

Teachers' Strikes Sweep U.S.

NEW YORK

Big MAC Goes After UFT

SEPTEMBER 15—As we go to press, news reports speak of a possible settlement of the New York City teachers strike. The rumored agreement looks like an unmitigated disaster for the 80,000 striking members of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The Board of Education in a display of incredible arrogance has proposed that by using the \$25 million in *unpaid salaries* accumulated during the strike and in *penalties imposed on striking teachers* at a rate of two days pay for each day on strike, it may rehire a fraction of the several thousand teachers recently laid off!

In addition, every penny of the meager funds designated for pay increases has been frozen for the indefinite future, and union negotiators may trade off a two-hour per week cut in instruction time against the loss of two preparation periods in most elementary and junior high schools. The resolution of a number of other Board demands for taking back past contractual gains is not yet clear, but given the hat-in-hand negotiating stance of UFT President Albert Shanker, the prognosis is not good.

The Board of Education has come up with a classic divide-and-conquer scheme, pitting laid-off teachers against those who will pay the Taylor Law fines and setting the parents and children (whose educational services are being cut) against teachers who will lose their preparation periods. If Shanker rams through such a sellout pact it would be an insult and defeat for the entire labor movement and a crime against the poor and working people of New York City.

Whatever the fate of the reported "compromise" (the third in less than a week), the NYC Board of Education has already demonstrated its effectiveness as a battering ram for the bankers and big corporations represented on the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) against the troublesome union whose strikes in the 1960's won it a niche as one of the strongest municipal unions in the country. State Mediator Harold Newman described the transparent reality of the negotiations:

"There are people at the bargaining table

who are invisible, the Governor, the Mayor, Big MAC. If there are going to be changes in the way in which New York City finances its school system, this places a substantial burden on the parties."

New York Times, 5 September

In a year of massive budget cuts and disappearing social services, the burden is unsurprisingly one-sided. When negotiations opened in late July, the Board ultimatically presented its demands: lengthen the workweek, reduce preparation periods, shorten vacations, return teachers to clerical and monitorial functions, increase class size, cut paid sick leave, abolish job retention in summer and after-school work, reduce the salaries

of thousands of teachers of handicapped students, rescind a \$400 salary benefit that is paid to 45 percent of the teachers, weaken seniority rules on layoffs and require additional after-school conferences. In return for this tremendous increase in workload and general deterioration of conditions, the Board offered the teachers *nothing!*

The ease with which the wage freeze was imposed on city workers in July (through the treachery of Victor Gotbaum and other municipal union bureaucrats) only whetted the appetites of MAC and the city and state administrations.

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UFT president Albert Shanker WV Photo



NYC teachers take over Brooklyn Bridge earlier this month in protest against educational cutbacks and mass layoffs. WV Photo

Shanker Rams Through Sellout

SEPTEMBER 16—Early this evening New York City teachers accepted the worst contract in UFT history by a vote of 10,651 to 6,595. The heavy "no" vote reflected a bitter reaction from thousands of union members who gathered on short notice for the voting at Madison Square Garden. In the settlement, UFT president Shanker gave away all the critical points in dispute, including several hard-won gains of the past (see article). Shanker's arguments boiled down to scare tactics: continuing the strike, he said, would be "gambling with our own futures and that of the union." No—it was the UFT bureaucracy, by knuckling under to Big MAC and the Board of Education offensive, that has put the future of the union in question.

See page 2 for Chicago and Bay Area Teachers' Strikes

College Union Head Jailed

As we go to press, leaders of the Cook County College Teachers Union have announced a strike settlement and sent the members back to work September 15. Exact details are not yet available, but the pact, imposed under pressure of the savage five-month jail sentence meted out to CCCTU President Swenson, appears to have produced discontent among the rank and file. Today's *Chicago Daily News* reported one Southwest College teacher as saying "I'll vote against the contract. My classes now have five more students in them than they had before we went on strike. The raise will be eaten by the money we lost during the strike. And how in this day and age can any trade union accept a contract without a cost of living clause?"

CHICAGO, September 12—Norman Swenson, president of the striking Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU), faces five months in jail after his arrest and conviction last Tuesday for defying a strikebreaking back-to-work court order. The restraining order, issued

UAW Local 6 Demands Campaign to Free Swenson

At its regular monthly meeting on September 14, UAW Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park, Illinois) unanimously approved a motion calling for labor action, including if necessary a general strike, to free the jailed president of American Federation of Teachers Local 1600. The resolution reads, in part:

"Be it resolved, that Local 6 call on the Chicago labor movement and specifically the Chicago Federation of Labor to devote its full resources to freeing Norman Swenson, president of the Cook County College Teachers Union, including the possibility of city-wide strike action."

Also included in the statement was a call for a demonstration by unions and working-class organizations at city hall to demand release of Swenson.

In a second action, the meeting overwhelmingly passed (against some opposition) a resolution in support of busing, which reads:

"Local 6 goes on record in support of busing and in support of the integration of the schools in the Chicago area as well as schools all over the country."

Both motions were submitted by the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the Local.

on the first day of this three week-old walkout, was followed ten days later by a contempt of court ruling against Swenson and a crippling fine of \$5,000 a day levelled against the union.

The city government's actions are a clear indication that it intends to ruthlessly curb the power of the public employees unions, in particular the CCCTU which has struck five times in its nine-year history. One trustee of the City College board openly threatened:

"We have good teachers applying for jobs in this system every day. I don't even know if we should be negotiating with teachers who are in violation of a court order."

—*Chicago Tribune*, 9 September

After Swenson's arrest, Cook County Sheriff Richard Elrod (who achieved notoriety for taking a flying leap at a demonstrator outside the 1968 Democratic Party convention) gave vent to his vicious anti-labor spleen by complaining that the union leader was being pampered with preferential treatment in jail.

The 1,400-member CCCTU (AFT



Chicago teachers man the picket lines. New York Times

Local 1600) services the eight two-year community college campuses whose 95,000 students come from predominantly poor, minority and working-class backgrounds. The teachers are demanding a 17 percent pay increase spread over the next two years (having had no raises during the past two years of skyrocketing inflation), contractual coverage for part-time teachers and reversal of the Board of Education's attempted increases in class size and load.

The 26,000-member Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), now in its second week on the picket lines, is waging a similar battle for a pay raise and cost-of-living increases, against increased class sizes and attrition cuts of 1,525 teaching positions (along with another 1,500 cuts of non-teaching personnel positions).

A group of community college students has threatened a suit against the CCCTU strikers, and the reactionary PTA has predictably demanded a court injunction against the CTU. But despite anti-union

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Striking Berkeley teachers rally on September 19. WV Photo

Liberal Union-Busting in Berkeley

BERKELEY, September 12—The populist image of Berkeley's city council is wearing thin as teachers and firemen, on strike for the first time, are directly pitted against the liberal municipal government in a fight to defend their living and working conditions and the right of public employees to strike. The latter is an explosive issue following more than a year of militant struggle in the Bay Area, beginning with the near general strike of San Francisco municipal workers in March 1974. Like their brothers and sisters across the Bay, Berkeley's public employee unions must take joint action to defeat the austerity schemes of the local rulers.

Taking a hard line, the Berkeley Board of Education denounced the teachers' strike as illegal and gave Superintendent of Schools Laval Wilson emergency powers to deal with it. The teachers have faced threats of suspension or firing, scabbing by substitutes paid over \$50 a day, and a vicious strikebreaking campaign in the mass media. Despite this the ranks have held firm and grown more militant, while support from the community has increased. As of mid-week, some 95 percent of the teachers were striking and 89 percent of the students boycotting classes.

The walkout erupted on September 3 in response to the Board of Education's decision to scrap an agreement reached in April after weeks of negotiations. In a year of lousy contracts, the April 15 agreement must rank among the worst. It contained not one cent in wage increases or new fringe benefits. The Board's sole "concession" was an empty promise that there would be no layoffs.

But even this was not enough. After a minor scandal in which the school district business manager resigned admitting financial incompetence, the Board discovered a \$3.9 million deficit in the budget. Citing the notorious Winton Act denying teachers even the most minimal collective bargaining rights, the Board simply declared that the agreement was not binding. This highhanded position was upheld by the Alameda County

Superior Court on the basis that the city faced a fiscal emergency.

The militancy of the strike flows from the Board's decision to cut its "offer" from nothing to less than nothing. It now wants to slash teachers' salaries by 1.2 percent, remove all limits on class size above third grade, cut back on special programs and reduce teachers' medical and other fringe benefits.

In an uphill fight against the Board's budget-cutting intransigence, the teachers' strike shows potentially fatal weaknesses. First, the city's school employees are organizationally divided. The teachers are about equally split between the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT), affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the Berkeley Teachers Association (BTA), affiliated with the National Education Association. "Classified" workers (including bus drivers, cafeteria workers and clericals) belong to two additional unions. Although they face attacks similar to the teachers', the classified workers unions have been played off against the BFT and BTA, did not strike and accepted contracts that simply codify the status quo. This was conditioned by a long and bitter history of mutual scabbing between the two classified unions, who in the past have both watched teachers crossing their picket lines. The lack of a coordinated strike effort in the Berkeley school district weakens all the unions and points clearly to the need for a single militant union of all education-related workers.

Secondly, although the BTA and BFT have publicly buried their differences in this strike, rotten settlements engineered by NEA affiliates in San Francisco, Hayward, Oakland and Fremont have undercut the position of the Berkeley teachers and cut off the possibility of a powerful Bay Area-wide teachers' strike.

Thirdly, the teachers have no strike fund and are isolated from the rest of the labor movement. The "support" of the Alameda Central Labor Council remains limited to advice on how to file for food

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Argentine Socialist Militants Murdered

September 10—The bullet-riddled bodies of eight members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), victims of anti-communist death squads, were found south of Buenos Aires last weekend. On Friday five nude bodies were discovered by a fisherman near the Rio de la Plata. The next day three more were found in the city of La Plata.

During the last year literally hundreds of leftists and labor leaders have fallen prey to right-wing killers condoned by the bonapartist regime of Isabel Peron. As her government and the Peronist union bureaucracy prove incapable of containing a militant proletariat, the army stands on the doorstep preparing to drown the entire organized workers movement in a bloody coup. It is the urgent obligation of socialist and labor organizations throughout the world to vigorously protest against the bestial murder of the PST militants and mounting government-backed brown-shirt terror in Argentina.

The butchers responsible for assassinating the PST members are known as the "Triple A" (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance). These murderers ride in police cars, carry authentic police identification when they make their "arrests" and have never been caught. In fact, they are the cops (in concert with a fascist wing of the Peronist movement) and act with the unspoken blessing of the government. Meanwhile, the military prepares its entrance by whipping up anti-guerrilla hysteria. "We will work and fight day and night to annihilate these subversive criminals," boasts Brigadier General Luciano Menendez.

Tragically, the PST dead are victims not only of the "Triple A" but also of the policies of their own party, which has repeatedly stated its support of the "institutional process" and the "continuity" of the Peronist government. The leftist guerrillas, say leaders of the reformist PST in formal audiences with Isabel Peron, are the "mirror image" of the AAA. On the contrary: the death squads are the reflection—in fact, the creatures—of the government and the capitalist "law and order" which the fake-Trotskyist PST supports.

How many more bodies must be fished from the blood-red rivers of Argentina before a conscious proletariat breaks with Peronism and class-collaborationist reformism to rise up and settle accounts with the anti-communist assassins and the bourgeoisie they serve?

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Reinstate Jane Margolis!

