

West Virginia and San Francisco: Class Peace Breaks Down

"Only in the United States, traditionally the stormiest of labor-management battlegrounds, have wage settlements remained moderate while work time lost through strikes has dropped close to an all-time low of one day in 700. The wage explosion almost everybody has been expecting for a year is still not in sight, despite rapidly rising prices, record corporate profits and liquidation of most of the Administration's mandatory wage-price control program."

Even the bourgeoisie is amazed. The above comment, by the labor editor of the leading capitalist newspaper in the U.S. (A.H. Raskin, "Labor, the Sleeping Giant," *New York Times*, 17 February 1974), is indicative of the delight of the American ruling class with the unexpectedly low level of trade-union struggles in recent months. With an unprecedented world-wide inflation, the American working class has suffered a serious decline in real income. In addition to the economic basis for a wage explosion, there are also exceptional political conditions favoring major social struggles.

The ruling government is manifestly financially bankrupt, and its cynical appeals to "public interest" or "law and order" carry no credibility whatsoever. Prices of basic consumer goods like food, clothing and gasoline have become an intolerable burden for workers and their families. On top of all this—and at a time when the oil companies have reported record levels of profits—the long lines at gas stations (produced by "the oil crisis" which is almost universally regarded as a fraud) are insult added to injury. All the conditions, and more, exist for massive labor struggles.

Yet the Meany-Fitzsimmons-Woodcock bureaucracy has managed to impose an exceptional class peace. In the Watergate atmosphere, attempts to use massive police and National

Guard force against striking workers would be politically suicidal (as liberals such as San Francisco's mayor Alioto well realize—see article on S.F. strikes in this issue). So the union bureaucracy, which in normal times deflects and sells out workers' struggles, has become the main agency for directly physically suppressing such struggles. A good example of this was the UAW's mammoth goon squad of



West Virginia miners vote in gas rationing protest.

local union officials used to check the wave of wildcats in Detroit last August.

Two events in the past month—the West Virginia coal miners' strike against gas rationing and the escalating strike of San Francisco city employees—indicate that the 1972-73 period of class peace may be ending. In both of these, the militant actions were out of proportion to the modest goals and the rank-and-file upsurge continuously

bordered on a mass political/industrial confrontation with the ruling class. The West Virginia and S.F. strikes were more an instinctive protest against the current conditions of working people in U.S. society than measured actions to obtain particular economic goals.

Coal Miners' Wildcat Smashes Gas Rationing in West Virginia

Hitting on a gimmick to shorten gas pump waiting lines, West Virginia's governor Arch Moore ordered filling stations not to sell to anyone with more than a quarter tank of gas in their automobiles. When gas station owners protested against turning away customers, Moore responded with a state-of-emergency posture and threatened to replace pump attendants with National Guardsmen. But the "tough guy" governor hadn't reckoned with the men

who dig coal out of the ground in his state.

Because southern West Virginia coal fields have been systematically abandoned, many miners are now forced to drive 50 to 70 miles each way commuting to the pit heads, often late at night. The quarter-tank regulation and irregular gas station hours that resulted from it made driving to the mines nerve-racking. Some miners chose to sleep in the pits as a lesser evil. Within a week after Moore's new regulation, miners in United Mine Workers' District 29, the largest in the union, began what became a 100 percent effective wildcat. The strike quickly dried up the supply of coking coal for steel mills throughout the Midwest.

The Miller leadership of the UMW, which since coming to office as "militant and democratic reformers" has

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Police arrest striking Brookside miners, Harlan, Kentucky.

San Francisco Hit by Strike Wave

SAN FRANCISCO, March 16—A potential general strike by the San Francisco labor movement has been sabotaged by the misleaders of the trade unions. What began as "routine" contract negotiations between the San Francisco city government and the public workers' union mushroomed into a strike movement that threatened to shut down the entire city. The question was sharply posed: will the workers' anger and so far frustrated efforts to fight back against the capitalist inflation and "shortages" offensive be held in check by the labor bureaucracy or will the workers be able to smash through this obstacle and make major gains?

The ability of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) brass and their cronies in the San Francisco Labor Council to end the strike with a settlement which doesn't even make up for wages lost through inflation, and to defuse the widespread sentiment for a general strike only underlines the point that these fakers must be thrown out.

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State police attack strikers in San Francisco.



Beginning of the End?

Exodus From Progressive Labor Party

The Progressive Labor Party has suffered a very serious split. Almost the entire New England membership of PL (close to a quarter of the organization) has walked out and formed a new group, the Party for Workers Power (PWP). The breakaway, allegedly triggered by long-simmering organizational disputes between the central PL leadership of Milt Rosen and the Boston PL leadership of Jared Israel, represents a severe blow to PL as a national organization. The leadership of the PWP represents the essential core of PL's recruitment from its successful entry into SDS. Thus since 1969 PL has managed to lose most of the several hundred supporters it was able to win from a deep left-right split in SDS, largely frittering away these potentially valuable cadres through reformist and liberal policies in the student movement.

It is difficult to say much about the PWP. It seems to be, at least at the outset, politically very similar to PL. The PWP's paper, *Spark*, is a parochial, New England version of *Challenge*. What is certain is that a merely regional formation like the PWP will have no stability and no future as a blurred carbon copy of PL.

"Mass Work" vs. Theory

The splitting away of the PWP is the price both PL and those who are now the PWP must pay for years of apolitical and mindless activism, for PL's Potemkin Village approach to party building, for its fake "mass work" trumpeted in phony *Challenge* articles and above all for its rejection of Marxism in favor of the most boorish ideological primitivism. The latter was key to PL's erratic evolution since it served to justify PL's cynical reformist maneuvers by abolishing the historical and theoretical content of Marxism. The split poses both to those militants who remain in PL and especially to those who have chosen to break away to form the PWP the question of political program, of the road to revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PL had its origins as a left split from the Communist Party USA, but it was to be a left split that was unable to transcend its Stalinist origins despite the evident seriousness and subjectively revolutionary sentiments of many members. As the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP (forerunner of the Spartacist League) was to point out:

"But PL is quite without, indeed seems to deny the need for, a historical, theoretical or concretely internationalist outlook. Without both recognizing the need for and achieving a Trotskyist clarity about the nature of the SU [Soviet Union] and of Stalinism, no formation (above all one formed as a breakaway from Stalinism) can acquire an authentic and durable revolutionary quality."

—"Memorandum on the 'Progressive Labor' Group," by Harper, Nelson and Robertson, 6 January 1963

Upon leaving the CP the PL group soon turned to Maoism as an ostensible alternative to the blatant reformism of the CP and its mentors in Moscow. For a time PL had the Chinese franchise and was the officially recognized Maoist party in the U.S. Yet PL was impaled upon the horns of a dilemma. It adhered to the theories of Maoism, the Chinese version of Stalin's schema for class collaboration, but at the same time had serious subjective impulses to

construct a proletarian revolutionary party.

An Empirical Break with Maoism

These contradictions eventually led PL to empirically reject certain key aspects of Maoist class collaboration such as the "bloc of four classes" and the stages theory of the colonial revolution, whose true content had been revealed by Mao's policies in Indonesia, Pakistan, Cambodia and Vietnam. At this point, at about the time of the SDS split (1969), the question of Trotskyism and the need for PL to re-evaluate the nature of Stalinism was sharply posed to PL by the intervention of the Spartacist League into SDS, counterposing a Trotskyist program to PL's eclecticism. PL, unable to shed its Maoist/Stalinist baggage and facing pressure on the left from the SL and on the right from the ex-New Left Maoists, spiraled into a bizarre rejection of the entire history of the communist movement.

This rejection was codified in PL's last major foray into the realm of theory, "Road to Revolution III." In this document the idealist strains of the thought of Chairman Mao are carried to the point of logical absurdity. Thus PL had repudiated the "bloc of four classes" but was still faced with the question of the role of the peasantry in revolutions in the economically backward countries. PL dissolved this problem by neatly redefining the peasantry as part of the proletariat, thus leaping over Leninism back to the position of the Social Revolutionaries of tsarist Russia, contending that peasants "can be won to communist ideas." On the basis of "Road To Revolution III" it would not be inconsistent for PL to argue that "socialism" could have been achieved by the peasants of the Nile Valley three thousand years ago, if only PL had been there to sell them *Challenge* and lead them against the Pharaoh! Maintaining that the USSR is a capitalist state, PL attributed the degeneration of the Russian Revolution to nationalist ideas, emulation of capitalist techniques of production and Lenin's introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921.

PL Rejects Lenin, Defends Stalin

PL quite rightly traced Mao's stages theory of revolution to Stalin, who borrowed it from the arsenal of Menshevism in order to serve the ends of the bureaucratic caste which had consolidated its position in the Soviet Union by politically expropriating the proletariat and destroying the Bolshevik Party as a revolutionary instrument. But in leaping over the lessons of the October Revolution PL rejected Lenin also, accepting Stalin's claim that Lenin's early mistaken formula of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants could justify political blocs with and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which establishes that the tasks of the democratic revolution in the colonial countries can only be accomplished as a result of a victorious proletarian revolution, was dismissed by PL as yet another version of revolution by stages.

But PL could not bring itself to entirely reject Stalinism. Thus it turned for inspiration to the notorious "Third Period," with its doctrine of "social fascism," its rejection of the united-

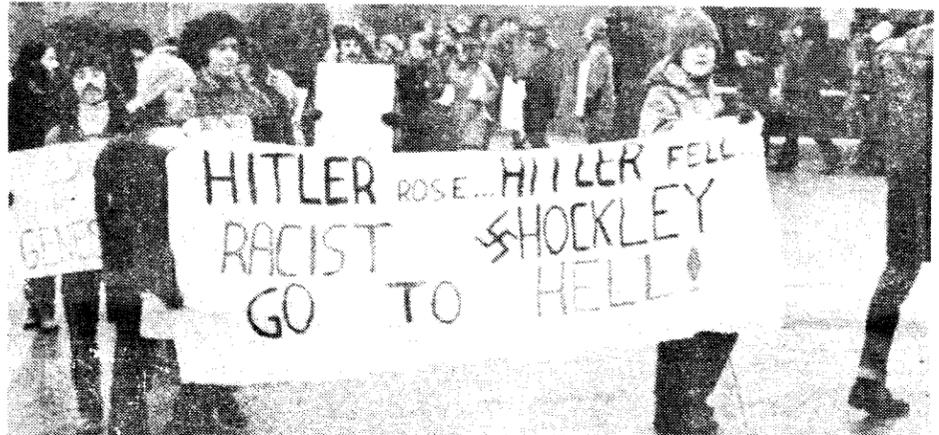
front tactic and its gangsterism. This does not prevent PLers, however, from being the most shameless opportunists when the possibility presents itself. In the guise of fighting racism, PL set up the National Committee Against Racism (CAR), which concentrates on mobilizing liberal academics against their more reactionary colleagues who currently are finding a ready market for their doctrines of social Darwinism and Caucasian racial superiority.

The recent furor over the exiled Russian author, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, has compelled PL to come out strongly in defense of Stalin, no doubt to the acute embarrassment of those PLers up to their necks in the liberal CAR's, since Solzhenitsyn has become the literary darling of such circles. More amusing, PL's defense of Stalin is basically identical to that of Khrushchev,

what has PL done? Manifestly, it has ignored politics for years, engaging in the most mindless activism, trying to fool people into thinking that it is a real mass party. What has PL got to show for all this? A lot of burnt-out ex-cadres and now what appears to be a cliquist split on a regional basis.

The "Party for Workers Power"

The PWP insists that it has principled political differences with PL, but from its paper, *Spark*, it is hard to determine what they are. This is not surprising given the lack of internal democracy inside PL, which bans "factionalism" and treats minorities like police agents. One of the features of the internal life of all Stalinist parties is that factional groupings find their



PL/SDS "anti-racism" campaign.

CHALLENGE



Milt Rosen, head of Progressive Labor Party, broke with CP but not with Stalinism.

who also claimed that Stalin was a good revolutionary who built socialism in the USSR but made a lot of mistakes. Yet PL maintains that Khrushchev was a capitalist roader!

Of course the pardon which PL so willingly gives to Stalin it extends to itself. Every major line change is effortlessly brought off with a ritual mumbling about previous mistakes made with the best of intentions. After all what is really important to PL are its activities, its "mass work." When confronted with a political question the typical PLer dismisses it, asking instead, "What do you do?" The question should be turned around. Just

expression in subterranean cliques and that splits often take a cliquist expression. Unless the PWP imitates the internal regime of PL, it will soon find "a hundred flowers blooming" inside itself, as latent political differences which were suppressed inside PL erupt in a less repressive atmosphere.

