

For A City-Wide General Strike!

NYC Faces Default

Ford, Carey, Banks Plan New Attacks on Workers' Living Standards

From the headline sessions of the *Daily News* to the board meetings of Chase Manhattan, the New York City "establishment" howls with indignation; the city's working masses wait with growing apprehension while their future is debated in Wall Street chambers and Washington corridors. A significant section of the ruling class has recoiled in anger and disbelief at Ford's "let-'em-default" speech. Addressing the National Press Club on October 29, Ford categorically announced he would veto any bills for federal guarantees against default by the city government of New York. He stated he was submitting "to the Congress special legislation providing the federal courts with sufficient authority to preside over an orderly reorganization of New York City's financial affairs" (*New York Times*, 30 October 1975).

The prospect that the center of U.S. finance capital will declare bankruptcy has produced a deepening fear in ruling circles that the ripple effect of default will seriously undermine the securities market and threaten the present fragile and lopsided upswing of a depressed economy. New York's fiscal crisis, only yesterday viewed by the bourgeoisie as simply an opportunity to break the unions, is increasingly seen as a threat to the banks as well. But the outraged "save the city" cries of Ford's bourgeois critics, like Governor Carey, William Proxmire and David Rockefeller, conceal merely a different scheme for continued union-busting and the further emiseration of New York City's beleaguered inhabitants.

Bail-Out "Versus" Bankruptcy

The bail-out bankers and the bankruptcy fundamentalists are now locked in furious rhetorical combat. Ford's speech to the National Press

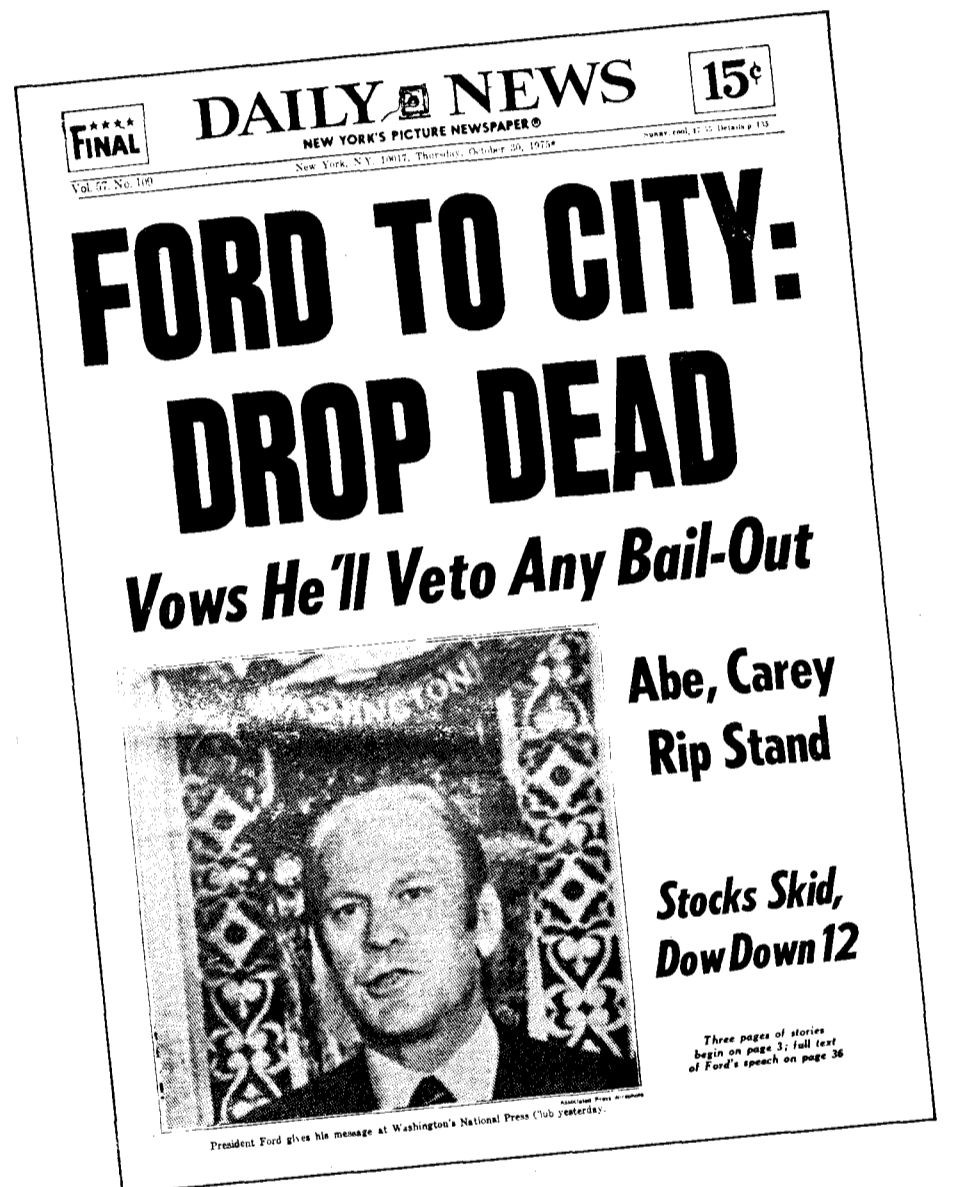
Club was a kind of economic "Southern Strategy." Calling for "hard decisions" and "straight talk," he repeated the litany of free-trade capitalism's old-time religion. New York City ought to be run the way any small business runs in Grand Rapids: get in debt, go bankrupt. "The harder you try, the luckier you get," preaches Ford with characteristic inanity.

No one should be too surprised that Ford, vying for the Republican nomination, should talk like Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. The game played by the twin parties of capitalism is that the Republicans are the "party of philosophy" while the Democrats are the party of "pragmatic program." For the most part only the talk is different. Ford's "Drop Dead" strategy for New York is part of the phony "balance the budget" sloganeering that has been Republican stock-in-trade for years. Facing a challenge in his own party, Ford needs to out-Reagan Reagan, appealing in coded language to racist sentiment. Attacking New York City's Democratic politicians who "will not face up to the city's massive network of pressure groups," Ford is promising he will not be "soft" on blacks, ethnic minorities and welfare recipients.

The Democratic politicians Ford assails for fiscal profligacy have already, in the name of fiscal austerity, engineered a collision course with the municipal unions. For months the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) has hacked away at city spending: laying off 25,000 city workers, closing hospitals and firehouses, overcrowding classrooms through teacher cuts and slashing public transportation service while increasing fares by forty percent. Waving the threat of default and "payless paydays," MAC, assisted by the treachery of the city-patriotic labor bureaucracy, has torn up contracts, frozen wages and drained pension funds into the reckless purchase of MAC bonds. The remnants of rent control, City University open admissions and free tuition are under attack from the advocates both of bankruptcy and of default.

Ford's default program is primarily a threat to bludgeon the labor movement. The bail-out backers are no less eager for this prospect, but are wary about the effect of default on the banks. And the banks do have something to worry about. "The New York banks hold roughly 23 per cent of their equity capital in M.A.C. and city securities," according to a banker interviewed in the 8 September *New York Times*. An FDIC survey showed 60 banks that held "New York City securities equivalent to 50 per cent or more of their total capital" and 25 which had "more than 70 per cent of their capitalization tied up in city securities" (*New York Times*, 26 September).

Although united in their craving to crush the municipal unions and cut back social services, important elements of



the bourgeoisie are at loggerheads with Ford's lunge for the jugular vein of "sin city." Former ideologues of fiscal purity like the heads of Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank now support bail-out plans like the congressional Proxmire-Stevenson Bill. Economic cave man Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve, worries that default could "injure the recovery process now underway in our national economy" (*New York Times*, 3 October).

Foreign capital apparently takes an equally dim view of Ford's willingness to tamper with a shaky economy. The conservative London *Economist* fretted on 18 October, "If their words are any guide, Mr. Ford and Mr. Simon see financial integrity as a thing very like virginity, easy to lose and difficult to recapture without divine intervention." Others joined in the cautionary chorus. "If he sticks to his resolve it will be an act of monumental folly," lamented the London *Times* on 31 October. "It is no exaggeration to say that for the financial system of the United States, for the reputation of that country, and for the rest of the non-Communist world it could be a disaster.... The city's default will be seen and exploited by others as evidence that the American system does not work."

Ford's laissez-faire rhetoric is rooted in the neanderthal economics peddled

by the Republican Party during election years. But the influential *Wall Street Journal* supports Ford's plan for bankruptcy, saluting his "Dutch uncle lecture" as "highly appropriate" and welcoming the opportunity to reduce the "unreasonably generous salaries and pension benefits" of city workers.

The Proxmire-Stevenson Bill for federal guarantees to city bonds expresses the neo-Keynesian approach favored by the Democrats. But despite different rhetorical appeals aimed at their respective constituencies and the considerably greater element of risk in Ford's plan, the two approaches share fundamental goals: cut the state bureaucracy, break the city unions and force New York's working people onto short rations while extending the hand of federal benevolence to any capitalists who suffer in the process. Both plans would put the city under draconian federal control, forcing even deeper cutbacks than those already in effect. The liberals' bill would protect the banks by attempting to prevent default; Ford's plan encourages default but would shore up banks who suffer a cash shortage by throwing open the Federal Reserve's "discount window" where they can sell short-term notes or borrow on their municipal bonds. In addition, the federal courts would require that the

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**Portugal:
"MFA-
People
Alliance"
Tightens
Workers'
Belts....6**

AT&T Suspends Hundreds for Honoring Picket Lines

Break Phone Lockout in NYC!

NEW YORK, October 31—AT&T management has slapped a four-day suspension on members of Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 1150 for the apparent crime of union solidarity: honoring the picket lines of striking Western Electric installers (CWA Local 1190). The installers' two-and-a-half-day walkout was in response to company moves to subcontract work traditionally in 1190's jurisdiction. Seven CWA locals honored the picket lines, although the strike was not sanctioned by the International. Local 1150 has been singled out for a virtual lockout, the third time large numbers of 1150 members have been suspended in little over a year. This is nothing more than a vicious management attempt to demoralize the workforce and crack union solidarity.

Early reports indicate that the company's tactic is having some success. Phone workers told *Workers Vanguard* that many 1150 workers are grumbling that their defense of Western Electric workers has only gotten them into hot water. Such demoralization must be laid squarely at the feet of the timid and treacherous CWA bureaucracy, which has promoted a long history of scabbing in the phone industry and refuses to take immediate militant action to prevent this sort of victimization. For years, phone strikes have been undermined by leadership-directed scabbing of one CWA local against another: craft against operators, IBEW against CWA and vice versa. What is most notable about the recent strike is that so many CWA locals stuck together. To preserve this important solidarity what is needed is a militant, unified strike by all New York City phone workers to demand the immediate reinstatement of 1150's workers with full back pay and clearing of their records. But no CWA leader has suggested such action, not even 1150's own officers.

Currently, the 1150 leadership's tape-recorded office message weakly protests the suspension, whining that "the best we can do is get speedy arbitration" and "our fate now rests in the hands of an impartial third party"—as if "impartiality" existed between labor and capital! Reliance on the overwhelmingly pro-company decisions of arbitrators is a recipe for defeat. AT&T's lockout must be broken by an immediate city-wide strike.

The strike which precipitated AT&T's lockout began in Western Electric, a subsidiary of the Bell system. Leaders of Western Electric Local 1190 had passively watched as over half the union's membership was laid off. But the recent contracting out to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 3 of work that fell in 1190's jurisdiction sparked tremendous membership pressure for action. The work, installation of fire alarm circuits, has also been a subject of dispute with the major New York craft local, CWA Local 1101. 1101 members told *Workers Vanguard* that they had been assigned about 70 percent of these jobs, with 20 percent going to the IBEW.