Pacific Telephone Fires Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, September 12—Jane Margolis, a leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 here, was fired by the Pacific Telephone Company on Friday, September 5. In response to this clear political victimization of a long-time union militant, a defense committee has been established comprising members from both San Francisco and Oakland CWA locals.

That Margolis should be fired at this time is no accident. Pacific Telephone is running amok with a campaign of arbitrary harassment, firings and downgradings, all aimed at reducing its workforce, demoralizing the workers and weakening the union in order to pave the way for even more layoffs. Since the beginning of the year layoffs began to be a reality due to extensive automation and the economic downturn, despite the company's false reputation for "never laying off." The MAC has fought within the union for national strike action against these layoffs and for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all. With anger at the downgrades and firings mounting (Local 9410 was forced to call a special meeting last month to discuss these issues), the company moved to rid itself of the only group within the union that has a strategy that could defeat the attacks on the phone workers.

The company chose to act now because union elections are coming up in October. Margolis, who polled 230 votes (35 short of winning) in a local-wide election for convention delegate last spring, was very likely going to be elected a Traffic rep to the executive board. By firing this militant, Pacific Telephone hopes to knock her out of the running.

Such gross company interference in union affairs is nothing new for Ma Bell. Discussing this blatant attempt by Pacific Telephone to tell union members whom they can or cannot vote for, a MAC leaflet pointed out an incident in an earlier election:

"Management has already shown their willingness to interfere in union elections—they've taken our campaign literature off the union bulletin boards because it is 'derogatory to the Company' to be for workers running the phone company, for nationalizing the Company without compensation."

Another factor in the firing is the fact that Margolis was the first phone company employee ever to testify against rate increases the company was seeking, at Public Utility Commission hearings this spring. Here again the MAC leader called for running the phone system for social need, not profit, and exposed the Bell System's schemes to pass the costs of automation and its elimination of jobs onto the backs of the poor and working people through higher phone bills. Enraged by this "disloyal" act, the telephone monopoly quoted her (though not by name) in the company newsletter as being for "free phone service, free transportation, and free medical care."

Trumped-Up Charges

Yesterday a *Workers Vanguard* reporter talked to Margolis about her firing. She told us that "Ever since my election to the executive board in Oakland CWA Local 9415, three and a half

years ago, the company has tried to get rid of me. I have never been on *any* preliminary warnings, but I have been on three final warnings." She added that "even though they have no case against me and the charges are obviously trumped up, even flimsier cases have been lost because our union is so weak. It will be a hard fight, but we're going to give them the hardest fight they've ever seen. We're getting a lot of support from members and stewards, and even some executive board members."

As was made clear in a MAC leaflet, the company had no case against Jane Margolis. Management suspended her, "pending investigation," for "falsification of company records" concerning an application for a personal leave she had already taken. Although the company produced not one shred of evidence

WV Photo



Jane Margolis, victimized MAC leader.

demonstrating any "falsification," Margolis volunteered verification which disproved the charges. On the day the company would have had to produce evidence for union representatives at a fact-finding meeting, management cancelled the meeting, fired Margolis and changed its story: she was now fired for spending too much time "in transit" on the leave! Many members and stewards were incensed not only at the flimsiness of the company's charges, but also at its dangerous assertion of the "right" to take action against a worker on the basis of presumed guilt, requiring the worker to provide proof of innocence after the fact.

Responsibility for this firing must be laid squarely at the feet of the CWA leadership, which has worked in collusion with the company to tie the hands of the members, and which by its cowering servility has given the company the green light to wage a ruthless campaign of firings and harassment. Both the International and several Local officers will be glad to rid themselves of the leader of the opposition caucus with the longest history in the union. San Francisco Local 9410 president Kirkpatrick is infamous in the union as the author of "19-2-C", an anti-red clause which the MAC successfully campaigned against, leading to its defeat at the 1973 CWA convention.

Members Fight Back

The response of the membership to the firing has been both swift and encouraging. A "Committee to Defend Jane Margolis" was formed at a meeting called on September 10. According to Margolis the meeting was attended by 21 union

members, including several stewards and chief stewards. The basis for membership in the committee is agreement with two points, which are being circulated in the form of a petition, and will be introduced as motions at the next union meeting to be held on September 16. The petition reads:

"We, the undersigned members of Local 9410, condemn the arbitrary and vindictive firing by the Company of long-time union militant Jane Margolis, and demand her immediate reinstatement with full back pay and seniority rights. We urge all union brothers and sisters to put their full support behind this demand. "We cannot permit the Company to destroy our union through its policy of harassment and firings, downgrades and layoffs, nor permit them to dictate who can or cannot be in our Union by allowing them to fire our members and militants. Therefore, the Union should adopt a protective policy of retaining full union membership rights for all fired and laid-off members."

Retention of union rights is a crucial demand to strengthen the CWA against the company. It was a regular practice in CIO unions during the organizing drives of the 1930's, a response to the firing of union organizers by the employers. The demand is also important because it links the unemployed workers to the employed workers and insures that the voice of the unemployed workers is heard within the unions.

Defend Jane Margolis—Defend MAC!

The broad base of the Committee to Defend Jane Margolis and the enthusiastic response of phone workers to the committee show that growing numbers of phone workers have had enough of Pacific Telephone's unending campaign of harassment and firing. The attack on Jane Margolis and the MAC is an attack upon all phone workers, an attack upon the CWA. All CWA members must unite, stand up and fight the company's "force reduction" schemes and oppose victimization of union militants who are leaders in this fight. If they do not resist, the company will only grow bolder, no one will be safe, and the very existence of the union will be called into question.

The CWA leadership must not be let off the hook—it must be directed by the membership to defend all phone workers victimized through company downgrades and layoffs, firing and harassment. But we warn phone workers to place no confidence in these agents of the bosses within the workers movement. The best defense against the Bell System's arbitrary attacks is to oust these phonies and replace them with a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, a program to put an end to the rule of the capitalist robber barons once and for all. It is precisely because groups such as the MAC have made an important beginning in such a struggle that they must be defended by every class-conscious worker and militant trade unionist.

An urgent request has been made for funds to defray the costs of conducting this defense campaign. The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, urges *WV* readers to support this call. Declarations of solidarity and donations may be sent to the Committee to Defend Jane Margolis, c/o Militant Action Caucus, P.O. Box 462, El Cerrito, CA 94530. ■

NY Teachers...

(continued from page 1)

From the start the Board has been on the offensive. Having eliminated 10,000 jobs from the school system through attrition over the past four years, it fired 7,000 substitute teachers in June.

By September 5, layoff notices had been received by 17.8 percent of all teachers, almost a third of the guidance counselors and 50 percent of all aides and paraprofessionals. This means that over 10,000 school workers will lose their jobs this month. These layoffs have a particularly heavy impact on the non-white UFT members, who are concentrated among the paraprofessionals, teacher aides and teachers with lower seniority. The response of UFT leaders was to initiate a useless court suit rather than to mobilize the ranks to defend their jobs.

The teachers' contract is the first to be

negotiated since the pay freeze and will set the pattern for collective bargaining under MAC's austerity program. With Albert Shanker at the UFT helm, the pattern promises to be a disaster. Striking a militant posture while the other city unions were signing away their members' wages, he initially demanded a 25 percent wage increase in the pre-strike negotiations. But his posturing ended quickly, and Shanker now asserts almost proudly that "salaries are not an issue." Although teachers' real wages dropped by 22 percent over the three-year life of the current contract (negotiated during Nixon's wage freeze), the UFT head will buy a new contract without one cent in higher pay. Even worse, this "responsible labor statesman" indicated a willingness to acquiesce to most of the Board's demands if they will only allow him some apparent compromise to sell to the ranks.

Instead the Board contemptuously rejected most of the proposed compro-

mises, occasionally passing the buck to Mayor Beame or Governor Carey, and has maneuvered the union representatives into several embarrassing positions. On September 8, the day the schools reopened, the state's "fact-finders," impressed with Shanker's declared willingness to accept regressions on preparation periods and "reasonable violations" of class size limits, proposed an indefinite extension of the old contract to postpone a strike and wrap up the sellout. When Shanker presented this first empty "victory" to his executive board, however, he was chagrined to discover that, in effect, there was no contract to extend. In the wake of the layoffs, class sizes had increased by 50 to 100 percent. The teachers lacked aides, supplies, even desks, and were assigned to duties that violated the contract.

Cornered by this deliberate provocation, Shanker reluctantly put a strike motion before an angry delegates'

meeting that afternoon. He vividly described the Board's intransigence and his own fruitless attempts at "bargaining":

"We made every effort to reach an agreement. We did not want a strike. We don't want one now. We know that our city is in trouble. We met; we made concessions. We came up with numerous proposals.... The other side came in with this bag full of demands to take away everything that we ever got. And until we made concessions to give away things they wouldn't even make any proposals. And then after all of that negotiating, there was just no package there."

But this was not the last time that Shanker was to be humiliated. In mid-week the mediators suggested a ceasefire. The schools would be officially closed, the strike would be suspended and teachers would go in to attempt to lower class sizes through "reorganization." Although no simple reshuffling of students and teachers could close the gaps left by thousands of layoffs, Shanker grasped at the scheme as a way to deflate the strike. However, news of the truce reached union negotiators not from their president but from the morning newspapers. Shanker pacified his negotiating committee and sold them on the scheme, only to find out that the Board had scuttled it on the instructions of the city's Corporation Counsel, who insisted on a written pledge that the UFT would not go back on strike if no settlement were reached during the truce!

Finally, there was the elaborate shell-game in which the city's chief negotiator, Robert Christen, joined with the union's representatives to explore the possibility of freeing \$43 million budgeted for salary increases prior to the freeze and diverting it to rehire some laid-off teachers. After shuttling back and forth between Mayor Beame and Governor Carey, the weary team finally got the word from Beame: MAC wants frozen money to stay frozen.

During the maze of negotiations the UFT bureaucrats, the mediators (to a lesser extent) and even, at times, the Board's negotiators have been slow to grasp the concrete meaning of capitalist austerity. To carry out MAC's program the city must not compromise with but *defeat* the union and make major inroads on past contractual gains. There is no room for the public bluster, backroom deals and face-saving compromises that normally occur.

Eager to tame the teachers union in its stronghold, the financiers from MAC hover over the bargaining table. If the puppets don't stand straight enough, the strings are pulled taut. The city's Corporation Counsel reins in the Board's negotiators on the ceasefire. MAC itself reins in Beame on the \$43 million. The naked reality of the class struggle, sometimes obscured in "collective" bargaining and "neutral" mediation, is glaringly evident in the single-minded determination with which the city hacks away at the teachers' working conditions and plunges an already abysmal school system deeper into terminal decay.

The courts have been waving the big stick of the Taylor Law which outlaws public workers' strikes. Shanker could be jailed for as long as a year for violating the injunction against the strike; individual teachers could be fined two days' pay for every day they stay on strike. So far, however, the courts have used their power to pressure the union into surrendering rather than to bludgeon it into submission. The use of intimidation and hard-line negotiations rather than a frontal assault is the result not of any taste for compromise but of the enormous support for the strike throughout the city.

In 1968 the Lindsay administration pulled out all the stops to bust the union by mobilizing the city's black and Latin population behind a phony community control scheme that would have destroyed seniority rights and the organizational strength of the UFT. Many teachers, parents and students actively attempted to break that strike by keeping the schools open. They were egged on by black nationalists, poverty program bureaucrats and phony leftists like the Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party and

L.A. Courts/Cops Commit Racist Atrocity

Protest

Philip Allen

Conviction!