Thus although the PWP may at first sight seem to be a mini-PL, the grouping may find itself to be far from homogeneous, and different sections of it may in a short time find themselves very far from their starting

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Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G. P. O., New York, N. Y. 10001. Telephone: 925-8234.

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point. As of now the PWP's criticisms of PL are not substantial and have a certain ad hoc quality. According to *Spark* PL no longer fights racism in the workers movement. As proof it cites PL's failure to expose recent events in San Francisco, where, *Spark* claims, a wave of racist hysteria is being whipped up by the police and local government. Also, *Spark* accuses PL of immersing itself in the petty details of day-to-day struggles at the expense of fighting for "decent politics." (Remember the Campus Worker-Student Alliance, comrades of the PWP?) Finally, *Spark* accuses PL of mindless adventurism and deception:

"...they prattle about super-militant actions by tiny groups of PLers and friends, with the sort of bravado that marked anti-worker nuts like the Weathermen.... Their newspaper describes small, mock-militant actions as devastatingly fierce blows against the bosses. Their articles are full of swear words—'like real workers.'

"The bosses could care less because this is only posturing on the part of PL leaders. In reality, these PL leaders have backed PL into an increasingly isolated corner."

—*Spark*, 9 March 1974

All this must be taken with a grain of salt. PL has had a fake mass-party orientation for years. *Challenge* has always been full of "mock militancy" and "swear words." And PL has always oscillated between sub-reformist liberalism and sectarian adventurism. Adopting a more honest press policy, eliminating the "swear words" from *Challenge*, avoiding adventures and exposing every possible incident of racist hysteria will not solve the problems of PL, and do not provide a genuine alternative to PL. Indeed, they may prove to be the prelude to pure and simple reformism. It is noteworthy that nowhere in *Spark's* coverage of labor struggles is the demand of "30 for 40" raised—perhaps it was one of the things backing PL into an "isolated corner"? Failing to raise "30 for 40" is equally as indicative as failing to report an incident of racist hysteria, a point that should be evident to the CAR militants of the PWP.

Marxism or Oblivion

Militants of both PL and the PWP who genuinely wish to construct a Leninist combat party, the prerequisite for a successful proletarian revolution, must seriously consider the recent split of PL in the most critical manner if they are not simply to lay the foundation for another rotting structure. PL's history must be examined from a Marxist standpoint. PL did not spring fully developed from the void, but was influenced by events in other lands and by the whole development of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Communist International, their revolutionary conquests and their degeneration.

Such an examination, we are confident, will reveal that only Trotskyism can give a coherent and correct account of these events. A reborn Fourth International, the world party of proletarian revolution, based on the program of Trotskyism, is the only way out of the impasse of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay. ■

Perspective for Proletarian Revolution in Chile

The article "Romero and Van Schouwen Must Not Die!" in the last issue of *WV* (No. 40, 15 March) contained a formulation concerning the present situation in Chile which could be misinterpreted, with potentially serious consequences. After listing a number of factors undermining the junta's rule, the second paragraph concluded: "The task, which is above all political, of preparing for a workers and peasants insurrection is on the order of the day."

We do not wish to imply that the military regime is on the brink of collapse, nor that the task of revolutionaries is to organize an immediate insurrection. An attempt at guerrilla resistance or isolated terrorist activity in Chile at present would be futile. Rather, the task of the hour is the political rearming of the working class. The point to be stressed is that the stability of the junta is already seriously threatened, that the workers movement (though having suffered a serious defeat) has not been wiped out at the base and that the conditions are now ripe for winning large numbers of militants to the program of permanent revolution, and beginning the construction of a Trotskyist party in Chile. Foremost among these will be members of the MIR and other organizations which stood outside of and in some sense to the left of the popular-front Allende government.

In order to clarify the views of the Spartacist League on the current situation in Chile, we are reprinting below a section of the minutes of the SL Political Bureau meeting of February 12, reflecting earlier discussions:

"A reinforcement for our position turned up in the 8 February 1974 *New York Times* article, reporting that the Christian Democrats are now distancing themselves from the junta; in fact,

the head of the junta, General Pinochet, is now observably distancing himself from some of the junta's deeds, saying it is important to be 'firm but not cruel.' We take this opportunity to reiterate our basic position.

"What is the character of the defeat in Chile and what are the working conclusions to be drawn by revolutionaries? It is on the one hand *real*, contrary to the statement by Angela Davis



General Augusto Pinochet

that there was no real defeat in Chile (because of course the CP was desperately involved in the political premises which led to the defeat). That was their initial reaction, however; they don't have that position now. It is on the other hand not a catastrophe, as many others have concluded. It is not like Germany, where fascism triumphed and obliterated the organizations of the workers. That was not just concentration camps for 100,000 people, but it smashed the organizations of the working class for a generation. Or Indonesia [in 1965] where hundreds of thousands of militant peasants and workers were simply killed, or the smashing of the Chinese revolution [in 1927] and the gigantic bloodbaths of Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is it qualitatively the same as the prolonged civil war in Spain, which killed around a million people and exhausted the proletariat. Those were defeats after which the proletariat was unable to raise its head for more than a generation.

"The character of the defeat in Chile, rather, is akin to that suffered by the working class in the coup d'état of the Austrian clerical fascists in 1934, where the old Social Democracy was smashed, numbers of people were killed, some concentration camps were set up, workers quarters were shelled, etc.—however an ostensibly revolutionary socialist organization of a left-centrist character was able to organize and lead the proletariat, at least until Anschluss [Hitler's annexation of Aus-

tria in 1938] (after which the best path for those who could was simply to flee). In Chile, some thousands of casualties have taken place, but the working class is intact, not atomized, although it is temporarily beaten down. The counter-revolution has one of the narrowest social bases imaginable. It seems to have no support whatsoever outside its own bonapartist apparatus, except the very top summits of the bourgeoisie and the officer corps. The Catholic Church from the beginning remained neutral and separated itself from the junta. The Christian Democrats, the other large party in the country, have given very equivocal, conditional support. The episodic mobilizations of middle-class truckers, housewives and the like immediately subsided. The government has imposed extremely heavy measures, wage reductions, severe inflation, etc. Equally important, the Stalinists and left Social Democrats have received a crushing political defeat, not by the counterrevolution, but in terms of their own programmatic claims before the masses. There is now a very severe slump and demoralization of the working class, but this is qualitatively not the same as a full-scale totalitarian holocaust.

"In Chile the possibility now exists, more intensely and better than at any time one can think of in Latin America, for the building of a Bolshevik party and a straightforward, virtually linear perspective of proletarian revolution. The working class is still there. It is seething with bitterness; it is down now, but in a few months the first economist tendrils will rise up, testing out the situation—perhaps a little strike at first. So, as an international movement, we must scan the earth for Chilean emigres and pound them on the lessons of the Chilean defeat, trying to consolidate them into some sort of emigre publication, and develop channels into the Chilean working class and socialist movement. Of course this must be done... with none of the suicidal "Pick Up the Gun" idiocy of the "United Secretariat." *Program* means knowing *where* to point the gun and *when* to pull the trigger. We must begin an underground political combat with those who led the masses to this defeat, and to crystallize Bolshevik cadres to be linked to the masses. The situation in Chile must crack, the junta is a mere stopgap, and what will happen next?

"This is by no means a solely 'objective' question. The urgent and central political task within the Chilean and international ostensibly revolutionary left is to assimilate concretely the lessons of popular frontism with or without revisionist 'structural transition to socialism' or petty-bourgeois guerrillaist rhetoric. Our international tendency is uniquely qualified programmatic to assist in such a regroupment perspective. Objectively, the stage in Chile is being set for a giant civil war, perhaps within a few years, because the underlying enthusiasm and capacity of the proletariat have not been exhausted. But without the painstaking and patient construction of a Bolshevik party by work from both without and within the country, this momentous opportunity can be let slip." ■

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MADISON

Militant Slate in Mahwah UAW Elections

Skyrocketing inflation and massive layoffs have put the trade-union bureaucracy, including that of the United Auto Workers, under tremendous pressure in recent months. Last November top UAW officials found it necessary to order an illegal re-vote in key plants to prevent Ford workers from turning down the contract. And when a series of wildcats over working conditions spread through Detroit-area Chrysler plants in August, the union leadership was completely isolated. It had to assemble a 1,000-man goon squad of UAW officials in order to break the Mack Avenue sitdown strike.

On the local level, these pressures were reflected in the election last spring of supposed militants (several of them backed by the United National Caucus and the Communist Party) as union leaders in important UAW plants around the country, including Tarrytown GM, Eldon Gear and Axle in Detroit, the Melrose Park, Illinois, International Harvester plant and Fremont GM on the West Coast. However, neither the International bureaucracy nor these fake-militant reformists have provided any answers to key questions such as protection against layoffs and inflation. Woodcock's "solution" has been to call for protectionist quotas on imports to protect the American auto market for U.S. capital. As for the CP, its only advice to auto workers lately has been to call on Chrysler workers "to enforce and implement" Woodcock's sellout contract!

While there is still no national opposition caucus in auto with a program of class-struggle demands, developments in a few UAW locals with elections coming up this spring show promise. At Local 906 (Mahwah, New Jersey, Ford plant) the incumbent president Joe Reilly and his running mates are standing on their "successes" in extracting a few concessions from local management—including repair of locker-room windows and speedy delivery of emergency messages from relatives.

Of the two opposition groups presenting candidates in the Mahwah elections, the heterogeneous United Action Caucus is running a full slate headed by former local president Aaron Resnick. The UAC platform is one of demagogic fake militancy, including slogans of "fight the layoffs" and "really fight job overloading." No strategy is put forward indicating how to achieve these goals, nor does the UAC offer a serious perspective for challenging the company's dictatorial powers and the record of betrayal and capitulation by the Woodcock bureaucracy of the International.

In contrast, a smaller opposition grouping, the Militant Solidarity Committee, is running three candidates for union policy bodies, emphasizing that what is needed is not just one more temporary election slate. "We must look beyond this year's power fight in Local 906," they write in a leaflet, referring to the battle between Reilly and Resnick forces, "and point to the real solution to our problems, with a clear program for struggle of the whole labor movement against the corporations and the government which backs them..."

Reilly's "Accomplishments"

President Reilly has launched his drive for re-election by turning the local's newspaper, the *Pacesetter*, into a personal campaign sheet with a lead

article entitled "Accomplishments of Our Present Union Leadership Under the Direction of President Joe Reilly." The article identified "the need for cooling off the plant during the summer months" as "the most important issue" facing Local 906 and proclaimed victory with the installation of some 300 air fans and 22 water coolers!

The need for air conditioning in a plant where unbearable heat regularly leads to wildcat walkouts during the summer months is obvious. However, Mahwah workers' problems will not even begin to be solved by installing fans and water coolers. The *Pacesetter* deals only obliquely with the key questions of wages and layoffs. Limiting itself to noting some small increases in unemployment benefits under the new contract, it is understandably reluctant to mention the pitiful 3 percent wage increase negotiated by the Woodcock machine. On layoffs, an urgent problem at Mahwah where Ford is now scheduling production for every other week, every third week or every fourth week, according to its whims, Reilly offers nothing more than comforting words: "Our hopes are that the situation will not worsen." Even the company says that much!

One of the chief issues in Local 906 is the question of firings and disciplinary actions against militants as a result of walkouts last spring and summer. Reportedly more than 400 workers received some form of discipline, and the firings included the local's vice president Dave Gardner (now with the UAC). But instead of defending these union members who have been victimized by the company, Reilly supports the attacks with vicious red-baiting in his editorial column: "Many assembly plants last year faced a very serious problem stemming from alien organizations who infiltrate our ranks and wait for a serious problem to arise they can capitalize on so as to cause disruption to our jobs..." (*Pacesetter*, January 1974).

The United Action Caucus

The UAC did not arise as a rank-and-file protest against the Woodcock

bureaucracy of the UAW and its pro-company policies, but rather as an electoral coalition of former and would-be bureaucrats who are seeking to install themselves in the niche now occupied by Reilly. Nonetheless, a number of UAC supporters and candidates sincerely want to see a sharp struggle against the betrayals of the present union leadership.

