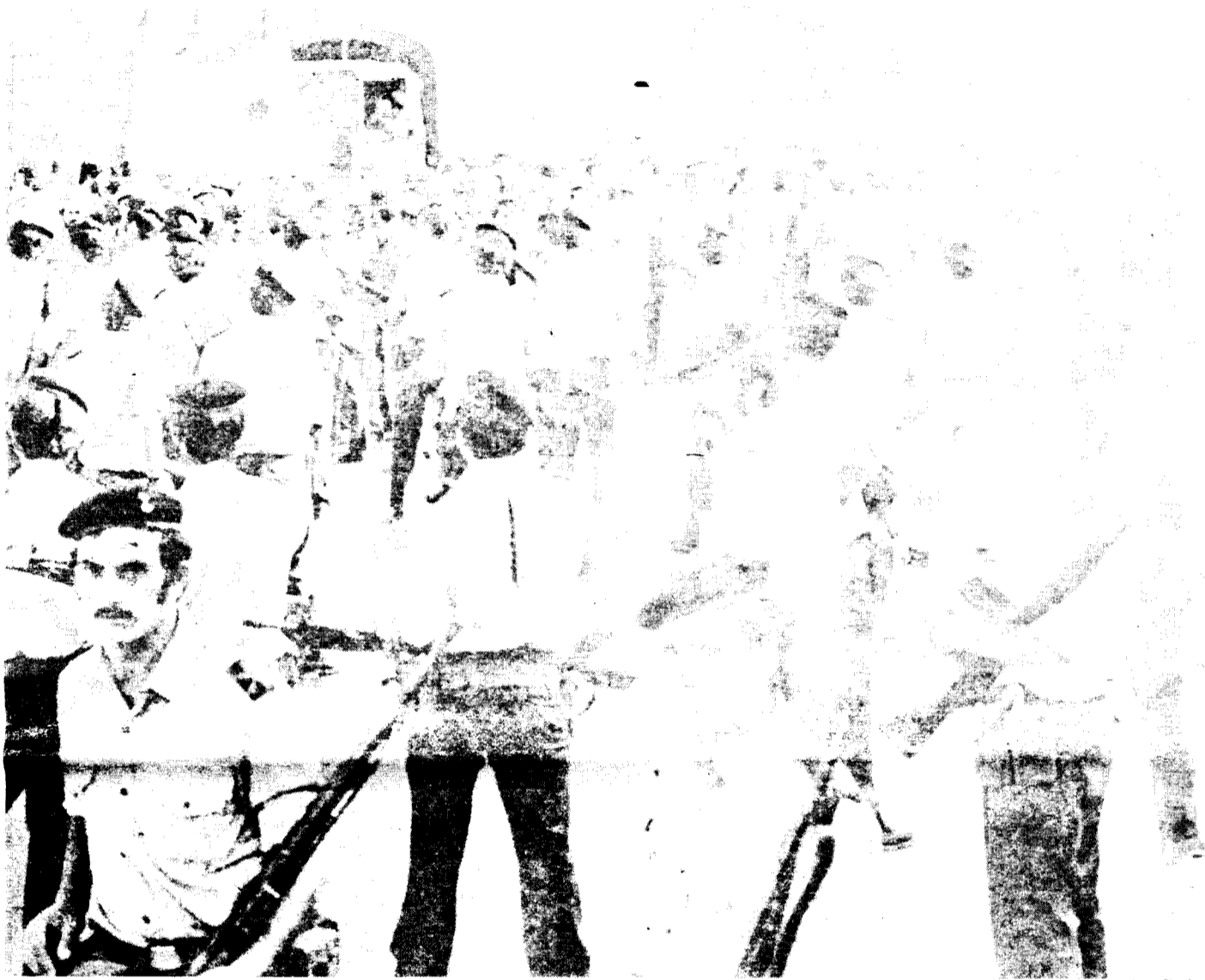


Portugal at the Crossroads



Lisnave shipyard workers, September 12: "We are not with the government when it promulgates anti-working-class laws, restricting the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation."

OCTOBER 4—In recent days events in Portugal have escalated to a crisis level. A fragile truce between younger officers of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and their senior, more conservative commanders has broken down. On September 30 General Antônio de Spínola—symbol of Portugal's half-way liberation from the severe repression of the Salazarist dictatorship—resigned his post as president, warning that the country was headed toward political and economic chaos and "new forms of slavery" from the left. Shortly before his resignation Spínola reportedly attempted to seize power in a palace coup, by declaring a "state of siege" and dismissing the military-leftist government.

Also forced to resign were Generals Galva de Melo, Silveiro Marques and Diego Neto, leaving only three members of the Junta of National Salvation, a body of senior officers chosen by the MFA, to sit as a second government. General Francisco da Costa Gomes became the new president and was acclaimed by the Communist Party and leftist public opinion, despite the fact that he has long been a supporter and close associate of Spínola.

The generals' resignations followed on the heels of an abortive right-wing demonstration. On September 10 Spínola had called on the "silent majority" to "awaken and to defend itself against extremist totalitarianism which fights in the shadows." A number of conservative groups responded to the call and announced a rally on September 28 in front of the presidential palace.

The demonstration was prevented when leftists set up roadblocks around

continued on page 8

For A Workers Party!

Ford/Rockefeller Threaten Mass Unemployment

During Gerald Ford's first 50 days in office, the U.S. economy has deteriorated at an accelerating pace. Both inflation and unemployment shot up dramatically last month, while stock prices continue to plummet.

On the other hand, Ford's "economic summits" have revealed only that none of the various interest groups and bourgeois economists knows what to do about the economic crisis. The new administration is banking on budget austerity as the solution, while the Democrats and Republicans alike voted for the "advisory" cost-of-living council, the first stage of wage-price controls.

The extent of the crisis and the clear inability of bourgeois politicians to remedy it underscore the urgent need for a workers party to oppose the twin parties of capital. Yet George Meany's reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucracy is scrambling to deflect widespread disgust with Nixon and Watergate into the meaningless campaign to ob-

tain a "veto-proof" (two-thirds Democratic) Congress.

Economy Goes to Hell

The dramatic 3.9 percent rise in wholesale prices during August combined with an alarming increase in unemployment to 5.8 percent of the work force, points to the bleak prospects in store for the American working class—runaway inflation in a slumping economy. Moreover the fall in stock values, amounting to a decline of 45 percent since January 1973, indicates that many capitalists are feeling acutely the pincers of the current slump-inflation. Ford is using the common political ruse of attempting to foist the blame for current hard times on the "foreigners"—in this case the oil-producing Arab states.

The tremendous (400 percent) rise in the price of crude oil has, in fact, transferred huge amounts

continued on page 10



NEW YORK TIMES, MIKE LIEN

Ford and Meany, in the Oval Office.

Racist Attacks on Black School Children, Columbia Point

Reactionaries Mobilize in Boston

BOSTON, October 5—The campaign of racist intimidation against black people in Boston continues to mount. Mob violence that marked the first week of court-ordered school busing could break out again at any moment. An indication of the seriousness of the situation was the mass demonstration by 5,000 opponents of busing and school integration in South Boston yesterday. In contrast, no demonstration supporting the embattled black school children has drawn more than 500 supporters.

Symbolic of the frenzied atmosphere in some white neighborhoods was the friendly reception given the murderous scum of the Ku Klux Klan. While many adults remained on the sidelines, hundreds of South Boston youth responded eagerly to the Klansmen's call for whites to organize against "forced race mixing." This powder keg of white racist blood lust could be ignited into an explosion by almost anything, including racial clashes in the schools or the escalation of anti-busing demonstrations into mob attacks.

While schools remain the focal point of struggle, a general pattern of physical and psychological terror against all racial minorities is rapidly developing. Black members of the Amalgamated Meatcutters' Union recently left a meeting at their union hall in South Boston to find their car windows smashed.

Last week several hundred white teenagers boycotting school in Charlestown, a neighborhood not yet affected by the busing plan, rampaged through the North End of Boston, attacking two blacks walking down the street. They also attempted to break into the Michaelangelo School where a number of Chinese students have been bused.

In addition, black and Puerto Rican families have been transferred out of predominantly white housing projects in South Boston and Charlestown after a renewal of the assaults that plagued them last year. Fifty-five Puerto Rican families were firebombed and stoned out of the D Street project in 1973, and a black youth was murdered by a sniper's bullet.

Liberals Capitulate to Racism

These atrocities occur against the background of a reactionary mobilization of anti-busing forces that grow more confident with every concession by the liberals. The white boycott of the schools that started in South Boston had by the second week of school spread to other neighborhoods. One-day boycotts and local demonstrations occurred in West Roxbury, Charlestown, East Boston and Hyde Park, although overall school attendance slowly increased to 80 percent by October 3.

As boycotting whites began to return to classes, confrontations inside the schools increased sharply. Several schools were temporarily closed as a result of clashes between black and white students, and every day there are more motorcades, marches and rallies against busing.

Every time the anti-busing forces flex their muscles, vote-conscious liberal politicians take another step backward. Mayor Kevin White has lobbied the District Court, which ordered the busing, for modifications of the plan. This produced the ironic spectacle of Hicks' and Kerrigan's racist School Committee successfully petitioning for White to be named a co-defendant with them on the grounds that, "remarks attributed to the mayor... border on obstruction of this court's order" (*Boston Globe*, 27 September).

Courts and Cops Will Not Protect Blacks

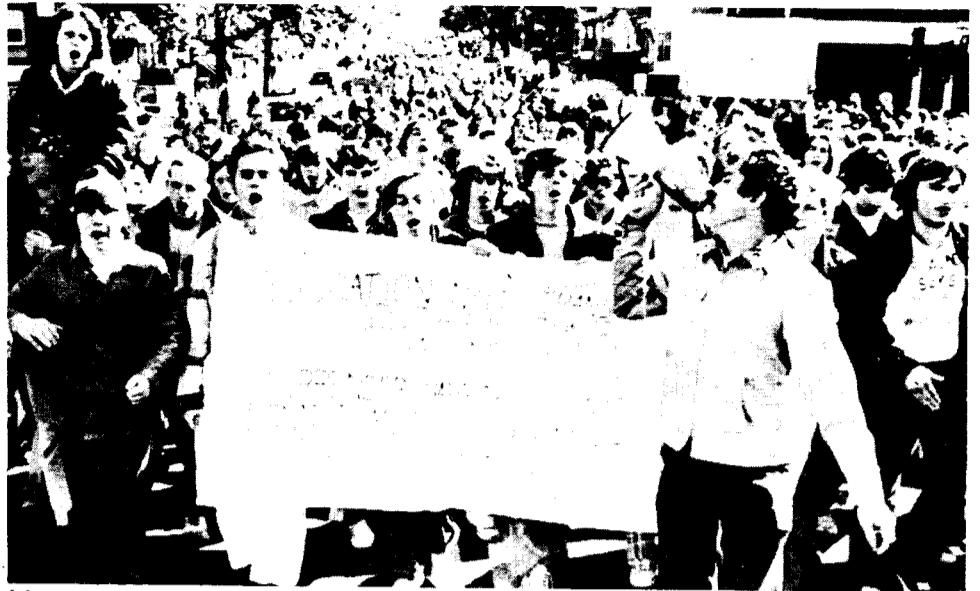
Even Judge Arthur Garrity, who does not have to face re-election and can

therefore pose as a staunch defender of democracy and integration, has begun to shift gears in response to the racist blackmail. In his first hearing on guidelines for a permanent, city-wide integration plan to replace the temporary and partial plan initiated this September, Garrity remarked: "The less busing, the more acceptable to people all over the city. The real challenge will be to desegregate the schools with a minimum of forced busing."

The present busing plan is extremely artificial and busing is, in general, a wholly inadequate means for achieving integrated schools in a segregated society. Nevertheless, Garrity's declaration can only be interpreted as a victory for the racist anti-busing movement in its struggle with the vacillating, weak-kneed liberal bourgeois establishment.

The leaders of the pro-busing forces—NAACP, Freedom House, the churches, etc.—have relied solely on the courts, legislature and police. By failing to mobilize opposition to the racist campaign, the black and community organizations and labor unions who support black people's democratic rights have allowed anti-busing forces, led by demagogic local politicians, to pose as a popular mass movement defending the rights of the "little people" against big government.