Philip Allen with his mother.

WV Photo

LOS ANGELES—Philip Allen, the young black college student accused of killing an L.A. County deputy in an early-morning New Year's Eve shooting, has been convicted of voluntary manslaughter. This grotesque frame-up must be vigorously protested. We demand a reversal of Allen's conviction—free Philip Allen! Joanne Little was freed because working people, labor militants and socialists rallied to her side against the vicious state charges. The same must be done for Allen, who was blatantly framed by L.A. police and railroaded through the bourgeois courts—both parts of the same repressive state apparatus which staged the SLA massacre and now trains SWAT teams to suppress food riots.

During his trial, Allen's hopes for justice were steadily ground down. He listened in disbelief as prosecutor Burton Katz painted for the jury the picture of a bloodthirsty "cop-hater." Simply because Allen had enrolled in black studies courses at Los Angeles City College, the prosecutor argued that young Allen (now 20 years old) was a vicious racist who, in spite of his diminutive (5'3") build, had come out on top in an unprovoked altercation with six to eight hefty cops. It was charged that Allen disarmed one of them and with this service revolver allegedly wounded two or three others as well as killing Darden Hollis.

After his arrest, Allen was labelled "suicidal" and strapped to his hospital bed while recovering from a cop beating received during the alleged shooting, only to be informed later that he was being held on obviously faked charges of killing the deputy. No test was done to determine whether he had in fact fired the Smith & Wesson .357 magnum service revolver. No fingerprints were found on the gun. No substantial evidence was ever presented which even suggested how Allen, while pinned to the ground, could have grabbed the gun. Nor were the results of a police-administered lie-detector test (which Allen "passed") admitted in evidence by Judge Laurence Rittenband.

The trial was held in near-lily-white Santa Monica. Police witnesses were seen driving to and from the court in the same car, publicly conversing, while the defendant was baited for knowing one of the defense witnesses. Three older white women jurors openly winked at prosecutor Katz, and Judge Rittenband repeatedly left the courtroom (which was full of Allen supporters) to consult with attorneys in his private chambers. Capping it all was the hysteria of prosecutor Katz, screaming at the jury one minute, sneering at Allen for his "passivity" the next. "Murderers can be handsome, too," he ranted. An incredible argument, but no more so than every other aspect of the state's "case."

Large sums were spent by the state to support the police allegations, a situation which continually put Allen's defense committee in dire financial straits to raise the substantial amounts necessary for the cost of expert testimony to counter the state's "specialists." Although no witnesses, not even the cops, claimed to have seen Allen get the gun, the prosecution's racist demagoguery was sufficient to get a conviction.

Joanne Little was freed because of numerous demonstrations, an expensive legal defense and massive publicity before and during the trial. For Philip Allen there were few demonstrations and a virtual press blackout, even in the L.A. area. Unfortunately, the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee limited its strategy to a narrow legalistic defense policy. The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, made a financial contribution to the Philip Allen defense, as did the Chicago Spartacist League which collected funds at several forums which were opened with an appeal to support this victim of a vicious cop frame-up. But while advocating the use of every possible legal procedure for the cases it supports, the PDC understands that only a defense which relies on mass support and puts forward a sharp political attack on the whole system of phony class justice can hope to win freedom for those it supports.

The PDC urges WV readers to assist Allen at this time for the crucial appeal process. Donations may be mailed to: Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California 90005.

Socialist Workers Party whose supporters in the UFT scabbed on the strike. The job was made easier, of course, by Shanker's notorious indifference to the reality of racial oppression and his narrow Meanyite business unionism.

But the union survived the attack, and today the UFT has the social power not only to defend what little is left of public education in New York City, but also to take the lead in breaking through the impasse created by the capitulation of the leadership of the municipal workers unions to the wage freeze and massive layoffs imposed by MAC. The greatest obstacle to such a victory is the Shanker bureaucracy with its no-win strategy of nickel-and-dime haggling (this time over how much the union will *give back*). Unless the strike and its demands are broadened, the city can wait it out, begin a propaganda campaign to convince parents that class size should be limited by sharply increasing each teacher's work load, play off other unions against the UFT (e.g., school aides and lunchroom workers belonging to Gotbaum's District Council 37 were instructed to continue working), use preferential layoff schemes to pit bilingual teachers against the union, employ the fines and jailings prescribed by the Taylor Law and, in general, try to demoralize the teachers and undermine their support in the community.

To win its strike the UFT must lead the city's labor movement, the poor and much of the middle class behind an aggressive program to overturn the austerity program. For the UFT, for example, to raise the simple demand of free public transportation could galvanize the entire city into action and represent a giant leap toward a massive work stoppage. Such sentiment already exists, to some extent, in the ranks of the UFT. At the June delegates' meeting Shanker was actually drowned out by chants of "General Strike, General Strike!" Rather than capitulating to the Board's strong-arm tactics, the UFT must broaden its strike, linking up with the Professional Staff Congress (City University employees in an AFT-affiliated local whose contract deadline is this week), to spark a city-wide general strike against the capitalists' anti-labor austerity program.

To maintain and deepen community support the demands of the poor and oppressed racial minorities must be championed by the strikers. Bilingual, Title I and all special educational programs must be defended, and all budget cuts restored. Rather than passively accepting thousands of layoffs—or rehiring a few teachers with money extorted from UFT members through fines and lost pay—militant teachers must demand the rescinding of all layoffs and call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to create more jobs and provide improved education. This must be coupled with full cost-of-living protection and a substantial wage increase to make up for past losses to inflation.

The financial leeches who run MAC and devised its program to bust the unions and put the urban poor on short rations must have their business empires exposed to public scrutiny and their stranglehold on the cities broken. The corporation and bank books must be opened to inspection by the workers movement, the city debt cancelled and the banks expropriated!

The millions of dollars contributed by the UFT to Beame, Carey and other so-called "friends of labor" (including the small fry that they elected to the community school boards) were poured down the rat hole of capitalist politics. Shanker's friends are now doing their best to break the UFT and the rest of the labor movement in order to bail out big business at the workers expense. A class-struggle opposition must be built in the unions to dump Shanker, Gotbaum and all the bureaucrats. This can only be done by raising a full, political program, including demands for a workers party, based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!■

Phony Democracy at USW District 31 Convention

Sadlowski Can't Fight Layoffs

CHICAGO—The first conference of District 31 (Chicago—Gary region) of the United Steel Workers under the aegis of newly installed District Director Ed Sadlowski was held here in the middle of July. Reflecting strong pressure from the huge district's rank and file, many of whom are now laid off, the 980 delegates passed resolutions condemning the union's pro-company productivity clause and its infamous ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) no-strike deal.

Words were cheap, however, since the conference had no formal decision-making powers. Neither Sadlowski, the darling of the reformists, nor the conference delegates, the vast majority of whom were union officials, showed the slightest signs of mounting a serious, political opposition to the sellout International

them." After many "guests" in delegates' badges were discovered, Sadlowski was forced to consent to a motion requiring them to leave the delegate area.

Although Sadlowski's report to the conference was dry and statistical, it revealed the background of crisis and unemployment which have been plaguing steel workers in recent months. Unemployment in the District stood at over 14 percent. While nine new locals had been organized in the past year, several more had been disbanded due to plant closures. Overall membership in the District was down to 110,000 from the year's highest monthly level of 126,000. Speaking later, International Vice President John S. Johns estimated that 100,000 steel workers were laid off nationally.

What Sadlowski failed to report was



Sadlowski supporters at April 26 jobs rally in Washington, D.C. WV Photo

administration of I.W. Abel & Co.

Sadlowski, who gained office in a government-run election against an Abel flunky on an ostensible program of union democracy, billed the conference as a democratic departure from the past. It didn't take long, however, for Sadlowski's bureaucratic method to begin showing through the facade provided by such "innovations" as committees, resolutions from locals and floor microphones.

The first use of the microphones was made by a member who complained that although his local had elected no delegates, he had seen a local member present wearing a delegate's badge. The accused member reported that he had simply purchased the badge himself! Frank Mirocha, president of Local 65 (U.S. Steel Southworks) then complained that members of his local who were not delegates were serving on key committees. Asked how they got there, Sadlowski replied imperiously, "I appointed

his own inaction on the layoffs which have swept the industry this year. In District 31 alone 12,000 workers were thrown onto the streets, including 25 percent of the workforce at U.S. Steel's giant Gary works, yet Sadlowski spent his time playing footsie with local Democratic Party bigwigs and travelling to Eastern Europe, presumably to bolster his "progressive" reputation. In contrast to Sadlowski's inaction, which was indistinguishable from Abel's, steel workers in two plants in Ohio wildcatted against layoffs earlier this year.

Much of the conference bickering reflected jockeying for position between Sadlowski and Abel forces in the District. The bulk of the International-financed staff reps and most of the local officials supported Abel's candidate for District Director in the last election, and staff forces have already fielded a new challenger to oppose Sadlowski in the next contest. Meanwhile Sadlowski is being pushed by some—particularly the Communist Party, in the pages of the *Daily*

World—as a "progressive" opponent to Abel in the next election for International president. Abel is rumored to be planning to alter the union's constitution to allow himself to run again in order to keep the "official family" united against Sadlowski.

Differences between Abel and Sadlowski remain verbal, however, as Sadlowski fails to concretize his opposition into even the bare beginnings of a class-struggle program. Sadlowski refused to take a clear stand on ENA in the election and made no attempt at the conference to mobilize opposition to it. While Abel opposes strikes—supposedly to prevent the kind of depression-unemployment now occurring!—and pushes production and protectionism, Sadlowski confines himself to making populist-sounding utterances such as, "we're putting the politicians and liberals on notice right now that we want a piece of the good life."

Sadlowski has no monopoly on pious phrases, "left" rhetoric and vague promises, however. After pointing out that economists are predicting five more years of unemployment at 6 or 7 percent, Abel representative John S. Johns, in his remarks to the conference, said, "If this becomes true...I believe it's high time that we seriously consider moving toward...a shorter workday, a shorter workweek or shorter workyear without loss of pay for our people." A resolution for a shorter workday with no loss in wages was passed in District 15 (western Pennsylvania) earlier this year. With his remark, it was Johns, rather than the "progressive" Sadlowski, who grabbed the limelight in the next day's news report for having said something out of the ordinary.

The conference resolutions against ENA and the productivity clause were the work of a local officialdom facing an increasingly hostile membership and in need of something "progressive" to point to. Authored originally by Local 1033 (Republic Steel), they were reported out by the resolutions committee and passed with little opposition, to the accompaniment of neutral silence from Sadlowski. A section of the resolution on the productivity clause revealed the underlying worry of the authors: "The membership of our union is highly suspicious of the productivity clause and are placing the blame for it on local union officers..."

There was no organized opposition force in evidence at the conference. Reformist groups such as the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which is politically supported by the Maoist October League, and the National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee, which is endorsed by the Communist Party, backed Sadlowski in the last election. They both have been virtually inactive since then. The NSWRFC sharply curtails the program it raises in Sadlowski's district; its national leader, George Edwards, called for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay and no overtime during layoffs in Lorain, Ohio in June, though neither of these demands had appeared in the group's paper in Local 65 (District 31) in April. Members of NSWRFC supported the conference resolutions against the productivity clause and ENA, and will no doubt flaunt these as evidence of Sadlowski's "leftism" when in fact he had nothing to do with them.