According to supporters of the Militant Solidarity Committee interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* last week this was reflected in the early meetings of the UAC platform committee which tentatively adopted a demand for "nationalization of the oil and automobile industries, without compensation, under workers control." However, this was dropped at a subsequent meeting as being "too socialistic"—i.e., it might lose some votes. Resnick, the UAC's presidential candidate, reportedly remarked candidly that "personality is what's important, not program."

Similarly, although a UAC planning meeting reportedly approved the demand "no government, management or court intervention in union affairs," the caucus has never come out with this position in print, perhaps because some UAC leaders are considering suing the union in the NLRB and the courts. Along with several sub-reformist points (such as "the company must sell gas to members during the energy crisis"), the UAC "action program" also includes several radical-sounding positions such as a "fight against layoffs" and a "shorter work week with no loss in pay." However, the caucus gives no answer as to *how* to fight layoffs and actually opposes a nationwide strike against auto layoffs.

International working-class solidarity is another key issue at Mahwah, where a large percentage of the workers is of foreign origin. Both the UAC and the MSC call for foreign language translations of union contracts and bulletins and for special union representatives fluent in these languages. However, the UAC presidential candidate is a long-time supporter of protectionist "Buy American" legislation. According to Resnick, unions "are to blame if they

neglect to function as protectors of American labor; if they do not ask their members to look for the 'Made in Hong Kong-Japan, Germany, Italy or other foreign' labels on merchandise and refuse to buy it" (*Pacesetter*, August 1971). This kind of nationalist poison only serves to set worker against worker instead of uniting labor against the bosses.

The Militant Solidarity Committee

In contrast, the leaflets of the Militant Solidarity Committee reflect militant internationalism, calling for an end to discriminatory immigration laws and deportations and for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers. (This is a key demand in a plant where the many Haitian and Dominican workers face deportation to brutally repressive anti-labor dictatorships if they engage in militant union or political activity in the U.S.) Rejecting Resnick's narrow American nationalism, the MSC counterposes a call for internationally coordinated strike action against the "multinational" corporations such as Ford and for international unionization and wage scales to match U.S. rates. An MSC leaflet called on the UAW to back up Woodcock's verbal support for the British miners during their recent strike by sending substantial financial contributions and calling for hot-cargoing of coal to England.

According to Militant Solidarity Committee spokesmen, the MSC arose after discussions in the early meetings of the UAC. The MSC supporters say they would have been willing to call for votes for the United Action Committee slate if the latter had backed up its verbal opposition to government intervention in the labor movement by specifically rejecting use of the courts against the unions and if it had adopted the recommendations of its program committee. The MSC candidates and supporters had brought up the need for a class-struggle program in UAC meetings, including raising the nationalization, shorter workweek and union hiring hall demands. These were tentatively adopted by the planning committee.

However, the careerism of the UAC leaders soon got the upper hand, and the aspiring bureaucrats subsequently turned down the key demand for nationalization. These militants then formed the MSC in order to run an independent slate which would openly pose the key class issues facing auto workers, instead of maneuvering and ducking the issues as Reilly and Resnick are doing. (MSC supporters have subsequently been excluded from "public" UAC meetings.)

The MSC program recognizes that the interests of auto workers are irreconcilably opposed to those of their capitalist employers and that the fight against layoffs, speed-up and intolerable working conditions cannot succeed in isolation from a struggle by the whole working class for political power. The committee calls for a general strike to oust Nixon and force new elections, and for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government. (The UAC, in contrast, calls only for a "fight to remove Nixon from office," ignoring the need for a working-class alternative and thereby backhandedly supporting Gerald Ford and the Democrats, just as Woodcock does!)

Other points in the MSC program are an end to all anti-red clauses and for the right of all pro-union tendencies to make their views known; for union control of hiring and upgrading, with no preferential treatment for any group; for an industry-wide strike against layoffs and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; and for nationalization of the oil and auto companies, without compensation, under workers control.

Though the MSC is running only three candidates, Mahwah Ford workers have the opportunity to vote for representatives committed to the fight, as the MSC puts it, "to dump Woodcock and his machine and to replace them with a new, militant leadership based on a program of class struggle."

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BERKELEY-

OAKLAND..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928

Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO..... (716) 837-1854

Box 412, Station C
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO..... (312) 728-2151

Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND..... (216) 651-9147

Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT..... (313) 921-4626

Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

LOS ANGELES..... (213) 485-1838

Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90038

MADISON..... (608) 257-0662

c/o RCV
Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN..... (203) 624-7015

c/o RCV
Box 1363
New Haven, CT 16505

NEW ORLEANS..... (504) 866-8384

Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK..... (212) 925-2426

Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

SAN FRANCISCO..... (415) 653-4668

Box 1757
San Francisco, CA 94101

REVOLUTIONARY
LITERATURE

NYC Demo Defends MIR Leaders

MARCH 15—In response to an urgent call by the Spartacist League to publicize the case of two imprisoned leaders of the Chilean MIR, several radical organizations today jointly sponsored a demonstration at the New York office of LAN-Chile airlines around the demands "Free Van Schouwen and Romero!" and "Free All Victims of the Reactionary Junta's Repression!" The demonstration, which drew approximately 150 militants, was sponsored by an ad hoc Committee to Free Van Schouwen and Romero, and endorsed by Chileans for Democracy, Chile Solidarity Committee, North American Congress on Latin America, Puerto Rican Socialist Party,

inent prisoners, through the intermediary of the UN Commission on Human Rights. According to the 2 March *New York Times*, the commission has sent a cable to the head of the military government, Pinochet, as "part of a privately arranged deal in which the Soviet Union agreed to drop a resolution condemning Chile's suppression of human rights." The report continued: "A tacit understanding of the parties to the deal was that Chile would allow the imprisoned men to leave. Moscow was particularly eager to obtain the release of Luis Corvalán, the head of the Communist Party..."

In explaining the urgency of this demonstration at a planning meeting on March 11, the SL pointed out that it supported the demand of freedom for Corvalán, or for that matter for the several hundred "constitutionalist" officers reportedly imprisoned by the junta for failing to participate in the September 11 coup. But we are resolutely opposed to any "deal" which would save class traitors like Corvalán, who had prepared the way for the coup by preaching faith in the "democratic" military and "progressive" bourgeoisie, while abandoning the far-left prisoners such as Van Schouwen and Romero. This deal, if it goes through, would be used by the junta to pacify world public opinion and would imme-

diately endanger the lives of the MIR leaders!

Further, until now no one had publicized their case in the U.S. The Chile Solidarity Committee, in which the Communist Party is active, had centered its efforts on Corvalán and other leaders of the Popular Unity coalition. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which is led by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, highlights the cases of Corvalán, Luis Vitale (a co-thinker of the SWP) and several artists and writers who might awaken the sympathy of liberal intellectuals. But the brutally tortured Van Schouwen (member of the Political Commission of the MIR) and Romero (a MIR Central Committee member), had not been mentioned in public protests.

At the picket, in addition to the sponsoring organizations there were approximately a half dozen supporters each for the Revolutionary Socialist

League, Youth Against War and Fascism and USLA. The SWP not only did not endorse the demonstration, raising no principled explanation for its sectarian abstentionism, but also failed to participate—except for a single lonely *Militant* salesman who spent his time trying to explain why his organization had taken such an anti-internationalist attitude.

In the short speeches following the spirited picketing, a representative of NACLA and the Chile Solidarity Committee emphasized the need to unite in support of the heroic struggle of the Chilean people. The RCL (Internationalist) spokesman, in turn, called for an international campaign to buy guns for the MIR, while a speaker for USLA called for a fight to free all political prisoners in Chile, noting that USLA had built this demonstration and others like it. (It is true that USLA members built the demonstration, but this was no thanks to the leadership which refused

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USLA Sectarian Liberalism

In refusing to join with the Spartacist League and others to endorse the demonstration to free the imprisoned MIR leaders, the USLA reconfirmed its commitment to bourgeois liberalism rather than proletarian solidarity. USLA's sectarianism in the present case is the logical culmination of a policy consciously adopted more than seven years ago by the SWP-dominated USLA. In a meeting on 21 December 1966, supporters of the Spartacist League had objected to the deliberately class-neutral "Statement of Aims" proposed by the USLA, which began "1. To aid in defending victims of political persecution and injustice in the countries of Latin America, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations or associations..." (*World Outlook*, 18 November 1966). The SL supporters pointed out that this policy would not in principle preclude the defense of reactionaries, citing as an example the case of several Nazis then being held in Chile.

Pointing to the need for a proletarian class axis in political defense work, the SL supporters proposed a declaration that USLA should aid "victims of rightist political persecution." When the USLA leadership objected to the proposed substitute declaration, on the grounds it might alienate liberal support, and voted down the SL wording, the SL supporters withdrew from the committee with a statement that the SL would work with USLA on particular defense cases but could not take responsibility for the committee itself.

Now this split, undertaken in 1966 on purely programmatic grounds, has found its logical culmination in concrete practice: the shameful foot-dragging of the USLA leadership in the urgent defense of Romero and Van Schouwen.

Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) and the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth.

In addition to the main slogans of the demonstration, the more than 100 SL/RCY supporters on the picket line also carried placards demanding "Free Corvalán-Vitale-Van Schouwen-Romero," "No Popular Front Illusions," "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile," "For a Workers and Peasants Revolution in Chile," and "Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International." Several SL/RCY signs emphasized the demand "No Deals to Sacrifice the Far-Left Militants in Order to Save the Chief Traitors of the Popular Front."

The last slogan referred to a rumored "deal" being worked out with the junta to obtain the release of five prom-



WV PHOTO

BAY AREA WAREHOUSE CONVENTION—

ILWU Dumps Blacklist Fight

OAKLAND, California—The Constitutional Convention of the Warehouse Division (Local 6) of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), met here on March 16 after a year of mounting employer and government attacks on the union and labor generally. In addition to the rampant inflation, unemployment, scarcity, etc., which affect all U.S. workers, West Coast warehousemen are also facing direct government intervention in union affairs and a concerted campaign of blacklisting of militants for union activities.

A vigorous campaign by an ad-hoc Committee to Fight the Blacklisting had made a real impact on the ranks prior to the convention. The Committee had pointed out the similarities between employer blacklisting and the recent court intervention against the seniority system, both of which undermine the ILWU's chief achievement, the union hiring hall.

Bridges and Alioto

The Warehouse Division convention took place just one day after the settlement of a militant public employees' strike in San Francisco, a strike which had been threatened with military intervention by Governor Reagan and which almost went to the point of a city-wide general strike. Not unexpectedly the featured speaker at the convention, straight from the smoke-filled back rooms of City Hall, was none other than Joseph Alioto, Democratic mayor of San Francisco and the chief adversary of the city workers who had just been on strike. The Bridges regime in the ILWU depends heavily on its friendship with Alioto and has received from him many plums, including Bridges' seat on the S.F. Port Commission, for its services in sabotaging the fight against speed-up and job loss due to automation.

Alioto tried to come across as the world's greatest "friend of labor." He defended the right of public employees to strike, condemned Reagan's threat

to call in the National Guard as "irresponsible" and claimed that his own declaration of a state of emergency had been for the protection of collective bargaining!

Alioto made the purpose of his policy clear. The situation in San Francisco had been extremely volatile. If Reagan's advice had been followed, he said, there would have been riots and blood flowing in the streets. "Reasonableness" is clearly preferable to the city's ruling class, especially when the public workers union bureaucrats are being so "reasonable," i.e., willing to settle for a 6-1/2 percent wage increase—well below the rate of inflation.

The address of Bridges to the convention should have been enough to dispel any lingering illusions in him as a "leftist." He said labor should call for a shorter workweek without specifying "no loss in wages," since that would make it harder to get, and "any union worth its salt would soon make up the difference." Thus Bridges calls on the workers to pay for unemployment by taking a massive wage cut during the worst inflation since World War I!

Bridges then launched into a sharp attack on the left—"a handful of people down below raising hell"—and a defense of the worst bureaucrats in labor, Meany and Gleason (of the East Coast longshore union, with which Bridges may soon advocate merger—on the former's terms, of course). Whatever the failings of the Gleasons and the Meany's, these men are the labor movement, Bridges said, and he was tired of hearing criticism of them.