Furthermore, the liberal strategy of reliance on the bourgeois state for protection means reliance on its professional racists and strikebreakers, the police. These cops that stood by while buses were stoned on September 12 can hardly be trusted to protect black children. The NAACP's call for federal marshals is simply an appeal to another level of the capitalist state. The deaths and beatings of many civil rights workers in the South during the



Mass demonstration of anti-busing forces in South Boston.

After several days of this provocation, project residents decided to organize their own defense units. On Saturday, September 21, about 250 tenants formed a human barricade across the street leading to the project and turned back any unknown whites. That same night several vigilantes wearing the white robes of the KKK fired shots at the project and escaped, despite the presence of dozens of cops in the area. The main concern of the police was to prevent project residents from apprehending the racist hooligans who shot at them.

Two days later a spokesman for the project issued a set of six demands on the city including, "1. We demand that the Boston Police Dept. co-operate with our selected representative in providing security for our community... 5. We demand complete and effective police protection for our children against mob violence while being bused

defense force, organized by black and community groups and the labor unions, to protect the buses and maintain order in the schools.

The Boston Teachers' Union has a special responsibility in this area. The BTU should give up its phony, pro-racist posture of neutrality on busing and begin to assume responsibility for protection of the students during the desegregation plan. It should unionize the bus monitors and transitional aides in the schools, who are now responsible to the arch-racist School Committee. It should cooperate with other unions and black organizations to stop the racist violence.

The flying squads of UAW members who recently defended the home of a black family being harassed in an all-white neighborhood of Detroit can point the way to the formation of such a defense force. Those Columbia Point residents who organized their own security units to patrol the project also presented a concrete alternative to trying to pressure the racist, trigger-happy cops into protecting black people.

As a means of laying the basis for such forms of organized self-defense, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have been actively campaigning for black and labor organizations which have the necessary authority and resources to build a mass demonstration of all those who oppose the racist attacks on black school children and Columbia Point residents. ■



White youth hurls egg at bus in Boston.

BOSTON GLOBE/BOB DEAN

1960's are eloquent testimony to the "effectiveness" of federal marshals.

Cops, Racists Attack Columbia Point

The futility of reliance on the government was shown dramatically in recent events at the Columbia Point housing project. The project, 90 percent black, is a physically isolated concentration of the most oppressed poor people in Boston. It is located near a drop-off point for buses traveling between white South Boston and black Roxbury.

In contrast to the mob violence in "Southie" when the schools opened, parents at Columbia Point promised to personally protect all students, black and white, who passed through the drop-off point. Despite this admirable response by black parents, many of whose children were on the buses that were stoned, the project suffered continual and escalating harassment by cars full of whites screaming obscenities and racial slurs.

to and from school." The Mayor simply ignored these demands.

The police response to this call was typical. "For their own protection," residents at the project were subjected to a brutal military occupation by hundreds of police. The police justified this martial law with the lie that shots were fired out of the project instead of into it. Guard dogs and police with M-16s were placed on the roofs. Several tenants were hospitalized as a result of police brutality, and the project's church and community center was vandalized by these official representatives of "law and order."

Mobilize to Defend Black School Children and Columbia Point!

Instead of relying on local or federal government for protection, black people and all working people must depend on their own organizations for defense. The Spartacist League advocates the formation of a bi-racial

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:

Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:

West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

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

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Letters

16 September 1974
Portland, Oregon

Although I've no faith in "revolutionary politics" to solve human problems, I do enjoy reading your paper, because it is the only consistent exponent of Trotskyist politics that I have ever encountered, and the quality of its critical analyses is generally quite high.

I would like to bring your attention to a factual error in the article written by Charles D. which appeared in *WV* No. 52. He stated "I'm sure that if comrades had known that the S.L. had been the only group on the left to defend the Weatherman terrorists—even with all the unpopularity brought on to them for taking this principled position—then instead of us blindly throwing around accusations, we would at least have made a competent investigation of

their politics on that question..."

The I.S., of which I was a member at the time, did defend the Weathermen, albeit critically. I remember reading of that in *Workers' Power*, and having a discussion with a non-member about it. Therefore, the statement by Charles D. that only the S.L. adopted this position is incorrect.

Yours for accuracy,
D. Raphael

WV replies: If the International Socialists ever did defend Weathermen against the state, we can find no evidence of it. Moreover, articles in *International Socialist* call on the left to "dissociate itself" from Weatherman and explicitly compare it to fascist groups. This equation hardly suggests defending Weatherman against

bourgeois repression. We call the reader's attention to the following quotes, characteristic of IS' position at the time: "The left will have to work overtime to dissociate itself from the adventurous band which thinks that the only way to organize is to scream 'give up your white skin privilege' and then attempt to massacre infidels" ("Heavy Weather," *IS*, October 1969). A picture accompanying this article showed Weatherman supporters over the caption: "Arson, Rape and Bloody Murder, When the RYM Revolution Comes!"

In "The SDS's Desolation Row" by Jack Gerson (*IS*, February 1970) the IS position was elaborated by the following: "And so Weatherman has taken itself out of the movement. Their hallmark is violence for the sake of violence, and their anti-imperialist

rhetoric looks more and more like a front.

"The violence, the hatred of workers, the chaos for the sake of chaos, the conscious orientation to 'lumpen' elements, these characteristics are all very reminiscent of another movement in another era: Mussolini's Brown-shirts and Hitler's Fascists, especially Gregor Strasser's 'left' anti-capitalist groupings within Hitler's gang.

"...The bourgeoisie, playing upon the aspirations of people themselves incapable of retaining power, can assume control of a fascist movement and direct it against the working class.

"This was the schema in Italy and Germany, where the Fascist movements originally had anti-capitalist overtones. Weatherman clearly is capable of walking the same route.

"So when it is suggested to Ted Gold of the Weather Bureau that his panorama of the revolution implies fascism in this country before a socialist revolution, he replies: 'Well, if it would take fascism, we'll have to have fascism.'

"Yeah, Ted; but which side will you be on?"

The SL's position was presented in an article, "Terrorism and Communism," in *Spartacist*, August-September 1970. While warning against terrorist diversions, adventurism and Weatherman's complete lack of any revolutionary program, the SL stated unequivocally: "As with the Panthers, it is the class duty of all radicals and militants to defend Weatherman." We pointed out that the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers League, Progressive Labor and SDS all defended the Panthers yet none of them stated any solidarity with Weatherman. Why the difference? Because the Panthers were large, black and popular; Weatherman was small, white and unpopular. But for Leninists, we noted, "Class issues are not dependent upon what is currently popular with the liberals."

People's World "Reports" Chile Protest Actions:

Stalinist Slanders Cover Popular-Front Betrayals

The September 28 issue of *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party, has given us one more in the endless stream of lies churned out by the Stalinist School of Falsification. In an insert on page 9, entitled "Marching for Chile's People," *PW* printed the following comment on a September 11 demonstration at the San Francisco Chilean consulate:

"Allende had a united front, and all the banners at the demonstration expressed in one way or another 'united front'—except the Spartacists. Their banner read, 'No United Front.' I thought my eyes were playing jokes with me, but a couple of people confirmed it. Nobody seemed to pay any attention to the Spartacists since there were only four of them and it is a long arena street."

In a front page article in the same issue, entitled "Down Boycott Hits Junta," *People's World* devoted a great deal of *one sentence* to the refusal of West Coast longshoremen, both in Los Angeles and San Francisco, to handle Chilean cargo on or for the Presidential Grace Lines ship *Santa Maria* on September 17, 18 and 19. This one sentence stated that longshoremen "set up picket lines to publicize their action." The quoted statements are deliberate lies and distortions.

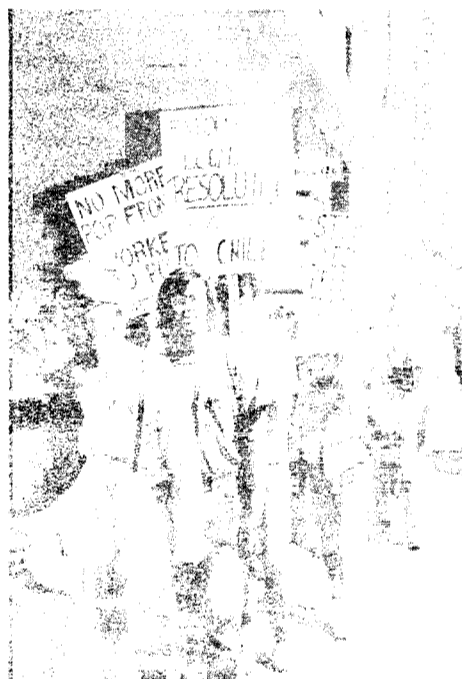
The facts are these: Allende was not pursuing the Leninist tactic of a united front, a temporary alliance for common action between different tendencies allowing full freedom of criticism for all parties to the agreement. The classic slogan of the united front is "march separately, strike together." Instead he was following the disastrous Stalinist policy of the *popular front*, an on-going

political bloc which subordinates the workers parties to the bourgeois parties and the capitalist system.

The CP knows well the difference between these two perspectives. At a planning meeting for the May 11 San Francisco Chile demonstration the Stalinists voted down an SL proposal that all groups receive equal speaking time in order to present their own views. Instead, they invited Senator Gruening, a representative of the capitalist Democratic Party, Political subordination to the bourgeoisie and exclusion of the communists—this is the line of the popular front as practiced by the Stalinists in Chile and the U.S. At a September 21 demonstration in S.F. they refused to let demonstrators who were responsible for stopping the shipment of cargo to Chile speak from the platform.

The CP-dominated September 21 demonstration was saturated with slogans praising Allende and his policies, featuring the classless "Chile Sí, Junta No." It was intended as not merely a united protest against the murderous junta, but also as a mobilization of support for the popular front in exile, the United Chilean Left. The only readiness opposing this line in its banners, placards and chanted slogans, on the Spartacist League. The SL carried slogans such as "No Support to the Popular Front United Chilean Left," "Down With the Junta—For a Workers Revolution in Chile," and "Free All Victims of the Junta Repression." These politics are indeed "poison" to the class traitors of the CP!

As to the picketing at Pier 30-32 in San Francisco on September 19, participants included members and sup-



S.F. demonstration

porters of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League (youth section of the SL), Class Struggle League and the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA, with the connivance of CP supporters in the longshore union, ILWU President Harry Bridges and the leaders of ILWU Locals 10 and 34, there was no mobilization of union ranks to set up a picket line and publicize the two-day boycott of Chilean shipping.

The boycott was carried out largely due to the efforts of rank-and-file members of Locals 10 and 34 who had been working for months in a Committee to Implement the Boycott. The Committee's aim was to implement a resolution calling for boycotting Chilean cargo which was passed by Local 10 last November.

The distortion of these facts, accurately reported in *Workers Vanguard*, is not a matter of CPers' eyes "playing jokes" on them. They are examples of the technique of the "big lie"—a deliberate attempt to deceive the workers when the Stalinists are unable to politically defend their class collaboration. The failure of Allende and the CP in the "Popular Unity" government in Chile to prepare the workers for struggle against bourgeois reaction, their repeated statements of absolute faith in the "constitutionalist" officers, systematically prepared the way for last September's bloody coup. It is this record of betrayal which *People's World* seeks to hide. ■

ORDER NOW!

SPARTACIST

Erklärung für die Dr. internationalen tro.

SPARTACIST

The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

Cuadernos Marxistas

by Vladimir Samarkinsky

CHILE

LECCIONES

SPARTACIST

Declaración pour organiser une tendance trotskyste internationale

- **Spartacist** (English-language edition) No. 22—35 cents
 - **Spartacist** (Deutsche Ausgabe) No. 2—40 cents
 - **Spartacist** (Edition Française) No. 7—50 cents
 - **Cuadernos Marxistas** (en español) No. 3—50 cents
- order from/pay to:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

FORUM

Students, Workers and the Socialist Revolution

Speaker: Joe Drummond
SYL National Chairman, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, October 19, 7:30 p.m.
Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 West 4th Street

Auspices: Spartacus Youth League

Donation: \$.50

For information call 925-5665.

NEW YORK

Britain Holds Elections as Economic Crisis Deepens

**No to Wilson's
Social Contract!**

Labour to Power!