The final settlement seems sure to inflame jurisdictional rivalries. 1190 got back a little over half the work given to the IBEW and a temporary reprieve on the scheduled layoff of over 100 additional installers. But in a phone company maneuver that can only pit worker against worker for a declining number

of jobs, 1190 will now be allowed to bid on outside work that has always been the IBEW's!

Rubbing salt in the wounds of the union, the company has given the local a one-day suspension (executive board members drew at least 4 days off) for its strike action! This defeat only underscores the fact that jurisdictional fights for a handful of jobs will not replace the crucial task facing the CWA nationally: strike action for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to halt the phone industry's escalating job-cutting drive of automation, layoffs, firings and attrition.

Not all New York City CWA locals went out in solidarity with the striking Western Electric installers. In sharp contrast to the seven striking locals, leaders of Locals 1194 (Western supply) and 1109 (Brooklyn craft) ordered their workers to scab. 1109 president Al Ruggiero reportedly told stewards to scab-herd because "1190 never did anything for us." He further said that some Brooklyn workers might get laid off if they struck. This is not a surprising statement. It comes from the mouth of the International's flunkey, the man who split away the Brooklyn craft workers from 1101 after the militant seven-month strike of 1971.

Numbered among the scabs were the Bell operators in the pro-company Telephone Traffic Union, whom the CWA leadership has failed to organize because it turns a deaf ear to the Traffic department and the special needs of the women workers. Some clerks and operators in AT&T Long Lines also scabbed, despite threats of disciplinary action by 1150 leaders.

Even among the CWA local leaders backing the strike, support was far from unconditional. *Workers Vanguard* learned Tuesday that 1101 leaders instructed members to cross picket lines if 1190's strike was directed at regaining the circuit laying assigned to 1101. When these bureaucrats learned that the 1190 strike was not aimed at 1101 jobs they decided to honor the picket lines. On Friday *Workers Vanguard* also learned that a meeting late Thursday night of down-state local presidents pressured the Western Electric negotiators to take whatever deal they could get, threatening to send their locals back to work by Monday morning in any case.

The strike was also seriously weakened by the half-hearted picketing efforts initiated by the 1190 leadership. In most cases only one Western Electric picket was assigned to major New York Telephone buildings. Some buildings simply were not picketed. Management could thus cross the lines with impunity and take over enough work to maintain phone service. This avoidance of mass picketing has become a hallmark of CWA-led strikes.

While Local 1190 was perfectly justified in striking to preserve work in its jurisdiction, it is now urgent that New York CWA locals take the offensive to prevent the victimization of the 1150 members who went out in solidarity with the 1190 strikers.

—For a City-Wide Strike Against Layoffs and Reprisals!
—Reinstate all 1150 Members with Full Back Pay and Clean Records!
—For a Full Cost-of-Living Clause! For a Shorter Workweek with No Loss in Pay!
—Jobs for All!

Letters

[Bangladesh]

27 October 1975

Dear friends,

I appreciate your ideas expressed in "Racism and Gun Control" (*WV*, No. 80). At a time when the reformist SWP is demanding federal troops for protecting the blacks at Boston and relying upon the cops for its own defence from the right wing thugs, at a time when the Healyite WRP members can have a firearm only on pain of expulsion (*Bulletin*, 7 October), you have struck a different and Marxist note.

What Engels noted in the case of France remains equally valid for other countries even today: following every revolutionary uprising the disarming of the workers remains the first commandment of the bourgeoisie at the helm of the State. It was realised by the Trotskyists in India and Bangladesh and that is why while the bourgeoisie in Bangladesh proceeded to disarm the workers and peasantry [early] in 1972, the Trotskyists have demanded the repeal of the Arms Act, a legacy of British rule in the Indian sub-continent. The Kremlin bureaucrats and their agents have however sided with the bourgeoisie there.

But their defence of the bourgeois monopoly on arms is not limited to countries like India and Bangladesh where a national bourgeoisie in power is supposed to be progressive, even revolutionary. President Ford does represent the forces of monopoly, but the warriors against monopoly capital that run the Soviet press have written a lot of stuff commenting on the attempts to murder Ford and have not hesitated to suggest disarming the American citizens to save Ford! I wonder how could you ignore it.

Though it may or may not be wise to use arms at a particular time, it is totally wrong to preach reliance on the bourgeois state. The Stalinists as anti-working class forces may and do preach it, but not the Trotskyists. The fact that the SWP, Workers League and their allies do that proves the obvious: they are renegades, Pabloites and not proletarian revolutionaries.

The latest developments in the SWP satellite in India (Communist League of India—CLI) have demonstrated it beyond doubt. Applying the SWP policy on Boston to its own country, the CLI Hindi organ, *Mazdoor Kisan Kranti* (Workers and Peasants Revolution), has demanded special government bodies to protect the untouchables and women. Kailas Chandra, a leader of the CLI and also a member of the IEC of the United Secretariat, has praised Indira Gandhi and welcomed her emergency measures in a money-making journal he edits and publishes. Despite Hansen's great concern for democracy, another of his friends in India, Indre Sen, is now a staunch supporter of Indira's coup. Mr. Hansen has not tried to correct his allies in India so far if he does think they are wrong, but I do not think he does. As I wrote to you earlier, his logic leads to the support of Indira Gandhi. Like the bureaucrats at the Kremlin, Hansen wants to disarm the working class not only literally, but politically—the former is closely linked to the latter.

Farooq Alim

15 October 1975

Comrade Editor:

At the risk of sounding like one of the disingenuous phantom worker-correspondents of *News & Letters* or *Workers' Power*, I find myself compelled to write to congratulate you on the overall quality of *WV*, and of issue

no. 80 in particular. You have succeeded in making the rest of the left press unreadable. One of my main criticisms of your paper in the past was a lack of coverage of U.S. political issues broader than the left—you read my mind and came out with the truly excellent piece on gun-control. Even your article on the Zaslow debate—which I attended—managed to teach me something new—the facts of Z's past. Very impressive!

The seriousness with which you take the united-front approach to defense work is also impressive; it hardly gibes with the image of sectarianism your adversaries (including me, in the past) try to pin on you.

My own particular interests would be served by these suggestions for coverage:

—A more thorough run-down on the left spectrum in Portugal, in particular the PRP-LCI-LUAR "Revolutionary" United Front. You have done a good job of exposing their past atrocities, but I'm not clear on the nature of their general political approach, base, etc.

—What are Harrington and the other Social-Democratic formations up to?

—Does the '72 split in the labor bureaucracy on whom to support seem likely to repeat itself in '76?

—Is my impression that U.S. Maoism has undergone a precipitate collapse, and that all the party-building postures have come to naught, exposing all the groups as sects with shrinking peripheries, merely a subjective impression, or are these groups still growing? Obviously, they must still be contended with, but how important are they?

I know these issues are secondary from the point of view of the SL's main priorities, but I would be interested to see what you had to report on these questions from the point of view of personal interest.

Let me make clear that I do not always share the SL's views, though I regard you as the most serious non-Stalinist national group in the U.S.

In any case, I'm sending you \$10 as a token of support. Use \$5 to extend me for a year, and use the rest as a contribution.

For socialism,
A friend in California

CORRECTION

The article "S.F. CWA Tops Slam Door on Fired Militant" published in *WV* No. 83 erroneously reversed the numbers of the San Francisco and Oakland CWA locals. The San Francisco local is CWA 9410, while the Oakland local is CWA 9415.

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Baraka's Electoral Follies

National Black Assembly: Another Dead End for Black People

The National Black Assembly (NBA), founded three years ago at the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, has announced its intention to "run a black presidential candidate in 1976 who would not be the candidate of either the republican or democratic parties" (*Unity and Struggle*, July 1975). At first glance this might appear to be a drastic change in orientation for an organization whose two conventions shelved resolutions calling for an independent black party and whose Political Council is chaired by Richard Hatcher, Democratic mayor of Gary. But the NBA's decision to espouse an "independent" campaign is merely a temporary "left" posture reflecting two parallel developments: the Assembly's virtual abandonment by major black politicians and the verbal left turn of its Secretary-General, Amiri Baraka.

Baraka has consolidated his position as spokesman and prime mover in the Assembly, surviving competition from black elected officials and a red-baiting campaign spearheaded by NBA president Ron Daniels. The evolution of Baraka and his organization, the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), from cultural nationalism to "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is part of the same process which has led the NBA to the decision to run an "independent" presidential candidate.

From Gary to Little Rock

The withdrawal of Congressional Black Caucus members and other prominent black politicians from the NBA has allowed Baraka to become a big fish in a shrinking pond. The Gary convention, which drew 8,000 people, was attended by many black elected officials who hoped to pressure the Democratic Party for a bigger share of political patronage and more black candidates. Baraka and the bourgeois politicians agreed on the need for a "Black brokerage" for the 1972 elections but split on the question of who would run it. In a position paper, "National Overview," circulated at Gary, the CAP leader explained his game-plan:

"Some group of Blacks will be bargaining with whites for some power, goods and services. This group must include grassroots people and nationalists! In the past it has not. We have been content to criticize the bargainers; rather than seizing some part of the bargaining process for the advance of the entire community. The structure that we must see exist as a national Black political structure, after the convention, must be the 'official' brokerage structure. We must see to this."
—*Black World*, October 1972

But the politicians preferred taking their marching orders from George McGovern, who had a far bigger pork barrel than Amiri Baraka. So they dropped the convention's main "achievements," the NBA and the National Black Political Agenda, like a hot potato. Some hung on a bit longer because they needed a little more space to maneuver. Baraka's account of the convention leaves little room to misunderstand the motives of the black Democrats who continued to flirt with the NBA:

"Charles Diggs was publicly 'iced' from the leadership of that [Congressional Black] Caucus, so his position, at least, stands in relief by that occurrence. Ron Dellums, whose California 'left' popu-



Baraka with Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, at 1972 Black Political Convention.

lism has made him a radical Congressional voice on his own, also seems to stand in some relief from the others."
—*ibid.*

But the drastic drop in interest from Gary to the 1974 Little Rock convention, which drew fewer than 2,000 people, and Baraka's rhetorical shift to "Marxism-Leninism" have driven many of the remaining politicians away. Diggs resigned as NBA president on the eve of the Little Rock convention to be replaced by Ron Daniels, a TV show moderator and head of a community organization in Youngstown, Ohio. Assembly treasurer Hannah Atkins, an Oklahoma state representative, resigned this January solidarizing with Daniels' red-baiting attack on Baraka:

"I doubt seriously whether the constituency inside the Assembly which adheres to communism is large enough to warrant representation within the leadership of the NBPA."

And Daniels suggested that Gary mayor Hatcher may soon follow suit (*Black World*, October 1975).

So Baraka has inherited leadership of the NBA by default. How useful a vehicle it will prove for CAP's leap into big-time reformism remains to be seen. What is crystal clear is that the Assembly's projected presidential campaign does not represent a step toward independent class politics for the black masses but is an ill-fated venture into bourgeois third-party politics. It is based not on a fundamental political break with bourgeois politics but on a futile conjunctural attempt to pressure both capitalist parties to the left. Introducing the proposal to the November 1974 national political council meeting, Baraka urged that the Assembly "unite all those who can be united regardless of whether they are socialists or nationalists or elected officials or moderates...to struggle against the rightward moves of both the Republican and Democrat parties" (CAP Ideological Paper, "The National Black Assembly and the Black Liberation Movement").

In an interview with *Black World* (October 1975), Ron Daniels listed some possible candidates for the NBA campaign: Congressmen Ron Dellums and John Conyers, Georgia legislator Julian Bond and Dick Gregory. In the same issue Baraka accurately describes the concept as "a popular front campaign." Since it must win support from the black masses while not embarrassing any of the black bourgeois politicians it hopes to attract, the NBA campaign program must, of necessity, be a hodgepodge of minimal reformist demands and black nationalist demagoguery.