Blacklist Fight at Warehouse Convention

The Committee to Fight the Blacklist distributed a packet of literature and presented two resolutions to the convention on the cases of unjustly fired union militants. The leadership has been dragging its feet on the blacklist cases since a sharp fight, as urged by the Committee, would disrupt its

cozy relationship with the bosses. The bureaucracy thus permits various forms of discrimination against union members, in the process undermining the principle of union control of hiring.

In turn, supporters of the reformist Communist Party in the union, rather than joining the united-front committee to defend the blacklist victims, have ganged up with the leadership in a vicious red-baiting and race-baiting attack on the Committee.

As a consequence of this campaign inside the union against the victimized militants, two members of the Committee were denied seats at the convention, despite their election as delegates from the East Bay hiring hall, on an unconstitutional ruling from the chair which has the effect of denying representation to "red book" (second-class) members.

Included in the Committee's literature packet was a reprint of a letter which the *Dispatcher*, the International paper, had refused to print despite its supposed "open-to-the-membership" policy. It was within the required word length and had been accepted for publication, but was pulled at the last minute without explanation.

The letter pointed out that the Local's East Bay Division had endorsed the campaign against the blacklisting and mentioned the case of a fourth member who had been fired, obviously for connection with the Committee, since the original three firings around which the Committee was formed. It emphasized that fighting employer blacklisting of militants was "a vital effort in which all members, including the officers, should be united" (emphasis in original).

Bob Mandel, one of the blacklisted members and one of the delegates denied a seat, was allowed to speak by vote of the body. He emphasized that the unions were under attack from employers and the government on many fronts and that the blacklist was just another of the employers' many weap-

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Canada's New Democratic Party: Right-Wing Social Democracy

2/ What Policy for Revolutionary Marxists?

From the 1930's until it was transformed into the New Democratic Party in 1961, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation attempted the difficult feat of simultaneously representing Canadian farmers, workers and liberal professionals on the basis of a social-democratic program of reforming capitalism by parliamentary means. But the interests of the working class and various sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are by no means identical. Moreover,

and the dominant ex-CCL bureaucrats moved to finally turn the decaying CCF into a social-democratic labor party.

This was accomplished by, on the one hand, direct affiliation of local unions with the new party and, on the other, by toning down the social-democratic rhetoric in favor of vague references to "liberally minded people" and "the democratic left." The National Com-

Not only does the NDP's representation system give far greater weight to the riding clubs (one convention delegate per fifty members) than to affiliated unions (one delegate per thousand members), but it was explicitly designed to do so.

However, the essential question is that of who is dominant in the NDP. That is clearly the union bureaucracy together with the party apparatus which is

Mole (now the organ of the Revolutionary Marxist Group):

"To respond to those who say the NDP is a workers' party because of its trade union support, it must be said that there is a difference between a party of the workers and a workers' party. (Otherwise, the Democratic Party in the United States could be termed a 'workers' party' because of its union support and electoral vote among workers....) "... In the final view, the program of the NDP stands in defence of the existing social order, and thus cannot be defined as proletarian simply on the grounds of its social base."

Fox preferred to define the NDP as simply "social-democratic" and leave its class character up in the air.

The reformist NDP certainly has bourgeois politics, just as does the British Labour Party or the French Communist Party. Reformism in the age of decaying capitalism, "when, in general, there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and raising the masses' living standards" (Trotsky) means support for the bourgeoisie against the interests of the workers. It is in that sense that the NDP, BLP and PCF are all *bourgeois* workers parties. Not only does the NDP shy away from any mention of socialism (indicative of its position in the right wing of international social democracy), but its votes are crucial for maintaining Trudeau's minority Liberal cabinet in power.

A particularly revealing example of the NDP's bourgeois politics is the British Columbia government, which for more than a year after the 1972 New Democratic election victory maintained the old anti-labor legislation of the previous Social Credit administration. When it finally did introduce its own labor code (Bill 11), it included provisions for compulsory arbitration by a state labor board and outlawed secondary strikes (see the declaration by the B.C. Federation of Labour attacking the NDP government's labor code in *Labor Challenge*, 22 October 1973). But no matter how many anti-labor laws they pass, there is a crucial class difference between reformist labor parties such as the BLP or NDP, and the Democrats and the Liberals.

Where is the Class Line?

In an earlier article (see "Government Breaks Canadian Rail Strike," in *WV* No. 28, 14 September 1973), we characterized the NDP as "a farmer-labor party with close ties to the unions." However, since a two-class party with a bourgeois program is simply a bourgeois party, this description fails to make the necessary distinction between a bourgeois populist party such as the North Dakota Non-Partisan League and Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party in the 1920's and '30's, and the reformist social-democratic NDP (and its predecessor the CCF). The difference is that the latter is based on the independent mobilization of the working class, that is, on the unions and on a program which claims to represent the interests of the workers, while the former is a party of an alien class no matter how many labor votes it receives.

We must take account of the difference between direct representatives of the capitalist class on the one hand and the agents of the bourgeoisie within

TWO-PART SERIES

neither among farmers nor in the labor movement was there wide support for the "socialist" rhetoric of the early CCF. Consequently none of its constituencies was ever really satisfied with this ineffectual reformist party. As a mass electoral party it was doomed to a marginal existence beside the two leading bourgeois parties, Liberals and Conservatives. (In fact, the CCF probably had the duller history of any social-democratic party in the world. In all its life the most it ever accomplished was the introduction of state medical insurance in Saskatchewan.)

As its original mass base, the farmer population, dwindled (from about 30 percent in the 1930's to roughly 10 percent in 1960) and grew more prosperous, the marginal phenomenon of the CCF threatened to disappear completely. CCF vote totals declined more or less steadily from 1943 on while during the 1950's Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives began to make massive inroads into the social democrats' prairie support. As some of the top party leaders (notably David Lewis) had realized since the 1930's, either it would become a mass labor party linked to the unions or the CCF would disappear altogether.

The Canadian Congress of Labour (allied with the U.S. CIO) had once endorsed the CCF as the political arm of labor and generally supported it financially at election time, particularly in Ontario. In British Columbia, despite weaker ties to the unions, the party had a mass working-class electoral base. However, by and large the labor bureaucrats regarded the CCF as a party which generally reflected their interests but of which they were not really a part. As a delegate to the 1955 convention of the Trades and Labor Congress (affiliated to the AFL) remarked, "you can't expect school-teachers, lawyers, doctors or hardware merchants to speak for labor" (quoted in G. Horowitz, *Canadian Labour in Politics*).

Transformation of the CCF

The formation of a mass reformist workers party, to which the CCF leadership aspired, must be based on the trade unions, whether directly (as with the labor parties in Britain or Australia) or indirectly (as with the Communist and Social Democratic parties of France, Italy, Sweden or Germany). However in Canada, until the mid-1950's the constant feuding between the CCL and TLC and the latter's hard opposition to independent labor political action, made it impossible to achieve the desired link-up with the unions. Following the 1956 merger of the two federations to form the Canadian Labour Congress, this situation changed



Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau

mittee for a New Party, a joint body set up by the CCF and CLC leaderships, worked out a program similar to the CCF's 1956 Winnipeg Declaration, except that it managed to eliminate any reference to socialism. (On the other hand, the controversial word crept back into the party's official documents at the 1963 convention of the New Democratic Party. In any case the NDP had applied for membership in the Socialist [Second] International immediately after its founding conference.)

Indicating the strength of labor participation (and control) in the new party, the number of affiliated union locals shot up from little more than a handful to 679 by 1966. Ontario, which had the vast majority of affiliated unionists, had only 22 locals (with 20,000 members) tied to the CCF in 1959, but some 445 locals (with 187,000 members) affiliated to the NDP in 1966. Similarly, the vote for the new party more than doubled by 1965 (surpassing 1.3 million, compared to the CCF's 636,000 in 1953), particularly in the industrial provinces (Ontario, British Columbia), while falling on the prairies (Horowitz, *op. cit.*). The NDP was unable to obtain the affiliation of a single provincial farmers' union.

A Social-Democratic Labor Party

Among New Leftists and Maoists it is frequently denied that the NDP is a workers party in any sense. Reference is made to the continued importance of the prairie farmers in the party (roughly one third of the total national NDP membership is in the single province of Saskatchewan). There is also the undeniable fact of the largely petty-bourgeois composition of the party's riding (electoral district) committees.



Stephen Lewis, right, Ontario NDP leader talks with father, David, head of national NDP.

closely tied to it. The Saskatchewan party is essentially a farmers' organization not much different from the old CCF, but it operates quite autonomously from the national NDP. And in the 1958-61 CCF-CLC negotiations it was precisely the union bureaucracy which emphasized the need for a "broad people's party" which would not have the appearance of being dominated by labor. Probably the best demonstration of who rules in the NDP came with the drive to get rid of the left-reformist Waffle Caucus in 1972. The party leadership showed some hesitation because of fears of losing votes, but the determination of the union bureaucracy (concerned lest this caucus give rise to oppositions on its home turf) to crush the Waffle or drive it out rapidly became the determining factor.

But the most important reason advanced in order to deny that the New Democratic Party is a workers party is its bourgeois politics. Thus Judith Fox wrote in the 15 January 1973 *Old*



the workers movement on the other. Obviously in a strike situation, a microcosm of the class war, it is necessary to treat cops differently from the sell-out union bureaucrats, even though both ultimately serve the interests of the bosses. Toward the cops and the bourgeois parties we adopt a policy of intransigent proletarian opposition.

But the reformist Stalinists and social democrats are in a different, contradictory position. Their policies reflect the interests of the bourgeoisie, but at the same time they sit atop the mass workers' organizations. This subjects them to pressure from below and occasionally can force them to put up a limited (and distorted) defense against attacks on the workers by the bourgeoisie. By struggling within the mass workers' organizations (the unions and reformist Stalinist and social-democratic parties) for the Marxist program of proletarian democracy, it is possible to separate the working-class base from these misleaders of labor.

Ultimately the difference comes down to this: the Democrats, Liberals, Populists (such as Perón in Argentina) and other bourgeois parties can, if necessary, destroy the unions without removing their own basis for existence. But the Canadian NDP, Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party in Germany or the British Labour Party under Harold Wilson can talk of being "people's parties" and pass anti-labor legislation, but they cannot destroy the unions—without destroying themselves. That is why Trotskyists unconditionally defend the reformist workers parties against the bourgeoisie, why we can call for "critical support" to them in elections and can even enter them (in order to split them and extract a revolutionary section)—despite their reformist, pro-capitalist leadership and program they are part of the workers movement. To adopt the same attitude toward a bourgeois party is class treason.

Trotskyism and the CCF/NDP

The original Trotskyist nucleus in Canada was grouped around Maurice Spector, a former top leader of the Communist Party who was expelled, at the same time as James P. Cannon was booted out of the American CP in 1928, for supporting the program of the Russian Left Opposition in the Comintern. For some years they remained quite isolated, unable to rapidly expand their ranks through taking leadership of

a mass struggle, as the U.S. Trotskyists benefited from their role in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes. Then around 1936 the combination of leftward motion among the working masses as a result of the depression, the existence of relatively leftist sections in the British Columbia and Toronto CCF and Trotsky's advocacy of entry into the social-democratic parties in order to congeal a revolutionary wing (the so-called "French turn") raised the question of entry into the CCF for the Canadian Trotskyists (then organized as the Workers Party).

In early 1937 the WP entered the CCF after a long and sharp internal conflict which resulted in a small majority favoring entry. Spector had already left for the U.S. where he joined A.J. Muste in opposing entry into the social democracy. Then shortly afterwards virtually the entire leadership under Jack MacDonald (which had supported entry) quit the movement. A section of the minority which had opposed entry refused to cooperate until 1938, and barely a year later the CCF top brass expelled all remaining Trotskyists. Needless to say, under these conditions, the initial entry was hardly a success.

But with the onslaught of World War II, independent organizational existence was not much more fruitful. The bourgeoisie passed repressive anti-labor legislation, the "Defense of Canada Regulations," which outlawed the Stalinist Communist Party. The first person to be jailed under this act was one of the Trotskyist leaders, and the rest of the leadership soon evaporated before the storm of war hysteria. The Socialist Workers League, which had been set up following the expulsion from the CCF, virtually ceased to exist and what remained turned once again to the CCF, this time for shelter against repression.

The founding of the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1946 did not end the orientation to the CCF, though with the reflux following the CCF's highpoint in the 1943 Ontario elections it was felt that a period of independent activity was necessary in order to assemble forces before again attempting a large-scale entry.