OCTOBER 6—As Britain's October 10 elections approach, all major political parties find themselves in agreement on one indisputable point: the country faces its worst economic crisis since World War II, perhaps its worst ever. The traditional sources of bourgeois confidence are now spouting fear for "the survival of Britain as a nation," by which they mean the survival of British capitalism.

It is more than "fear itself" which quivers the usually stiff upper lip of publications like the *Economist*. Inflation has broken into a gallop at 20-25 percent. Major companies have begun to collapse and unemployment is rising swiftly to one million, perhaps going on to two million (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 September). The balance of payments deficit is currently running at a rate of over-\$11 billion annually (*Economist*, 31 August); this is an intolerable level at any time and catastrophic in the midst of a worldwide economic downturn. Most important of all, no amount of government intervention, "Keynesian" or otherwise, can resolve the deepening economic crisis within the framework of capitalist principles of profitability.

Bankrupt Companies and Bankrupt Policies

The latest major British firm to go broke was Ferranti, an important electronic/engineering company handling defense contracts and employing 17,000 workers. Caught with a cash shortage, Ferranti was bailed out by the Labour government just as Prime Minister Wilson bailed out the bankrupt Court Lines travel company earlier this year. These two companies are only the tip of the iceberg. The Rolls Royce Corporation also faces a liquidity crisis, and the motor and airframes industry as a whole seems likely to go under at some point.

The Labour Party's policy is one of waiting out the economic slump while pouring taxpayers' money into the sieve of bankrupt corporations. Such a policy is futile; moreover, it attempts to make the workers, through taxes, pay the cost of capitalist irrationality.

In Britain there is an imminent possibility of widespread factory closures, producing so-called "redundant" workers. Within the Labour Party (BLP) the debate over the "redundant" workers continues to simmer. The left wing around Tony Wedgewood Benn sees failing business as an opportunity to extend the "public sector." Actually Benn's proposal is for the partial and gradual nationalization of bankrupt companies with *over-compensation* to management (i.e., more than they could recover through sale of stock shares on the market). Benn and his co-thinkers are viewed as wildly radical by Labour moderates.

But the policy of all wings of the BLP is meant to strangle any impulse to independent labor action against factories that close down for lack of profits. Union militants should begin now to prepare to occupy closed plants. It is not, after all, the workers who are redundant. Some militant factory seizures backed up by solid working-class support action would make that point in no uncertain terms.

Moreover, with memories of Heath's three-day workweek last winter still fresh in everyone's mind, occupations in response to a wave of factory shut-

downs and massive unemployment would gain wide public sympathy. The Labour Party's formal commitment to nationalizations and its dependence on support from the trade unions makes unlikely an immediate confrontation with the armed might of the state.

Workers must demand that the BLP carry out not only its own timid projected nationalizations, but also the nationalization of all bankrupted industries, without compensation. However, even widespread nationalizations under the present state bureaucracy

far right groups are increasing in size. These armies of strikebreakers are also getting sympathy in "respectable" quarters. The *Economist* (31 August), for instance, wrote that "this country may one day need a countervailing force to trade union power."

Persistent rumors that the army stationed in Northern Ireland refused orders to break the Loyalist strike last May have been confirmed by recent disclosures. A letter by an active-duty officer to the right-wing Tory "Monday World" commented on the Ulster in-

action of the working class is both impotent and dangerous.

No to the Social Contract!

Since the organizational muscle of the trade unions was flexed during the miners' strike last winter there has been a discernible softening of opinion within ruling class circles toward the idea of a Labour government. Many want to see a government which has, as the London *Sunday Times* put it, "the goodwill of the trade unions."

This "goodwill" is symbolized by Wilson's vaunted "social contract" with the unions. The social contract is nothing more than a promise to the bourgeoisie that the Labour Party will contain working-class struggle in order to stabilize a teetering British economy. The loose understanding with the Trades Union Congress (TUC) amounts to voluntary wage restraints. In exchange the Labour government was supposed to extend its projected nationalizations. But after the government issued its sundry position papers, it was clear that the BLP was continuing to move away from the program of limited nationalizations it adopted at last year's party conference (see "A Left Face for Labourism," *WV* No. 33, 23 November 1973).

The social contract has been the mainstay of Wilson's election campaign. He argues endlessly that the BLP's influence with the unions makes him the only candidate who can "bring Britain through the crisis." He promises the workers that only he can save their jobs, improve their living standards and save "British civilization." The *Manchester Guardian* appropriately dubbed him the "Tarzan of Britain."

The real "social contract" is, of course, the classical one that exists tacitly between the BLP/TUC tops and the companies. It is the social contract of class collaboration. Workers must not be fooled by Wilson's Tarzan act—No to the social contract!

The published manifesto of the BLP retreats from earlier statements on the nationalization of banks and insurance companies. This only confirms the reformist Labour Party's unwillingness to do anything which would frighten the bourgeoisie. The workers' needs cannot be served by "regenerating" failing industry in the interests of capitalism. All industry and finance must be expropriated without compensation in the interests of the working class. The manifesto also refrains from a commitment to take Britain out of the Common Market. Instead the BLP pledges it will obey a referendum to be held in a year.

No Coalitions!

The militant coal miners' strike brought down the Tories (Conservatives) in February and resulted in a Labour government without a parliamentary majority. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this current election characterized by pleas for strong leadership, national unity and no divisive campaigning, there is much talk of coalition.

Bourgeois opinion is understandably worried about the possible results of another strike confrontation with a government lacking popular support. Heath's blustering confrontationism in February probably frightened away a number of traditional Tory voters into the camp of Jeremy Thorpe's Liberal Party. In the last election the Liberals received nearly one fifth of the vote, making them a serious political force

continued on page 11



Harold Wilson:
Administering
capitalism for
the capitalists.

DER SPIEGEL

will not "rationalize" the economic crisis in Britain or bring unemployment under control. Union militants must organize to impose workers control of production in the nationalized industries. The working class cannot "wait out" the slump with Wilson or Benn.

Rightists and the Military

Considering the depth of the British economic crisis the election campaign is singularly lacking in heated debate. However, ominous developments on the far right and in the forces of bourgeois "law and order" indicate that beneath the respectable veneer violent social currents are seething.

Police terror is on the increase. Particularly victimized have been black Africans, youths and leftists. Recently the police attacked a demonstration in Red Lion Square after which the Home Office asked for "improved State powers" (*Red Weekly*, 19 September).

Private armies of scabs are now being created for the first time in decades. One such "army" (called Civil Assistance) was started by former NATO chief General Sir Walter Walker. The group is reported to claim 100,000 members (*Workers Press*, 20 September). While such claims are wildly exaggerated, there is no doubt that these

incident that "for the first time, the army decided that it was right...and the politicians had better toe the line." The military, he went on, "has shown a considerable distrust of Socialist politicians" and is talking of extending Northern Ireland-style police operations to England itself. The army occupations of London's Heathrow Airport (three so far this year) are cited as examples (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 September).

The fascist National Front has also been increasingly active, directing most of its invidious propaganda toward racist anti-Irish and anti-Asian social attitudes. Since the summer the fascists have tried to reach an electoral agreement with the Ulster Loyalists. They are reported to be in close contact with the Loyalist paramilitary organizations (*Red Weekly*, 1 August).

While a military coup is not immediately on the agenda for Britain, and fascism does not immediately threaten the workers organizations, the increasing activity of the far right does pose real dangers for labor. The fascists should be smashed by the mass mobilization of the working class. This, however, is quite different from street brawls between bands of leftists and the police protecting fascist meetings, as occurred in London this June. Such adventurist substitution for the mass

Steel Workers' Convention:

Abel Flunkies Uphold Red Clause, ENA

ATLANTIC CITY—The leadership of the Steelworkers' union managed (not without some difficulty) to ram its program of no-strike bargaining, more money for officers and a membership dues increase through the 17th Constitutional Convention, held here from September 23 to 27. The controversy that raged around these points, however, revealed a growing gulf between a complacent, self-satisfied leadership and an increasingly restless and discontented rank and file.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) President I.W. Abel keynoted the convention with a rabid and sweeping attack on "outside meddlers trying to horn in on this union." At the end of a boring and uninspired recitation, he struck out at "interlopers" whom "nobody elected" trying to "invade" and "take over" the union.

So blatantly did he attempt to smear all opposition with the brush of illegitimacy that his list of "outside" groups included well-known bureaucratic caucuses composed of elected officials in the union (such as the Rank and File Team of Local 1462). Raving on about how "none has the sweat and grime of honest labor on their brows," he suddenly shifted to the recognition that "some of our members have been duped into helping these outsiders." Abel thereby attempted to intimidate all dissident delegates, of whom he knew there would be many, into cowed silence.

This transparent, McCarthy-like smear effort failed to shut up the oppositional delegates. The response to the 20-minute eulogy by which the USWA president was introduced and to the brass band before and after his speech was also notably lacking in enthusiasm.

More practical methods, deeply imbedded in the undemocratic tradition of the Steelworkers' officialdom, were needed to carry the day safely for Abel and Co. Nearly 1,000 staff representatives paid by the International were on the floor, some using delegate credentials of delegates who never arrived. Their job was to push the leadership position, lead the voice votes, etc. The difficulty in obtaining a roll call vote, which would put the delegates on rec-

ord, also played into Abel's hands. There has never been a roll call vote at a USWA convention despite many floor fights over this! Abel also introduced a new twist: he adamantly refused, despite repeated demands from the floor, to issue an agenda in advance to the body!

No-Strike Deal and Bureaucrats' Pay Raise

The impression of smooth unanimity which the leadership tried to create was first broken over discussion on the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," a guaranteed no-strike bargaining policy which had been extended to 1980 by negotiation before the convention opened. ENA was secretly signed by Abel in 1973 and forced on the Basic Steel bargaining council prior to negotiation of the 1974 contract.

Despite a very defensive introduction of the subject in his speech, Abel called for "loud and clear" affirmation that ENA "did the job it was supposed to do." Nevertheless, the issue was buried in the officers' report and a resolution generally commending the officers for everything.

Delegates objected to sneak endorsement of ENA at both points, and discussion revealed Abel's fears to be true—the membership looks askance at his signing away of the right to strike for a measly \$150 bonus and promises of fewer layoffs due to pre-strike stockpiling. Nobody defended ENA from the floor. A Canadian delegate was critical of ENA in the U.S. and warned, "Just don't bring it to Canada."

Later in the week there was also vociferous objection to the raising of International officers' salaries—Abel to \$75,000—and to "readjusting" the dues structure by removing the \$10 upper limit which would effectively increase dues for most members. The salary increase deal included a raise for the staff representatives to encourage them to enthusiastically support their "boss" on the convention floor.

Of all the controversial issues, the dues fight came closest to getting out of hand. Delegates demanding a roll call vote protested that support from

30 percent of all accredited delegates, as opposed to 30 percent of those present and voting, was required. Abel had to personally rescue Vice President Johns, who was chairing. The officers "are not the enemies of our members," intoned Abel.

Storm Over Anti-Red Clause

The major surprise occurred on the third day when, in the middle of an interminably long Constitution Committee report, the Committee officially recommended deletion of specific reference to the Communist Party from the union's sweeping anti-communist membership clause. The Canadian delegations had demanded removal of the entire clause as a gesture of militancy to their membership, which is increasingly restive under the domination of the conservative U.S. International.

The officially recommended change was the leadership's bone tossed to the Canadian delegates. The "change" would have left the clause essentially unchanged, still barring membership to anyone who supports or even "participates in the activities" of any "organization which opposes the democratic principles to which the United States and Canada and our Union are dedicated." The weakness of the proposal was noted by Harry Greenwood of Hamilton, Ontario, who correctly stated that "the enemies of democracy in the unions are not the communists but the companies."

The Canadians got support from delegates from the Tucson, Arizona Local 937, the membership of which had just overturned an International-inspired effort to run an alleged CP member out of the union. Revealing its unprincipled opportunism, the exec board of the same International had just ordered the reinstatement to membership of open CP member John Severinsky of Local 6200 in Canada.

The "compromise" anti-red clause modification was revealed as a complete hypocritical fraud when the bulk of the U.S. delegates, staff reps included, voted it down. The International had clearly been less than enthusiastic about urging its supporters on the floor to vote for "its" official proposal. The original Canadian mandate to dump the entire clause had thus been sidetracked with a slick, face-saving maneuver for Abel and Co.