Black Agenda: Recipe for Confusion and Betrayal

The opportunists connected with the NBA have always regarded the question of political program as a matter of little consequence. The Gary convention adopted the Black Agenda, a makeshift program intended to touch all bases in the "black community." For those inclined to bourgeois philanthropy, it proposed a new charity, the Black United Fund. The Agenda also included a number of supportable reform demands like free medical care for all families earning less than \$10,000, free public transportation, free public education and a higher minimum wage. In its final form, the Agenda was largely the work of Walter Fauntroy, non-voting congressional delegate from the District of Columbia.

The Black Agenda's grab bag of demands included some designed to appeal to radical nationalists, principally the reactionary call for "community

control" of the police and schools. Like the organization's hostility to busing, these proposals for formalizing and deepening the racist status quo play into the hands of white segregationists. Even in its heyday, the radical black movement could not generate a program capable of ameliorating the poverty and daily degradation of the black ghetto masses. Realization of the program of even the most "revolutionary" nationalists would do no more than create careers for a black petty-bourgeois layer in administering schools, poverty agencies and a "blackened" but no less brutal police force.

The Agenda projected organizing all-black labor unions parallel to unions

excluding blacks. No perspective was raised for fighting to open racist job-trusting craft unions to black workers, nor for struggle within the integrated industrial unions to oust the conservative, racially insensitive bureaucracies and thereby mobilize the power of the organized labor movement in the fight against racial oppression.

The Agenda raised utopian demands for billions of dollars in reparations for the hundreds of years of slavery and discrimination and for "Land Banks" to be used for "cooperative crop production, soil fertilization and animal husbandry." A nod was made in the direction of "black capitalism" with the proposal for a federally funded "Black development agency...for the purpose of facilitating Black ownership and/or control of the full range of business and service enterprises now serving ghetto communities."

This "program" produced at Gary was supposed to concretize Baraka's conception of "unity without uniformity." Although the Agenda served as an excuse (coupled with anti-busing and anti-Israel resolutions) for the NAACP and several legislators to dissociate themselves from the convention, the ink was hardly dry before the program was promptly forgotten by its authors.

The vague catch-all character of the Agenda flowed directly from the attempt of the convention organizers to paper over the class antagonisms that exist among black people, uniting black workers and potentially revolutionary students, community organizers and rank-and-file members of nationalist



Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana.

groups with black bourgeois politicians, black businessmen like Gary convention treasurer Alvin Boutte, president of Chicago's Independence Bank, and black capitalist/nationalist hucksters like CORE's Roy Innis, Rev. Jesse Jackson and Black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan.

Phony Socialists and Fake "Independence"

The typically opportunist response of fake-socialist organizations to the Gary convention and the Black Agenda was a telling indicator of the jerry-built character of the program. The Communist Party, then simultaneously

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Transcripts of Philip Allen Bail Proceeding

Philip Allen, the young black student framed up on charges of voluntary manslaughter and assault on Los Angeles sheriff's deputies, remains behind bars at Chino State penitentiary—his bail revoked during appeal.

WV reprints here selected passages from the transcripts of Allen's bail proceedings in which the court first set bail during appeal and then revoked it. Taken as a whole the transcript is a stinging indictment of capitalist "justice," rich in examples of the arbitrary abuse of judicial power, racist contempt, bungling mendacity and self-righteousness. But we have chosen those portions of the transcript which most clearly highlight the political motivation behind the court's class "justice" in revoking Allen's bail.

Those who believe that blacks, communists and labor militants can get a fair trial from the courts of capitalism need only consult the record—from Sacco and Vanzetti to the Rosenbergs to Hurricane Carter—to be proved wrong. Philip Allen's conviction and bail revocation demonstrate once again the invidious procedures of a vicious court system that frames up its victims and then covers up its own criminality. In the process the most elementary democratic rights are dumped, the most "sacred" constitutional guarantees are denied for the sake of expediency of political purpose. This bail revocation hearing is one such atrocity.

We present the following selections not only to prove the point that Philip Allen was denied democratic rights, but also because in this transcript there is something to learn about the motives, machinations and narrow political class interests of the men who sit in judgment for the capitalist class.

OCTOBER 2, 9:40 A.M.

[The COURT is Judge Laurence J. Rittenband. Burton Katz is the County Deputy District Attorney. Philip Allen's defense lawyers are Lawrence W. Steinberg and Ben Wyatt.—WV]

MR. KATZ: ... We vigorously oppose the granting of any bail, the setting of any bail at this time. We feel that to do so would be to impair the carrying out of the orderly processes and orders of the Court; namely, to get on with the sentence, and refer now the defendant to the Adult Authority for the term prescribed by law.... I think that the defendant's attitude is extremely critical and important in this area, and this is that he continues to profess his innocence. He continues to refuse to accept the responsibility of his acts, to show any remorse, or to state that he was in anyway involved, peripherally involved, or otherwise, with the shooting of Officer Day and Leschinsky, and the killing of Officer Darden Hollis....

THE COURT: I have noticed, all throughout these proceedings, that the defendant was most punctilious in appearing in this court when he was supposed to. He was never late, that I know of, not on one single occasion....

And I am positive that if I were to release him on bail, pending the appeal, that if the appeal was adversely decided, he would appear in this court to have sentence meted out, and he would not in any way disappear, because he would be doing these people [supporters of Allen who contributed to his bail—WV] a terrible, terrible, and a grave injustice; because they've put out—a number of them have put out, as I understand, monies from their savings. And maybe many of them have given more than they could afford in order to put up the bond.... So, contrary to the recommendation of the District Attorney, I am going to permit bail in this case, because bail is only intended for the purpose of assuring that the defendant will appear at the time of sentence, in the event that the appeal finally is determined adverse to him.

I am going to fix bail in the sum of \$25,000....

(Whereupon, at 11:50 A.M., an adjournment was taken in this matter until 1:30 P.M. of the same day.)

2:05 P.M.

THE COURT: ... I might as well tell you now for the record, it has come to my attention, on extremely good authority—as a matter of fact, from people who actually heard—that your client has been on television, in effect, inciting and agitating against the Sheriffs and the Police Department and again characterizing the police officers as being pigs.

And I think that this kind of activity might—should not be—it's a matter of discretion with me as to whether I want to permit him on bail.

And if he's going to engage in activities of that kind, and incite the people against authority or police officers, I won't permit him out on bail. I'll tell you that now quite frankly....

MR. KATZ: ... I heard additionally, your Honor, that he and his mother are going up to the San Francisco area to appear for the San Quentin Six, in order

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

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- Early Communist Work Among Women: The Bolsheviks
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- The Legend of "Red Emma"
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- The Oppression of Muslim Women

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to appear as political figures, and support funds—or the procurement of funds, in order to underwrite legal expenses of the San Quentin Six, as well as to tell of his experiences with respect to the abuse of legal authority in connection with his conviction, and to refer to the establishment as pigs and racists....

MR. KATZ: ... I think that either Mr. Allen or, through his sanction, people in support of him, in their overzealous attempt to condition a public opinion that he is being railroaded, that he's a victim of racial prejudice, and that the pigs' and the fascists' political structures that exist in the United States, is making sure that minorities are not able to secure their fair...measure of justice.... Mr. Allen himself, in apparent control of the supporters, who has the ability to say, "Wait a minute, stop what you are doing; you are not helping my cause. You are misrepresenting"—Mr. Allen, who has the ability not to act as a poppycock or a little martinet, or a political hero or anything else, or a great martyr, and say, "Wait a minute. My lawyers are doing the job. That's as it should be under the system."...

THE COURT: I frankly believe that with activities of the kind that he's been engaging in, I'd rather not have him out on bail on appeal, so maybe you'd better get the bail from the Court of Appeal.

MR. STEINBERG: Your Honor, I hope you are not saying—

THE COURT: I'm saying that it's in my discretion. And if he's going to continue conduct—if he's going to continue conduct, which is all that he's doing, is agitating and stirring up people—I'm not going to permit him out on bail....

OCTOBER 7, 9:40 A.M.

MR. KATZ: ... When you consider all of these things, together with the fact that the defendant himself has acknowledged no complicity in the offense which resulted in the death of one officer and the shooting of two other officers, the fact that he does not in any way recognize his transgressions, the fact that he has distorted his involvement, in connection with the killing of one police officer and the shooting of two others—and I now refer to a tape which I am going to ask be made part of the record, which is a Channel 7 news videotape, which contains the coverage of a protest proceeding which was held at Los Angeles City College on October 1st,

1975, the day before the sentencing in this case, and which was covered by Judd Hambrick, the news commentator.... And this is what the Court has to consider: The defendant not admitting his guilt, even though he's been convicted and conclusively proven to be guilty beyond a reasonable doubt and to a moral certainty.... I submit that's a fact that the Court has to consider, because the Court feels—excuse me—because the defendant feels he has been railroaded, that he's been framed, he is not likely to appear....

MR. STEINBERG: Might I be heard, your Honor?

I rise to what I think are really important questions of reasonable bail, due process of law, freedom of speech, and the openness of our appellate processes.... I am much struck by what Mr. Katz says of the necessity, in order to be granted bail, for my client, in effect, to concede his guilt.

Your Honor—and I say this not as a joke, and not in—as a matter of humor, but I say that is a truly tragic Catch 22 kind of thought, where the condition of achieving the right to seek untrammelled access to appellate review is based upon the defendant's admitting that he is not entitled to succeed.

I cannot conceive of the concession of the defendant that he is guilty as being any kind of possible consideration with regard to the granting of bail pending appeal. That is simply unthinkable, your Honor....

THE COURT: ... you can't call it a racist thing. And I pointed that out to you before.

I'm not making a spectacle out of this for the benefit of the people that you invite here.

MR. STEINBERG: Your Honor, I do not invite people.

THE COURT: They come somehow.

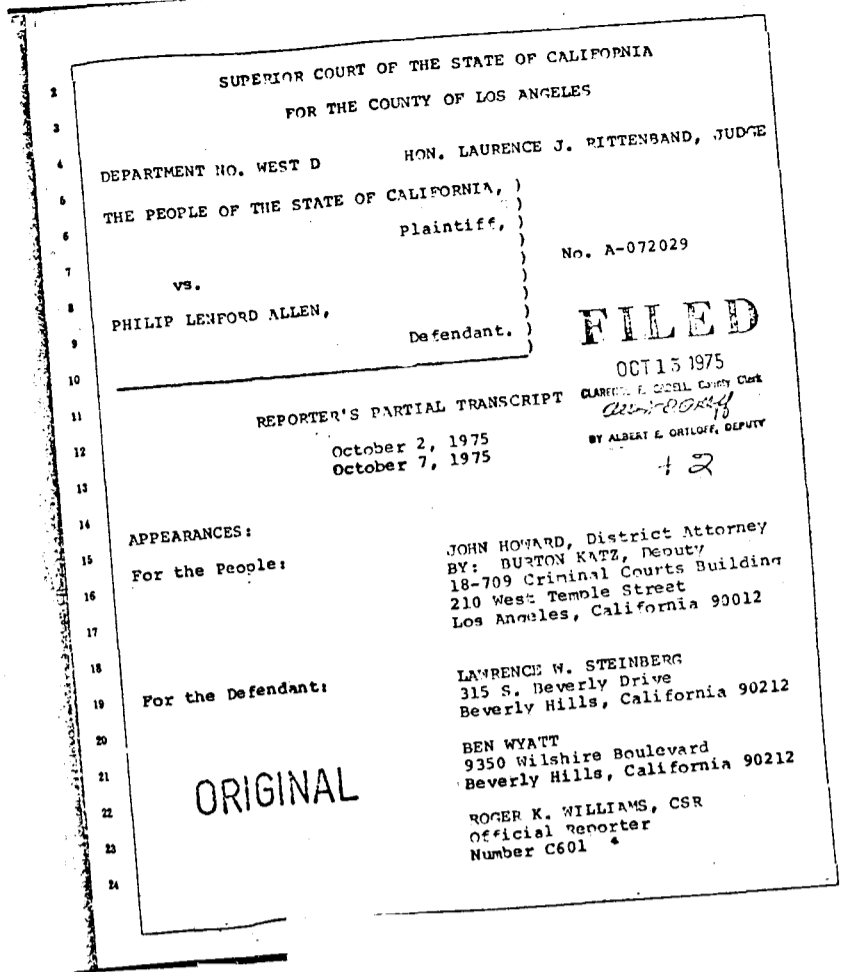
MR. STEINBERG: They are members of—

THE COURT: You know. You know. You know who it is....