Entrism Sui Generis

With the continued isolation of Trotskyist forces following World War

II, particularly in Europe where the reformist Communist parties were leading millions of workers, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International led by Michel Pablo capitulated to the mass reformist parties and advocated what amounted to the liquidation of the FI. The means for accomplishing this would be deep entry into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In contrast to Trotsky's tactic in the mid-1930's, which was aimed at breaking out a revolutionary section in a relatively short period, this would be "entrism *sui generis*" (of a unique kind) "in order to remain there for a long time banking on the great possibility of seeing these parties, placed under new conditions, develop centrist tendencies which will lead a whole stage of the radicalization of the masses..." (Pablo, "Report to the 10th Plenum of the International Executive Committee," February 1952).

This policy of abandoning the struggle for the independent Trotskyist party did not leave the Canadian section of the FI unaffected. The 1951 RWP convention document ("The CCF—Our Tasks and Perspectives") projected just such a "deep entry" as Pablo was advocating internationally. Its premise was "not the existence of left formations—nor an increase in internal democracy in the party or a wave of growth..." Rather, the document argued, "the CCF under the next upsurge will embrace the class. The class will go there and nowhere else; there it will undergo the experience of reformism—and there, given the perspective of world and Canadian capitalism[,] will move forward to the revolutionary solution of its problems" (quoted in Ross Dowson, "Our Orientation to the NDP As a Strategy—And its Tactical Applications," 1970). The next year the RWP dissolved in order to enter the CCF.

The liquidationist implications of Pablo's line led to a 1952 split in the French section of the FI, and a year later to a worldwide split following the publication of the American Socialist Workers Party's "Open Letter" accusing the IS leadership of abandoning the proletarian program of Trotskyism by capitulating to the petty-bourgeois Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies. In Canada the majority led by Dowson after some hesitation sided with the SWP, while a minority supporting Pablo (led by Fitzgerald and McAlpine) split in early 1954, subsequently disappearing from the scene altogether. However, despite the majority's support for the SWP against Pablo, the entry into the CCF continued despite total stagnation and decline in the latter and the complete absence of any leftist forces toward which to orient. By 1955, openly liquidationist tendencies were already appearing in the Vancouver branch, which did not terminate its entry until early 1959. However, in Toronto the CCF leadership cut short this process of degeneration by summarily expelling the Trotskyists in 1955.

Pabloism Vulgaris Generis

At the time of the formation of the New Democratic Party in 1959-61, the Trotskyist groups in Toronto and Vancouver were brought together into a national League for Socialist Action (LSA) for the purpose of participating actively in the "new party" discussions. However following the 1963 convention most of the LSA cadre were expelled by the NDP leadership. Another attempt to build a left wing in the NDP was made with the formation of the Socialist Caucus in 1965. This, in turn, was liquidated two years later when the Ontario provincial NDP executive expelled 12 Caucus members. The following year a broad left-reformist caucus was formed (the Waffle) which attracted a number of ostensible Trotskyists until it left the NDP in 1972 following a determined campaign by the Ontario NDP leadership under Stephen Lewis (national NDP leader David Lewis' son) to crush it.

Dowson has since maintained that the 1952-56 entry into the CCF was not capitulatory "entrism *sui generis*" because the 1951 Canadian resolution called for a Trotskyist leadership based

on the Transitional Program as the alternative to the reformist social-democratic bureaucracy led by M.J. Coldwell. Nevertheless, the entry had a long-term "non-split perspective" in the admitted absence of any significant leftward-moving forces. This perspective has continued to characterize the orientation of the LSA toward the NDP ever since 1962.

This was confirmed by Dowson himself when he wrote in his 1970 document:

"Even today, 19 years after, the 1951 convention document's broad projection for the CCF-NDP entry remains accurate. The workers as a class are going through an NDP experience—it is only taking longer than we expected."

Another indication of the LSA's "non-split perspective" is its slogan for the NDP, "win the NDP to socialism." The LSA leadership occasionally makes orthodox-sounding statements that "of course" the NDP is a reformist, social-democratic party and that it cannot make a revolution. However, what possible meaning can "win the NDP to socialism" have except that of pressuring the present bureaucracy to the left? As if to underline the LSA's capitulation to the reformists, Dowson writes:

"The orientation to the CCF-NDP has been the fundamental orientation of Canadian Trotskyism since World War II. In general our position in relation to the CCF-NDP labor party formation has been one of unconditional support and, but for the period of entry from 1952 to 1956, intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective."

An example of what the LSA means by its "unconditional" support for the NDP, and how little this has to do with the Leninist tactic of critical electoral support of a reformist workers party against the bourgeois parties, is its special election supplement for the 1971 Saskatchewan elections: "Saskatchewan can become a beachhead for the NDP, an example to the rest of Canada, of North America. Student-faculty control? Workers control? Women's liberation? Red power? An NDP government can mean all of these things—putting the powerful resources of the government at the disposal of the ongoing movements for social change" (*Labor Challenge*, June 1971). Rather than exposing the NDP's phony socialist pretensions *Labor Challenge* here builds illusions not only in the social democrats but in the bourgeois state as well! Such reformist rhetoric can never serve to build a communist opposition to Lewis & Co.

Furthermore, the political resolution of the April 1973 convention of the LSA explicitly states: "The intervention of revolutionary socialists in the NDP would have no purpose if it aimed only to recruit a revolutionary faction..." Instead, "our aim is more ambitious—to provide a program for the broad struggle against the bureaucratic leadership, and for a socialist course, and to lead this struggle in action" (*The NDP—The Marxist View*, 1973). So rather than calling for something as "sectarian" as a revolutionary faction, meaning one based on a socialist program expressing the historical interests of the working class, the LSA prefers to win the NDP to... feminism and support for pacifist anti-Vietnam war movements!

The Waffle Experience

In the four years from 1968 to 1972 there arose a sizeable left opposition inside the NDP, the Waffle Caucus, which was rooted in petty-bourgeois ex-student/professional milieus and combined Canadian nationalism with left-reformist "socialist" rhetoric. At the height of the Waffle's influence, one of its top leaders, Jim Laxer, received 37 percent of the vote while running against David Lewis for head of the national NDP. The Waffle criticized the leadership of the party for its opportunistic positions on Vietnam, its failure to support self-determination for Quebec and its lack of commitment to fighting for women's liberation. Its own strategic focus was on community organizing of single-industry towns unthreatened by the U.S. capitalists' al-

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Class Peace...

devoted itself primarily to suppressing wildcats, responded in its now standard manner. But this time its strikebreaking efforts were to no avail. At first the UMW bureaucracy denied there was a wildcat at all, claiming the miners simply couldn't drive to work. But since 15,000 miners were picketing the pit heads, this argument quickly became untenable. So the local union officials then urged the "non-existent" strikers to return to work. When persuasion failed, Jack Perry, president of District 17, the second largest in West Virginia, stated that the UMW "is not urging, it is directing miners with gas to end the strike." But then, who had gas? The miners stayed out.

Faced with the coal miners' combativity, Moore's position crumbled. The hapless governor tried a compromise whereby workers driving more than 250 miles a week would be exempted from the quarter-tank rule. When the miners refused the deal, claiming it was an attempt to split their forces, the state surrendered on March 13 and rescinded the order.

Although the gas rationing system made traveling far more difficult, the miners could have made it to work. The coal operators pointed out that clerical workers and supervisors, who drove comparable distances, showed no abnormal absenteeism. The wildcat was obviously about more than the quarter-tank rule. Opposing this absurdly discriminatory and burdensome system of gas rationing was an obvious way of legitimizing what was, in effect, a general protest against the rulers of American society.

Because the miners hit on the gas rationing system in good part as a symbolic target, their victory does not begin to affect their real needs. It doesn't even mean that gas purchasing will be convenient, since the big refiners continue to starve the service stations in order to force up prices.

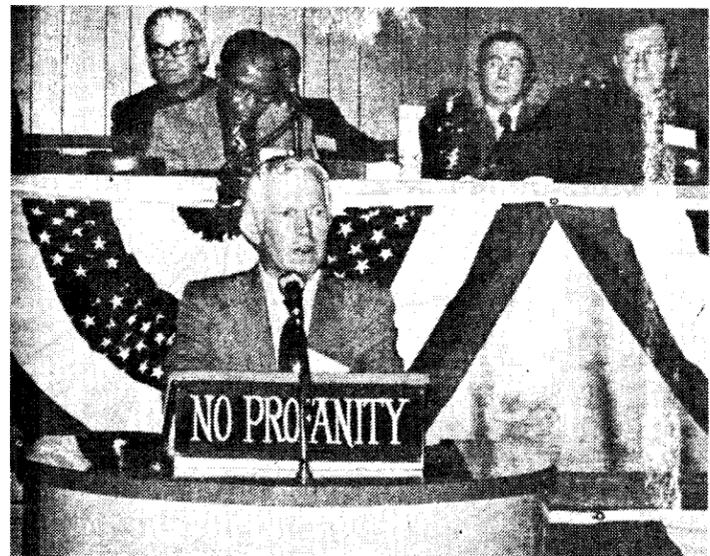
workers' strike show important parallels, as well as contrasts. The most important similarity is the vast disproportion between the class solidarity and militancy of these actions and their limited stated objectives. What began as an ordinary end-of-contract strike by the largest city employees' union in San Francisco (the Service Employees International Union—SEIU) rapidly became an incipient city-wide general strike. First the teachers, although they had separate negotiations with a different government body, formed a united front with the SEIU workers. SEIU picket lines were greeted with enthusiasm by the city workers; other unions' respecting the picket lines resulted in an impressive escalation: city hospitals blocked, the sewage treatment plants shut down, public transport halted. The condition of the San Francisco labor movement was like a plastic container stretched so thin that pressure at any point could rupture it, releasing tremendous pent-up energy. Even union bureaucrats were forced to admit the possibility of a general strike. Normally such a mass political strike is possible only when the workers feel threatened by a common danger. In San Francisco, however, the impulse toward a general strike also had an offensive character, as a show of militant class solidarity reflecting deep discontent with the system.

The West Virginia coal miners' strike was a spontaneous rank-and-file action; the San Francisco strike was effectively controlled by the bureaucracy throughout. Yet both strikes, despite tremendous militancy, ended with marginal gains, far less than could have been achieved given the bargaining strength of the workers. In West Virginia, the imbalance between the impact of the strike and the meagerness of its result reflected a lack of leadership committed to a general social program; in San Francisco, this same imbalance reflected the ability of the bureaucracy to determine objectives and terms of "victory." In their similarity and contrast, these rural coal miners' and urban city workers' strikes demonstrate that spontaneous militancy—



Unionists protest in Rochester, N.Y.

DAILY WORLD



UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

Mine Workers' president Arnold Miller

Even on the issue the strike was fought over, only the nationalization of the oil monopolies and placing the distribution system under workers control would guarantee an improvement in the fuel supply situation. And in any case, the stated goals of this wildcat were completely separate from the main issues now facing the UMW, including safety standards and a shorter workweek.

While spontaneous rank-and-file revolts can sometimes generate broader and more important demands than the extremely narrow goal of the West Virginia miners' wildcat, in the last analysis that narrow goal reflects the absence of a proletarian leadership committed to a comprehensive class-struggle program. Under such a leadership, the miners' exemplary solidarity and militancy, their defiance of the UMW bureaucracy and the government, would have been put to a far greater purpose than eliminating a particularly maddening form of gas rationing.

Strike Mood in General San Francisco

The West Virginia coal miners' wildcat and the San Francisco city

lacking programmatic leadership—cannot win more than marginal gains for labor.

The Need for Working-Class Political Independence

Of particular significance in the San Francisco strike was the policy of "friend of labor" Mayor Alioto. Since the strike was directed against his administration, the resulting confrontation should have gone a long way toward discrediting Alioto among the working people of the Bay Area. This did not happen. Instead the liberal Democrat Alioto attempted, with some success, to deflect the hostility of the workers toward the right-wing Republican governor, Reagan. By using "friend-of-labor" demagoguery ("we don't use the police as strikebreakers") and the support of union bigwigs, Alioto managed to present himself as a much lesser evil than the screaming-for-blood reactionary Reagan. Only a fundamental escalation of the San Francisco strike, which the bureaucracy effectively prevented, would have clearly demonstrated that Alioto and Reagan are indeed on the same side of the

barricades.