Neither was there any attempt by the delegates to turn disgruntlement about unemployment into a fighting program to use the strike weapon to combat layoffs and mobilize the ranks nationally for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. This would certainly be the last thing desired by the local leaders who passed the resolutions at the conference. Only a few weeks prior, officials of Local 1014 (U.S. Steel Gary works) managed to table indefinitely a resolution presented by rank-and-file local members demanding such a strategy. A real class-struggle opposition in the USW can only be built by first rejecting the "left" fakery presented by such local leaders and by Sadlowski.■

For three days at the beginning of August the hollow sound of sanctimonious speeches from leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada echoed in Helsinki. The usual empty phrases about "a continent of peace," "encouraging human contacts," and "East-West understanding" flowed in an endless stream from the mouths of the world's most vicious imperialist warmongers and their Stalinist collaborators.

The document-signing ceremony ended the months-long "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" which blessed in official and formal terms the post-World War II map of Europe, thus endorsing the 1943-45 deals between the Western imperialists and Stalin carving up the continent into "spheres of influence." Among the signers, Russian Communist Party (CP) leader Brezhnev was the most ecstatic, hailing the conference for adopting "a number of important agreements supplementing political détente by a military one..." The CPUSA's *Daily World* (7 August) went even further, announcing "Heads of state sign pact to end cold war."

Like the speeches, the accords signed at Helsinki say nearly nothing in 100 pages of loopholes, escape clauses and generalities pompously rendered in the most turgid prose. The U.S., for example, claims the pact is not legally binding but the USSR insists that it is. One delegate explained to a questioning reporter: "You are not supposed to understand it. Neither do we, and, what's more, we meant it that way" (*New York Times*, 30 July). Deliberate obscurantism has long been the classic mode for diplomatic documents. But that does not mean that diplomacy has no meaning. Behind the polite cocktail parties and verbose pontificating stands military force. Diplomacy is an extension of war by other means.

The Kremlin bureaucrats' enthusiasm for the Helsinki "treaty" derives from their policy of sowing illusions that such scraps of paper can prevent a world war launched by imperialists eager to regain the Russian market and smash the social and economic conquests of the October Revolution. Stalin had the same illusion, vainly hoping that his pact with Hitler would stave off a German invasion. Soviet workers found out differently, at a cost of millions of lives unnecessarily lost due to military unpreparedness.

Ever since the beginning of the "cold war" Russian diplomacy has focused on the demand for a political settlement confirming the present division of Europe. As early as 1954 Molotov proposed a European security treaty as the alternative to NATO and the abortive European Defense Community. More recently, the French Communist Party called for "simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty" and a continental security treaty ("Programme commun de gouvernement," 1972). Now Brezhnev has his treaty, but NATO remains.

Secret Talks on Portugal

The anti-détente lobby in Washington was predictably "enraged" over Helsinki. Henry Jackson and a chorus of right-wing emigré groups longing for the restoration of clerical-fascist rule in their homelands struck up the theme of a "Western retreat" on the "basic principle of self-determination" for the former Baltic states now part of the USSR. But not even the senator from Boeing has current plans to invade Estonia in order to restore manorial domains to the Junker barons.

As former U.S. Undersecretary of State George Ball pointed out, far from giving up anything Washington was doing its best "to use the Soviet Union's open eagerness for the Helsinki conference as a lever to pry loose concessions" (*New York Times*, July 31). Still stinging from its defeat in Indochina, the U.S. wanted an "understanding" with Brezhnev on Portugal as its price for a "legally non-binding" signature. This was made clear by the secret talks on Portugal at

Helsinki between President Ford and the CPSU general secretary, and was the repeated theme of U.S. leaders for the next three weeks. Speaking to the American Legion on August 19, Ford remarked:

"But the principles we adopted there [in Helsinki] now must be put into practice..."

"We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude towards détente and cooperation in European security. The situation in Portugal is one of them."

A few days earlier Secretary of State Kissinger put the point even more bluntly:

"In Portugal...the Soviet Union should not assume that it has the option, either directly or indirectly, to influence events contrary to the right of the Portuguese people to determine their own future. The involvement of external powers for this purpose in a country which is an old friend and ally of ours, is inconsistent with any principle of European security."

New York Times, 15 August

Extending the Monroe Doctrine to the Iberian peninsula, Kissinger simultaneously warned Russia to keep hands off and announced that the U.S. stood "ready to help a democratic Portugal," adding that "We will oppose...the efforts of a minority that appears to be subverting the revolution for its own purposes"! Posing as protector of the Portuguese revolution (!), the U.S. openly attempted to pressure leftist Premier General Vasco Gonçalves out of office, among other things by offering planes to evacuate Angolan refugees but only to a Portuguese government "we can work with." In turn, European social democratic-led governments (notably Sweden and West Germany) offered "millions" in aid provided a "stable government" to their liking was installed in Lisbon.

Brezhnev was quick to respond to Kissinger's threats. The next day he told an American delegation in Yalta that "We are in favor of strict non-interference in Portugal and believe that it is up to the Portuguese to solve their own affairs" (*Le Monde*, 16 August). Three days later a lengthy, authoritative article in *Pravda* ended with the same statement, virtually word for word (*Daily World*, 3 September). "Strict non-interference" is the cowardly excuse of a nationalist bureaucracy that is willing to endlessly sacrifice "foreign" revolutions in the hopes of enticing the imperialists into "peaceful coexistence." It is the negation of proletarian internationalism!

Faced with the recent reactionary offensive in Portugal, starkly reminiscent of Chile during Allende's last days, a revolutionary workers state would unstintingly aid the embattled Portuguese workers. In Santiago de Chile on 11 September 1973 the workers waited in the factories for arms that never came. Today in Lisbon the workers are demanding guns. Will the Soviet Union provide them? Brezhnev replies "strict non-interference," and the pro-NATO generals prepare to smash the combative workers and purge the leftist soldiers.

With its treacherous "hands-off" policy toward Portugal, Moscow does its best to tie the hands of the Portuguese working class while giving a free hand to U.S. imperialism. This is the price of "political détente." It would not be a great surprise if, when the contents of the secret Ford-Brezhnev talks are made known, it will turn out that the fate of Portugal was on the poker table at Helsinki. It would not be the first time the Stalinists sacrificed revolutionary opportunities in Europe in the chimerical hope of preserving their bureaucratic privileges by offering "peaceful coexistence" to counterrevolution.

Yalta: Dividing Europe

While history is not a conspiracy, there are conspiracies in history. At Yalta in January 1945, the "Big Three" (Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill) conspired to divide Europe. The Yalta meeting had been prepared by earlier conferences in Tehran, Cairo, Moscow and Quebec beginning in 1943 when it became probable

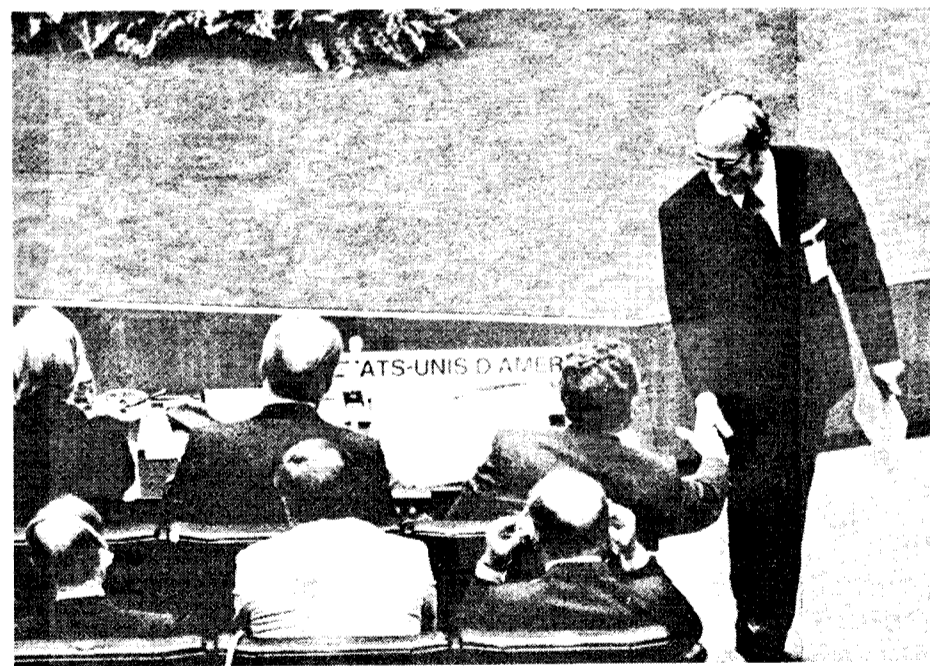
From Yalta to Helsinki...



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta.

Informations Ouvrières

The Diplomacy of Betrayal



Portuguese President Costa Gomes greets Kissinger and Ford at Helsinki.

Alain Nogues

that the allies were going to defeat the Axis forces. Churchill describes in his memoirs an instance of the cynical camaraderie that existed between himself and Stalin in the horse-trading atmosphere of the October 1944 Moscow meeting:

"I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper,
Rumania
Russia 90%
The others 10%
Greece
Great Britain 90%
(in accord with U.S.A.)
Russia 10%
Yugoslavia 50-50%
Hungary 50-50%
Bulgaria
Russia 75%
The others 25%
"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had

by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set it down."

—Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. 6: "Triumph and Tragedy," 1953

At Yalta the percentages checked off were different although the spirit of "give and take" was the same. It was Stalin, "the Great Organizer of Defeats," who gave and the imperialists who took.

At the time imperialism faced pre-revolutionary conditions throughout Europe. In the course of six years of war a substantial underground apparatus had been built up in the struggle against the

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Trotskyist League of Canada Founded

The founding of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) represents the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in Canada and an important step forward in the development of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The TLC founding conference, held at the end of August, marked the culmination of a fusion process between the Canadian Committee of the iSt (CCiSt) and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled left opposition of the Revolutionary Marxist Group. This principled fusion, and the parallel recruitment of individuals out of the Pabloist and left milieus in Toronto and Vancouver, laid the basis for the founding of the TLC.

The composition of the TLC reflects the success of the iSt's regroupment tactic. One third of the founding membership were former members of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (Usec) in Canada—primarily its centrist affiliate, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). This category includes seven founding members of the RMG, one of whom had been a full member of the RMG Central Committee. Another third of the TLC membership had been on the periphery of the RMG, attending its study classes and other activities.

The TLC seeks to establish itself as the clear pole of authentic Trotskyism in Canada—through exemplary work in the trade unions, on the campuses and around important issues such as immigration, racism and legal defense, and by exposing the opportunist tendencies which masquerade as "Trotskyists," particularly the RMG and the League for Socialist Action (LSA).

The stabilization of the TLC as a fighting propaganda group (laying the basis for its transformation into the nucleus of the vanguard party in Canada) will require sharp polemical struggles against the ostensibly Marxist tendencies. The origins of the TLC itself lay in just such a process.

Origin of the RMG

In 1971-72 a left opposition crystallized in the LSA, at that time the only

Canadian affiliate of the Usec and for many years the only visible self-styled Trotskyist organization in Canada. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) came into existence in part as a left reaction against the LSA's accelerated adaptation to Canadian nationalism, feminism and the social-democratic New Democratic Party, and in part as a result of the attraction exerted by the "revolutionary" posturing of the LSA's factional opponents within the Usec.

Seeking a leftist alternative to the LSA's reformism, the RCT turned to what is now known as the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the Usec on a largely impressionistic basis. Subjected in its formative stages to ferocious and hysterical bureaucratic repression by the LSA leadership, the RCT sought allies on the negative basis of hostility to the LSA's class-collaborationist "mass campaign" politics, rejection of the LSA's tailism toward the NDP, and even cliquist antagonism toward the LSA's "regime."