Protest this frame-up and denial of democratic rights! Philip Allen's life is in danger—Free him now!

The Partisan Defense Committee urges you to send greatly needed contributions for the appeal process and also messages of support to the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005. PHILIP ALLEN NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT TODAY!!

WORKERS VANGUARD



Houston NSCAR Demands Free Speech for "Imperial Wizard"

Hostile Crowd Confronts Klan Leader

HOUSTON—Jeers, clenched fists and at least one well-aimed egg greeted Scott Nelson, "Imperial Wizard" of the Texas Fiery Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, at the University of Houston on October 27. An overwhelmingly hostile crowd of 300 students, approximately half of whom were black, repeatedly interrupted Nelson, who had been officially invited to speak as part of a series of forums for Houston mayoral candidates.

At several points the crowd appeared ready to prevent Nelson from speaking altogether in response to his endless racist taunts. The crowd could easily have stopped him had it not been for confusion and division among the various left groups on campus, including outright defense of this night-rider's "right" to speak by the Houston Student Committee Against Racism (Houston SCAR) and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA).

Attempting to inflame race hatred in any way he could before the largely black audience, Nelson concentrated his vicious racist epithets on the Jews. "The Zionist Jew in this country is the problem we have to deal with," said Nelson, "they are brainwashing us through the mass media. That is why New York is going down the drain." The NAACP is under the control of Jews, he asserted, and blacks are exploited by prominent Jews.

Nelson was asked from the audience to explain the vicious racist "hunting licenses" aimed against blacks and the "back to Africa" stickers which have appeared all over Houston in connection with his campaign for mayor. He responded that he would print up "hunting licenses" aimed against Jews for all the "good blacks" in the community! He then said it wasn't blacks he was against, "but the white communist trash," and he wanted questions from "good blacks" not "communists"!

The hostile reception Nelson received was largely a spontaneous reaction to the Klan's racist ideology and practice. The protest was a confused outcry of moralism and liberal illusions. Many of the student militants in the audience attempted to counter Nelson's program for racist terror with debate and "exposure." A student who answered Nelson's anti-Semitic filth with the rejoinder that Christ was a Jew was roundly applauded. Nelson, however, merely sidestepped appeals for rational discourse and threw new taunts back at the audience—he did not want to make Jews into soap, he said, because when he washed he "wanted to get clean, not greasy"!

But racist fulminations such as this from the Ku Klux Klan cannot be "debated" or taken lightly. The KKK is an organization of fascist *action*; it has a long and bloody history of lynchings, murder, anti-communist and anti-labor



WV Photo
As shouting protests erupted against racist Klan speaker, NSCAR member (standing center) attempted to quiet crowd in defense of "free speech for fascists."

terror. It is a living threat of genocide for Jews, immigrants and blacks. Although a minor embarrassment to the ruling class today, the Klan represents a potential mass organization for gassing minorities, exterminating leftists and smashing the organized power of the working class. The capitalist rulers will not hesitate to use the Klan as a tool when they deem it necessary to prevent the working class from taking power.

Not just a forum for racist ideas, Nelson's electoral campaign and University of Houston appearance are part of an effort to organize the Klan, foment race hatred and legitimize the politics of race genocide. In 1973 Nelson led a split away from the United Klans of America, accusing it of "lack of aggression." It seemed that the usual amount of Klan terror wasn't enough for Nelson, who publicly stated that there are some people he thinks ought to be lynched (*Houston Post*, 6 May 1973). Since then there have been numerous Klan attacks on radical bookstores and radio stations.

Nelson's appearance on campus should have been *prevented*, not just given a hostile reception, through a mass mobilization of students and workers. But the SWP/YSA anticipated Nelson's arrival with a special effort to make sure that he would speak. YSA members handed out a leaflet entitled "Racist Terrorist, Scott Nelson Belongs In Jail, But He Has the Right to Speak." At the meeting, during every crescendo of verbal protest against Nelson's racist epithets, a supporter of SCAR got up in the middle of the crowd and attempted to stop the protests, telling people to be quiet and motioning to them to take their seats. Particularly since the SCAR supporter was black, this despicable defense of the "right" to organize racial genocide had the effect of calming the crowd and encouraging illusions in "debate" with fascist vermin.

The SWP leaflet defended Nelson's "right" to free speech despite its own recounting of Klan lynchings and other "illegal terrorist actions against Blacks,

Jews and Socialists," including two attacks on the headquarters of the SWP itself in the last year. The leaflet castigated Houston mayor Fred Hofheinz for "refusing to stop the Klan's acts of violence," failing to mention that Hofheinz's police force is notorious for its heavy infiltration by the Klan. The bourgeois state is completely incapable of suppressing fascism. Only the organized power of the working class can do the job.

Reflecting its utterly reformist, electoralist approach, the SWP leaflet stated its confidence that Nelson and such scum "will never win the majority to their views." While no doubt true, this completely misses the point, since fascists expect to come to power as a minority movement over the prostrate form of a defeated working class. Nelson does not share the SWP's illusions in bourgeois democracy! Hypocritically, the SWP leaflet also proclaimed its "confidence" that "Nelson's repulsive views will receive no hearing from U.H. students." Yet this did not stop the SCAR supporter from doing everything he could precisely to ensure that those "repulsive views" did obtain as wide a hearing as possible!

The Spartacus Youth League played an important role in the hostile reaction to Nelson. The SYL first called attention to the planned speech in the campus *Daily Cougar* (23 October), in a commentary entitled "No Platform for Fascists." The SYL demanded that Nelson's invitation be withdrawn and called on the campus community to protest the presence of fascists. SYL members and sympathizers leafletted Nelson's speech and participated in a disciplined contingent which chanted "Fascists Out" and "Down with the Klan." The SYL leaflet made clear the opposition of Marxists to any illusions in the bourgeois state's ability to control fascism. It specifically pointed to the error of calling on the state to pass laws against fascists, since these never work and are instead used only as legal weapons to suppress the left.

Fascism can be defeated only by mobilizing the working class and oppressed minorities through mass protests, union defense guards and mass actions with a firm determination to prevent or break up fascist meetings or rallies at every favorable opportunity. While not substituting for organized anti-fascist activity in the unions, a militant mobilization to prevent Nelson's speech at the University of Houston could have been an example for the future handling of the Klan at other times and places. The groveling reformist capitulation of the SWP/YSA can only obstruct the building of the revolutionary vanguard party and postpone the day when the menace of fascism can be snuffed out forever. ■



WV Photo

New York Picket Protests Banquet for Chilean Butchers

In New York City on November 1 a fund-raising banquet sponsored by the reactionary "Committee for Aid to Reconstruct Chile" was picketed for several hours by about 150 demonstrators protesting the murderous Pinochet junta. Cordoned off by a squad of cops, the spirited demonstrators chanted anti-junta slogans and jeered the arriving fat-cat "guests," some of whom scurried single-file into the Roosevelt Hotel while others simply went home.

The Communist Party-dominated Chile Solidarity Committee, which was centrally responsible for initiating the demonstration, raised only its usual liberal and classless slogans, such as "Chile Si, Junta No," "Allende Si, Junta No" and "Money for New York City, Not for Murder in Chile." In contrast, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent carried a large banner with the slogans, "Down with the Junta!—No Political Support to Popular Fronts!—For International Workers Defense!" and chanted, "Defend Corvalan, MIR!" and "Obreros Si, Junta No!" Other organizations participating included the Committee in Support of the Resistance in Chile, Centro Obrero Latinoamericano, Youth Against War and Fascism and the International Workers Party.

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Capitalist Austerity Program for Portugal

"MFA-People Alliance" Tightens Workers' Belts

OCTOBER 31—In a cabinet meeting on Tuesday, Portuguese premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo declared that an official "austerity program" would soon be announced under which the laboring population would have to work harder, pay higher taxes and earn less. This grim prospect is the result of a year and a half of popular-front governments in which the leading reformist workers parties have joined with capitalist parties to back the rule of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), political expression of the officer corps of the bourgeois military.

The six provisional governments which have paraded in and out of office since Portugal's "revolution of the carnations" have been unable to alleviate the country's economic woes. Portuguese economic life has deteriorated steadily, now approaching a near-collapse. The workers and small farmers—the victims of the soaring inflation and high unemployment—are blamed for causing the chaos by their "disruption of production" through strike actions and by their "too high expectations of the revolution."

The working masses' willingness to defend their living standards is not the source of Portugal's economic problems; it is the key to their solution! What is required is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers government to run the economy in the workers' class interests.

The anarchy of production for private profit, bureaucratically regulated by the MFA's governmental machinery, cannot hold the economy together under the present turbulent social conditions. Orderly development cannot be instituted by the imposition of arbitrary "austerity" measures by the bourgeois MFA, but only by a revolutionary regime which can enlist the support of all the plebeian strata of the population behind the proletariat in administering a planned economy in a workers state.

A revolutionary proletarian regime would begin its reorganization of the Portuguese economy by instituting strict control, supervision, accounting and regulation of all phases of economic life by workers councils. It would abolish commercial and industrial secrecy. It would nationalize all the banks and trusts. It would administer production through factory committees. In the countryside, it would break up the large estates and distribute "land to the tiller."

But the succession of capitalist coalition governments in Portugal is unable to address the real problems of the economy. While some reforms have been introduced—nationalization of the banks and some of the large trusts—this has been accomplished only very partially and after much "debate" and foot-dragging. To go beyond these measures would require a direct confrontation with capitalist interests.

Economic Life Under the Coalition

Portugal's industry, including the nationalized sector, is in a state of chaos. Unemployment stands at well over 10 percent in a country which before 1973 traditionally had two percent or less unemployed. And this situation will



Avante!



Informations Ouvrières

Left: Portuguese agricultural workers demonstrate for agrarian reform during strike this September. Right: "People's Bank"—After attempted right-wing coup last March Portuguese banks were nationalized.

worsen as 200,000 to 300,000 jobless refugees continue to stream in from Angola. The comforting claim that most of these can "not starve" by returning to the farms or being taken in by relatives is not very reassuring.

On 21 June of this year the "plan of political action" presented by the Council of the Revolution announced that "if the actual conditions of production are not modified, the gross national product will diminish by about 6 percent in relation to 1974" (*Le Monde*, 27 July). Reserves of foreign exchange, which totaled \$2 billion in 1973, have virtually been exhausted and a currency black market has sprung up. The Lisnave shipyard, formerly one of Portugal's chief foreign-exchange earners and said to be the world's largest dry dock, is in serious trouble. A Workers Defense Council report issued in July showed that for Lisnave to make a profit it must handle sixteen ships each month, spending \$400,000 on each ship for repairs. It now handles an average of ten ships a month (*New York Times*, 27 August). In addition, Portugal's tourist industry, which reported net receipts of \$320 million in 1973, is estimated to be off 50 percent by the end of this year.