Alioto's demagogic maneuvering during the strike is a useful corrective to an over-simplified view of the effect of Watergate and the energy crisis on American politics. While the Nixon regime has certainly been discredited, bourgeois politics and politicians have not. The Watergate backlash has clearly benefited the Democratic Party electorally. Henry Jackson, with his anti-oil-monopoly posturing, has gotten at least as much political mileage out of the energy crisis as has the pro-socialist left.

There are limits to the degree to which bourgeois political forces can be discredited simply by cynicism. Work-

ers know they need a way to affect government policy; unless and until that need is expressed through a party based on the labor movement, workers will remain tied to the liberal bourgeois politicians. And unless and until that need is expressed through support for a revolutionary leadership, committed to pursuing the class struggle through to victory and pointing the way forward with a transitional program which explicitly challenges the fundamentals of capitalist rule, working-class militancy and distrust of bourgeois politicians will be sold out, dissipated or, if need be, brutally crushed by the present bureaucratic misleaders of labor. ■

Continued from page 5

ILWU...

ons—one which in the past had been used heavily against the ILWU and its leadership. He emphasized the importance of setting up a special committee to deal with it (a proposal was contained in one of the Committee's resolutions).

Mandel was lambasted as a "new messiah," by the bureaucracy's sycophants, but the resolution was supported from many quarters. It was necessary for the leadership to call Lou Goldblatt, International Secretary-Treasurer, to the floor to oppose the resolution. Goldblatt was forced to agree with Mandel that there had always been a blacklist and that historically the union had always been "a haven for persecuted radicals." However, he claimed a new committee was unnecessary.

"All Those Opposed, Vote Aye"

Local 6 president McLain then conducted the vote in a way that will surely go down in history as a crowning achievement of bureaucratic sleight-of-hand. Up to that point all votes had been conducted normally,

i.e., first those in favor and then those opposed to the resolution in question. This time, however, McLain said, "All those against say 'aye'!" Confusion reigned supreme—many members supporting the Committee's resolution voted "aye." The confused character of the vote was underlined when practically nobody responded to "all those contrary-minded vote 'nay,'" despite the evenly divided discussion which had preceded the vote. McLain breathed an audible sigh of relief and passed quickly to the next order of business.

Unless the best militants of Local 6 break with the fake leftists and the Bridges bureaucracy and organize independently into a caucus based on a class-struggle program, the growing strength of the right wing, both in the Local and nationally (e.g., Gleason) will sweep away the last vestiges of the gains of 1934—particularly union control of hiring. No reliance can be placed on "leftists" McLain, Goldblatt and Bridges to resist this onslaught—indeed, they welcome it. Their refusal to fight the blacklist, to wage a vigorous fight against the ravages of automation and to back up their verbal militancy on Vietnam, Chile, the farm workers, etc., with labor strikes and boycotts puts them in the same camp with Meany and Gleason. Only a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program can change this course. ■

Continued from page 7

Canada's NDP...

leged plans to "de-industrialize" Canada.

Waffle was a contradictory phenomenon which certainly merited the intervention of revolutionary Trotskyists in order to attract subjectively revolutionary militants to the program of proletarian internationalism. The LSA intervened in the Waffle, but with its focus on Vietnam and feminism it was unable to crystallize anything at all. Its demands were virtually indistinguishable from this "broad left wing" and in the end, when Waffle split in 1972 to form the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (since renamed the Waffle), it actually succeeded in winning a section of the LSA to its petty-bourgeois Canadian nationalism (the Dowson group which split in late 1973).

Probably the nadir of the LSA's policy came in the province of New Brunswick where an active LSA local had succeeded in winning the N.B. Waffle to the policy of expropriation of basic industry without compensation; the Waffle, in turn, won the N.B. NDP to this position. However, they had not won the LSA! Dowson wrote to the Fredericton local expressing that "the matter of compensation is by no means a matter of principle with revolutionary socialists," implying that the slogan should not have been raised. Another of the New Brunswick LSAers' sins included failing to win the N.B. Waffle to the demand of "repeal abortion laws now." This inability was caused by the fact that the Waffle had already adopted the demand "free abortion on demand" and reportedly "insisted on counterposing the two demands".

But this is not the end. When the local Waffle won control of the N.B. NDP in September of 1971 (with the LSAers in a strong position; despite inexperience they twice won—and twice lost—leadership of the Waffle in this period), the national LSA leadership accused its New Brunswick leadership of attempting to split the NDP, suspended them for factional reasons (the local LSAers supported the European majority of the USec against the SWP-minority favored by the LSA national leadership) and ordered them *not* to carry out a policy of consolidating the Waffle victory! Needless to say, after they did an about-turn and began implementing Dowson's rightist policies the LSAers were soon driven from the Waffle while the Waffle, in turn, was defeated by the NDP right wing (see [LSA] *Discussion Bulletin* No. 26, January 1973 for the sorry story).

Red Circle-RCT-RMG

While the LSA's opportunist policy toward the New Democratic Party never achieved its goal of forming or leading a "broad left wing" within the NDP, it did, however, succeed in aiding the formation of a "broad left wing" *within itself*. The leftist LSAers working with the NDP in the Toronto area came into contact with a leftward-moving New Left group inside the Waffle, the Red Circle, who were attracted by the more militant-sounding rhetoric and posturing of the European majority of the USec. In complicated maneuvering, both the Red Circle and a similar student group, the Old Mole, applied for membership in the LSA and were turned down; they thereupon fused to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group; simultaneously the leftist LSAers formed the Revolutionary Communist Tendency which in two batches walked out of the LSA to join the RMG, the last group in October 1973. Now both the RMG and the LSA are to be sympathizing sections of the USec in Canada as a result of the horse-trading of the February 1974 USec world congress.

The RCT's rejection of the LSA's rightist orientation toward the NDP represents a healthy empirical reaction to rank opportunism. The RCT document ("Our Liquidation into

the Ontario waffle: The Lessons to Learn From It," [LSA] *Discussion Bulletin*, April 1973) points to the "dual nature" of the NDP, clearly characterizing it as "a social-democratic labor party" and rejecting the LSA slogan of "win the NDP to socialism." It correctly calls for entry into reformist parties only on the basis of a struggle for the full Transitional Program, not simply for democratic demands which fail to distinguish the Trotskyists from left social democrats like the Waffle.

However, there are two important elements missing in the RCT's analysis, namely the realization that the roots of the LSA's opportunism lie in its 20-year perspective of a *strategic* orientation to the NDP on the basis of *deep entry with a non-split perspective*; and secondly, the linking of this false orientation to the fundamental international question of *Pabloist liquidationism*. It is only by failing to tie the LSA's opportunist policies to their programmatic and methodological roots that the RCT/RMG comrades can persist in a bloc with the USec European majority under Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank.

It is no accident that Dowson approvingly quotes Frank's 1969 defense of "deep entry" in the 1950's ("this tactic was and proved itself to be the only one possible for a whole period") as a justification for his own liquidationist orientation to the NDP. *If you reject the one you must reject the other*, and if you reject both you are forced to deal with the question of the destruction of the Fourth International by Pabloist revisionism. Dowson stabbed New Brunswick LSAers in the back in order to avoid a split in the NDP? The RMG's friend Mandel, editor of an influential left social-democratic paper (*La Gauche*), in the middle of the 1961 Belgian general strike abandoned the call for a march on Brussels in order not to antagonize his friends in

Continued from page 5

NYC Demo Defends MIR Leaders

to endorse the picket.)

The SL speaker at the demonstration noted the encouraging turnout and stated that this was a warning to the junta. "The international working class will long remember the thousands of workers, peasants and socialist youth and intellectuals murdered by the military butchers," he proclaimed. "Their deaths will be avenged by a proletarian revolution overthrowing capitalist exploitation in Chile... If you kill Van Schouwen and Romero, you will forever rue the day such a infamous deed was committed!"

The speaker went on to underline the SL's opposition to any "deal" which ignored far-left prisoners of the junta. "Whatever the motivations of those supporting this exchange," he noted, "what it amounts to is a hunting license to allow the murder of Van Schouwen, Romero and anyone else to the left of the Popular Unity coalition." The strategic importance of this demonstration for the SL, he stressed, lay in the fact that today thousands of Chilean peasants, workers and socialist youth can be won to the understanding that it was the popular-front policies of class collaboration of the dominant workers parties (Socialist and Communist) which led to the success of the bloody coup.

Despite more than 20,000 militants murdered by the junta's butchers, he noted, Chilean workers parties and unions have not been totally crushed but only driven underground, with much of their cadres and basic organization intact. Unlike Hitler's Germany, Chile now has a second chance for socialist revolution in the not distant future. The key to this perspective, he concluded, is an uncompromising struggle for the program of permanent revolution and the formation of a Chilean Trotskyist party as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

the labor bureaucracy—a betrayal which far surpasses anything the pitiful LSA is capable of!

A Revolutionary Perspective

The CCF was a petty-bourgeois social-democratic party with a strong agrarian base and some ties to the unions; the NDP is a weak labor party at the far right wing of international social democracy. Programatically both are within the framework of the workers movement—that is they claim to represent the interests of labor. Thus entry into the CCF/NDP is not, by itself, a betrayal of Trotskyist politics. But while it is principled to enter a workers party, this is not always tactically wise, and certainly not (like the LSA) over an extended 20-year period as the main focus of activity for the revolutionary vanguard. To have such a "strategic" focus on entry into a reformist party is necessarily to capitulate to reformism.

The normal activity of the Trotskyists must be to build the Leninist vanguard. Any entry into another party is a "compromise" which must be compensated by greater opportunities for revolutionary regroupment. Thus the tactic of entry must be selectively used. Thus, for instance, in the CCF the main areas of intervention for the Trotskyists were (and had to be) the leftist and largely proletarian British Columbia and urban Ontario sections. Intervention in Saskatchewan would have represented capitulation to the petty-bourgeois farmer element.

Revolutionaries must seek to split reformist, that is bourgeois, workers parties along class lines; moreover, Leon Trotsky sharply opposed the Stalinist chimera of "two-class" parties such as the Kuomintang in China or the attempt in the U.S. to build a national farmer-labor party around La Follette during the 1920's. But this does not mean that in the CCF the revolutionaries should have moved to expel all farmers and professionals or simply separate from the Saskatchewan section. In a social-democratic party, one whose ideology and ties to the labor movement situate it within the workers movement, the struggle must be directly political, to win support for the proletarian program of socialist revolution. If successful, such a fight for a communist program would effectively drive away the bourgeois elements in the party, though it could conceivably have attracted some of the more exploited sections of poor farmers. (After all, in the U.S. tenant farmers in Oklahoma and Texas, who published the *National Rip-Saw*, were a sizeable force in the left wing of the pre-World War I Socialist Party.)

Today, since the riding associations of the NDP are overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois in composition, and given the existence of a large affiliated wing of union locals (particularly in Ontario), the intervention of revolutionaries into the NDP should be in large part through the unions. This gives the revolutionaries added social weight when it comes to sharp battles with the party bureaucracy, it makes it more difficult to

expel them and it politicizes the struggle for leadership in the unions. However, intervention into the NDP through the unions is no abstract principle.

If a significant petty-bourgeois left wing such as the Waffle should develop once again (though this is unlikely for a time given the intensity of the current witchhunt in the NDP), it might be necessary for a small vanguard nucleus to concentrate forces in the riding associations in order to effectively intervene in this phenomenon and win a revolutionary core of militants from it. Or in British Columbia today, where there is a sharp battle between the NDP government and the unions but a much smaller number of affiliated unions, there may be possibilities for crystallizing a revolutionary nucleus through participation in the struggles in the riding committees.

The struggle for program, in turn, is not simply a question of ritualistically calling for socialism. Such an approach could be positively dangerous in the NDP where, due to the party's agrarian tradition and large petty-bourgeois membership, there is a not-negligible section of opinion which is "pro-socialist" but anti-working class—and sometimes actively so. Rather, revolutionaries must raise transitional demands which expose the reformists' pretenses to speak in the interests of labor while at the same time pointing unambiguously to the need for socialist revolution to bring them to fruition. In a situation where NDP parliamentarians are supporting a minority Liberal government, a crucial demand is that the NDP break all ties with the bourgeois parties. In British Columbia, a central demand is that the NDP government abolish all anti-labor legislation.