Reformist Oppositions

As Abel was trying to smear the reformist Rank and File Team (RAFT) and the CP-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC) as "outsiders" on the first day, about 150 supporters of the Maoist October League (OL) and Revolutionary Union-Revolutionary Student Brigade and a few of their friends in the union had a demonstration outside. Attempting to protest the ENA and the "Consent Decree"—under which the union and the companies have conspired to legally choke off struggle against racial and sexual discrimination—the Maoists succeeded primarily in demonstrating how *not* to inspire the creation of a class-struggle alternative in the unions.

Chanting "Abel, Abel, slick as oil, you'll get yours like Tony Boyle," and "Abel you slob, get a job," they succeeded only in provoking the largely conservative delegate body precisely on the question of "outsiders." Such infantile stunts are no substitute for the hard fight to build a class-struggle opposition to oust Abel and Co.



I.W. Abel

Creation of a class-struggle opposition in steel is also made more difficult by reformist, bureaucratic oppositions in the USWA. The RAFT careerists based in Youngstown, looking for supporters to spread their caucus nationwide, have accepted the support offered by the OL-backed, newly created District 31 Right to Strike Committee. RAFT, however, was less eager than the OL-supported elements to demonstrate outside, and more eager to tone down their opposition to more controversial issues such as ENA in order to garner more support from whatever quarter on the inside.

At its pre-convention meeting in Atlantic City, the CP-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee seemed ready to drop its entire program if it could just unite around one lowest-common-denominator issue. Chairman George Edwards of Lorain, Ohio, suggested the dues increase issue, but even this proved impossible as the meeting broke up in disarray.

No Government Interference in the Unions!

All the oppositions are united in their willingness to take the union to court over anything and everything, which plays into Abel's hands above all else. When Abel denounces communist groups as "outsiders," he is forced to denounce legitimate members of the labor movement. But when he is enabled to denounce the dissidents who use "high-priced lawyers" to bring in the government, he can unite the membership in the legitimate fear of the *real* "outsiders"—the class enemy itself! This discredits the opposition all the more. It was used to discredit Rarick's Dues Protest Movement and will be used against all oppositions until a revolutionary leadership mobilizes the workers against court intervention into the labor movement.

All the oppositions are united also in their reformism. Despite a running argument over the meaning of "critical support," both the OL and RU support (one way or another) Ed Sadlowski, the staff representative-oppositional candidate for District 31 (Chicago-Gary) Director. Sadlowski, however, just can't bring himself to clearly oppose even the ENA! In backing Sadlowski the Maoists are united with the CP-backed caucus, despite a few hesitant criticisms of Sadlowski in the *Daily World*.

Maoists and CP alike hold up the example of Miller of the Mine Workers as the path for the Steelworkers to follow to "progressive, democratic unionism." They do not mention that the UMW's "progressiveness" includes support to the Democratic Party, the crushing of wildcat strikes and the "democracy" of using the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act and Labor Department intervention into the unions. The reactionary bureaucracy—the Abels, Woodcocks and Millers—will only be broken through the creation of class-struggle caucuses based on a program which includes principled opposition to government intervention in the labor movement. ■



RU and OL demonstrate outside convention: "Abel you slob, get a job!"

PAIGC, Frelimo Turn Right

Guinea-Bissau Wins Independence

Last month marked an end to more than a decade of guerrilla warfare by independence movements in two of Portugal's African colonies. On September 10 then-President General Spínola signed a proclamation recognizing the independence of Guinea-Bissau. Three days earlier at a meeting in Lusaka, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares and FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) leader Samora Machel signed a joint declaration calling for Mozambican independence in June 1975.

Still unclarified is the status of the remaining Portuguese African "overseas territories." In theory the military-leftist Lisbon government, such as it is, has recognized their right to self-determination. But this has not put a stop to schemes for maintaining some degree of neo-colonial domination. A white-led regime "associated" with the former metropole is rumored for the oil enclave of Cabinda while a "coalition government," presumably including representatives of ultra-rightist colonialists, has been promised in Angola. The fate of the strategically important Cape Verde Islands is to be decided by a colonial referendum.

Loss of the colonies would certainly be a blow to Portuguese capitalism. During the last decade, more than \$100 million annually was extracted from its African dependencies. Yet even full political independence will not remove new black-led states from the grips of imperialism. Short on cash and anxious to demonstrate their respectability, nationalist leaders of FRELIMO and the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) have been eager to collaborate with Portugal's new rulers.

Will the Petty Bourgeoisie Commit Suicide?

None of the Portuguese colonies will be a focal point of socialist revolution in Africa. In Guinea-Bissau there is evidently no real working class at all, and the country is surrounded by peasant regions where urban workers are a tiny part of the population (in some cases only one percent). The Mozambican working class is small and concentrated in two port cities. It is essentially an extension of proletarian concentrations in the interior mining areas (South Africa's Witwatersrand and the Zaïre-Zambia-Rhodesian Copper Belt); its historical role will be as an integral part of the South African revolution.

The current relevance of developments in Portugal's African colonies is due rather to the wide publicity in leftist circles which has been given to the politics of the nationalist guerrillas. The PAIGC has a reputation as the most radical of the African independence movements. Though its founder, Amílcar Cabral, proclaimed the "uselessness of Marxism in a country where there is no proletariat" (*Le Monde*, 8 February 1973), the PAIGC was the only one of the "national liberation" groups to call itself socialist.

As we pointed out in an earlier article ("Independence for Portuguese Colonies!" *WV* No. 46, 7 June), this verbal "socialism" does not change the class character of a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement. The PAIGC is no more socialist than Nkrumah's Ghana, Touré's Guinea or Nyerere's Tanzania—all of which have a growing black bourgeois-

sie, have broken strikes and imposed state control of the unions.

His nationalist vision confined to the narrow limits of Portuguese Guinea, Cabral despaired of finding a revolutionary vanguard. "The peasantry is not a revolutionary force," he argued, and the petty bourgeoisie has systematically betrayed the exploited masses in Ghana and elsewhere. His answer: "the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing class suicide in order to reappear as revolutionary workers totally identified with the deepest aspirations of the people of which it is a part" (*Amílcar Cabral, Revolution in Guinea*). But classes do not commit suicide.

Bourgeois Nationalism

Pan Africanists and "third world"-oriented New Leftists have made a hero of Cabral, lauding his bizarre theories as a "creative application of Marxism" and claiming that he alone drew the lessons of the Ghanaian fiasco. It may be useful to distinguish between the relatively serious nationalist Cabral and self-aggrandizing hucksters like Nkrumah. But had he lived to take power in Guinea-Bissau, Cabral would have seen his ideas serve as a cover for a rising new bourgeoisie. This has been the destiny of all varieties of "African socialism."

It was, in fact, impossible for the nationalist PAIGC to adopt proletarian internationalist policies. This would have meant defending the leaders of the Guinean teachers' union, clapped in jail for 10 years at Touré's orders for daring to strike in 1961. It would have meant solidarizing with the Senegalese PAI (African Independence Party), a Stalinist-influenced left-nationalist party similar to the PAIGC, outlawed by Senghor in 1960. It would have meant striving for African unity through working-class struggle against all the existing governments whether European colonies, white supremacist regimes like South Africa, feudalists like Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, or bourgeois "African socialists."

But Cabral instead gave political support to Touré, Senghor and Selassie. Although Senghor had previously aided a CIA-backed group of anti-PAIGC Guineans (the phantom "FLING"), Cabral spoke at the 1973 congress of Senghor's party, the UPS—a cabal of peanut traders, Muslim *marabouts* (religious leaders) and government bureaucrats. As for Ethiopia's recently deposed "King of Kings," Cabral praised "his splendid work of the liberation and preservation of the independence of his people" (speech to the Eighth Conference of African Heads of State, 1970):

Good-Bye to "Socialism" in Guinea-Bissau

The betrayals implicit in Cabral's theories and incipient in PAIGC practice have taken on more concrete forms as independence approached. The first step was a series of revisions to the party program. The original document mentioned "democratic socialism" as the governing principle of economic activity and called for eliminating "subordination of the human individual to degrading interests, to the profits of individuals, groups or classes" (*Revolution in Guinea*).

The PAIGC radio station recently broadcast a new text in which these



BRUNA AMICO

passages are removed. The revised version calls only for "elimination of unjust profits"; instead of "democratic socialism," economic activity is now to be guided by "democratic centralism" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 22 July).

The meaning of this "democratic centralism" is indicated in the new Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. According to Article 6,

"the P.A.I.G.C. will be the leading force in society. It will determine the orientation of state policies and will guarantee their concretization by the appropriate methods."

—*O Seculo* [Lisbon], 24 September

In this Nkrumah-inspired "party-state," "The Party will be responsible for the selection of candidates" to the National Popular Assembly (Article 27). Article 15 guarantees "the right of all citizens to make suggestions or submit complaints to any organ of the state." But two separate sections of the new party program "outlaw[s] attempts to divide the people." Any deputy who "has seriously failed in his duties" may be removed.

The economic content of Guinean independence was expressed by a local PAIGC official and professional smuggler who was quoted in the *New York Times* (continued on page 9)

For United Class Struggle in Ulster!

Against Sectarian Terror, Both Orange and Green

On the morning of September 16 the Belfast branch of the Irish Republican Army (Provisionals) assassinated two North Ireland judges. A subsequent statement by the Provos asserted: "Both men were warned time and again that they were part of the British war machine, and as such were liable to suffer the consequences" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 21 September).

Certainly the Ulster judicial system is an arm of the British imperialist state apparatus, which is particularly repressive toward the oppressed Catholic minority in North Ireland. But this action—in itself a possibly defensible, although futile, act of resistance to oppression—is part of a sectarian terror campaign of indiscriminate violence against Protestant working people.

According to the *Sunday Times* (London), Conaghan, a devout Catholic, in 1969 made what in the context of Ulster "justice" was a rather exceptional settlement, awarding damages to three men injured by a police baton attack at a civil rights demonstration. After the introduction of internment (jailing without charges or trial) in August 1971, Conaghan awarded damages to 16 men who claimed they were assaulted by the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary during their imprisonment. But whatever his concessions to the moderate Catholics' sensibilities, he was also "widely known for his severe sentencing" of IRA militants in the special anti-terrorist juryless courts (*New York Times*, 17 September).

The killing of McBirney, however, raises some question about the Provos' motivation. Although part of the state apparatus, magistrate McBirney never dealt with any but the most routine and minor matters such as traffic offenses, petty theft and issuing liquor licenses. McBirney had broken with a Protestant background to become a mod-

erate labourite. In the 1960's he joined the North Ireland Labour Party and in 1966 ran for and almost won the East Belfast seat in the U.K. parliament. After criminal charges were brought against participants in the 1968 civil rights marches, McBirney offered his legal services free to defend these Catholic civil rights militants. He also defended many Republican leaders.

The assassinations were timed to coincide with the arrival in Ulster of a committee of the British Labour government investigating the Emergency Provisions Act which established internment and the special courts. It was expected that this committee would recommend a phasing-out of internment as an expression of sentiment in the British ruling class to cut the Ulster "tie," currently costing England more than \$700 million a year. The *London Times* (22 September) quotes a member of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, as saying: "This may sound cynical, but some Provos think that if internment and the special courts are ended, then two of their best political levers will have disappeared."

While the Provos claim to have chosen these two victims because they were "part of the British war machine," the bulk of Provo terror has been directed against Protestant workers and is designed to feed on and inflame intercommunal strife. These recent assassinations were part of a campaign of deliberate terror carried out by the Provos and extremist Protestant groups alike, whose targets have often been pubs, shopping areas and workplaces where Protestant and Catholic workers intermingle, socialize and carry on common class struggle. The Provos have torn a page out of the history of another nationalist group spawned by the decomposition of Brit-



BRIAN HAMILL

ish imperialism, the extreme right-wing Zionist Irgun, which often selected as its targets workplaces (such as the Haifa oil refinery and docks) which had militant traditions of joint Arab-Jewish class struggle.