Foreign and domestic investments are dwindling, and Portugal's export trade has suffered drastically. In 1974 Portugal showed a trade deficit of \$2 billion and an overall payments deficit of \$600 million. The deficit is supposedly offset by Portugal's vast holdings of gold (\$4 billion) but by next year the government may be forced to start dumping its gold onto the market.

The scapegoat for Portugal's economic ills has been the working class. According to Captain Tomas Rosa, the Sixth Government's labor

minister, the major problem is many workers' belief that "the revolution means higher wages and shorter hours" (*New York Times*, 6 October). The working class has been blamed for distorting the economy through impatience—by strike actions and by compelling the government to subsidize failing companies to meet their payrolls and prevent further layoffs. Rosa further stated: "The people will have to understand that there must be sacrifices, that there must be austerity so as to build for the future" (*New York Times*, 6 October). But even the highly conservative *Wall Street Journal* (18 August) was forced to admit that the 30 percent inflation has "in many cases more than offset" wage increases.

The policies of the series of coalition governments, which try to sound "revolutionary" to appease the masses while at the same time leaving capitalist property relations fundamentally undisturbed, have catapulted Portugal's economy toward catastrophe. But Portugal's economic miseries did not begin with the MFA takeover.

Prior to the April 25 coup, Portuguese economic life was determined by a relatively small number of decisions within a narrow domestic-centered context. Despite an enormous mass of small- and middle-sized enterprises, four or five financial and industrial syndicates dominated the economy and concentrated economic power. Likewise, in agriculture huge landed estates existed side by side with numerous individual or family holdings. The great trusts—CUF, Champalimaud, Espirito Santo—had a comfortable relationship with Portugal's colonies and did not directly compete on the world market.

Much of the impulse behind the military coup was the desire to get rid of a costly colonial war while trying to maintain a privileged position in the colonies and reorienting the economy toward Europe. Unable to revitalize the Portuguese economy, the post-Caetano governments sought to buttress the shaky structure by cementing new imperialist alliances. In the process Portugal became a pawn in the game of international economic blackmail—a game played according to the imperialists' rules.

Azevedo Courts Reaction

The Sixth Provisional Government, installed in mid-September, dropped much of the socialist-sounding rhetoric of the past and made a turn to the right to appease the imperialists, from whom it hoped to gain the financial help that was denied under the premiership of Vasco Gonçalves. The new cabinet under José Pinheiro de Azevedo gave most posts dealing with the economy to the Socialist Party, which had already promised to slow down the nation's "movement toward socialism" and to shore up the private sector of the capitalist economy. The Communist Party was given only one "safe" post: public works minister. The new regime promised there would be no new nationalizations for a while and that some companies whose administration had been assumed by the state would be returned to their owners.

The strategy of reassuring imperialism worked after a fashion. The Common Market, which had been debating aid to Portugal for over a year, agreed in early October to lend Portugal \$187 million on easy interest terms.

Likewise, the United States, which since last spring has funneled several million dollars into Portugal through the CIA to support anti-Communist forces, agreed to substantial official financial aid after the ouster of Gonçalves. The U.S., which had previously granted assistance of only \$25.8 million, announced October 10 a grant of \$85 million in emergency economic aid to Portugal. Kissinger described the mo-

re interested in bailing out private interests than advancing credit to promote agrarian reform. The promised new, easy credit policy in reality is not significantly different from the old policy, and credit still remains generally unavailable to the majority of small producers and the middle class.

In the southern region around Evora agricultural work became completely paralyzed in mid-September as thou-



Informations Ouvrières

Portuguese leftists ransack and burn Christian Democratic headquarters last March.

ney as a "first step" in "United States support for the political evolution of Portugal" (*New York Times*, 11 October).

ITT, which operates several Portuguese subsidiaries including a Sheraton hotel and an electronics factory with total assets of \$100 million, informed the Lisbon government in a letter dated 22 August that it was suspending all further advances for current operational expenses. The letter stated that these actions were taken "pending restoration of effective management control and the return of economic conditions which would allow us to carry on efficient competitive operations" (*New York Times*, 6 September). ITT reversed itself after the installation of the Sixth Government.

What Were the Imperialists Afraid Of?

The formation of the Sixth Government was a deliberate step back from the earlier MFA-backed governments' shrill "leftism," which had so antagonized international finance capital. But at bottom the previous popular-front coalitions were no less committed to the maintenance of a capitalist Portugal and represented no threat to foreign investment.

Particularly in the wake of the abortive right-wing coup last March 11, politicians in power found it expedient to pay lip service to programs like agrarian reform and nationalization of industry. Close on the heels of the attempted coup, the government announced the nationalization of the banks and insurance companies. This measure was broadly supported by a large section of the petty bourgeoisie as well as by the working class. Finance Minister José Joaquim Fragoso declared that nationalization of the banks created "conditions to facilitate credit for all the managers who deserve it...without dependence on co-signers or favorable conditions" and that "credit, as the decisive instrument of agrarian politics, will be utilized, in support to agricultural associations and small agricultural producers" (*Diário de Notícias*, 24 April).

Nationalization of the banking system—which orchestrates the entire economy through its policies of credit, investment, etc.—is the first step toward regulation of economic life. But the banks must be held to account by the workers. The nationalized Bank of Portugal, directly responsible only to the ministry of finance, is bureaucratically controlled by politicians who are

sands of rural workers (supported by commercial and industrial workers) struck in defense of agrarian reform and to demand the credit which they had not received. In the city of Evora, demonstrators surrounded the Bank of Portugal, which was not honoring the strike, and some of the protestors entered the building, forcing the functionaries to leave the bank. The confrontation was halted only by the intervention of the military police.

In the more conservative north, which is dominated by individual and family holdings, absolutely nothing has been done for the small farmer. Governmental passivity and lack of attention to the problems of this petty-bourgeois layer are helping to strengthen the anti-communist sentiments of the small farmers and driving them into the rightist camp. Over the summer, farmers in a number of towns to the north of Lisbon participated in the burning and looting of CP headquarters and attacks on CP meetings and demonstrations.

The plan of "short-term industrial measures" adopted in mid-June gave its objective as "the elimination of monopoly capital and latifundia which characterize Portugal to the profit of the new socialist economic system" (*Le Monde*, 29 July). An agrarian reform law decreed that the maximum for private non-irrigated holdings would be 1,250 acres and for irrigated holdings 125 acres. To date only about 200,000 acres of land have been collectivized, much of this accomplished only because the militant workers in the south took it upon themselves to directly seize the lands. No compensation was given for the nationalized lands, but workers on the collective farms charge that the ex-landlords sold off all the crops and machinery to make a last-minute profit. These acts of sabotage have gone completely unpunished.

In the industrial sector it was not until mid-July that the government decreed the nationalization of Portugal's largest monopoly trust, Companhia União Fabril (CUF), along with the Companhia Petroquímica, Nitratos de Portugal, Amoniaco Português and Pirites Alentajanas, large chemical and mining firms. The Covina Glass Company, one of the chief firms of the Feteira monopoly group, was also nationalized. But the decree to nationalize CUF was not formally promulgated until September 19!

The fact that coalition governments are unequivocally subordinated to their capitalist components is vividly illus-

(continued on page 10)

No Justice in Capitalist Courts

Demonstrators Demand Freedom for Carter and Artis

About 1,600 militant demonstrators, mostly black, rallied outside the New Jersey State House in Trenton October 17 to demand freedom for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis, unjustly imprisoned for life eight years ago. Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali led six hundred of the demonstrators on a mile-long march to the office of Governor Brendan Byrne, where Ali and other rally organizers presented their demands. This action provided important publicity to a case which New Jersey law enforcement officials prefer kept under wraps.

on the testimony of two former convicts, then in jail awaiting trial on burglary charges. The all-white jury chose to believe the cops' two witnesses over six black witnesses who swore that the defendants were nowhere near the scene of the slayings.

The case remained in obscurity until September 1974 when the *New York Times* disclosed that the two prosecution witnesses had admitted lying at the trial. They swore that detectives from the prosecutor's office had bought their testimony with promises of a \$10,500 reward and leniency in their own cases.



Neal Boenzi

October 17 demonstration in Trenton at which Muhammad Ali spoke for the release of Rubin Carter and John Artis.

During the meeting with Carter, Artis supporters at the Trenton rally, the New Jersey governor put out feelers about "limited clemency." Byrne has reason to be nervous about this case. As a county prosecutor in 1967 he helped arrange the deal with one of the state's witnesses, who got a reduced sentence for his testimony.

In December 1974, lawyers for Carter and Artis requested a retrial based on sworn statements by the state's two witnesses recanting the testimony on which the prosecution's 1967 case was based. Judge Samuel Larner, the same judge who presided over the original triple-murder trial, denied the motion on the incredible pretext that their admissions of perjury lacked the "ring of truth."

It is clear that the Passaic County prosecutor's office conspired with the Paterson police to frame Carter and Artis. This racist atrocity was directed primarily at Carter, then a leading contender for the middleweight crown. As a famous boxer, identified with black militancy and not afraid to stand up for his rights, Carter had been subject to police harassment for months before the arrest.

On the night in 1966 that three white men were gunned down in a Paterson tavern, Carter and Artis were picked up and questioned, because they were driving a car that was the same color as that used by the killers. They were interrogated for 17 hours and then released. Shortly afterward they voluntarily testified before a grand jury investigation which brought no charges against them. A full three months later, they were charged with the murders and convicted

In addition, last week defense lawyers announced they had recently uncovered a long-suppressed police report from Paterson, New Jersey, the town where the murders took place. The facts contained in the report, which the state prosecutor deliberately withheld during the trial, confirmed key points in the alibi of Carter and Artis while indicating that the police were searching for two clean-shaven suspects (Carter had a beard).

Defense attorneys told *WV* that the defense committee intends to continue building mass demonstrations to pressure Governor Byrne to release Carter and Artis under the state clemency act while the lawyers attempt to exonerate the two men in a new trial. Rubin Carter and John Artis must be freed immediately and unconditionally!

The Partisan Defense Committee urges *WV* readers to contribute to the defense of these victims of capitalist injustice. Checks should be made payable to: Freedom for All Forever, Room 721, 565 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Earmark checks "For Carter and Artis Defense." ■

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RSL on Vietnam

State-Cap Muddle

As the demoralized and disintegrating Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) fades from the political horizon, its polemics against the Spartacist League seem to become ever more inane and even incoherent. In its most recent diatribe in the *Torch*, the RSL denounces us as "apologists for Stalinism" for recognizing that the Indochinese Stalinists have established bureaucratically deformed workers states with the destruction of capitalist rule in Indochina.

A petty-bourgeois radical tendency spawned by the reformist International Socialists, the RSL is politically defined by its refusal to defend or even recognize the revolutionary gains embodied in the property relations of the deformed workers states. As a rationale to cover

According to the RSL, this Trotskyist analysis grants the petty bourgeoisie a revolutionary role: "The SL, claiming that capitalism was overthrown in Indochina without class conscious proletarian leadership, constructs a monument to the 'progressive' petty bourgeoisie." The RSL, moreover, alleges that our analysis denies the validity of the permanent revolution, the Trotskyist theory that in the epoch of imperialism the bourgeois-democratic revolution in economically underdeveloped countries can be completed only through proletarian dictatorship and the international extension of the revolution: "The SL, which is today arguing that it was *not* the revolutionary proletariat that overthrew capitalism in Southeast Asia,



S.I.P.A.

Victorious Viet Cong enter presidential palace in Saigon last spring.

this capitulation to imperialism, the RSL characterizes these states as "state capitalist."