The RCT never felt obliged to examine the positions of tendencies outside the Usec; instead, it embraced the centrist politics of the Usec majority. With the expulsion/split of the RCT and its fusion with the Red Circle and Old Mole groupings, the RMG was founded in 1973. The group's attempt to "integrate" itself into the IMT was the starting point for its political degeneration and the erosion of its healthiest political impulses. Faction-ridden from its inception, the RMG proved incapable of seriously addressing the fundamental questions of program and strategy underlying its opposition to the LSA's reformism.

The RMG made no investigation of the Bolshevik heritage embodied in the early Comintern and Trotsky's Fourth International. Instead, it squabbled over the proper application of the IMT's revisionist politics to Canada. The RMG's first two years have been marked by futile and rather comic efforts to "locate," "crystallize," "politicize" and "penetrate" the elusive "broad vanguard" which the IMT

insists is in the process of emerging under the impact of the irresistible "new rise of world revolution."

The essence of this methodology is substitutionism—i.e., seeing forces other than the working class as the leading element in the revolution. The underlying method of the "new rise of world revolution" schema is objectivism—i.e., denial of the need for a politically self-conscious working class, embodied in a mass Leninist party, to intervene in the historical process.

Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

The Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) was formed in August 1974 as an indigenous left-wing oppositional tendency of the RMG. It waged a consistent struggle against the RMG's rightward drift and demanded an immediate split between the centrist IMT and the reformist wing of the Usec led by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and the LSA. The B-LT rejected the centrism of the IMT and called for a return to the program of Trotskyism. The focal points of this struggle were the necessity for international democratic centralism, for a serious communist intervention in the unions centering on caucuses based on the Transitional Program, and rejection of the IMT's Pabloist positions on key international questions: the IMT's political support for guerrilla warfare, its failure to call for political revolution in the Cuban and Indochinese deformed workers states, and its support for popular frontism.

At the March 1975 convention of the RMG, the B-LT was expelled on an explicitly political basis, proving that the RMG's "assimilation" of the IMT's methodology included not only its politics but its bureaucratic organizational practices as well.

With the expulsion of the B-LT, the CCiSt and B-LT began a period of joint work and discussion which revealed that

the programmatic congruity of the two organizations was complemented by a common assessment of the current tasks of revolutionary Trotskyists in Canada.

Vancouver Committee

In a parallel development, individuals from the campus and left milieus were recruited to the CCiSt in Vancouver. The Vancouver comrades energetically carried out exemplary work around issues such as the British Columbia strike wave and a campaign against deportations and the government's racist "Green Paper" on immigration. This work provoked polemics against the CCiSt in the papers of the Communist Party and the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour.

The conference adopted as a central task the early publication of a regular Canadian newspaper of the iSt. *Spartacist Canada* will initially have the character of a Canada-centered supplement to *Workers Vanguard*, expanding to meet the needs of the organization as it grows.

A central concern of the conference was transcending the Menshevik and New Leftist functioning of the RMG and LSA and re-establishing Bolshevik standards of professionalism in all aspects of the life of the revolutionary organization. The conference pledged to extend the TLC's interventions in trade-union, immigration and campus work. The continued tactic of revolutionary regroupment was recognized as vital to the continued development of the TLC.

The B-LT fusion and establishment of a Vancouver group represent a deepening of the iSt's roots in the Canadian political terrain and lay the basis for stabilizing an authentic Bolshevik propaganda league in Canada. Taking its place as a sympathizing section within the ranks of the international Spartacist tendency, the TLC has a heavy responsibility to the Canadian working class and to the re-forging of the Fourth International as the indispensable instrument of the world proletariat's coming victory. ■

On Tour for the "MFA-People Alliance":

I.S. Promotes Portuguese Syndicalists

EDITOR'S NOTE: We reprint below excerpts from a recent Spartacist League leaflet entitled "What Is the Proletarian Revolutionary Party?"

The only thing international about the International Socialists (IS) is its name. The IS' refusal to defend the Soviet Union (which it considers a "bureaucratic collectivist" class society) against imperialist attack is a capitulation before the imperialist bourgeoisie. It demonstrates a total incapacity to recognize the vital importance to the international working class of preserving the tremendous economic and social conquests of the October Revolution, which remain in force despite usurpation of political power by a bureaucratic caste.

The IS' anti-internationalism is also expressed in its Menshevik distortion of democratic centralism. Its slogan of "freedom of criticism" of the party line in public—more accurately translated as "do your own thing"—is embodied in the spectacle of British and American International Socialists taking divergent positions and even attacking each other in their press. This is in flat contradiction to the norms of the early Communist

International under Lenin (and of the Fourth International led by Trotsky) which was a centralized world party of socialist revolution.

The IS is not part of a disciplined international tendency, nor does it seek to build one. Its idea of internationalism is best exemplified by periodic gatherings sponsored by the French syndicalist-Trotskyoid Lutte Ouvrière. These circuits are attended by such disparate groups as the Spanish POUM, Italian Maoist-syndicalists, the lunatic NCLC (on at least one occasion) and the social-democratic IS duo. After roundly denouncing each other for a few hours, the participants return home to brag about their wide range of international contacts.

The IS' latest get-rich-quick scheme to recruit "real workers" centers on a phony "agitational" campaign of "impressive rallies." To kick things off it has organized a nationwide tour with a delegate of the "Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors" in Portugal. This tour is a perfect example of the hollowness of the IS' pretensions. It is an attempt to gain adherents on the basis of being the "best" (i.e., the most enthusiastic and uncritical) supporters of "the Portuguese

revolutionaries," much as the Socialist Workers Party sought to gain popularity in the early 1960's by tailing after Castro, the hero of the hour among petty-bourgeois radicals. But who are the Portuguese revolutionaries, and what are their policies?

The IS assigns the role of vanguard to the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), claiming that this group "is racing to become the mass revolutionary party that is desperately necessary" in Portugal (*Workers' Power* supplement, 4-17 September). The PRP began as a student-"New Leftist" hodgepodge coalescing in late 1973 with, according to the IS, a "revolutionary base line" consisting of "an amalgam of Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg, with some anarcho-syndicalist tendencies" (*International Socialism*, April 1975)...

Repeatedly denouncing "infighting" on the left and bemoaning "divisions in the working class" (interview with a PRP supporter in *Workers' Power*, 19 June-2 July)—divisions and conflict which are the inevitable result of political struggle for a correct revolutionary policy—the PRP sought to create "autonomous" workers organizations by calling the

"First National Congress in Favor of Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors" (CRTSM) last April. However, aside from a few delegates from workplaces where the PRP has a base, the "Congress" was almost exclusively made up of non-delegated supporters of the PRP. Although a second congress of the CRTSM was held in early August (attended by an observer from the international Spartacist tendency), the "revolutionary councils" remain little more than a front group for the PRP, and are considered as such by the rest of the Portuguese left.

The most dangerous aspect of the PRP's policy is its support (first veiled) for the "progressive sectors" of the MFA. In the summer of 1974, rather than denounce the bourgeois character of the MFA and warn the working class that despite its leftist demagoguery the military officer corps represents the class enemy, the PRP requested that "the MFA take a consistent position within the class struggle...and that it abandon the moderating 'centrism' which will inevitably lead to its own dissolution..." (*Revolução*, 19 July 1974). But all it took

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From Yalta to Helsinki...

(continued from page 6)

Axis armies and their various quisling regimes. The resistance was largely Stalinist-dominated and the most combative sectors of the workers were armed. The bourgeoisie rightly feared for its state, as the governmental apparatus had almost universally collaborated with the Nazis and was identified in the minds of the masses with the horrors of war and fascism. With the imminent collapse of Hitler, the building momentum of a proletarian upsurge promised to erupt into full-scale social revolution in a number of European countries.

So Churchill and Roosevelt had more on their minds at the beginning of 1945 than taking Berlin and defeating Japan. They were thinking about France, where Liberation in the latter half of 1944 involved not only the Normandy invasion but also the French working class, including a railway strike against the occupation forces. The armed resistance movement tried and executed thousands of Nazi collaborators as liberation committees sprang up to run municipalities. The region of Marseilles had already begun nationalizations.

Roosevelt and Churchill were also worried about Italy where Badoglio, the butcher of Ethiopia who had replaced Mussolini in a palace coup in 1943, could not contain the militant workers of the industrial cities of the North. Strikes wracked Torino and Milano, and the traditions of 1920 would be relived in 1945 with widespread factory occupations. This time tens of thousands of fascists were shot.

Churchill was particularly anxious about Greece where a large guerrilla movement led by the CP-dominated National Liberation Front (EAM) appeared to be on the verge of successfully defeating the Italian and German armies. But tragically for the Greek workers and peasants, Stalin had already agreed that they would belong to the British "sphere of influence." So as the Axis occupation armies collapsed, the British moved in to replace them. Later, after the EAM was defeated, Churchill would thank Stalin for keeping his part of the bargain:

"Stalin adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement of October and in all the long weeks of fighting the communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from Pravda or Izvestia."
—quoted in Ian Birchall, *Workers Against the Monolith*

The surrender of the EAM leadership coincided with the signing of the Yalta agreement.

Stalin kept his bargains elsewhere as well. In France the CP entered the DeGaulle government and disarmed the resistance organizations and militias. The Stalinist leadership used its influence in the trade unions to push for more productivity in the name of the government of "National Salvation," coining the slogan: "One State, One Army, One Police Force." Similarly in Italy, the CP offered to join the Badoglio government after the Soviet Union recognized it in 1944, thus effectively derailing the workers' struggle.

Potsdam: Dividing Germany

Despite Stalin's proven willingness to sell out revolutions, the Yalta conference could not ameliorate the fundamental class hostility between the Soviet Union and imperialism, a contradiction rooted in the antagonistic property forms. Nor could it remove the deeply embedded inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and Britain. By the Potsdam conference, held outside Berlin in July 1945, "Anglo-American Imperialism" had given way to U.S. A-bomb hegemony.

It was at Potsdam that the "cold war" began. It was here that the World War II "anti-fascist alliance" broke down and the victorious imperialist powers lined up against the Soviet Union. It was also at Potsdam that Germany was carved up by

the "Big Three" (with Truman now replacing Roosevelt).

Stalin did not fight for the unification of the German proletariat, potentially the most powerful revolutionary force in Europe. On the contrary, he fought to divide up the working class and to suck onerous reparations, including thousands of factories, from the industrial center of Europe. Like the Morgenthau Plan (eventually dropped by the U.S.), Stalin's plans for Germany aimed at reducing it to "a pastoral existence." All of the participants at Potsdam feared a revolutionary Germany.

As the *Militant*, newspaper of the then-revolutionary U.S. Socialist Workers Party, wrote on 24 February 1945:

"Their [i.e., the Big Three's] published plans for Germany are not solely designed to crush German militarism or to eliminate Germany as an industrial rival. They are primarily constructed to keep the German masses in chains in order to prevent them from overthrowing capitalism and establishing a workers republic on the ruins of Hitler's Reich. In their eyes a far greater danger than either Hitlerism or Junker militarism is Communism, which both Churchill and Stalin have already designated by its proper contemporary name of Trotskyism."

The criminal division of Germany not only struck a blow against proletarian revolution, thereby preparing the grounds for a new world war, but it also provided a propaganda theme for revanchist German nationalists. At the Helsinki conference it was divided Germany that occasioned the only public display of discord. When Erich Honecker, premier of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), stated that "inviolability of frontiers is the decisive point," the social-democratic chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Schmidt, retorted, "no nation in Europe is more keenly aware than the Germans of the dangers arising from the division of our continent" (*New York Times*, 31 July).