The opposite perspective, of Protestant-Catholic working-class unity, was indicated in an unusual incident last month when Republicans and Loyalists cooperated in a mass demonstration that brought Belfast to a standstill. The issue around which such united action was achieved, for the first time in 40 years, was the food and conditions grievances of the prisoners in Long Kesh concentration camp. As a Republican spokesman said: "...the working-class people of both the Protestant and Catholic areas can, when the

necessity arises, pool their resources to get justice" (*Irish People*, 21 September). Such necessity arose long ago. Were such rhetoric and action to become the rule in Ulster, rather than the exception, the road to proletarian revolution would break through the mire of retrograde sectarian violence.

Revolutionists in Britain must fight for the immediate and total withdrawal of British troops from Ulster and an end to the Emergency Provisions Act. They must defend IRA and other Republican militants against victimization and indiscriminate arrest. At the same time they must expose the Provos' violence against these two judges as futile. Moreover, to the Provos it is of a piece with the truly criminal bombings of, e.g., Protestant workingmen's pubs. Marxists oppose the sectarian extremists' campaign of indiscriminate mass terror as simply indefensible.

This counterposition exposes the hypocrisy of groups like the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," who equate the struggle against British martial law in Ulster with uncritical enthusing over Provo terrorism. Oppositionists within the United Secretariat—particularly those repelled by the crass reformism of the SWP and attracted to the IMG as the most "healthy" and "left-wing" element in the USec Pabloist swamp—must judge the IMG not only on the basis of its often correct attacks on the SWP, but also on the basis of its political record in the British class struggle, specifically its liquidationist, anti-Leninist orientation on the Irish question. The revolutionary unity of Protestant and Catholic workers in Ulster can only be forged through implacable opposition to the sectarian terror of both the Orange and the Green. ■

UAW Local 600:

Labor Party Resolution Censored

As occurs regularly every two years, top union leaders from George Meany to Leonard Woodcock are once again calling on labor to vote Democratic in November, for a "veto-proof Congress." But with prices skyrocketing, unemployment mounting and the stench of corruption still seeping from the Nixon-Ford White House, many workers are fed up with all brands of bourgeois politicians. An indication of this growing sentiment was a resolution passed in late August by the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit of United Auto Workers huge Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) calling for a labor party and a definitive break with both capitalist parties:

"That DAP go on record in favor of the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions, to wage a political fight against our enemies, the big business-controlled parties and government. We reject the lesser of two evils dead-end of Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons, and therefore call for no political endorsement or financial support of any Democratic or Republican politicians."

The motion, which reportedly passed by a vote of 22 to 14, should have been printed in the unit bulletin and distributed to the membership. However, since it represented a challenge to the class-collaborationist policies of the entire trade-union bureaucracy, the resolution

underwent a strange transformation on the way to publication.

A laundered version was printed under a heading labeling it an official communication from Hank Wilson, president of the DAP unit in Local 600. The revised edition, passed off as the resolution actually voted by the unit meeting, conveniently omitted criticism of Woodcock, "forgot" to mention big business-controlled government and tacked on an escape clause opening the door to backing liberal Democrats: "no political endorsement of any Democratic or Republican politicians, *except those candidates who commit themselves to the labor party platform*" (our emphasis).

This censorship by higher-ups in the union was reported in a leaflet to the membership from six militants who had supported the original motion. They complained that the rewrite job "completely reverses the essential content of the motion: the need for a complete break with the two big business parties." They insisted that Wilson's bulletin not be passed out, to which he agreed. The militants' leaflet put this episode in the context of past efforts to get the union to initiate a movement for a labor party:

"When in the past the UAW—in locals and in national convention—has called for a labor party, the leadership has

always thwarted that desire by finding 'exceptions' or saying 'now is not the time.' But we have heard too many promises; for years we have been told that the Democratic party is for the working people and racial equality, only to find it passing wage freezes, ushering the racist George Wallace back into the fold, and supporting Jerry Ford when Nixon got too embarrassing. And the labor 'leaders' have covered for these cynical maneuvers. The changing of our original motion is one more 'cover up.' We need a party of the workers to fight for the interests and needs of all the oppressed and exploited."

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Wilson took full responsibility for the changes. Claiming to be responsible for the motion's passage, he defended the alterations because of differences with the author of the resolution, Jerry Harris! The DAP unit president claims to "really" want to build a labor party; he just disagrees with the "methods" proposed in the original motion (which he voted for).

According to Wilson, opposition to the wage-freezing, anti-labor, racist government could only mean a labor party would be "communist." His version would be a labor party that doesn't "turn anybody off." Wilson supports Democrat John Conyers (is he committed to a "labor party platform"?)

and feels that Ted Kennedy could be induced to support a labor party. This would "give us the grass roots support we need!"

The capitalist politicians Wilson is chasing after *cannot* build a labor party, for such a party must be built through uncompromising struggle against the bourgeois parties. This difference over "methods" is just a way of backing off from a real fight to implement the resolution. Likewise, at the June UAW convention in Los Angeles Wilson called for a labor party, only to end up voting for Woodcock—the pro-Democratic, anti-labor party architect of betrayal—for UAW president.

Although Wilson takes responsibility for the censorship incident, bigger fish in the Local 600 hierarchy are behind this. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy stands squarely in the path of any effort to build an independent party of the working class in the U.S.—the only advanced capitalist country without a mass workers party. The struggle for a workers party and a workers government is not simply against support to Democratic and Republican "friends of labor." To be successful it requires a struggle to dump the sellout union bureaucracy, replacing it with a new leadership committed to policies of consistent class struggle. ■

Continued from page 1

Portugal...

Lisbon to keep reactionaries out of the city. Cars were searched for arms and some were reportedly found. Buses scheduled to bring demonstrators to the rally were stopped when the bus drivers' union called out its members.

Now rumors circulate of both a brewing right-wing coup to restore Spínola and a plot to assassinate government leaders. Over 200 known supporters of the old regime were recently arrested on the charge of attempting to resurrect a rightist dictatorship.

Down with the Military Junta! For a Workers Soviet!

Portugal stands at the crossroads between proletarian revolution and bloody suppression of the masses. Vacillation now can only aid the counter-revolutionaries.

Despite the best efforts by the Stalinist CP to betray the masses, the Portuguese working class is now in an extraordinarily favorable position. The reactionaries have overplayed their hand, temporarily removing themselves from the governmental triangle (Junta of National Salvation, Armed Forces Movement, Provisional Government). Instead of constituting a renovated junta (as the MFA and CP seek to do), it is necessary to press forward resolutely. Otherwise the forces of Salazarist dictatorship will be able to regroup and prepare their return which, sooner or later, could mean a massacre of the workers on the order of last year's Chilean bloodbath.

The heterogeneous Armed Forces Movement cannot be relied on to prevent a coup, nor will sporadic leftist mobilizations such as on September 28 stop a determined rightist thrust. It is urgent now to establish united-front defense guards based on the unions and workers parties, to build soldiers' committees in the armed forces. Rather than gambling on the outcome of behind-the-scenes maneuvering in the Belém Palace, it is necessary to mobilize the workers in united demonstrations demanding freedom of the press, the right to strike, immediate independence for the colonies and withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa, abolition of the officer corps and the junta, immediate elections for a constituent assembly.

Only by uniting workers' defense guards, soldiers' committees, unions and factory committees along with the workers parties in a unitary organization of the working class, a *soviet*, can the exploited masses hope to achieve victory. Above all, success requires not merely adequate organizational forms and clear objectives but the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party which can provide the necessary leadership to the class. Unfortunately this party does not exist in Portugal today.

Armed Forces Movement Stymies Junta

The recent confrontation was prepared by a series of disputes between the junta and the MFA. The younger officers complained that Spínola was too slow in pulling troops out of Portugal's African colonies. Spínola, who sought all along to establish an "autonomous" federation of "overseas provinces" under the Portuguese flag, charged that colonial policy had been changed by "antidemocratic measures that went against the real interests of the population of the African territories."

Then last July the 21-member, MFA-dominated Council of State refused to grant the premier the right to name his cabinet. Spínola's plan for a plebiscitary election confirming him as president was also rejected. At the end of August the conservatives tried to regain the upper hand by circulating a manifesto demanding abolition of the Armed Forces Coordinating Commission in which the "leftist" officers predominate.

Despite Spínola's charges that the

younger officers have become "crypto-communists," the younger officers (like their Communist Party backers) are unwilling to go beyond the limits of capitalism. Although the MFA and CP are now dominant within the government, they will no more be able to deal with Portugal's economic ills—30 percent inflation (the highest in Europe), rising unemployment aggravated by the return of colonials and Portuguese working abroad, loss of revenues through decolonization—than were the two post-April 25 governments before them.

The Stalinists, for their part, are banking everything on an alliance with

lating its own decree of June 20 (limiting press suspensions to 60 days).

Strict decrees regulating the right to strike were also issued in August. Outlawed are political strikes, strikes of solidarity, strikes that seek to upset the terms of a collective bargaining agreement, strikes by public employees, partial strikes in key sections of a plant and plant occupations. No strike can be called until after at least thirty days of negotiations and seven days' notice to the employer. On the other hand, an employer may lock out his employees as long as he gives them seven days' notice.

These stringent prohibitions have



Antônio
de Spínola

CHAUVEL SYGMA

the "progressive" officers. To the CP freedom of the press, the right to strike and independence for the colonies all must be sacrificed on the altar of unity with the MFA:

"The Provisional Government is not a Popular Government. But in essence it serves the people... despite certain decisions which objectively constitute concessions to the presence of the right, the fundamental general line of the Provisional Government is democratic and progressive."

—*Avante!*, 6 September 1974

And, of course, the CP helps the government "serve the people" by acting as chief strikebreaker! This despicable performance reached a nadir in the postal workers' strike in June, where the CP tried to take over the facilities by organizing goon squads to attack the strikers (see "Portuguese Postal Strike Defeated," *WV* No. 48, 5 July 1974).

Opposition to Dictatorial Decrees Mounts

The recent surge of activity has not been confined to conspiracies in the government palaces. After a short period of relative quiescence, working-class actions have increased over past weeks. In early August three bourgeois newspapers were suspended for merely reporting a demonstration by the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party). Faced with threats of a strike by the entire news media, the government backed down. A few days later however, the junta indefinitely suspended the MRPP newspaper, *Luta Popular*, thereby vio-

not prevented workers from walking off their jobs. At the end of August striking workers at TAP (Portugal's airline) demanded the removal not just of former agents of the political police (PIDE) but also of "individuals who have taken anti-working-class positions, like the loyal dogs serving capitalism that they are" (*Revolução*, 7 September).

The TAP strike also included among its demands higher wages and shorter hours, a freeze on the wages of administrators and punishment for those responsible for disciplinary layoffs. It ended only when the military declared martial law against the strikers. Militant strikes have also taken place recently by employees of *O Jornal do Comércio*, 6,000 farm workers in the South, textile workers and others.

"Democracy for the Workers, Repression for the Reactionaries"

On September 7 textile workers, joined by TAP workers, construction workers and others, organized a demonstration of 3,000 in Lisbon centering around demands against layoffs and factory closings. A declaration explaining the reasons for the demonstration stated:

"The Movement of the Armed Forces, by staging April 25, did not put an end to capitalism, nor put an end to the exploitation of which we are victims. April 25th came... to create better conditions for our struggle... In the last few months we have gained some victories, namely increases which have made our wages a little less miserable.

But the boss doesn't want to give up a situation which enriches him easily and rapidly; he doesn't want to give up his enormous profits obtained at the cost of our work and our misery...."

—*O Seculo*, 9 September

On the previous day thousands of public functionaries had demonstrated in Lisbon for higher salaries and against "increases that benefit the privileged."

A high point came on September 12 when 7,000 workers marched out of the Lisnave naval shipyard in Alameda, past lines of troops stationed outside the plant to prevent their demonstration, and into the streets of Lisbon. A communication of the Lisnave workers, whose demonstration centered around the demand to "expunge all manifestations of fascism," stated: "We are not with the government when it promulgates anti-working-class laws, restricting the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation" (*Revolução*, 21 September 1974). Among the approved list of demands were: "Death to PIDE—Death to Fascism—Down with Capitalism," "Right to Strike, Yes—Lockout, No" and "Democracy for the Workers—Repression for the Reactionaries."

The march was carefully planned and held only after repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain official action against Salazarist elements in the company. (It was over this issue that Lisnave workers struck the shipyards in May.) The CP openly opposed plans for a march, but when a vote was taken by 6,000 workers shortly before the demonstration was to begin, only 25 opposed it. The Stalinists had previously been the strongest political group at Lisnave.