Defending his analysis of Stalinism, Leon Trotsky always contemptuously dismissed and theoretically demolished the "state capitalist" theories. And the SL has refuted in several articles the RSL's eclectic meanderings on the question of Stalinism. (The self-proclaimed "creative Marxists" of the RSL have miserably failed to concoct some "state capitalist" theory untainted by a lineage of renegades and abject reformists.) The RSL's latest polemic against Trotskyism warrants a brief response only because this "theoretical" gyration reveals the anti-Marxist assumptions inherent in the "state capitalist" position.

Indochina—Deformed Revolutions

The SL maintains that the Indochinese Stalinists were compelled to take state power when confronted with the disintegration of the landlord-capitalist regimes and the temporary paralysis of imperialism. But the state established by the Stalinists over the splinters of the capitalist state and over a passive proletariat can only be a bureaucratically deformed workers state: a non-capitalist state which will defend collectivized property forms corresponding to the social rule of the proletariat but which is ruled by an anti-working-class Stalinist bureaucracy monopolizing political power. Trotskyists unconditionally defend the revolutionary gains of these states against imperialism while simultaneously insisting on the necessity for a workers' political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy whose treacherous policies sabotage this defense.

therefore repudiates the notion upon which the entire theory of permanent revolution is based."

On the contrary, the SL has consistently called for the creation of Trotskyist parties in Indochina precisely because Stalinist-led petty-bourgeois forces at best can create bureaucratic regimes which usurp political power. The Stalinist bureaucracies—which can carry out bourgeois democratic tasks in a limited and deformed way only because of the smashing of imperialist domination and expropriation of the bourgeoisie—are obstacles to the development, extension and defense of the revolution. They must be removed through proletarian political revolutions.

The RSL, however, ridicules our distinction between a workers state and a deformed workers state: "But no matter what variety, the [SL] means that these are workers states, states of the workers." To consider trivial the qualitative difference between the workers state and the deformed workers state is to open the door to the prized canard of anti-Marxist renegades: that the Stalinist states are simply a "variety" of the workers state under Lenin and fundamentally no different. The Trotskyist call for political revolution to end the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies is the programmatic recognition of the qualitative difference between a bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers state and a workers state in which the proletariat rules through democratically elected soviets.

RSL Flirts with Stalinist "Third Road" for Third World

Given the framework of "state capitalism," the conflict which raged in

continued on page 10

National Black Assembly...

(continued from page 3)

involved in George McGovern's and Shirley Chisholm's Democratic primary campaigns and running its own "independent" ticket for show, criticized the Agenda for being too nationalist: "Another negative aspect of the convention is the separatist tone in which the program of economic and social reforms in the National Political Agenda is couched" (*Daily World*, 18 March 1972).

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), on the other hand, initially criticized the document for not being nationalist enough: "The Agenda that was circulat-



Ebony

From left: Harry Belafonte, Coretta King, Dick Gregory and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, sing "We Shall Overcome" at fund-raising dinner for 1972 convention.

ed represented an attempt by the Black Democratic politicians to adapt to Black nationalist sentiments." *Militant* writer Derrick Morrison completed his account of the Gary convention with this categorically negative assessment:

"Whatever they do with the final draft of the Agenda to paper over the differences at the conference, it will not serve to advance the struggle of Black people. It will be designed to continue the subordination of the Black struggle to the capitalist two party system."
—*Militant*, 24 March 1972

But less than two months later, the SWP had taken a second look at the attendance figures from Gary and the star-studded list of black sellout artists who addressed the convention and began talking out of the other side of its mouth: "The National Black Agenda...marks an important step toward codifying a program for the struggle for Black Liberation." After listing all the program's omissions, SWP honcho Tony Thomas concluded, "Despite all these weaknesses, the Black Agenda, and the rise in Black political consciousness it signifies, gives signs of important opportunities for the entire Black struggle" (*International Socialist Review*, May 1972).

By the time that the Little Rock convention rolled around, the SWP's opportunism was in full bloom and the Black Agenda had become "a radical document that outlined solutions to many of the problems facing Blacks." The SWP's friendly advice to Richard Hatcher, Ron Dellums and Amiri Baraka was that "Instead of trying to organize Black Democrats, the Black Assembly should take the Black Agenda and a perspective of independent political action to the Black masses" (*Militant*, 1 March 1974).

The SWP's courtship of the Assembly is a consistent extension of the concept first advanced in its 1963 resolution, "Freedom Now," that "the creation of a Negro party running its own candidates would rock the whole political structure to its foundations." Defining "an independent Negro course in politics" in the narrowest organizational terms, the SWP jumped on the bandwagon for

Carl Stokes' "independent" mayoral campaign in Cleveland in 1965.

That year Stokes, then a second-term Democratic state representative, took a brief gambit at third partyism and ran against incumbent mayor Ralph Locher, who was justifiably hated by the city's black population. Stokes had no support from organized labor but was backed by a number of reform Democrats, CORE, the Americans for Democratic Action and the SWP. The SWP, of course, only extended "critical" support. Among the criticisms was Stokes' "absence of a statement of program...and failure to indicate what he is against" (*Militant*, 26 July 1965)!

Where the phony independence of ambitious black politicians like Stokes leads was evident within weeks of the election, which he lost by less than 500 votes. Stokes and local CORE leaders were invited to a private meeting with

Lyndon Johnson, Cleveland CORE got a Ford Foundation grant and Stokes' law firm began getting business from major capitalists like Cyrus Eaton. In 1966 he was re-elected to the Ohio legislature as a Democrat and a year later became the Democratic mayor of Cleveland.

The SWP deepened the shameless opportunism of its orientation in "The Case for an Independent Black Party," a 1967 convention resolution. The document advocated the formation of a black party with an explicitly reformist program which "starts organizing and using its leverage effectively." This is virtually a carbon copy of Baraka's plan for a "Black brokerage" except that the SWP believes that it can win a bigger chunk of the action by stressing its purely organizational, as opposed to political, independence from the twin parties of big business. In a similar fashion, the SWP supported Black Panther Party leaders Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown in the 1973 Oakland municipal election, despite their newfound orientation to black capitalism and religion, right up to the day that they declared themselves to be loyal Democrats.

Today the SWP has lost much of its interest in the National Black Assembly, partly because the NBA has lost the interest of liberal black Democrats, partly because Baraka's left demagogy

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and political base among black people represent too formidable a competition. In the 1975 convention resolution on black liberation, the SWP National Committee sums up the results of Gary and Little Rock as "meager." Setting aside its petty-bourgeois black nationalist line the way a snake sheds its skin, the SWP has rediscovered the NAACP where "in many chapters and among the national leadership, there is a new generation that became active during the rise of the new radicalization."

Gibsonism Without Gibson

The strategies of the Communist Party, the SWP and CAP are essentially the same. Each seeks to bolster its organizational clout in order to become a left pressure group on the Democratic Party. The differences in tactics and day-to-day activity stem from specific differences in their histories and bases of support.

Baraka initially made his mark on the bourgeois political scene by successfully serving as power broker in the 1970 election of Kenneth Gibson as first black mayor of Newark. As organizer of federally funded cultural projects and initiator of the Black Caucus and Committee for a Unified Newark, Baraka (then known as LeRoi Jones) was central to the creation of a black Democratic Party political machine in that city.

Baraka became a self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist" only after the new mayor had repeatedly stabbed his most loyal henchman in the back. The Gibson administration did not deliver on its promises of new housing for the city. It resisted appointment of a black police director. When the appointment was finally made, Baraka quickly "discovered" that "black faces in high places" do not change the repressive character of the bourgeois state. Black people were still being beaten and harassed by Newark cops, who carried out a reign of terror, including provoking a confrontation ending in two deaths at a Puerto Rican Labor Day festival last year. After Gibson unleashed his cops on a protest demonstration that Baraka had helped organize and contemptuously dismissed the demands of the Peoples Committee against Police Repression and Brutality, Baraka suddenly found that "nationalism, while necessary, is not enough" (*Monthly Review*, January 1975).

But the combination of "revolutionary nationalism" and Mao Tse-tung Thought that Baraka palms off as "scientific socialism" is nothing more than Stalinist pop-front reformism. After he could no longer pass Gibson off as a "progressive," the CAP chairman announced a "new era in our politics"; the real struggle was "to gain a progressive black majority" in the City Council. As for "neo-colonialist" Gibson, Baraka employed the same kind of back-handed support that is the stock-in-trade of the Communist Party:

"Faced with Anthony Imperialism [Imperiale, a local white racist politician] in the north, our local ethnic pawn of international imperialism, it is difficult to say the present mayor should be opposed. So I will not say it. But any of our brothers and sisters who are supporting him should be told of his ominous discouraging record...." [original emphasis]

—CAP Ideological Paper, "The Revolutionary Answer to Neo-Colonialism in Newark Politics"

From Henry Wallace to Benjamin Spock, "third parties" and "people's candidates" have been promoted to obscure the need for a working-class opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism. The liberation of black people requires the construction of a mass revolutionary workers party that can weld the ghetto to the factory and champion the just democratic demands of the oppressed black masses as part of its struggle for a workers government. ■

California Court Demands Convictions

Woman Judge Banned from Prostitution Cases

SAN FRANCISCO, October 25— This week a woman judge in S.F. municipal court was barred from hearing dismissal motions in prostitution cases. This highly unusual step was the reaction of the district attorney and court officers to Judge Ollie Marie-Victoire's dismissal of 40 cases due to long-standing "selective enforcement" of prostitution laws. As master calendar judge she normally schedules the cases for other judges to hear. Recently, however, she decided to hear them herself. Angered at the blatant legal discrimination against prostitutes who, she points out, are largely non-white and "economically disadvantaged," Judge Marie-Victoire began dismissing the cases. She contended that "an intentional, purposeful, selective enforcement policy of the San Francisco police department" leads to numerous arrests of prostitutes, while permitting their white, middle-class customers to go free (*San Francisco*

Chronicle, 23 October 1975).

In the eyes of the D.A. and the Superior Court this attempt to administer the law according to an abstract standard of equality constitutes "prejudice." The contemptuous treatment of Judge Marie-Victoire by more hardened practitioners of bourgeois "justice" once again demonstrates that the legal system inevitably reflects the class exploitation and social oppression of capitalism and will tolerate no challenge, even from within.

The ruling class' hypocrisy illustrated by the treatment of this judge is boundless. A 1971 San Francisco Crime Committee report noted that the city administration's periodic crusades against "immorality" always peak during election years and recede thereafter. It found that no arrest pattern is "more ritualized and superficial, nor any more apparently ineffectual" than that against prostitutes. S.F. mayor Joseph Alioto responded to this report with typical sanctimonious cant, "I would not support any legislation that would legalize prostitution in any way at all.... This is a moral community and moral leadership is going to be exercised" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 June 1971).

On the other hand, Judge Marie-Victoire's notion of equal justice graphically demonstrates the inherent limitation of liberal bourgeois ideology. Her solution to this sexist discrimination is not to abolish the laws that imprison prostitutes. "The prostitution laws are on the books," she says, "and I think they should be enforced—but fairly." She advocates *equal entrapment*, "to have the police department get some (female) decoys out there on the street."

While prostitution is indeed a grave social problem, the criminals are neither the prostitutes nor the customers who pay for their services. The real criminals are first the ruling class, which creates the economic and social conditions that drive women into prostitution, and second the pimps and drug pushers, who leech off the commercialized sexual degradation of women. Prostitution is a big business, over a billion dollars a year according to an authoritative 1971 study. And for every so-called "happy hooker" there are thousands of drug-addicted, brutalized teenagers walking the streets.