However much Stalin's epigones may dream of permanently locking up a division of Europe, seeking to contractually prohibit revolution and counterrevolution, in the final analysis two Europes are as impossible as the reconciliation of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Only a Trotskyist party can provide a revolutionary answer to the German question—for defense of the East German deformed workers state against imperialism, for political revolution in the GDR to oust the parasitic bureaucrats and social revolution in the West—thereby undercutting the reactionaries' calls for a capitalist reintegration of the divided nation.

As the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, has written:

"Despite its continuing topicality, the question of the German nation has been taken over by the reactionaries for their evil aims. The theme is hardly mentioned by the social democrats any more. The GDR bureaucracy meanwhile has enriched its betrayals of the working class with a new act. The 1974 GDR constitution dropped the concept of a 'German nation' and speaks of a 'socialist nation in the GDR.' It thereby clearly expressed its lack of a policy for the achievement of the unity of the German working class, since recognition of two German nations implies recognizing a division of the German proletariat...."

"Because of the firm integration of the GDR in the East bloc and of the Federal Republic of Germany in the capitalist economic and military alliances, a revolutionary rising would mean the massive destruction of 'peaceful coexistence' in its totality...."
—*Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 8, June 1975

It is the Trotskyists' call for revolutionary reunification in a soviet republic of Germany, not the Stalinists' pipe dream of "political détente" epitomized by the betrayals at Potsdam and Yalta, that points the way forward to proletarian revolution in Europe.

Bolshevism vs. Stalinism

The revolutionary Bolsheviks also sat at conference tables with the imperialists, but unlike the Stalinists who are responsi-

ble for Yalta and Potsdam they did not seek global peaceful coexistence with the class enemy. On the contrary, the party of Lenin and Trotsky saw diplomacy as a necessary extension of class war. They were at times forced to accept tactical retreats, as at Brest-Litovsk; at other times they took advantage of inter-imperialist rivalries to strike favorable trade agreements for their economically backward and isolated workers state, as at Genoa and Rapallo. But the Bolsheviks never traded the revolution.

Lenin and Trotsky engaged in diplomatic maneuvers, but they spoke the revolutionary truth to the workers of the world. Inscribed on their banner was the slogan, "Down with Secret Diplomacy," and in one of the first official acts of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks opened the tsar's secret archives to display the predatory deals that led to World War I. The Leninists of today must continue to uphold this program, demanding to know the contents of the secret talks between Ford and Brezhnev on Portugal!

Just as at the end of World War I the strangling of proletarian revolution by the imperialists and their social-democratic collaborators created the conditions for the rise of fascism and for World War II, Yalta and Potsdam provided the groundwork for World War III. The postwar diplomacy of Stalinism is not so much a record written in pen and ink as one drawn in the workers' blood. It is the diplomacy of betrayal. ■

Portuguese Syndicalists...

(continued from page 7)

was a single nod from one of the "progressive" generals for the PRP to abandon its centrism and line up solidly behind the MFA. When General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho announced at a press conference that he was not opposed to soldiers participating in the congress of the CRTSM, *Revolução* (8 May 1975) wrote warmly, "And we underline the courage of this soldier, who is always ready to advance, without fear."

Indeed, Carvalho has always been ready to advance without fear, *against the workers*. It was Carvalho who sent his Continental Operations Command (COPCON) troops against the TAP airline strikers and striking employees of the *Jornal do Comercio* in September 1974. It was Carvalho's COPCON that on November 4 of last year arrested the top leadership of the Maoist MRPP for attacking an office of the ultra-rightist



Militant

General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, head of elite COPCON strike force, jailer of Maoists and unionists, darling of the PRP and other "far left" groups in Portugal.

CDS party. This same "courageous soldier" on March 7 arrested the elected Maoist leaders of the Chemical Workers Union, and on May 29 ordered a massive dragnet jailing of 500 members of the MRPP, accusing them of being "counter-revolutionary" for opposing the MFA.

More recently, the PRP's inability to draw a clear class line against the demagogic leftist officers of the MFA was revealed in the formation of the so-called "revolutionary united front." This class-collaborationist coalition with several other leftist parties was explicitly committed to support for the government and policies of Premier General Vasco Gonçalves (see *WV* No. 76, 12 September). It also called for the creation of a front including the MFA and hailed the "COPCON document" as "the working basis for elaborating a revolutionary political program" (*Diário de Notícias*, 26 August). This "COPCON document" takes a "left" line in the recent wrangling among the top officers, calling for "establishing and recognizing village, factory, and neighborhood councils that will be organs through which the workers can make decisions to solve their own problems" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 15 September).

But who is to do the recognizing? For all its talk of "autonomous workers organizations," the PRP's support for the COPCON document (allegedly written by officers who support the PRP) comes down to repeated calls for the "alliance between the Armed Forces Movement and the people." Comrades, Gonçalves (whose last government you supported along with the Communist Party) continuously broke strikes, jailed unionists and leftists and suppressed the freedom of the press for those who sharply attacked the MFA. The MFA itself is now preparing to demonstrate to all (including even the IS and PRP) its bonapartist bourgeois character by brutally repressing soldiers' committees and carrying out a massive purge of leftist elements within the armed forces. Here is the "MFA-People Alliance" in practice!

If the IS sees in the PRP a kindred spirit, this is no doubt because of the latter's theoretical eclecticism, its organizational Menshevism (the PRP supporter interviewed in *Workers' Power* referred to his organization as "more like a federation" than a cadre organization, adding "we admit all militants immediately"), and its capitulation to whatever is popular at the moment. The American IS has had its share of illusions about the MFA, as has the PRP. In *Workers' Power* of 27 March-9 April it made the absurd claim that Portugal differed from Chile in that a wing of the military had decisively broken from capitalism: "It will not intervene to save the rule of capital, as in Chile—rather it is committed, along with the CP, to strip away the property, and profits and the power of the Portuguese capitalists." Characteristically, the British IS denounced, in a friendly social-democratic sort of way, its American cousins' view of the CP, pointing out that several preconditions for a Stalinist takeover in Portugal are absent, but said nothing about its own views on the role of the MFA (see *International Socialism*, May 1975). Now, however, it hails the "historic united front of revolutionary and other political parties" in Portugal, in particular the participation in it by the CP, and opines that it could lead to "real workers' councils through which the working class could take state power..." (*Socialist Worker*, 30 August).

Despite their differences, both British and American International Socialists are attempting to capitalize on a vague petty-bourgeois radical sympathy for "the Portuguese Revolution." This means adaptation, not only to the Castroist-syndicalist PRP but also to the Stalinist CP and the demagogic "left" officers of the MFA. A Marxist vanguard, in contrast, would organize a Trotskyist party to steel the working class against the bourgeoisie (including the MFA) and the treacherous reformist parties.

15 September 1975

WORKERS VANGUARD

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

been bound over to a Suffolk County grand jury. Given the August 13 threat of District Attorney Garrett H. Byrne that CAR, PL "outside agitators" would be brought before a grand jury, the Suffolk County hearings could well be the start of a massive witchhunt against anti-racist forces. The blatant bias of police arrests makes clear once again that no trust can be placed in the "protection" provided by the bourgeois state. The Spartacist League reaffirms the call it has been singular in championing throughout the last year in Boston: build integrated defense guards based on the unions and black organizations to ensure the safety of bused school children and black people.

Although the Spartacist League opposes the provocative and stupid adven-

turism of PL, CAR, which has consistently substituted its limited forces for a genuine and necessary mobilization by the labor movement and black community to defend the buses and endangered black school children, we vehemently denounce this racist repression. We extend solidarity to all the victimized protesting and anti-racist militants, including members of the Greater Boston People Against Racism and the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee who were among those arrested defending black families at the Maverick Square housing project in East Boston. Drop all the charges!

The Boston School Committee, having lost its anti-busing appeals in the courts, has resorted to foot-dragging and deliberate obstruction. Over the summer, Judge Garrity was forced to take up hundreds of details of school administration, issuing scores of orders on matters normally handled by the School Committee. One

of the Committee's ploys was to provoke the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) into a strike with twofold intent: to throttle the teachers economically and delay or halt Phase Two. Having settled with other unions, the School Committee offered an insulting 6 percent pay raise minus the cost of last year's arbitration award—which they peg at \$7.1 million, largely wiping out last year's wage increase—plus demanding additional hours at work.

At a mass meeting September 2, the BTU leadership responded to these attacks by urging a strike delay until September 22. While justifying the delay by claiming that they do not want to upset the opening of school and busing, the union leadership's real hope is to dump the negotiations into Judge Garrity's lap. Garrity has already been formally asked by the State Board of Education and a group of black parents to force the School Committee to forestall the strike and the BTU leadership is quite eager for a court-ordered settlement, avoiding the difficult task of a militant strike.

In its latest meeting with BTU representatives, the School Board escalated its demands, insisting on dropping class size restrictions and eliminating sick leave and other benefits won by school aides last year. They also instructed the payroll department to inform the union that first paychecks due September 16 would not be ready till the 23rd, one day after the BTU strike deadline!

The reformist and evasive maneuvers of the BTU tops have been exposed by a militant teacher, Bob Pearlman, who advanced a motion at the September 2 meeting calling for an aggressive strike policy, coupled with concrete steps to mobilize support from the black community. He called for an immediate strike, and for the union to rescind its stand for a one-year delay of Phase Two, support immediate implementation of busing including the suburbs, and take the lead in organizing an integrated defense guard drawn from the unions and the black community.

In contrast, a leaflet signed "Concerned Teachers," supported by the Maoist October League, drew the logical conclusion to the bureaucracy's do-nothing evasions and argued against any strike at all, saying "we call for continued negotiations up to and including arbitration!"

The most grotesque event surrounding Phase Two and a possible strike was a tiny march by the Revolutionary Union-led "Committee for a Decent Education" (CDE) on September 8. Through this group the cravenly opportunist Maoist RU has been seeking a niche as the "left wing" of the racist, anti-busing mobilization. On the first day of Phase Two, the CDE marched on Judge Garrity's courtroom calling for a strike to "shut down the schools" and "stop Phase Two." In a chant that would have warmed the hearts of Nazis and the Klan, they brayed "From Hyde Park to Mattapan, stop Phase Two any way we can." A bilingual flyer put out by the CDE called for a "strike—a fighting citywide movement that will shut down the schools until we've stopped Phase Two...." In other words, the RU/CDE is calling for a repeat in Boston of Louisville's racist anti-busing riots last weekend in which many backward white workers stayed away from work as part of a reactionary mobilization against school integration! Moreover, the CDE leaflet did not mention a *single* demand for gains by the teachers! The RU's bellycrawling pursuit of influence with the racists will long be remembered and despised by all class-conscious workers.

- For immediate implementation of busing—include the suburbs!
- Mobilize labor to defend the buses! For integrated defense guards based on the unions and black organizations! No reliance on police, troops, marshals and courts!
- For a BTU strike to defend the just economic demands of the teachers! The BTU must drop its anti-busing position and demand immediate implementation of busing!■

Chicago Teachers...

(continued from page 2)

news coverage in the local media, attempts to whip up a student and community furor against the two strikes have thus far met with dismal results. Even Jesse Jackson's notoriously anti-labor "black capitalist" Operation PUSH has come out in support of the striking teachers.