A tense moment came as the columns prepared to leave the yard. Three companies of special commandos, parachutists and military police had surrounded the entrance on government orders to prevent a demonstration. But when the workers began chanting "soldiers are the sons of the people" a number of riflemen broke down. The commander finally let the demonstrators pass rather than risk a confrontation.

The Key: Revolutionary Leadership

As the working class is becoming more politically educated, more disillusioned in the provisional government and the Communist Party, the groups to the left of the CP continue to tail behind the workers. While they may raise slogans for the expropriation of industry, for workers control of the monopolies and other demands which go beyond simple democratic rights, they abandon these slogans in the course of the actual workers' battles in favor of "support" to trade-union struggles.

The worst example of this tailism is provided by the workerists of the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) who continue to insist that the organization of the workers must take place *independently* of political parties. The tasks of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party would be exactly the opposite—to actively intervene in the workers' struggles with a program of transitional demands which would lead the workers to victory.

Such a program would include calling for immediate elections to a constituent assembly, immediate and total independence for Portuguese colonies and withdrawal of colonialist troops, military victory to the MPLA, for the con-

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday
and
Saturday } 3:00—6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday
through
Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.

Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

struction of a Leninist vanguard party in Southern Africa. Also, trial of criminals of the Salazarist regime by democratically elected people's tribunals, full freedom of the press, full right to strike and trade-union association, a sliding scale of wages and hours, equal pay for equal work, militant defense of the picket lines, expropriation of the monopolies and banks, workers control of industry, formation of democratically elected factory committees joined in a unitary organization of the working class, a workers government.

The urgent task of the hour, which concretizes the Transitional Program at this crucial moment in an escalating pre-revolutionary situation, is the call for united working-class self-defense. This would include local and factory defense groups, the seeds of a workers militia, and must be combined with the building of soldiers' committees in the army. It must also include the formation of workers soviets, unitary organizations representing the working masses and the embryo of a future workers state. The choice before Portuguese workers at this moment is to take decisive steps forward or face annihilation.

All workers parties, trade unions and other working-class organizations must join together to defend what few gains have been made since April 25 and to prevent a full-scale onslaught of frenzied capitalist reaction. The sectarianism of those like the Maoists of the MRPP, who refuse to collaborate with any other group even in the defense of their own victimized militants, is a criminal policy which will only serve to further atomize and isolate the beleaguered Portuguese working class. The demand that the reformist CP and Socialist Party join such a united-front workers defense could be decisive in exposing the true appetites of these class-collaborationist betrayers and in winning large portions of their ranks and followers to the side of genuine working-class struggle.

The Portuguese proletariat is facing a moment of decision. If proper leadership develops in time, the Portuguese working class stands ready to surge forward and overthrow its oppressors. But if revolutionary leadership, i.e., a Trotskyist party crystallized from the most advanced elements of the ostensible left and workers organizations, cannot be constructed in time, the Portuguese experience will simply be one more page in the history book of Stalinist betrayals. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

BAY AREA (415) 653-4658
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6, Norton Union,
SUNYAB, Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.,
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND (216) 687-1413
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON (713) 926-9944
Box 26474, Gulfgate Sta.,
Houston, TX 77032

LOS ANGELES (213) 485-1838
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90038

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704

MILWAUKEE
Box 6061, Milwaukee, WI 53209

NEW ORLEANS (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA (215) 667-5695
Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012

TORONTO
(Committee of Toronto Supporters of
the International Spartacist Tendency)
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario,
Canada



Troops of the P.A.I.G.C.

Continued from page 6 Guinea-Bissau ...

Times (4 September): "Now that we are independent our businesses will be run so that Africans can make bank loans, use credit and deal with importers and exporters." According to another *Times* report (9 September), "Although the white small-business men want to leave, large businesses controlled by whites plan to stay. These include the country's largest commercial enterprise, the União Fabril Company [CUF], a giant Portuguese international concern..." So far, PAIGC officials have made no statement about the monopoly's future, but it is noteworthy that the constitution does not speak of nationalizing foreign firms. If CUF stays, economic independence for Guinea will be entirely fictional.

FRELIMO Postpones Independence

With the new rulers of Guinea-Bissau proclaiming their willingness to work with the refurbished "democratic" representatives of Portuguese colonialism, the leaders of FRELIMO have gone a step farther. Although the Portuguese army was already in open rout in northern Mozambique, the nationalists agreed to push the date of independence back to 25 June 1975.

During the interim period "law and order" will be maintained by a joint FRELIMO-Portuguese government in which the prime minister and two thirds of the seats go to the Africans. Defense and foreign affairs, however, will be controlled by whoever holds power in Lisbon. A police corps will be set up by the transitional government, but in the meantime the Portuguese High Commissioner will control the colonial cops. Moreover, according to Article 10 of the Lusaka agreement:

"In case of serious disturbances of public order, requiring the intervention of the armed forces, command and coordination will be assumed by the High Commissioner, assisted by the prime minister, who will have direct charge of the armed forces of the Mozambique Liberation Front."
—*O Seculo*, 10 September

Exemplified in Portuguese control of FRELIMO armed forces, the orientation of the new government is clearly one of maintaining a stable colonialist regime. While dock workers' strikes have rocked Lourenço Marques several times since April 25, FRELIMO leader Samora Machel's message (read at the installation of the transitional government) announced, "In this situation and phase in the life of our country, strikes have no place... The order now is work and sacrifice" (*New York Times*, 21 September).

Build a Trotskyist Party!

Communists are resolute opponents of all forms of colonialism. We call for immediate independence for Portuguese colonies, for immediate withdrawal of all colonialist troops. We call for military victory for the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and called also for victory to the PAIGC and FRELIMO against



SL demonstrates, Boston.

the Portuguese forces. But at the same time we warned:

"Once in power the petty-bourgeois nationalists of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC will behave no differently than their predecessors and mentors in Conakry, Lusaka and Dar es-Salaam. They will not hesitate to smash the unions, jail Marxist revolutionaries and fatten their purses with the spoils of the bureaucracy. Only through a relentless fight to create Trotskyist parties committed to the proletarian program of permanent revolution can this be reversed."
—WV No. 46, 7 June

Quite a different perspective is offered by the revisionist fake Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" led by Ernest Mandel. The current issue of the USec publication *Inprecor* (19 September) calls for "Full Support to the PAIGC, MPLA and FRELIMO!" Mandel and Co. have recently taken a more critical attitude toward these left-nationalist formations, noting their "insufficiencies of analysis," "uneven

practices" and "multiclass conceptions," while also remarking that "many other elements will come into play in the future," and concluding on a note of Marxist "clarity" (?): "In the final analysis, then, the MPLA, the PAIGC, and FRELIMO constitute specificities in the history of the African revolution" (*Inprecor*, 4 July). Yes, indeed!

Behind the Maitanesque mumbo-jumbo of this pseudo-analysis, the USec position is apparently that the independence movements are basically healthy revolutionaries who haven't yet "got it together" theoretically. But, "in general the dynamics set in motion by the specific features of Portuguese colonialism and by the years of struggle have incontestably separated this revolutionary nationalism from the swamp of rightism and reformism" (*Inprecor*, 20 June).

This is just the sophisticated cover. A good example of the real USec position is the following gem from its Canadian sympathizing organization, the Revolutionary Marxist Group:

"FRELIMO's statements and press, while still resisting public calls (like those of Cabral) for socialist transformation, have definitely transcended the earlier and more restricted emphasis on the nationalist struggle. But the dynamic of FRELIMO's increasingly progressive practice is now tending strongly towards a fusion of revolutionary nationalism and socialism."
—*Old Mole*, September 1973

Cabral's open calls for "socialist transformation" have now been stricken from the PAIGC program, and FRELIMO's "increasingly progressive practice" turns out to be banning strikes and maintaining colonial law and order under Portuguese command! Once again the Pabloist belief that the "underlying dynamic" makes unnecessary the struggle for a proletarian leadership leads the revisionists to apologize for the current crop of bourgeois nationalist regimes. Pablo's paeans to the revolutionary virtues of the Algerian nationalists are repeated. Perhaps, again like Pablo, Mandel will soon be winging his way to Bissau or Lourenço Marques to advise these "unconscious Marxists" who have "incontestably separated... from the swamp of rightism and reformism" on how best to control the rebellious workers and peasants. ■



FRELIMO organizes fraternization of the troops.

Ford/Rockefeller...

of money capital into the hands of a few Arab sheiks and colonels. This caused severe monetary dislocations, placing whole countries such as Italy on the dole, while setting the stage for a possible series of collapses in the world's major financial institutions.

The \$80 billion of monetary reserves which has accumulated in the hands of the rulers of oil-producing countries creates substantial deficits for oil-consuming nations. Moreover, years of subsidizing U.S. balance-of-payments deficits have combined with the oil crisis deficits to put much of Europe in dire financial straits. Anticipating a series of bankruptcies in their major financial institutions, Common Market countries have been pushing schemes to "recycle" some of the petro-dollars their way. The U.S., which has received many of these dollars, is noticeably stand-offish to such proposals.

Ford's response to the economic crisis ranges from homesy slapstick to old-style sabre-rattling. The new "middle America" chief executive first suggested that families fight inflation by exchanging lists of helpful hints on how to conserve energy. He has since taken to reading these productions on television.

In a later speech, undoubtedly ghosted by the heavy hand of Henry Kissinger, Ford ranted about dictatorial abuses of "sovereign nations" and the threatening "breakdown of world order." The clear implication was that the U.S. would do the "breaking down." Soon after, Defense Secretary Schiesinger was hauled before the TV cameras to assure the public that no immediate invasion of Iran was in the offing. But, whether Ford's threats were meant only as verbal bombast or something more real, it is clear that under the blows of economic crisis the imperialists are moving toward trade war and even military conflict.

Of course, the anguished cries of oil blackmail which have recently issued from the White House are the purest hypocrisy. For years it has been government policy to hold down grain production in the U.S., despite the plight of the starving masses in the rest of the world. And Mr. Kissinger, currently portrayed in the press as brooding because of the revelations of CIA dirty tricks in Chile, is doubtless brewing similarly crude tactics for the Arab states behind his Hamlet-like facade.

"Easy Money" for the Bosses, Wage Controls for the Workers

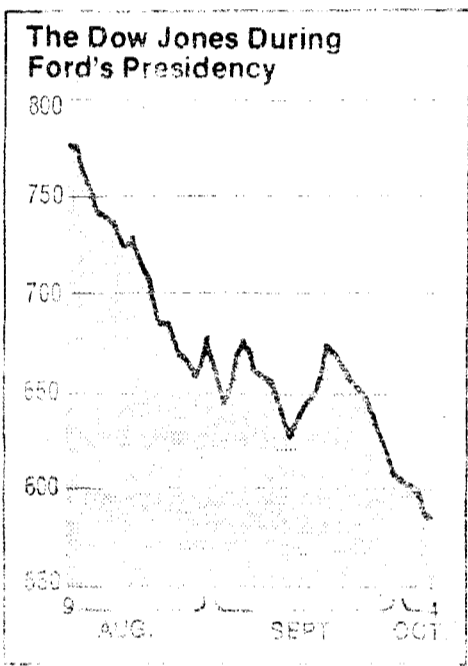
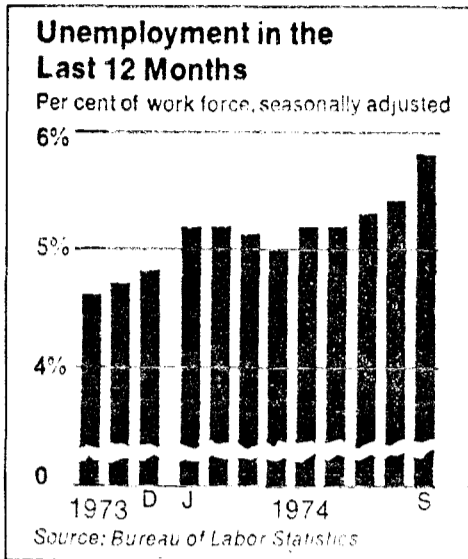
The reason for this illustration between a quick remedy and outlays of bullying militarism is clear. All of Ford's economic non-summits notwithstanding, capitalist economic strategists are powerless in the face of the developing crisis. The traditional bourgeois policies of war and deprivation are being increasingly banded about.