Police in New York report that some pimps earn as much as \$6,000 a day running prostitution chains. Street walkers who do not meet daily quotas are beaten by these parasitic swine. Besides maintaining their hold through drugs and physical violence, the pimps' power is reinforced by the very laws which are supposed to eliminate prostitution:

"The pimps...have a large amount of economic leverage, and most of this is supplied by the criminal justice system itself. The pimp allows his girls enough money so that they can keep themselves looking good but not enough so that they can keep themselves out of jail. The girls need the pimp to pay bail and to hire a lawyer."

—San Francisco Committee on Crime, "A Report on Non-Victim Crime in San Francisco," June 1971

While opposing the legal persecution of prostitutes and their customers, Marxists have no objections to the imprison-

ment of pimps, who will certainly meet with summary justice after the workers revolution.

Prostitution is often classed with abortion, homosexuality and drug use under the category of "crimes without victims." However, there are some important differences. Abortion law reform has powerful support among articulate and well-to-do women whose personal rights are directly threatened. Similarly, homosexuality exists at all levels of society. Liberalization of drug laws has followed the spread of marijuana use from urban ghettos to affluent suburbs and college campuses. By contrast, prostitutes are social victims and outcasts with few powerful defenders.

Moreover, prostitution involves far more than private sexual activity between consenting adults, an area that should be totally free from state scrutiny and regimentation. Prostitution is an institutionalized expression of the degraded position of women in class society and represents a particularly vicious form of economic exploitation. Thus our attitude toward pimps, as toward drug pushers, is markedly different from our attitude toward their victims.

While opposing laws which enforce reactionary social prejudices and strengthen the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state, we are not at all unconcerned with social evils like prostitution, drug addiction and chronic alcoholism. It is the duty of the conscious proletarian vanguard to combat these excrescences of capitalist society at the same time as we fight the legal victimization and discrimination inherent in bourgeois "law and order." These ulcerous social problems can only be eliminated by abolishing the system of grinding economic oppression which is their root cause. ■

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Nazi Swine...

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experience: "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will."

Not Adventurism, But Mass Action

The Spartacist League unambiguously stands for the crushing of the fascist movement in the egg. But we warn against adventures that only provoke state repression and embolden the fascists. An incident before the Pasadena rally in which the Progressive Labor Party (PL) figured prominently shows

the danger of isolated groups substituting themselves for the strength of the organized working class.

While leafletting for the demonstration, several PL supporters and members of the PCIP came across some Nazis who were leafletting. A confrontation developed, a crowd gathered and the ensuing scuffle ended with five anti-fascists in jail on assault charges while the Nazis got off scot-free.

Such hapless skirmishes neither deter the Nazi worms nor demonstrate to the masses the possibility of smashing fascism while it is weak. These misplaced heroics simply land militants in jail.

Marxists hold that only the power of the working class can decisively crush the fascists. That power must be organized in workers defense guards

based on the labor movement:

"Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands."

Transitional Program

The united-front demonstration in Pasadena is an important step forward. It is particularly significant that the virulent Trotsky-haters of the CLP united with Trotskyists to oppose racist terror. But to militarily defeat the vicious Nazi and Klan thugs, it is necessary to take up a fight within the labor movement for the mass mobilization of working-class organizations, particularly the trade unions. An important example of such action was recently shown by United Auto Workers Local 6 in Chicago. Acting on the initiative of the Labor Struggle Caucus, an opposition group in the union, the local

established an integrated defense guard that successfully protected the home of a black UAW member from Nazi firebombers.

Though today the fascist forces are small, the outrageous mock hanging of Reverend Bailey is an ominous foretaste of their barbaric plans. Socialist and labor militants must arouse the working class to flush out the fascist vermin and destroy them. Seeking to capitalize on racial polarization and international capitalist depression, the Klan's and Nazis' ambition is to become a growing and powerful weapon against minorities and the working people. But a correct and energetic policy by the labor movement can ensure these champions of lynching and the fiery cross will be mercilessly crushed by workers' justice. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 7)

trated by the words and actions of the Communist Party in recent months. The CP is now busily blaming the economic crisis on the "government of the right." A proposal adopted by the CP-dominated Farm Workers Union at the beginning of the September strike called for "immediate imprisonment for all landowners, conspirators and saboteurs of the economy," "immediate credit to all collective farms and small- and middle-sized farmers," "active participation of the leagues and unions and elaboration of laws concerning the Agrarian Reform, that is to say immediate surrender of all large properties to rural workers and small farmers, as the only way to take power from the large landowners who have sabotaged the economy," and "the formation of a government which guarantees effectively the advance of the revolutionary process toward a socialist society, not a social democracy" (*Diario de Noticias*, 18 September).

The CP's tough talk is cheap. But what is the record of the supposedly Communist-dominated "government of the left" of Vasco Gonçalves? The CP takes credit for the Agrarian Reform Law, but during its months of power it failed to implement it except in a few CP strongholds. Nor did the CP work to give financial and technical support to the collective farms.

Portugal's economic problems can be

solved only by the destruction of capitalism through the independent mobilization of the working class. The tragic lesson of popular frontism must be absorbed by the Portuguese workers. No matter how strong the "left" component of the coalition, it is always the capitalists who dominate. Coalition politics means leaving power in the hands of the capitalists, allowing them to blame everything on the workers while the capitalists actually intensify the chaos. Coalitionism paved the way for Pinochet in Chile, for the Vichy government in France, for Franco in Spain. No matter how much the Portuguese coalition talks about "preparing the way for a socialist future," its reluctance to proclaim measures of state regulation over the economy, its indolence in applying them and its kowtowing before the imperialists simply strengthen the hand of the reactionaries, demoralize the working masses and prepare the way for a similar right-wing takeover in Portugal.

Financial disorganization cannot be effectively combatted by the capitalist coalition government, which at best introduces bureaucratic controls cloaked in socialist rhetoric, actually frustrating at every step the reorganization of the economy. Not "austerity," but a *planned economy* in a workers state! Only a workers government, headed by a Portuguese vanguard party, can open the road to orderly and equitable economic development through the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. ■

Healyite Slander, Hypocrisy and Cowardice...

The WRP Roars Gently

Bottom: Let me play the lion too. I will roar that I will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar that I will make the Duke say, "Let him roar again, let him roar again."

Quince: An you should do it too terribly, you would fright the Duchess and the ladies, that they would shriek; and that were enough to hang us all....

Bottom: I grant you, friends, if you should fright the ladies out of their wits, they would have no more discretion but to hang us. But I will aggravate my voice so that I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove, I will roar you an 'twere any nightingale.

—A Midsummer Night's Dream; Act 1, Scene 2

"For 35 years Hansen has assiduously developed the myth of his titanic services to Trotsky as a guard in Coyoacán.

"This myth has been shattered forever with the publication of 'Security and the Fourth International.'

"Evidence presented by the IC shows that Hansen did not even see to it that the guards charged with the defense of Trotsky's life were properly trained in marksmanship."

—Bulletin, 24 October

"The Workers Revolutionary Party is a legal Political Party which carries out work publicly in the Labour and Trade Union Movement in addition to contesting Parliamentary elections. It is completely opposed in principle to terrorism and to the possession or use of firearms or explosives. Any member of the party found with firearms or explosives would be expelled."

—Workers Press, 4 October

RSL...

(continued from page 8)

Indochina could be depicted only as a reactionary war between two bourgeois forces—the "state capitalist" Stalinists and the capitalist-landlord regimes—and between rival imperialisms—the "imperialist" Sino-Soviet bloc and the U.S. In a Maoist/New Left milieu opposed to "Soviet social-imperialism" and among liberals hostile to "Russian imperialism," the RSL can swim with mainstream petty-bourgeois radicalism by vigorously denouncing Russian "state capitalism" and attacking the pro-Moscow parties as "a counterrevolutionary agency within the workers movement." But faced with the tremendous popularity and authority of the Indochinese Stalinists, the RSL, like its IS siblings, has refused to oppose the victory of these more popular Stalinists, and characterizes Maoists whom it wishes to tail as "centrists" (logically, the RSL should deem the Maoists proponents of a capitalist regime).

The RSL mangles its "state capitalism" theory to accommodate its opportunist appetites. Since the "state capitalist" USSR is an "imperialist"

power, according to the RSL, any conflict between the USSR and an advanced capitalist country can be condemned as an "inter-imperialist war." But since the "state capitalist" regimes established in Indochina have not yet become "imperialist," the RSL asserts that these states should be defended from imperialist attack just like any other semi-colonial or neo-colonial country.

But in rationalizing its call for the military victory of the Stalinist forces and now the military defense of the Stalinist regimes, the RSL has backed into the proposition that "state capitalist" Stalinist insurgencies and the "state

capitalism" which is established with the Stalinist victories are more progressive than the old-style capitalist states which are overturned. According to the RSL, "state capitalism" is a "means to expel imperialism and modernize the country through statification of the economy." The establishment of "state capitalism" in Indochina required a revolutionary upheaval and represents a progressive transformation: "In Indochina itself the victories will mean certain steps toward the achievement of bourgeois-democratic rights, the breakup of the landed estates, the return of the countries of Indochina to their respective peoples, some strides toward equality for the oppressed minorities and women, etc."

Furthermore, the RSL adamantly maintains that this "state capitalism" established in Indochina is identical to the mode of production prevailing in the USSR: the countries of Indochina will develop into "imperialist" states, as China allegedly has. (The RSL contends that China is "imperialist" on the basis of its "exploitation" of Tibet; presumably the Chinese bureaucracy extracts super-profits from the production of yak butter!)

Thus, it is the RSL which ascribes a

revolutionary role to the petty bourgeoisie and which mutilates the very underpinnings of the permanent revolution. According to the RSL, in the epoch of imperialism a backward country like Vietnam or China can wrench free from imperialist domination and develop into an industrially advanced power without breaking from capitalism. For the RSL, "state capitalism" installed by the petty bourgeoisie in revolutionary conflict with the bourgeoisie has the potential for unleashing new industrial revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries *within the framework of capitalism*. The petty-bourgeoisie, according to the RSL, can revolutionize capitalism in the underdeveloped world through "state capitalism."

The conclusions which ineluctably follow from the RSL's "state capitalist" analysis are that capitalism has not exhausted its historic possibilities and that this is not the epoch of imperialist decay and proletarian revolution. The revisionist theory of "state capitalism" thus leads to a complete renunciation of Marxism. With its anti-Marxist theory, the RSL is doomed to limp along the same path to anti-communism trodden by renegades such as Max Shachtman and James Burnham. ■

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Default...

(continued from page 1)

city "file a good faith plan for payments to its creditors" as part of the bankruptcy procedure.

Default and the Public Sector

The bourgeoisie's vicious drive to slash social services in New York City is part of its strategy to reverse the enormous growth of the public sector. Since World War II state and local government has accounted for the lion's share of the total increase in public employment. While the federal civilian payroll mushroomed from 1.1 million in 1940 to 2.6 million in 1972, state and municipal employment leaped from over 3 to nearly 11 million (*Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1973). The cries of "welfare fraud" and "budget balancing" are motivated by the fervent desire to drive these figures down.

Contrary to the tenets of many adherents of the "neo-capitalist" school

of pseudo-Marxism, the expansion of public sector expenditures does not reflect the profitable investments of a continuous post-war boom, but the necessary costs of maintaining American capitalism. The optimal level of state services is often an area of significant controversy among the bourgeoisie. Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy was an adaptation to the American economy's altered position in the world market; formerly pre-eminent U.S. capitalism had become merely the strongest of several powerful competitors. This shift generated strong pressure to drive down costs and free up surplus for capital investment—hence Nixon's wage freeze and the tightening fiscal squeeze on municipal budgets.