What is key in the struggle for program is that the fight not be limited to a few agitational issues around which it is possible to mobilize large numbers of militants, but that the revolutionary vanguard present its *full* program. While Leninists sharply distinguish trade-union consciousness from socialist consciousness, we do not hold a "stages theory" of consciousness whereby the masses must first be won to some kind of limited centrist program and later for socialism.

Equally importantly we must create no illusions as to the real nature of this rotten reformist party led by proven class traitors. This means rejecting such slogans as "winning the NDP to socialism." It also means not centering party activity on this arena at the present time. Because of its weak ties to the working masses, there is a good possibility that a proletarian upsurge would bypass the NDP altogether. It is important to conduct some work in the NDP in working-class centers such as Toronto and Vancouver. But in the absence of significant leftward-moving forces inside the NDP this intervention must be secondary to the main task of building an independent Trotskyist propaganda nucleus with a stable programmatic base and political identity; and to link it to the masses through the struggle to crystallize a revolutionary opposition in the unions. ■

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San Francisco Strike Wave...

A class-wide assault against the capitalists, their corrupt government, their high prices and wage controls, their artificial shortages of food and fuel, necessarily involves an open struggle against these bureaucratic misleaders of labor.

In the San Francisco public workers' contract negotiations which sparked the wave of walkouts earlier this month, the city began the usual bureaucratic ritual with an insulting wage offer of a 2-5 percent increase, which does not even come near the official national cost-of-living rise of 8.9 percent. The labor officialdom headed by John Crowley of the S. F. Labor Council went through the motions of threatening a strike and then postponing the deadline for 24 hours to allow the supposedly "neutral" mediator Mayor Alioto to rush in with a compromise settlement of a few pennies more. But this time things did not go according to script, apparently because the rank and file of the SEIU took the strike deadline seriously and set up picket lines anyway.

Strike Wave Escalates

Each day of the strike, which began on March 7, saw a major escalation. First the major city hospitals were blocked by pickets. Then the city's sewage treatment plants were shut down by Operating Engineers who were respecting picket lines. Next the city's public transit was shut down (Muni streetcars and buses and the BART subway). At the height of the strike the AC Transit buses going from San Francisco to the East Bay were also halted. By March 13 threats were being made to close the port and the airport. In each case the closings were effected by other unions respecting the roaming pickets of the SEIU, the major city employees' union involved in the dispute. Near the end of the strike, the ILWU dock workers and the unions of the Southern Pacific railroad, which brings commuters into San Francisco, were announcing they too would respect the picket lines.

Immediately after the SEIU went on strike it was joined by the American Federation of Teachers. The AFT contract dispute was not directly linked with the public workers' strike—teachers deal with the School Board, not with the Mayor or City Board of Supervisors, and negotiations had been set for March 18. Nevertheless, a large meeting called on short notice attracted more than 500 teachers who enthusiastically voted to strike, thereby linking up with the city workers who had just walked out. As an indication of how far the SEIU strike had gone, the local AFT president, Ballard, was forced to mention in public that his union was discussing a general strike.

The strike movement was a great embarrassment to the "liberal" S.F. labor bureaucrats. They realized they were sitting on top of a volcano of tremendous rank-and-file fury but *unorganized* fury. Thus their tactic was to gradually escalate the strike, maintaining careful control, while attempting to squeeze a few more pennies out of the city and then to return to work. However, at any point during the tense week a combination of wrong moves by the city or union bureaucracy could easily have transformed the strike into a general strike by all of S. F. labor. This possibility no doubt gave the bureaucrats nightmares and, from their vantage point, for good reason.

Bourgeois Politicos and Cops

In times of labor "peace" San Francisco labor officialdom ardently supports that Democratic Party "friend of labor" Joe Alioto. Even an SEIU leaflet (entitled "Salary Fight, 1974") notes that the bulk of the Board of Super-

visors, as well as Mayor Alioto, received SEIU support in their last election campaigns! With Alioto's campaign for governor this year, the stakes are particularly high. The labor bureaucrats want to make Alioto look good, but instead they found themselves in the embarrassing position of being forced to lead a massive strike of San Francisco city workers *against* Alioto.

Alioto, for his part, has been trying very hard to look "pro-labor." When a local judge issued an injunction against the strike (growing out of a \$1 billion damage suit filed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce) on March 12, Alioto tried to stall on the court order. "We don't use police



John Crowley, S.F. Labor Council

as strikebreakers," he said (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 March). Later, however, following a more detailed second order, Alioto instructed police to "obey" the temporary restraining order to "remove" pickets. The incumbent governor, the ultra-reactionary Ronald Reagan, was much more hard-nosed. Hoping to put Alioto on the spot, Reagan threatened to bring in the National Guard. And on March 14 State Police were used to clear away pickets from the AC Transit terminal.

Interestingly, the San Francisco Police Officers' Association, a part of the SEIU, issued a press release in which it vowed to remain "totally neutral" in the strike though legally obligated to enforce anti-strike injunctions! Militants must be wary of taking such statements seriously or of leaping to the conclusion that the SFPOA is a legitimate part of the labor movement. Certainly in periods of sharp class struggles there have been instances of police or military units vacillating or deserting. But insofar as this happens the bourgeoisie must bring in fresh units from outside the troubled area and purge and re-form the old units. In any case, this is certainly not what happened with the SFPOA, as its president, Gerald A. Crowley, made clear just how qualified was the SFPOA's "neutrality": "If called upon by the courts... San Francisco police officers, as a stronghold of peace-keeping and law enforcement, will make the required arrests. This is their public duty...." The SFPOA would have remained "neutral" just as long as the bourgeoisie did not seriously try to break the strike, at which time they would have done their job as the paid strikebreakers for the capitalist class. The cops must be expelled from the SEIU!

Inter-Bureaucratic Disputes

Another aspect of the strike was the rivalry of the SEIU with the Teamsters. Bourgeois commentators seized upon this to explain the strike as simply a power play in which the SEIU was trying to get the franchise for city workers. No doubt these conflicts are present, but they are insufficient to explain why the bureaucrats went so far in this strike. Instead it appears that there was a powerful revolt developing inside the SEIU:

"The seeds of distrust planted by the rival unions have made the rank-and-file workers, particularly those with leftist political bent, wary of a close alliance between union leaders and Mayor Joseph Alioto. This has clearly

affected—and prolonged—the current dispute.

"The wildcat start to the strike last Thursday was one manifestation of this. The workers wouldn't wait for a 24-hour delay agreed to by Labor Council secretary John F. Crowley.

"The strikers also have insisted on a large rank-and-file negotiating committee, which must be consulted regularly by the official team headed by Crowley."

—*San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 March

While the inter-bureaucratic rivalry does not explain the scope of the strike movement, it certainly does reveal the utter bankruptcy of the Teamsters' union (representing about 4,000 city workers) leadership. During the height of the strike Rudy Tham, secretary of Teamsters Joint Council 7, issued a statement demanding that whatever was agreed to by the city and the SEIU should be submitted to a referendum vote, "because only 1,000 members of some 8,000 of the Service Employees International Union voted for a strike" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 March). Tham went on to criticize "the small strike committee" of the SEIU officials who "are tying up The City and causing so much misery to helpless people in hospitals." He said he did not consider the SEIU true unionists and said the city "is in danger of going broke." Finally he noted that his own union, Local 856, managed to avert a strike on March 12 at the San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose airports by ratifying a three-year contract with car rental companies! Tham and the Teamsters will apparently go to any lengths to prove their total loyalty to Alioto and the capitalists!

But no less loyal and no less bankrupt are the SEIU bureaucrats who sold out the strike and eagerly let Alioto off the hook. The striking AFT has been left to settle its contract on its own. The San Francisco strike began as an economic strike but quickly escalated into a political confrontation with the capitalist class. Faced with the possibility that they would be forced into leading a working-class battle with the bourgeois state, the labor "leaders" quickly backed down, settling for a wage package less than two thirds that which they originally demanded.

Betrayals such as these are, of



Teamsters' Rudy Tham

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

course, inevitable given the nature of the labor bureaucracy, the agents of the capitalists in the workers movement. Clearly, the problem in the recent Bay Area labor upsurge was not that the masses were unwilling or unready to fight! Rather, they had no leadership whose commitment to pursue the class struggle to a decisive showdown would have enabled it to win the strikers' just demands. What was necessary was precisely a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement prepared to transform a militant contract dispute into a political city-wide general strike. However, the performance of much of the supposedly "revolutionary" left during the recent Bay Area strike wave was not noticeably better than that of the bureaucrats.

For its part, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has developed to a fine art the tactic of tailing after the labor fakers by simple and uncritical enthusing over every strike. The SWP's shameless apologies for Chavez' liquidation of the farm workers' strike last fall is a typical example. In this case, after describing the rank-and-file militancy of the public employees and the treachery of the "pro-labor" mayor, a 22 March *Militant* account of the S. F. strikes does not even criticize the union leaders

for their support to the capitalist politicians (or for anything else, either). It concludes by remarking that "no matter what happens, this strike... marks the emergence of a new force in the labor movement in San Francisco—the public employees...." Yet for the workers, though apparently not for the SWP, it is precisely what happens in the strike that counts.

The Spartacist League, in contrast, called in leaflets during the strike wave for a unified political general strike:

"Trade-union militants must fight for immediate meetings of their union locals to discuss the situation and take action, building for a city-wide mass labor meeting to launch the general strike and extend it all over the Bay Area. The demands of the strike must be:

- "1. For a big pay raise to catch up with inflation! Tie wages to the cost of living! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to make more jobs!"
- "2. Open the books of the city! Open negotiations! No secret talks!"
- "3. Break with Alioto! Organized labor must break with the Republican and Democratic parties and prepare to run



SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto posed as "friend of labor" during recent strike then ordered cops to remove pickets.

its own candidates (for governor and mayoral offices) based on the trade unions, not the corporations and business interests."

—"For a Political General Strike! For Full Labor Solidarity!" 13 March

Furthermore, the answer is not, as Progressive Labor assumes, to simply be more militant in fighting for economic demands (promising, just like any out-bureaucrat, "to do the same thing, only better"). Nor is it, as the SWP announces, to elect real labor candidates (whatever that means) to city office after which supposedly all the strike demands will be granted. The entire history of the workers movement amply proves that simple trade-union militancy is not enough and that the capitalist state cannot be taken over and run in the interests of working people. It must be smashed and replaced by a workers state. The road forward to this goal lies through fighting to raise the independent political consciousness of the workers and through the increasing unification of the struggles of the masses into an ever broader and more direct assault on the capitalist system. ■

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Saturday March 30

Speaker: Paul Schanoes
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NEW YORK

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Immigration and the Class Struggle

game" in which unemployment and high profits are automatically accepted as natural...

In fact, as long as the labor movement *accepts* unemployment it will remain divided against itself. Instead of fighting for more jobs it will fight against those it sees as threatening the jobs it has. And the bosses will use this fight quite skillfully against the working class, breaking strikes and pushing down wages. The solution to the problems of both U.S.-born and immigrant workers lies in overthrowing the system which creates unemployment and perpetuates poverty.

Because this course has not been followed there have been destructive "anti-alien" movements in the American working class since before the turn of the century. First it was the Chinese. In fact, the Mexican-U.S. border was first actively patrolled to keep out "illegal" Chinese workers. The employers have always gained. "Anti-alien" sentiment has gone along well with anti-communism. Most notable were the Palmer Raids of 1920 when thousands of alien radicals were deported, hurting the struggle of the working class quite badly.

To create this united struggle we must put forward a program which speaks to the needs of both the present organized labor movement and the future organized labor movement, including undocumented workers. Central to this is the fight for jobs for all, for a "sliding scale of hours and wages," (like thirty hours work for forty hours pay with no loss in pay and a full cost of living guarantee). If companies say they cannot pay decent wages, we say, "Open the books and show us." If it



Farm Workers pickets arrested during grape strike last summer.

fight for socialism. The present program of CASA does not do this, although there are some elements of this approach. It is not the same thing to put forward a series of democratic demands and then to add parenthetically that it will take socialism to win them. Instead of this approach, which has one "minimum" program for today, and one "maximum" program for sometime in the future, we need a program of demands which take the struggle beyond the limits of this system, like the sort of demands which we have outlined above. We call these demands "transitional" demands.

The WFTU

The CASA program correctly calls for more international collaboration. But it sees a main avenue for this through the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). This Federation, which

PSP's immediate predecessor. This contains the most blatant anti-class nationalism, not to mention male chauvinism, in the assertion that "After the family, nationality is what gives man a sense of belonging."