Starvation will continue to prevail as the bourgeois "solution" to decreased food production in the underdeveloped nations, while in the more advanced capitalist countries constricted markets will drive food prices ever higher.

Domestically the Ford/Rockefeller administration is opting for an "easy-money" policy combined with social-service cutbacks and wage restraints. (The more austere course of a deflationary program would immediately threaten the economy with a string of bankruptcies.) Thus in the past few weeks the Federal Reserve System has taken steps to "free-up" almost \$1.4 billion worth of credit for these profit-hungry robbers. These easy-money shenanigans are far from sufficient to satisfy Wall Street and stave off economic slump. However, they definitely add to the forces driving up inflation.

Another key element in the Ford scenario is wage controls. While the bourgeois press was filled with cate-

gorical denials that Ford would countenance state controls after the experience of Nixon's disastrous "Phase III," *Workers Vanguard* predicted (see "New Wage Controls Threaten," *WV* No. 52, 13 September) that the government would resort to wage controls as workers' strike militancy died down. Ford's proposed delay of Federal pay raises, recently rejected by the Senate, was but the first move in this direction. Business interests seem recently to have seen the handwriting on the wall. Economic consultants for America's leading financial and industrial institutions are recommending price increases to their clients in order to



protect profit margins against anticipated wage-price controls (*New York Times*, 28 September).

Reaction Down the Line

Gerald Ford, although a confirmed reactionary, had seemed to many like a breath of spring after the slitherings of the snake-time hood, Nixon. This veneer of "honesty" quickly crumbled, however, when Ford bestowed an unconditional, total pardon on America's foremost political gangster. In contrast, "draft dodgers" and "deserters" from the wanton slaughter in Indochina received an offer of two years of forced labor, adequate testimony to the compassion of the "even-handed" president. Heaping insult upon injury Ford then proceeded to plead with Congress for increased support to Vietnam's butcher Thieu.

The new commander-in-chief topped off his right-wing course by unconditionally supporting the policies of Kissinger in Chile, adding a bland assertion that the U.S. has the right to overturn any government it pleases. Ford's cover for this standard operating procedure of imperialism was his claim that the U.S. had funded poor, persecuted anti-Allende "opposition" parties and newspapers out of a commitment to "democracy." This hypocrisy is of a piece with the tale that the Bay of Pigs invasion was a spontaneous uprising of the Cuban masses.

In actual fact, Mr. Kissinger's current unpopularity in the eyes of the likes of the *New York Times* has nothing to do with the role he played in overthrowing the Allende government. Such

dealings are the norm for U.S. foreign policy. The coup was supported by U.S. liberals, including the *Times*. Mr. Kissinger is, however, one of the few remaining advocates of détente, a policy viewed with increasing disfavor in leading bourgeois circles.

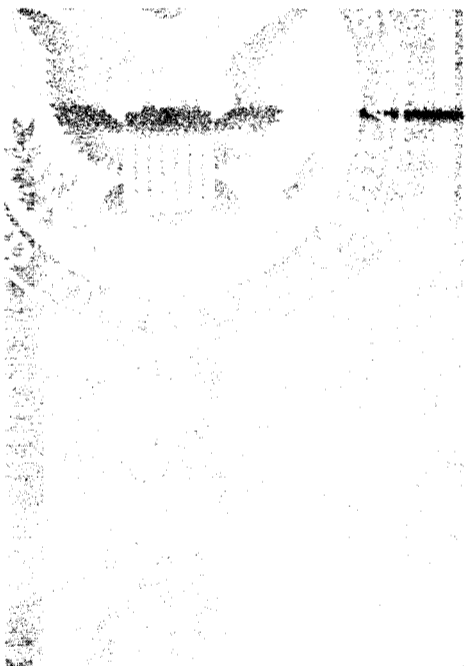
The nomination of Rockefeller as vice president is an additional proof of the reactionary character of the Ford regime. Ostensibly a "Republican liberal," the butcher of Attica is anti-détente, pro-budget cuts and as rich as they come in bourgeois politics. During the past few weeks Rocky has alternately "guessed" that his wealth was either \$32 million, \$66 million or \$218 million (the current figure). Yet in 1958 the holdings of the "Rockefeller group" were estimated to be \$61 billion, an amount which has surely grown past the \$100 billion mark today!

Mr. Rockefeller could not, however, keep his bloody role in the 1971 massacre of 35 inmates at New York's Attica State Prison out of his confirmation hearings. Angela Davis, testifying at the Senate hearings, made an ironic comparison between Rockefeller's defense of the Attica massacre with his description of Ford's pardon of Nixon as "an act of conscience, compassion and courage." This blatant hypocrisy marks all bourgeois morality and "justice," a fact Davis neglected to mention.

The Liberals Have It

Watergate plus Ford's rightward course seem to have given a boost to "anti-establishment" politicians during the current primary elections. Left-of-center candidates generally (but not always) profit during corruption clean-ups and economic downturns. Last month's New York State primaries, confirmed this tendency.

Most New York voters displayed their antipathy to bourgeois politicians by not bothering to cast a ballot. The remaining 30 percent expressed their disenchantment by rejecting all four



Henry Kissinger

of the candidates for important positions nominated by the normally powerful Democratic Party machine in that state. The winners ranged from the left-liberal maverick, Ramsey Clark, to the right-populist, Hugh Carey. The 1974 elections will almost certainly result in victory for Democratic liberals.

The Black Question—Key to American Politics

Both implicitly and explicitly the last three national elections were focused on the "black question." In the eyes of strata of the white population, especially those suffering from perpetual economic and social insecurity, the program of liberalism, from Kennedy and Johnson to McGovern, came to represent the threat of "social justice" and economic advancement for blacks at their expense. Liberalism was identified with "crime in the streets."

The seeming wane of Wallacism is not indicative of any change in white attitudes or in the political milieu. It reflects instead the general capitula-

tion of the liberal bourgeoisie to racist reaction, notably registered in recent Congressional votes over school-busing. By abandoning blacks the liberals have robbed Wallace of his big issue.

On the other hand, it is no accident that the income level of the black minority has recently been falling compared to whites. In major "inner cities" the rightward trend has been led by the liberal Democrat black mayors and their pork-chop nationalist promoters. Abandoning the struggle for school integration in exchange for a little patronage, these phonies are openly promoting the "theories" of Booker T. Washington—racial isolation and self-uplift. They have also demonstrated a casual willingness to let loose the hounds of repression on "their own" people.

Black people have become isolated from mainstream politics at a time when they are bearing the brunt of the current economic decline. Although the black question (e.g., busing, "law and order" demagoguery) is playing a diminished role in this election, this in no way alters the basic racist dynamic of American social reality.

The outbreak of cop terror directed against racial minorities and the recent anti-black violence in Boston around busing demonstrate the possibility for a rapid reawakening of racial politics in the U.S. However, at present, both black and white liberals and various brands of black nationalism are thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the black masses. There is an urgent need for and potentially great receptivity among the black population toward a workers party based on the trade unions, provided it addresses the aspirations of racial minorities for economic and social equality in American society. Only a perspective of united class struggle can answer their demands.

No Half-Way Solution to Capitalism's Decay

The worsening economic crisis reveals that capitalism cannot begin to answer or significantly ease the catastrophes it creates. At times like these socialism appears as the only rational solution to the problems of declining real income and growing unemployment. It is apparent that only the nationalization of the banks and industry, without compensation to the capitalists, and global planning can begin to answer the questions posed by the collapsing economy.

Reason alone will, however, never be able to separate the capitalist from his property. Only the united force of the working class can accomplish that end. There is, however, a major obstacle standing in the way of such unity, the trade union bureaucracy which continues to bind the working class to the Democratic Party. Its program is to bring the trade unions under the discipline of the capitalist state and subordinate the interests of the working class to the "welfare of the nation," that is, to what's good for the ruling class.

Currently the Meanyite bureaucracy has distinguished itself by leading the working class through the most disastrous decline in real wages since the early 1930's. This was accomplished in open collaboration with the anti-communist swindler, Richard Nixon. At a time when working and poor people have been subjected to an unbroken series of economic and political reversals, union tops refuse to sever their links with bourgeois political parties.

These phonies must be ousted if the working class is to avoid the sewers of ruling-class corruption and achieve political independence from the bourgeoisie as a step on the road to a revolutionary transformation of society. They must be replaced by a new leadership based on a class-struggle program capable of uniting all sectors of the working class, black and white. A key element in such a program is the call for a workers party, based on the trade unions, to struggle for a workers government. The demand for a labor party, raised by Trotskyists in the U.S. ever since the 1930's, is counterposed to any form of support for

capitalist parties or politicians.

The reformist, Stalinist Communist Party U.S.A. has responded to the current situation with its usual two-faced opportunism. During the last presidential campaign, the CP leadership came under criticism from its ranks for its backhanded support to Democrat George McGovern. Gus Hall, party chairman, responded to these complaints with a heavy dose of "left" demagoguery:

"For a Communist not to vote for a Communist violates the most elementary understanding of a class approach to struggle...."

"...the structure for the movement of political independence cannot be built within the Democratic Party."

—"A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters," 1972

Moreover, Albert Fitzgerald, president of the Stalinist-influenced United Elec-



WV PHOTO

trical Workers, called for a labor party at the recent UE international convention. UE representatives repeated this call at a recent conference sponsored by the CP-dominated Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy.

Yet no Communist Party candidate for political office has called for a labor party. The CP has instead used its campaigns to whip up interest in a preposterous "peoples" summit on the economy. Finally, the *Daily World* (October 5) carries an article comparing Ramsey Clark, Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York, to George McGovern in curiously baroque phraseology:

"If this is combined with retreats on program by Clark for 'the sake of unity with the Democratic leaders,' he might well end up in the same position as McGovern.

"Independent pressure on the issue is needed directed at both Javits and Clark. Only this type of struggle can lead to a defeat of Javits at the polls." [our emphasis]

Members and friends of the CP who have been called on to "defeat Goldwater," "defeat Nixon," etc., in the past will get the message—i.e., vote Clark.

The backhanded support to bourgeois parties from the CP is just one of many indications of its reformist character. It demonstrates that the Stalinists, although claiming to be socialists, are in fact no real alternative to the present pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. What is needed is a fight to break the working masses from the stranglehold of the capitalist parties. The resolution (printed elsewhere in this issue) recently passed by members of a unit of United Auto Workers Local 600 calling for a labor party and no support to Democrats and Republicans is an example of such a class-struggle orientation.

As AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters officials conduct their perennial collections for big-business politician "friends of labor," we urge militants to take up the fight for a workers party and for class-struggle caucuses in the unions, to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who are today the biggest obstacles to working-class independence. ■

Continued from page 4 British Elections...

(even if only temporarily) for the first time in decades.

To meet the economic crisis the Liberal Party has openly come out for a statutory incomes policy. After their experience with the miners not even the Tories are advocating wage controls. Nevertheless, an incomes policy is almost a certainty no matter what party is elected, including Labour. As this will be done in the name of national unity, the social contract or both, militants in the unions must launch a political struggle against Wilson's "social contract" and prepare to strike against the reimposition of wage controls.

The Conservatives are running on an open invitation to the Liberals for coalition. The *Economist* would like to see a Tory/Liberal coalition on the economic policies of the Liberals. However, the Liberals' political survival depends upon differentiation from the Conservatives. Therefore the Liberals are fond of speaking about how much closer they are to the BLP.

All the talk about coalitions naturally raises speculation about a Labour/Liberal coalition. Such a coalition would be a classical popular front in which the reformist working-class party formally subordinates the interests of the proletariat to its bourgeois coalition partners. Marxists can give no political or electoral support to such a "Lib-Lab" coalition, the very antithesis of working-class political independence. Fortunately, the British working class has had its fill of class-collaborationist coalitions in the past. Ramsay MacDonald's "National Unity" coalition with the Tories from 1931 to 1935 is still bitterly remembered by many Labour militants.

Oust Wilson—Vote Labour!

