black/labor defense of school husing; defense of union seniority combined with union action against discrimination; strike action against layoffs; a fight to break labor from the Democratic Party; and a

campaign to smash the AFL-CIO/CIA American Institute for Free Labor Development.

For over an hour participants in the caucus debated the Houston agenda vs. the "Real" alternative, as it was called. Speakers for "Real," while stressing the need for discussion of affirmative action, insisted on the need to develop a class-struggle program for working women. But "Real" was voted down as too likely to enrage Madar. "We're willing to compromise anything as long as we can get out discussion on affirmative action," said an SWP supporter.

The actual number of supporters for the Houston motion who showed up in Detroit was far smaller than expected and it was soon clear that there was no chance of winning a fight on the convention floor. Midway through the Houston caucus, SWP honchos Linda Jenness and Carol Lipman decided to call off the challenge and go for a deal with Madar. Lipman told the opposition they would have "the best bargaining power with Olga" by going into the conference with an amendment to the majority agenda rather than fight for an alternate motion.

The SWP leadership pulled its motion off the caucus floor, to the dismay of its bloc partners. Disoriented SWP supporters who were completely unprepared for the change in line started splitting their votes right and left. RSL supporters had only minutes earlier voted against the "Real" agenda, criticizing it as "unserious" because it called for discussion of political resolutions that "nobody could be expected to stay up all night and prepare." Now they were stuck with putting the Houston motion back on the floor, only to have it defeated by the SWP supporters who had the controlling votes! At the close of the caucus Darlene Fujino, spokesman for the Committee for a Militant UAW announced, "It is clear that this 'opposition' is collapsing, but we have no intention of withdrawing the 'Real' agenda. We intend to go ahead with a fight for it on the convention floor!"

Fight to Open CLUW

In virtually every union workshop challenges to the restrictive membership

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SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—3 January to 19 December 1975 (Issues Nos. 59-89)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

• This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1975, beginning with Issue No. 59 (3 January) and ending with issue No. 89 (19 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly from issue No. 59 through issue No. 75 (29 August) and weekly beginning issue No. 76 (12 September).

• The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.

• Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (*). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

Court Covers Up Attica Massacre, #67, 25 Apr. (2, 9)
means the headline of the article, issue No. 67, 25 April 1975, pages 2 and 9.

• No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

Unemployment—See **Auto Workers: Layoffs; Labor: General, History**

means that articles on unemployment can be found by going to the subject head AUTO WORKERS and looking under the subcategory Layoffs and by going to the subject head LABOR and looking under the subcategories General and History.

• Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.

• Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.

• Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict and directly related countries and issues (e.g., Egypt, Lebanon) will be found under the major subject head: NEAR EAST.

• Specific defense cases (e.g. Joan Little) will be found as subcategories under CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.

• Abbreviations used in entries are:

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L:	Letter	Sup:	Supplement
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