Break With the Parties of Capitalism

Because the problems of immigration are so completely the problems of capitalism, any movement against repressive immigration laws and practices which accepts the limits imposed by capitalism will have to sell out at some point. It is therefore absolutely necessary that such a movement break completely with the two parties of capitalism as well.

This is something that the United Farm Workers Union leadership, for example, refuses to do. Instead they are increasingly tied to liberal Democrats. Accepting the limits set by these "friends of labor," the Farm Workers not surprisingly have taken reactionary positions in the past, such as support for the Rodino and Dixon Arnett laws. If you do not see capitalism as the enemy, it is very easy to end up blaming other parts of the working class. If you accept that your share of the pie is limited, you will fight over the crumbs....

Simply denouncing the Democratic Party is not enough. The Communist Party suddenly discovered in December 1972 that it had been wrong for "some 25 years" in its electoral policy of supporting liberal Democrats.... But despite this remarkable discovery, and despite promises about "independence," the CP has fallen for every so-called "progressive" who has come down the pike, despite their membership in one of the capitalists' parties....

The LRUP is Not the Answer

It is not enough to provide an alternative to the capitalist parties. There must be an alternative to capitalist *politics*. This must be a working class political program. In capitalist society it is not possible to find a middle ground between the two major classes, the class which owns and the class which works. It is not possible to "transcend... class and economic factions" as "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan" claims. Lenin put it this way:

"...The only choice is—either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a 'third' ideology and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology). Hence to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology."

—What Is To Be Done?

Thus the LRUP [La Raza Unida Party] has broken empirically from the Democratic and Republican Parties but it has not broken *toward* a working class alternative. This requires a program to fight all capitalist exploitation

and oppression, one which can lead toward the rule of the working class. Instead of building working-class unity, the LRUP divides the working class, and serves up a utopian program of "community control" of impoverished communities, which cannot possibly answer the problems of mexicanos.

Because the LRUP is not clearly counterposed *politically* to the Democratic Party it is logical that LRUP will slide into endorsing Democratic candidates. This happened most notably in Texas last year, when Raza Unida Party women at the Texas Women's Political Caucus convention supported the endorsement of "Sissy" Farenthold for governor in the Democratic primary, in return for the endorsement of the RUP candidate for lieutenant governor, Alma Canales.

Most left groups have uncritically endorsed the LRUP as it pursues its dead end. The Socialist Workers Party, formerly a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, shows how low it has sunk when it does not stop the uninterrupted flow of paternalistic praise even when the LRUP endorses Democrats. It waits for them to "learn from the experience." That its attitude toward the LRUP reeks with paternalism is shown by the fact that it could criticize a proposed "King-Spock" candidacy in 1968, supported primarily by whites, because "despite its 'independence' from the two major capitalist parties, it does not represent a breach with capitalist politics," but quickly forget this correct criticism when there was a group it wanted to tail.

In place of La Raza Unida Party, the Spartacist League proposes a fight inside the labor movement for a revolutionary leadership through the vehicle of caucuses based on a class-struggle program. These caucuses will fight to dump the present sellout labor leadership, basing themselves on a program including such demands as, "end racial and sexual discrimination," "organize the unorganized" and "oppose all repressive immigration laws." Instead of building an organization for "community control" under a bosses government we should be fighting to build a *workers party based on the trade unions* which will fight for what workers—Chicano, white and black—need; above all a workers government. This party will fight for the special demands of Chicanos as well, such as decent housing and bilingual education....

To fight for this strategy a revolutionary, multi-racial party is necessary, one which will not hesitate to tell the truth, one which will apply the lessons taught by past struggles. If there had been such a revolutionary, Trotskyist party in Chile the bloodbath need not have occurred, for such a party would have known that Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" and his alliance with the ruling class in the Unidad Popular were bound to lead to a terrible defeat. The Spartacist League is committed to building such a party, and a revolutionary International Party to lead in the fight to end exploitation and oppression. ■



Anti-deportation protest in Los Angeles.

turns out that it's true, our answer is not to accept rotten wages, but to call for the company to be nationalized, under workers control....

If we want to end all restrictive immigration laws and practices we have to fight for a program like this....

Stages of Consciousness?

Many so-called revolutionaries, most notably the various Maoist groups like the October League, Revolutionary Union, and the Communist League, say that of course we must fight against capitalism some day, but right now if we tell workers that, it will "turn them off." They hope to trick workers into struggling, one step at a time. As Marxists we do not think that consciousness is changed that way, in stages. We believe the working class is smart enough to be told the truth, and we think that is what revolutionaries should do. The working class need not be fooled into action by pretending that there are easy solutions, which are in fact phony. This only leads to demoralization and cynicism, not to the "next stage."

The program we put forward for any struggle should contain the solution to the problem itself, in a set of demands which *can* lead the working class to the

represents the narrow economic interests of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries rather than that of the international working class, is a very uncertain ally. In the most notable recent example, the Polish government actually refused to stop shipping coal to Britain while the miners' strike was still on. Poland and the other deformed workers' states will do anything, including scabbing, if it is in their short-term economic interests. That is a rather unstable basis for international solidarity.

Another international dead end is a focus on the United Nations, an approach adopted by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and heartily endorsed by the Communist Party. Not only has the PSP concentrated on the U.N., trying to get it to declare Puerto Rico independent, but it has worked to strengthen illusions about the United Nations and the reactionary role of "third world" member nations of the character of Ethiopia and Iran. This is not surprising, since under the thin veneer of "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric the PSP hides a thoroughly opportunist core, with a lot of emphasis on bourgeois nationalism. That the PSP does not have a class orientation is most horribly clear in the 1969 "Political Thesis" of the Movimiento Pro Independencia, the

WORKERS VANGUARD

Embarrassed by Chile CP Betrayals

Stalinists Expel SL from Los Angeles Chicano Conference

LOS ANGELES, March 10—In a carefully executed maneuver, the leadership of the Communist Party-supported Chicano organization CASA today expelled supporters of the Spartacist League from the Conference for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices in East Los Angeles. In a tense confrontation, the Stalinists mobilized the leaders of the National Committee to Free Los Tres to act as goons for the expulsions. This desperate move to cut off political discussion was caused by the CP's acute difficulties at the conference in defending the role the Stalinists had played in preparing the way for the bloody Chilean coup last September by teaching the masses to place their faith in the "democratic" military and "progressive" bourgeois parties.

Bert Corona, chairman of the conference and founder of CASA (General Brotherhood of Workers), initiated the evictions while himself trying to appear quite neutral. At the beginning of the Sunday plenary session, Corona stepped to the mike to announce that "before we go on there is a delegation here that some of the other delegations would like to deal with." He then introduced Soledad Alatorre, treasurer of CASA (a member of *his* delegation), to launch the attack.

Alatorre, using the time-worn line of "we must get rid of these Trotskyite disrupters who are trying to destroy the unity of our movement," came up with the most unlikely pretext (no doubt reflecting "the deepest interests of the Chicano people") since the CP-dominated true-blue, all-American Progressive Party dropped the demand for a greater Macedonia in the middle of its 1948 conference as a result of Stalin's break with Tito: the problem, it seems, was the SL's "insults" to "socialist Poland"! She quoted a passage from the SL position paper on "Immigration and the Class Struggle" (see excerpts printed elsewhere in this issue), which was distributed at the conference, criticizing CASA's support for the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The SL paper pointed out that during the recent British miners' strike the Polish Stalinists continued to ship coal to England—a fine example of what the CP's "working-class solidarity" amounts to.

Following Alatorre's demagogic diatribe against "enemies of the USSR," SL supporters were forced from the room with the aid of a goon squad and rhythmic chants of "Fuera" ("Out") initiated by the CASA leaders. During the eviction proceedings supporters of both the International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party sat passively. After all, they had caused no "disruption" since neither of these groups had at all raised its politics during the conference! Later, the IS hypocritically deplored the expulsion and stated that it would publish a protest letter in its newspaper.

The issue of Poland was obviously a smokescreen raised to cover the real source of the confrontation—the SL's exposure of CASA's worse-than-reformist approach toward Chilean political prisoners. One of the main aims of the conference was gaining signatories to a petition addressed to the United Nations which did not even demand the release of Chilean prisoners of the junta, only calling for inspec-

tions, supervision, etc. The SL, in contrast, called in a resolution for the conference to demand that the U.S. admit all political refugees from the junta's repression, while criticizing the Stalinists' policies of promoting illusions in a "peaceful road to socialism" in alliance with capitalist parties. When this resolution was raised in the Saturday workshop on Chilean refugees, the discussion produced a sharp polarization and a lively debate which attracted much interest (the workshop doubled in size during the course of the discussion).

CASA no doubt sought to avoid any further discussion and to keep the SL's resolution off the floor of the plenary since there is reportedly trouble within the ranks of the Communist Party over this question, as well as differences between CASA and Los Tres. Only last December, Rodolfo Sanchez, one of the Los Tres defendants, publicly explained at a Militant Labor Forum that Allende had "done wrong" by allying with capitalist parties.

The Spartacist League "disruption" also included the raising of class-struggle politics in opposition to CASA's reformist answers to the problems of undocumented foreign workers. Corona is a slick maneuverer and care-



Bert Corona

ful to cover his reformist tracks with fake working-class rhetoric. When pressed he will even admit that the problems of immigrant workers can really only be solved through united working-class action and socialism. But that is all for later—"we must start where the people are at now." Thus CASA turns instead to alliances with liberals and trade-union bureaucrats, urges letters to congressmen to vote against the Rodino Bill and

takes a social-worker approach toward the "illegal" aliens.

The other side of this reformist reliance on the liberals and the bureaucracy is, of course, violence and undemocratic exclusion directed against the revolutionary Marxists who expose the Stalinist betrayals. The SL position paper pointed out the inadequacies of "community organizing"; the need for a political (not just organizational) break with the capitalist parties, for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government; and the need for a class-struggle opposition in the unions which would call for organizing the unorganized, opposition to all discriminatory immigration laws, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to provide employment for all and expropriation of industry, without compensation, under workers control. The logical consequence of the reformists' alliances with the capitalists, the paper concluded, was the bloodbath in Chile, which could have been averted only by the independent revolutionary mobilization of the workers. It was to prevent discussion of such a class-struggle program that the Stalinists were forced to resort to their contemptible tactic of expelling the communists. ■

Immigration and the Class Struggle

excerpts from Los Angeles WORKERS VANGUARD Supplement, March 1974

... Because the capitalist economic system is the cause of repressive immigration laws and practices, it is the capitalist economic system which must be fought. Capitalism's greed for cheap labor pulls undocumented workers over the border into the United States. Capitalism's inability to develop the Mexican economy pushes them. Inevitably an economic crunch comes, a "recession" or depression. These workers aren't needed for the time being, and the capitalist state, in the form of *la migra*

[U.S. Immigration Service], tries to drive them out.

For decades Mexican labor has been desired by U.S. capitalists. But every depression or recession has seen an attack like the one we are now witnessing. In the 1930's, during the Great Depression, the first mass deportations were launched. But when World War II came the U.S. capitalists were hungry for Mexican labor, and contracted for 20th century slaves in the form of *braceros* [contract laborers]. After World War II,

and while the Korean War was ebbing, the greatest attack on undocumented workers was launched, the so-called "Operation Wetback." In the slump year of 1954 over 1,000,000 workers were deported to Mexico, most without any hearing.

Even while the bosses are deporting "mojados" ["wetbacks"] they are busy trying to arrange for slave labor *braceros*. This was true in 1954 and it is true now...

Fighting to Win

You cannot fight capitalism by trying to arouse powerless "communities" to fight on their own. You cannot fight capitalism by appealing to *la raza* on the basis of a common cultural identity, ignoring class, further separating Mexican workers from Anglo workers. You cannot fight capitalism by individual acts of terrorism which leave the economic system untouched. The key to the fight against capitalism, and the fight for the rights of undocumented workers, lies with the working class. It alone has the power and the interests to carry the struggle through to the end.

It is in the interests of the working class to back the fight of undocumented workers for their rights, because undocumented workers will otherwise continue to be used as a weapon against the rest of the working class. Those in desperate, illegal situations are more difficult to organize and must accept lower wages. Unfortunately, labor does not always see its real interests so clearly. It is led today by bureaucrats who not only accept, but actively enforce, the capitalist "rules of the

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NEW YORK TIMES



U.S. border patrol in action.