The key need at this moment is to link the strikes of the public school and community college teachers, and for the teachers to take the lead in fighting against discriminatory hiring/upgrading, de facto racial segregation, and substandard facilities and staffing in minority-area schools. A Spartacist League leaflet distributed to thousands of the striking teachers earlier in the week underlined the key demands:

"All injunctions, fines, and criminal charges against officers of the CCCTU must be dropped immediately. The entire Chicago-area labor movement must be prepared to take action to guarantee this."

Although Swenson claims support and financial backing from the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL), neither he, CTU President Robert Healey nor the CFL have yet taken any serious steps toward mobilizing labor action on behalf of the teachers. Overwhelming rank-and-file support for the strikes was demonstrated by the turnout of 5,000 teachers and supporters at a CTU rally at the Board of Education offices Wednesday, after which 600 of the demonstrators gathered outside Cook County jail to demand Swenson's release.

Even a partial mobilization of Chicago's powerful industrial unions (the UAW and Steelworkers among others) could assure Swenson's immediate freedom and a speedy strike settlement. However, an official of the Steelworkers is heading up the strikebreakers from his position as president of the Board of Education! Yesterday the CCCTU retreated by paying the outrageous \$45,000 court-ordered punitive fine (which continues to mount), and the CTU's Healey looks to Democratic Mayor Daley to arbitrate a settlement. Daley's answer to Healey, after a week of nimble equivocation, was forthcoming yesterday: go back to work, accept the Board's offer and "I'm sure the [state] legislature will do all it can to help" (*Chicago Tribune*, 12 September). It is not Daley's hypocritical promises but only labor's strength that will free Swenson and achieve strike victories.■

Greetings to Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

Dear comrades,

The newly founded Trotskyist League of Canada greets with great enthusiasm the weekly *Workers Vanguard*. The transformation from bi-weekly to weekly constitutes a very important step forward in the continuing growth of our international tendency. In the past the bi-weekly *Workers Vanguard* was central to the work of our predecessor organization, the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency and of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled left opposition of the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The weekly *Workers Vanguard* will be invaluable to the work in Canada and the source of inspiration for us in the launching of *Spartacist Canada*. Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Comradely greetings,
Trotskyist League of Canada

SL/US:

Welcome to the weekly *Workers Vanguard*!!

Congratulations to the comrades of the Spartacist League of the United States who have made it possible!!

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, which has always used *Workers Vanguard* as a vital supplement to its own press, looks forward to the more effective revolutionary tool that will be available to us in a weekly. But *Workers Vanguard's* primary purpose is in consolidating the United States section of the international Spartacist tendency as the nucleus of a Leninist vanguard party. It is as a crucial step in the development of the United States section that the commencement of weekly publication is a contribution towards the establishment of the International Trotskyist League and towards the reforging of the Fourth International.

Spartacist League of
Australia and New Zealand.

2 September 1975

For the Spartacus Youth League building the weekly *Workers Vanguard* represents an immediate responsibility as well as an exciting anticipation of the increased capacity of our common movement to lead and shape social struggles. To those students and youth who are disgusted by this rotting capitalist society which can offer them no task worth their expenditure of heart, mind and energy, the SYL offers the program of revolutionary Marxism and the vision of a communist future that are embodied in the pages of the finest and only Trotskyist weekly in the world. Our enthusiastic greetings therefore convey an undaunted determination to go forward with the weekly *Workers Vanguard*!

Spartacus Youth League
Youth section of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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Portugal...

(continued from page 12)

to prevent pictures from being taken, since most of the soldiers came without permission and even against orders. Those at Viana de Castelo were locked in and had to crawl over the barracks wall in order to get to the demonstration. The marchers occasionally yelled out slogans against the rightist officers: "Get the fascists out of the barracks!"; "Down with Charais, apprentice Pinochet!"; and "Portugal will not be the Chile of Europe!" When a note from Army Chief of Staff General Carlos Fábão condemning the demonstration as "counterrevolutionary" was read to the crowd, the soldiers shouted back "Down with Fábão!"

That same evening a group of leftist officers met with workers in Barjeiro, an industrial suburb across the Tagus River from Lisbon. "Workers chanted that they wanted arms to 'defend the revolution.' Communist-controlled neighborhood committees in the southern Algarve region also issued statements requesting guns from the government" said a UPI dispatch (11 September). It added, "officers did not respond to workers' demands for weapons, however." At the Porto demonstration one speaker reportedly said that leftist military units would start giving guns to civilians. Two days later, the Lisbon paper *A Luta* reported that in recent weeks 1,000 automatic rifles had disappeared from armories controlled by left-wing troops.

The Communist Party (CP) leadership is desperately grasping at the last threads of influence and has agreed to let its

members serve in a new cabinet "as individuals." However, CP tops are having real difficulties keeping the membership locked into a popular front with sectors of the bourgeoisie. According to the *New York Times* (12 September), the CP

"contested the Popular Democrats' right to be in a Cabinet, accusing the centrist party of being 'against the revolution' and of having fomented the attacks against Communist headquarters in the north of Portugal in the last few weeks.

"The Communists appeared to be having a problem with their own militants as well as with rival groups on the left, which have accused them of betrayal. The weekly *Tempo* said today there was a crisis of leadership, with the secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, being challenged by some of his lieutenants."

Apparently, the ranks of the CP are not happy about being in a government with a bourgeois party whose local leaders only a few weeks ago were urging lynch mobs to "kill the Communists"! Yet it is precisely the policy of conciliating those who will tomorrow be the butchers and hangmen for a counterrevolutionary crackdown that is the essence of the Stalinists' class-collaborationist policies.

Several weeks ago, after the burning of CP offices had subsided and the struggle shifted to a seemingly peaceful tug-of-war among the top generals and admirals, we warned that in order to restore military discipline in the armed forces, the heart of the bourgeois state, a massive purge of leftist officers and crackdown against the soldiers would have to be instituted, no matter how much the pro-NATO commanders talked of their devotion to the socialist cause. Now this purge crackdown is being carried out.

We also warned that

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

recallable at any time, in order to mobilize the entire working class in defense of its organizations. Also necessary is the arming of the proletariat and the formation of workers militias, as well as the splitting of the army by forming soldiers committees in opposition to the command structure of the bourgeois military.

"A command center, too, is needed for such a proletarian resistance and must be formed by unifying the workers councils, soldiers councils, self-defense groups into a national soviet, the basis for a workers government."

WT No. 75, 29 August 1975

But while soldiers committees are now being formed, while workers are now demanding arms, none of the ostensibly revolutionary parties in Portugal has proved capable of giving the Marxist leadership necessary to form soviets and lead them to power. The reason is clear: although the entire "far left" rejected the reformist Communist Party's open strike-breaking, virtually every one of the various left social-democratic, Maoist, syndicalist, anarchist and self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups had illusions in the left-posturing officers of the bourgeois MFA.

Thus when a crisis point was approaching in late August the "far left" in Portugal failed to fight for a unitary democratic representative organ of workers power (a soviet) independent of the MFA, instead going along with a class-collaborationist coalition to give political support to Gonçalves!

The August 25 communiqué signed by the various groups calls for support to Gonçalves' government program (including a call for an austerity program aimed at suppressing the workers' economic struggles), to the so-called "COPCON document" (calling for local workers councils "recognized" by the MFA, and for strengthening the "MFA-People Alliance"), to the Gonçalves government (since ousted) and to the formation of a future coalition including the Armed Forces Movement. Among the members of this treacherous class-collaborationist

front was the Internationalist Communist League (ICI), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USeC) of Ernest Mandel & Co.

The ICI sought to cover its tracks by simultaneously issuing a separate press statement disagreeing with some of the key points of the communiqué it had just signed (see *WT* No. 76, 12 September), notably the call for inclusion of the MFA which it considered "not a revolutionary force." Now the USeC, too, has expressed itself on the "revolutionary popular united front" and has added a few more criticisms of the document: it is not specific enough on government policy, in effect it supports the government, doesn't approach the Socialist Party (SP), it serves the CP's aim of pressuring compromises from the rightists, etc. (*Intercontinental Press*, 15 September).

But nowhere does this resolution (or the statement by Ernest Mandel, or another by the French LCR) criticize the action of the USeC's Portuguese sympathizing section in joining this rotten front and signing the August 25 communiqué!

Moreover, in a recent attack on the American Socialist Workers Party's craven apologies for the Portuguese SP and the latter's fronting for a reactionary anti-communist mobilization, the three main leaders of the USeC majority—Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan and Ernest Mandel—explicitly pave the way for their Portuguese comrades' adherence to the August 25 prop to the popular front. Throughout their document, Mandel/Maitan/Frank sharply separate the struggle to build soviets from the fight for working-class political independence. Thus:

"We have uncompromising political differences with the CP and SP; nevertheless, we are prepared to build soviets with them, without demanding that they first abandon their faith in bourgeois democracy (SP) or in the one-party, bureaucratic system (the CP). Shouldn't we be prepared to build with the comrades of

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19 September-16 October 1975

AREA QUOTAS

Area	Points
San Francisco	110
Berkeley/Oakland	200
Boston	135
Chicago	200
Cleveland	140
Detroit	130
Houston	70
Los Angeles	200
New York City	400
Philadelphia	120
Madison	60
Ithaca	40
Bloomington	35
At Large	50
TOTAL	1890

the PRP-BR, MES, LUAR, or UDP, without first demanding that they abandon their various creeds—support to the MFA...."

Intercontinental Press, 8 September 1975

The LCI managed to get together at least with the CP, PRP, MES and LUAR (among the signers of the August 25 communiqué), but it was not a soviet that they built! On the contrary, the ostensibly Trotskyist LCI simply capitulated to the Stalinists and their illusions in the "progressive sectors of the MFA." The LCI's adherence to the "revolutionary popular united front" is a monument to the USec's Pabloist liquidationism, and a proof that despite occasional adventurist forays the capitulationist logic of Pabloism leads straight into the arms of the reformists and the bourgeoisie. ■

Bay Area Teachers...

(continued from page 2)

stamps and unemployment benefits. The teachers have not attempted to develop joint action and mutual support, in particular with the striking firemen. The latter have been out since late August, have threatened to call a sympathy strike of all the city unions and today escalated their tactics (with Teamsters' sanction) to a militant attempt at blocking all truck deliveries to the city.

Finally, by simply demanding the restoration of the April 15 agreement, the unions have resigned themselves in advance to a relative defeat, i.e., to accepting nothing more than the status quo.

The BFT and BTA leaderships, bowing to teacher "professionalism," have substituted a narrow "community" approach for a strategy of labor solidarity. Although it is absolutely necessary to mobilize parents and students to support the strike and to raise demands for quality education, the teachers cut themselves off from the real source of social power—the labor movement—if they *only* appeal to Berkeley's liberal community.

Evidence of this weakness was abundant at a strike rally held on September 9. The BFT and BTA presidents limited their remarks to the usual appeals for community solidarity. Jeff Mackler, executive secretary of the Hayward AFT and occasional writer for the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant*, said that everyone should "stick together" but avoided any mention of broader trade-union strategy or even of the vital issue of public employees' right to strike.

As if to underscore the conscious decision to limit this demonstration to a liberal community pep rally, marshals guarding the stage (including prominent SWPer Clifton DeBerry) refused to let a class-struggle militant and executive board member from ILWU Local 6 read a statement of solidarity. The brother, Bob Mandel, told *WV* that he had been invited to speak by the BFT but was informed at the rally that his statement had to be read by someone else because of a shortage of time. His statement, calling for labor solidarity with the teachers, the right of all public employees to strike and the need for a workers government and planned economy, mysteriously disappeared and was never read by the rally organizers.