For sixty years the ultra-reformist, social-democratic Labour Party has compiled a miserable record of betrayal and capitulation. The BLP deserves to be swept into history's dustbin. But the British working class still has illusions in this political creature of the trade-union bureaucracy. The working class must be convinced in struggle that the BLP is not its "own" party. But so long as the mass of the workers believe it is, and on the condition that the BLP runs independently and refuses any class-collaborationist coalitions, we call on workers to vote for Labour against the capitalist parties.

While calling on British workers to cast their ballots for Labour in the upcoming election we do so warning that the BLP is incapable of carrying out policies in the revolutionary interests of the working class. On the contrary we wish to see Labour in power precisely in order to expose Wilson and Co.'s fundamentally pro-capitalist policies. Breaking the mass of workers from illusions in the treacherous BLP is critical to the construction of a revolutionary, Trotskyist party as the vanguard of the proletariat. Where ostensibly revolutionary groups are presenting candidates whose platform and campaign, despite flaws, present an essentially anti-reformist and anti-coalitionist thrust, militant workers should critically support such candidates, as a means for registering a protest vote against the class-collaborationist policies of the Labour tops.

—Vote Labour—No Coalitions! For a Labour/TUC Government Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Capitalist Class!

—No to the Social Contract! Prepare to Strike for Substantial Wage Increases and Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours!

—For Factory Occupations Against the Threat of Plant Shutdowns—Expropriate Bankrupt Industries—For Workers Control!

—Britain Out of the Common Market—For a Socialist Federation of the British Isles and a Socialist United States of Europe!

Continued from page 12 ...Feinstein Amendment

strikes, take politics out of bargaining, etc. It demagogically claims that "streetsweepers were demanding an annual wage of more than \$17,000 a year—more than police officers and firefighters now receive...." Interestingly, the Feinstein Amendment does not apply to three categories of city employees: police, firemen... and the Board of Supervisors!

As to the "\$17,000-a-year streetsweepers," city workers who attended the Labor Action Committee rally today provided the real story. Only one full-time sweeper has been hired by the city in the last three years and most of the sweepers are temporary employees, ineligible for pensions, insurance and other "fringes." Their bi-weekly gross pay is \$363—hardly a king's ransom—and the top pay for full-time sweepers is \$11,400 a year.

For Strike Action to Stop Proposition "L"

The union leadership has relied on the usual liberal arguments to counter

the open union-busting campaign by the Chamber of Commerce. One leaflet by the SEIU made much of a statement by a Chamber legal counsel that the Feinstein Amendment was "a legal disaster." But despite this electoralist, legalistic approach, whose axis is dependence on Alioto and the Democrats, sentiment for independent mass labor action is growing among the union ranks.

At a mobilization called by "Citizens United" last Saturday union officials spoke to approximately 300 city workers, many of them from the Laborers' union, and several times referred to the need for labor action. Dan Del Carlo, head of the Building Trades Council, referred to the San Francisco general strike of 1934 and said that to oppose the Feinstein Amendment labor must even work together with communists.

Union militants in the Bay Area must urgently raise the call for mass labor action, including a Bay Area-wide general strike, against the Feinstein Amendment. It is, of course, necessary to campaign for a "no" vote on Proposition L in the November elections, but the most decisive means to defeat this union-smashing, wage-cutting measure is to organize for militant strike action against it. The passivity of the unions is allowing the capitalists to scare the petty bourgeoisie with talk of higher taxes to pay "greedy" streetsweepers. But a decisive display of labor power, such as a two-day general strike just before the election, could win vacillating middle-class voters to labor's side.

With distrust of Alioto running high after his racist "Operation Zebra" last spring and the current scandal over his waterfront landgrab operation, S.F. labor leaders are beginning to feel the pressure to dissociate themselves from their Democratic "friends in City Hall." Thus the labor rally scheduled for October 19 is being built with a leaflet which does not mention a single bourgeois politician. It is necessary to take the demand for mass labor action to the unions and to this rally, to build rank-and-file opposition to the bureaucrats' passive electoralism. At the same time, communists and union militants must raise the call for a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government, in order to counter the union tops' dead-end class-collaborationist strategy of relying on the twin parties of capital. ■

Sub Drive Report

Area	Quota	First Week
Bay Area	325	55
Binghamton	25	9
Boston	160	100
Buffalo	35	15
Chicago	250	112
Cleveland	160	81
Detroit	250	221
Houston	50	5
Los Angeles	200	45
New Haven	25	8
New Orleans	15	1
New York	500	131
Philadelphia	75	64
Toronto	50	19
At Large	50	7
Total	2170	873

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST Enclosed is \$5 for 24 issues
 Enclosed is \$1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

SUBSCRIBE TO Young Spartacus

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

\$2

12 ISSUES

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. P.O., N.Y., N.Y. 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

S. F. Labor Under Attack

Strike Against Feinstein Amendment!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 7—Municipal employees here are facing a union-busting, wage-cutting offensive that is the most dangerous attack on Bay Area labor in decades. The so-called "Feinstein Amendment" to the S.F. city charter would virtually prohibit collective bargaining for city workers, tying their wages to a formula based on an average of salary levels in lower-wage areas of the state of California. This measure, which appears on the ballot in November as "Proposition L," would mean a wage freeze for two thirds of the city's employees, which in the context of continuing high inflation means a de facto sharp wage cut. Muni drivers (public transit) face an immediate cut of \$2,000 annually in fringe benefits if Proposition L passes. It is not surprising that the Chamber of Commerce is vigorously backing it, euphemistically labeling it the "Fair Pay Amendment."

Adoption of the Feinstein Amendment would be the signal for an anti-labor offensive by employers, "public" and private, throughout California. Nationally, President Ford has initiated a new attack on wages by attempting to cancel scheduled pay raises for federal workers. Already the press is speculating about when government wage controls will be reimposed. (Under Nixon's wage controls, since mid-1972 the real earnings of U.S. workers fell by 10 percent, the largest wage cut since the early 1930's.) The entire labor movement must be mobilized now to defeat the employers' offensive. Mass labor action must be the answer to these wage freeze/wage controls threats.

The leaders of the Bay Area union movement, however, demonstrate no inclination to undertake such action. As usual they are relying on their friends in the Democratic Party to bail them out. Official labor is banking everything on stopping the Feinstein Amendment at the polls, with all efforts being channeled into the "Citizens United Against Proposition L," a Democratic Party operation. Among the "honorary chairmen" of this "Citizens" committee are Mayor Joseph Alioto, Sheriff Richard Hongisto and all S.F. congressmen and state legislators.

In contrast to reliance on the Democratic Party of big business, groups and individuals in the workers movement who are campaigning for mass labor action against the union-busting amendment have joined together in a Labor Action Committee (LAC) to Stop Proposition L. The LAC, which was initiated by the Bay Area Spartacist League and includes among its endorsers more than a dozen union executive board members, committeemen and stewards from AFSCME, CWA, ILWU, TWU, UAW and UTU locals, demonstrated today at the S.F. City Hall.

Though the picket line was small, a rally afterwards attracted about 50 militant city workers. Labor Action Committee signs called for "Mass Labor Action to Stop Proposition L," and "For the Unrestricted Right to Strike and Full Bargaining Rights for Public Employees." Among the signs

and chants of the SL at the demonstration were "For a Bay Area-Wide General Strike to Stop Proposition L" and "Not Alioto, Feinstein or Ford, But a Workers Party—Oust the Bureaucrats."

"City Fathers" Answer Strike Wave

The Feinstein Amendment is the ruling class' counterattack to a near-general strike by San Francisco city workers last spring. The rolling strike wave in March began as a wage dispute between the city and the Service Employees' union (SEIU): the Board of Supervisors had offered a 2-5 percent



Dianne Feinstein

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

wage increase in the face of 9 percent inflation (since escalated to 13 percent). As picket lines were set up by SEIU ranks they were instantly respected by hospital workers, the Operating Engineers (who shut down sewage plants) and transit workers. At the height of the strike Muni, BART and AC Transit workers shut down all public transit service in and to San Francisco, and threats were made to close the airport, port and commuter rail service as well. Simultaneously, teachers took the AFT out on strike, although their contract was not linked to that of the SEIU.

Union leaders were eventually able to regain control from the rebellious ranks and force through a sellout pact. But the isolation and weakness of the bureaucracy was clearly noted by the bourgeoisie. The Feinstein Amendment is their answer: if labor tops can't enforce class peace, then collective bargaining will be outlawed! At a debate with S.F. Central Labor Council head Jack Crowley last month, Ms. Feinstein (who is president of the Board of Supervisors) stated flatly that, "collective bargaining won't work in the public sector." She also complained about "the crushing power that public

employees have" and condemned labor for its March strike as "not a responsible labor movement" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 25 September).

The continuing strike activity in the Bay Area (a three-week nurses' strike in June, a five-week construction workers' strike in June-July and the 62-day militant AC Transit strike in July and August) has already led local business interests to launch a crack-down on the unions. The S.F. Chamber of Commerce has held up payment of the raises won by city workers in March by filing a court suit on the grounds that the strikes were illegal.

"L" No!

The sweep of Proposition L is far broader. By determining wages according to the levels in other California cities, particularly open-shop Southern California, the Amendment would be a wage freeze for an indefinite period for more than 65 percent of city employees. According to the language of the measure, wage levels cannot be more than 3 percent above this "generally prevailing rate." Moreover, if the wage is lower it still may not increase more than 7.5 percent a year.

As a "concession" the Amendment states that no wages will be lowered. It permits the Board of Supervisors to grant a cost-of-living increase, but only based on the increase in the official U.S. c-o-l index from July to December of the previous year! In fact, this is a substantial wage cut even if a full c-o-l escalator were provided for the

six-month period. Moreover, the wage surveys on which salaries are to be decided will be based on rates which are one year out of date by the time they would be implemented in San Francisco.

Other provisions of the Amendment provide for advancement to maximum level salaries not only on the basis of seniority, but also on "the attainment of such standards of efficiency as the civil service commission shall by rule prescribe." This kind of "efficiency rating" is a favorite management weapon for victimizing union militants. Fringe benefits are not tied to other areas and, under the Amendment, would have to be approved by three fourths' vote of the Board of Supervisors. The obvious intent is to make it possible for a hard-line anti-labor minority to prevent increases in fringe benefits.

To understand the import of this measure it must be noted that in the past the wages of city-employed craftsmen had been linked (but not tied) to comparable job classifications in the private sector in San Francisco. Transit workers' pay had been linked to the average of wages in the two highest-paid major public transit systems in the U.S. This would now be repealed and the much lower California state average substituted.

In campaigning for Proposition L, Feinstein and her Chamber of Commerce backers have pulled out all the stops. One propaganda statement argues that the Amendment will prevent

continued on page 11

Endorsers of the "Labor Action Committee to Stop Proposition L" include the following:

WANDA ADAMS, shop steward, AFSCME Local 829*
HARRY ANDERSON, KPFA "In Transit"
G. BERLINEF, MUNI motorman*
GUS BILLY, committeeman, UAW Local 1364*
AL BROUSSARD, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
GERALD CLARK, member, ATU Local 192*
AL GREENGOLD, member, ATU Local 192*
Class Struggle League
Committee for a Militant UAW, UAW Local 1364
PATRICIA CULL, Carpenters Local 668*
JOHN DOW, Warehouse Union*
BILLY ELLIS, executive board member, TWU Local 250A*
CHARLES GARRY, lawyer
DONALD P. GILLIS, shop chairman, Oakland Parts Warehouse, UAW Local 1364*
STAN GOW, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
JOAN JORDON, Union W. A. G. E.
HOWARD KEYLOR, member, ILWU Local 10*
La Raza, S. F. State University
GENE MADDOX, Office and Professional Employees Union, Local 29,
president Union W. A. G. E.
BEN MARTINEZ, steward, CWA Local 9415*
JOYCE MAUPIN, OPEU Local 29, Union W. A. G. E.
DICK MEISTER, KQED*
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Locals 9415 and 9410*
ED NELSON, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
G. R. NIKKOLA, area representative, CWA Local 9490*
CHARLES PAYNE, steward, CWA Local 9415*
MARIE POINSON, steward, CWA Local 9415*
H. DON. SCHURR, president, UTU Local 239, Roadmen*
Spartacist League Spartacus Youth League
REGINALD THERIAULT, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
UE Local 1412
Women's Center, S. F. State University
Committee for Working Class Studies

*organizations listed for purposes of identification only.