While the New York City payroll shot up from \$3 to \$5 billion in the space of three years (1968-71), the city's revenue base was shrinking as the result of declining production and real estate values. At the same time the pyramiding structure of short-term loans and municipal bonds siphoned off an ever

greater part of the city's income for debt service. This fiscal crunch reached crisis proportions about a year ago when the banks adopted more conservative loan policies. MAC was created to "restore the confidence" of these usurious leeches by a stringent austerity program. But even after MAC's drastic budget cuts, its bonds proved unpalatable to investors because of the city's attenuated ability to back them up. The city faces the prospect of being unable to meet its day-to-day operating costs by early

blustered and snorted, while acquiescing to every new attack by Beame, Carey and MAC. The general strike mutterings of the Gotbaum-DeLury-Shanker-Feinstein crew were intended for membership consumption only. Having earlier urged default so that "all would suffer equally," the union tops are now prepared to go all the way with Governor Carey's admittedly "desperate and very far out idea" of using employee pension funds—to the tune of \$4 billion by December—to "save the

Cop Vendetta Against Bay Area White Panthers

SAN FRANCISCO—Over the last several years cop harassment of the White Panther Party (WPP) here has escalated into a campaign of provocation. During 1974 the S.F. police department made 54 arrests of White Panthers, none of which led to conviction. On 12 July 1974 four plainclothes cops without a warrant forced their way into a Haight-Ashbury apartment occupied by WPP supporters, seeking to arrest WPP member Miranda Nelson on suspicion of burglary.

As the cops headed up the stairs to the second floor, White Panthers Tom Stevens and Terry Phillips, bearing legal firearms, ordered them to halt. Only after Stevens and Phillips fired warning shots did the cops beat a hasty retreat. Within minutes, however, the house was surrounded by a SWAT squad which proceeded to burn the house out according to the model set by the Los Angeles police department in its massacre of SLA members two months previously.

Phillips and Stevens managed to escape, however, to emerge from hiding a few days later and resume their political activities. It was only six months later, after the WPP had initiated a \$3 million suit against the S.F.P.D. for destruction of the White Panther apartment, that they were arrested! Last May they were convicted of assaulting police officers with deadly weapons and sentenced to 5 1/2-years-to-life in prison in a frame-up, kangaroo-court trial.

As the date for hearings on reduction of sentence approached, the cops, once again inspired by the vindictive police captain Jeremiah Smith, launched yet another attack on WPP headquarters last August 6. A search warrant for stolen goods in the building next door was the ostensible basis for encircling and invading WPP premises. Four White Panthers were arrested on ludicrously false charges, while documents as well as legal firearms were stolen from the house. T. outrages are vicious exercises in

overkill.

The WPP is politically innocuous and ineffective. The Bay Area White Panthers descend from a split from John Sinclair's group of the same name originating in Detroit in the early 1960's. The Bay Area group is more political than Sinclair's WPP, though it is far from having a consistent viewpoint. The members of this group consider themselves "lumpen communists" and espouse a program which is an omelet of utopian, reformist, New Left ideas. In actuality they are impoverished petty-bourgeois hippies who live by organizing concerts, selling food and crafts, doing carpentry and electrical work and so forth.

The WPP's concept of overthrowing capitalism by dropping out of it—organizing alternative cooperative institutions to "serve the people"—leads them to adopt reactionary positions. They oppose free public health care as "anarchist freeism," for example. While they constantly condemn the U.S. government as "fascist," they also make a big point that not all cops are fascists. In fact their program for community control of the police includes the slogan "Support Your Local Police"! According to Point 4 of the WPP program on the police:

"To think that the police alone can stop wanton murderers, rapists, and heroin pushers is as foolish as thinking that the police are not necessary at all. "As police departments become more responsive to the needs of the community, rather than special interest groups or profiteers, their alienation from the community—especially from the youth and minorities—will also decrease, and combined community efforts will be more successful at stopping crime."

The fact that police persecution has made the White Panthers a living testament to the absurdity of their own program in no way makes the victimization of this group by capitalism's cops and courts less despicable. Defend the right of self-defense against bourgeois terror! Free Stevens and Phillips!



WV photo

NYC teachers march across Brooklyn Bridge during strike this September.

December.

A crucial part of the capitalists' program for foisting their crisis onto the backs of the workers is to crush the militancy of the public employee unions, which have grown phenomenally since the mid-sixties. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is the fastest-growing union in the U.S., recruiting new members at a clip of 1,000 per week. Particularly worrisome to the ruling class, public employee strikes have increased well over 1,000 percent since 1940 despite vicious anti-strike legislation and the timidity of the union bureaucrats.

Government spokesmen have demagogically denounced as exceeding the national average New York City workers' wages and benefits. Ford contrasted the wages and job conditions of New York sanitation workers with those in "most cities." All factions of the bourgeoisie are united in the determination to crack New York City union strongholds such as AFSCME's 100,000-strong District Council 37, the United Federation of Teachers, the Transport Workers Union and the Uniformed Sanitationmen.

The union brass in New York has

city" one more time. Lending this enormous sum, representing 50 percent of total municipal pension funds, would mean gratuitously mortgaging union members' hard-won financial security for the sake of the labor traitors' liberal buddies' political careers.

City workers must demand: hands off the pension funds! Labor must mobilize for a city-wide general strike to reverse the layoffs and restore all cuts in city services. It must demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs for all, and full cost-of-living protection against inflation.

Both the stringent austerity measures accompanying Proxmire's bail-out scheme and the "let-them-eat-cake" hauteur of Ford's default proposal will escalate the assault on city unions and speed up the erosion of the living standards of New York's already ravaged population. Militants in the New York labor movement must not accept these disastrous alternatives. What is needed is cancellation of the debt combined with expropriation of the banks and major industries, with no compensation to the capitalist cultures. Down with the twin parties of capital—forward to a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Anti-Busing Night Riders Terrorize Black Minister

Hundreds Demonstrate Against Nazi Swine in Pasadena

PASADENA, October 26—Angry demonstrators marched through this small conservative city today to protest last month's simulated lynching of a local black clergyman. The racist outrage was the latest atrocity by the National Socialist White Peoples Party (Nazis) to exploit a lingering racial confrontation over court-ordered busing. The Nazis have been peddling their racist filth at school board meetings and pro-busing demonstrations and have incited anti-black violence at Pasadena High School. In bringing out the lynch rope again, the Nazi scum are boldly riding a wave of anti-busing racism that has swept the U.S.—

On the evening of September 15, black minister Harrison Bailey was lured from his home for a purported interview on the busing question. Two men posing as reporters took Bailey to a nearby hamburger stand, where he was apparently drugged. When Bailey regained consciousness, he found himself hanging from a tree in Manzanita Park, strung up in a make-shift harness and clad only in a T-shirt on which were scrawled three swastikas and the slogan "Down with School Busing." Seeking to intimidate local busing advocates, the Nazis sent pictures of the "lynching" to black church leaders, NAACP officials and the black attorney who authored the "Pasadena Plan" for integrating the city's schools.

Police who arrived after 3 a.m. September 16 to cut Bailey down proceeded with their usual callous unconcern for victims of racial violence. Although suffering great pain, Reverend Bailey was prevented from reaching a hospital for over two hours by the cops, who interrogated him not on the identity of his assailants but on his political views and actions. Later, the cops concocted the "theory" that Reverend Bailey, along with black militants, staged the hanging in order to "stir up racial conflict." Specifically, the police attempted to tie the local activist Michael Zinzun and the Pasadena Community Information Center (PCIC) to this "conspiracy." The PCIC has been subject to police harassment in the past, and Zinzun and five others are currently being framed up on charges stemming from an illegal police raid at the Center. Denouncing Pasadena's transparently twisted "justice," Rev. Bailey has said, "I'm more angry with the Pasadena police department than I am with anybody else."

United Front Against Fascist Terror

A campaign mounted to protest the Bailey "hanging" climaxed in today's militant demonstration. Nearly 300 people marched without incident



Reverend Harrison Bailey at site of "lynching" atrocity.

through the Pasadena black community to the location of the atrocity. The anti-fascist demonstrators shouted slogans such as "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan!" and "Black, Brown, Yellow, White—Workers of the World Unite!"

Sponsors of the march included the Communist Labor Party, Spartacist League, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), PCIC, Progressive Labor Party, New American Movement, San Gabriel Unemployed Committee, San Fernando La Raza Unida Party, CASA (a Chicano group) and the Socialist Union. Representatives of all these organizations, with the exception of the SWP, addressed the post-march rally. Rev. Bailey and his NAACP lawyer, Charles Johnson, also spoke.

The basis for this successful united-front action had been laid in earlier planning meetings. The night before the march, proposals submitted by the Spartacist League were overwhelmingly approved: a steering committee, headed by Michael Zinzun and open to all participating organizations, was formed and all groups were allowed a speaker at the rally. The only opposition to this motion came from the SWP and its left fellow traveler, the Socialist Union.

The SWP: From Trotskyism to Respectable Social Democracy

The SWP played a disgusting role in the planning meetings and at the



October 26 demonstration in Pasadena.

WV photo

demonstration itself. Indicative of its grovelling for respectability, the SWP has recently adopted the civil-libertarian position that the "right" of free speech for fascists must be protected. Evidently less concerned about workers democracy in a united front, the SWP first wanted to limit speaking rights at the rally to representatives of "relevant" (that is, non-communist) groups and then bureaucratically tried to sabotage the unity of the march by disregarding the motion for an inclusive steering committee; the SWP paraded as the sole leaders who alone could organize the monitors and talk to police. The SWP, which in the 1930's had organized workers defense guards to rout the Silver Shirts and Nazis, argued against march monitors carrying heavy picket staffs for self-defense. At the demonstration, the SWP, which as a revolutionary party used to tell workers to rely not on the bourgeois courts and cops but on their own organized strength to crush the fascist filth, tried to drown out chants of "Smash the Nazis" with a liberal counter-chant, "Justice for Reverend Bailey."

The SWP's participation in the march is more a testimony to its opportunist appetite to be "where it's at" than to its commitment to fight fascism. The SWP has turned its back on other anti-fascist demonstrations, even when, as in Cleveland, a united-front rally initiated by the SYL protested rightist attacks on the SWP/YSA's own offices! For these cynical ex-Trotskyists, the re-emerging snouts of the growing Klan and Nazi forces are "insignificant." Manuel Barrera, an SWP spokesman at an early planning meeting, maintained that only "real fascists like Barry Goldwater" were a threat. The absurd and obvious (even the SWP knows better) blurring of

the difference between the conservative bourgeois Senator and the fascist stormtroopers is a cover for the SWP's real appetites and behavior: a revisionist preference for the chit-chat of democratic salons and cringingly reformist electoral campaigns.

Trotsky could well have been polemicizing against the SWP of today when he wrote in 1934: "Fascism finds unconscious helpers in all those who say that the 'physical struggle' is impermissible or hopeless.... Nothing increases the insolence of the Fascists so much as 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers organizations" (*Whither France?*).

Bourgeois Cops Will Not Stop Fascism!

The SWP today prefers to call on the cops, courts and Federal government to stem the rise of rightist groups and racist terror. The Communist Labor Party (CLP), although it played a major role in building the Pasadena rally, carries the SWP's policy to its logical conclusion by calling on the capitalist government to ban the fascist organizations.

This orientation is utopian and extremely dangerous. The police, always a recruiting ground for fascist goons, will not subdue their brown-shirted brothers. Cops may take the fascists' firearms today, but only to return them tomorrow. History demonstrates with painful regularity that capitalist states ban "extremist" groups only to suppress the left, preserving the right for the day when the fascists' naked dictatorship is welcomed in a desperate drive to crush the workers movement. In *War and the Fourth International*, Trotsky summed up the historical

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For Mass Labor/Black Mobilizations to Crush Nazi Terror!