A Spartacist League banner reading "Victory to the Teachers' and Firemen's Strikes! For a Workers' Committee to Investigate the City Books! For a Planned Economy under a Workers' Government!" stood in sharp contrast to the vague "togetherness" rhetoric and sub-reformism of the rally. It drew open appreciation from several militants including a striking fireman who complained that everyone else was ignoring the firemen's strike. The Spartacus Youth League is conducting strike-support activities aimed at the city's high school students. ■

SWP Tops Provoke USec Majority on Portugal

The recent National Conference of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was generally a pretty routine affair. Some 1,600 people, including 218 elected delegates and nearly 300 "guests," attended the gathering, held in August in the Midwest. Among the guests was the notorious Tim Wohlforth, who several months ago was dumped by the Workers League which he had created in his own unpleasant image. All the documents presented by the SWP leadership were adopted without opposition (there was one abstention on the Political Resolution).

The absence of much controversy can be attributed in large measure to the SWP leadership's prior application of a time-honored practice of bureaucratic organizations: the political purge. In July of 1974 the supporters of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) were informed by the SWP that they had constituted themselves as a "rival political party" and thus placed the IT's 114 supporters outside the SWP (see *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974).

The massive purge appeared to place a question mark over the continued "fraternal solidarity" of the SWP with the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), as the IT aligned itself with the USec's International Majority Tendency (IMT) against the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" led by the SWP. The IT expulsion was one more demonstration that supporters of the reformist SWP and adherents of the centrist IMT cannot comfortably coexist within the same national section. However, the fragile rotten bloc which constitutes the USec survived the SWP's blatantly provocative expulsion of the IT.

With the "disloyal" IT out of the way, the role of "loyal opposition" fell to longtime SWPer Milton Alvin. It was a rather lonely job. The little support he got came from the remnant of the IT which followed the IMT's instruction to accept the politically suicidal course of individual "reintegration" into the SWP. The fragmentation of the IT was evidenced by its greatly reduced numbers. Particularly notable was the absence at the convention of former IT Coordinator Bill Massey, who has discovered the "new mass vanguard" in the crypto-Maoist sect of Sam Marcy, the Workers World Party.

Alvin's main programmatic difference was opposition to the SWP's call for preferential layoffs (i.e., accepting mass layoffs and junking the seniority system in order to preserve jobs for a few minority-group and women workers). He proposed as an alternative the transitional demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Although Alvin's assertion that the SWP has undergone "a process of abandoning or changing the Trotskyist tradition, program and orientation" elicited a heated response in the pre-conference written discussion, his document ("Tradition, Orientation and Program," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, No. 6, June 1975) put forward its particular criticisms in an extremely non-factional tone.

The closest Alvin came to a general critique was the somewhat wistful observation that "there are far too many articles in the *Militant* that are strictly news reports and make no demands. This is a mistake; we should advance transitional slogans to a far greater extent than we have been." A particularly vituperative response from Tom Kerry prompted Alvin to object, "the spectacle of two old men in the party engaged in such a dispute is not a pretty one" ("Tom Kerry's Witch-

hunt," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, No. 11, July 1975).

A "turn" to the labor movement was projected by the SWP leadership. In his "Party Tasks and Perspectives Report" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975), Barry Sheppard proclaimed that "our work in the unions is going to help lay the programmatic foundations for the future development of a class-struggle left wing in the union movement." Sound good? It isn't. Should the SWP succeed, in spite of the difficult economic situation, in getting a foothold in the unions, it will quickly provide a refutation of the workerist view that immersion in the workers movement generates a correct program.

The SWP envisages drawing workers into the reformist campaigns that have become the SWP stock in trade, and singles out Miller of the Mine Workers and Sadlowski in the Steelworkers as "developments in the unions that we want to keep an eye on." The purpose of the SWP's "proletarian orientation" is to become the advisor and left cover for out-bureaucrats, thereby achieving some real social weight to sell to the bourgeoisie.

The one hotly disputed question at the Conference was Portugal, and it was here that the smoldering tensions within the USec came to the surface. The competing wings of the USec have flatly divergent positions on Portugal. An IMT spokesman, member of the USec's English group, presented the IMT position, which sees a revolutionary process as taking place within the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The SWP is distinguished by an utterly social-democratic line which poses the "preservation of democratic rights" as a fig leaf for support to outright reactionary elements.

Aside from the small English delegation, there were virtually no representatives of the IMT present at the Conference. The Portugal discussion illuminated the reason why. The IMT spokesman protested the presence at the Conference of a leading member of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)—a competitor to the USec's own group in France! This was the first the delegates heard of the presence of an OCI observer. (We have already analyzed for our readers the close parallelism between the SWP and OCI positions on Portugal: see *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975.) In retaliation, the USec's French section boycotted the SWP Conference entirely.

The reporter for the SWP position on Portugal noted that the two wings of the USec "would have been on different sides of the barricades." Leading SWPers took a hard line in the discussion: Tom Kerry stated that the differences between the factions are twenty years old; Joe Hansen posed the rhetorical question of whether the IMT is "soft on Stalinism." The IMT speaker in turn suggested that the SWP was "soft on social democracy."

This aggressively abrasive tone was pursued throughout the Conference. In his "World Movement Report" SWP head Jack Barnes characterized the IMT as "infantile leftists" and "petty-bourgeois radicals." Hansen's talk on "James P. Cannon, the Internationalist" was also used as a forum for veiled attacks on the IMT.

An interesting postscript to the SWP Conference is a document dated 30 August 1975 and addressed to the SWP by Myra Tanner Weiss and Murray Weiss. These once-prominent former SWPers note that the SWP has placed itself "on the wrong side" in Portugal.

They state, "Just at the point when the classes in Portugal are polarizing for an impending civil war, with the SP clearly giving left cover to the fascists and imperialists, you talk of bourgeois electoral processes as if they were related to democracy...."

What is important about this document is not that it puts forward a correct position. In fact, it does not put forward a correct position, but rather a politically liquidationist position which describes the MFA as "the revolutionary movement in the army" and the views of Portuguese Communist Party head Alvaro Cunhal as "essentially Marxist-Leninist, and, yes, Trotskyist." To be precise, the Weiss document is perfectly Pabloist, and horribly reminiscent of the SWP of the early 1960's. Thus:

"One may not know from so far who these revolutionists in the MFA are and what their evolution has been. And one cannot anticipate therefore what they will do next. But one can react to what they have done—that is, hail their revolutionary acts. One is reminded with what joy we witnessed Castro's victorious fight against Batista, although not one of us could predict that he would go on to throw out the imperialists and socialize Cuba, effecting the first incursion of proletarian revolution in the Western hemisphere. In destroying Batista, Castro had begun a process that necessarily impelled him to socialism—if he remained a revolutionary. And he did."

And later on:

"...And most recently, the Communists of Vietnam have won their fight. True, the struggle would have been far less costly without Stalinism, with a clear, scientific, and revolutionary theory. But the objective need for world socialism is expressed precisely in the fact that with all the mistakes that were made and will be made the revolution can still triumph."

The Weiss document is an excellent reference point for marking the degeneration of the SWP. For in the early 1960's, Murray and Myra Weiss were part of a rightist pole within the SWP. They now oppose the SWP from the left—not because they have moved left, but because the SWP has moved past them, through centrism to reformism. The qualitative transformation was accomplished years ago; the recent National Conference only served to deepen and consolidate the hardened reformist appetite of the ex-Trotskyist SWP. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

MFA Cracks Down on Soldiers' Committees

Portuguese Workers Demand Arms

SEPTEMBER 15—Last week saw a marked shift to the left among the most combative sectors of the working masses in Portugal. As the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) turned right, preparing a sharp crackdown against leftist soldiers, the false unity of the "MFA-People Alliance" began to break down. Illusions of a socialist revolution carried out by the officer corps of the capitalist army are being dashed. For the first time, soldiers are organizing on a mass scale independently of the MFA and against the military command structure. And from workers up and down the country comes the demand, "Give us guns to defend the revolution!"

At the first meeting of the "Supreme Revolutionary Council" (the leading body of the MFA) since it was "restructured" by eliminating former premier General Vasco Gonçalves and several of his supporters, the new top officers moved to "tighten military discipline." A decree was issued forbidding news media to publish political statements by individuals or units in the military except for members of the Council and the chiefs of staff. Partly intended to silence General Gonçalves, its main aim was to impose a blackout on any information about unrest among the soldiers and sailors.

When, in August, division commanders openly threatened insubordination and even a coup against Gonçalves, their ranks began to speak back. "One could see a captain, a delegate in the MFA Assembly, reply in opposition to his superior: soldiers from Angola contest the arrival of a delegation from Luanda to participate in the assembly of the army;

aviation units protest the positions of their hierarchical superior..." reported *Le Monde* (10 September). Although the recently instituted "Democratic Unit Assemblies" are purely advisory, the idea of letting the soldiers vote on their orders was so disruptive to bourgeois military discipline that one commander, General Franco Charais who heads the central region, kept his troops constantly on maneuvers for days in order to prevent them from meeting!

Soldiers march in "far left" demonstration in Lisbon last June.



But the Lisbon press has unanimously rejected the censorship decree and the soldiers and sailors continue to organize. The most dramatic evidence of unrest in the ranks came at a demonstration against the new military rulers held in Porto on the night of September 10. At the head of a march of thousands were 1,500 uniformed soldiers in military formation behind a red banner with the slogan "Soldiers United Will Win." Among the marchers were troops from as

far away as Tancos and Coimbra in the central military region, and even a delegation from the Light Artillery Regiment No. 1 (RAL-1), which guards the approach to the capital against a "March on Lisbon" by reactionaries from the conservative northern region.

The soldiers demonstrated in silence, occasionally broken by the whistled refrain of the *Internationale*. A mobile squad of monitors circled the formation

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Boston School Committee Obstructs Integration, Attacks Teachers



Boston cops marching through the streets of "Southie" last week.

WV Photo

SEPTEMBER 14—Phase Two busing proceeded this week in Boston with the tense and tenuous "peace" of an armed camp. A massive show of state power (2,000 state and local police, 100 Federal marshals and 50 FBI agents, backed by additional federal personnel) kept "law and order" during the daytime. But a sizeable white school boycott continued, supplemented by a flight to private and Catholic schools, with school attendance figures creeping upward slowly as racist white youth skirmished almost nightly with police.

Charleston and South Boston were the scenes of most conflict. On several nights young whites gathered, setting street bonfires and erecting small barricades to lure out police, who were then stoned. Warren-Prescott School in Charleston was firebombed Monday night and firemen at the scene were attacked. That same evening, John F. Kennedy's birthplace in Brookline was set afire, with the motive scrawled on the sidewalk: "Bus

Teddy." Tuesday saw the only organized anti-busing activity, when Louise Day Hicks and a Powderkeg (local anti-busing group) spokesman led a march of several hundred mothers through the Charleston neighborhood, chanting the "Hail Mary."

While police hauled in their attackers in ones and twos—largely to protect themselves—the real wrath of legal might has been reserved, as could be expected, for pro-busing forces. The Committee Against Racism (CAR) and its main sponsor Progressive Labor Party (PL) have been subjected to rightist attacks and frame-up arrests all summer. Monday's 80 arrests included 74 CAR supporters seeking to breach police lines to welcome blacks being bused to South Boston High School. The 74 will be brought to trial in several groups beginning September 29-October 3 in South Boston District Court. Of 17 CAR members arrested earlier in a police break-in of their office July 23, five have

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