

New Wage Controls Threaten

Ford Cancels Federal Pay Increase

SEPTEMBER 9—Nixon's resignation as U.S. President last month was the culmination of the deepest constitutional crisis of the American bourgeoisie in the last century. Yet it was not accompanied by a corresponding social/economic crisis or mobilization of the working class. As can be seen in the self-congratulatory editorials in bourgeois news media in recent weeks, the ruling class now believes it has successfully resolved the crisis by shuffling a few top officials.

However, with the stock market plunging daily, anarchy reigning in international monetary exchange, continued oil price hikes and primary commodities shortages, and inflation accelerating—the absent social and economic crisis may not be long in following. Under these circumstances a new government headed by an intellectual neanderthal (Ford) and one of the country's leading plutocrats (Rockefeller), neither of them elected to their office by anyone, can hardly expect solid public support.

With neither conservative nor liberal bourgeois economists having a plausible solution to the unprecedented situation of high inflation in the midst of sharp recession throughout the advanced capitalist countries, Ford is resorting to a series of economic "summit" meetings whose evident purpose is to shove responsibility for the looming disaster onto other shoulders, hopefully the Democrats'. The possibility of a worldwide depression is no longer dismissed as lunacy.

In this scenario it is the working class, as usual, which is being asked to bear the brunt of the economic crisis. Real wages have fallen 10 percent since mid-1972 and unemployment is

already approaching 8 percent in several industrial states. (In particular industries the rate is already at epidemic levels. In New Jersey construction earlier this summer unemployment was over 30 percent.)

Liberals and trade-union bureaucrats alike are now concerned that Ford/Rockefeller may invoke the "old-time religion" of tight money and sharply reduced government spending in an

Nevertheless, the new president will still have quite a few "bitter pills" for the less advantaged sectors of the population to swallow.

Depression and large-scale unemployment are indeed on the agenda, and it is evident that Ford will look toward wage controls and cutbacks in social services in an effort to stimulate the flagging economy. Here he will be supported by all key sectors of the ruling

clip since 1971. This is to be contrasted with a rate of growth of 1.8 percent in the 1950's and of 3.5 percent during the 1960's.

The reasons for such profligacy are clear. Important sectors of the American economy would be in dire straits if the liquidity of their assets was adversely affected by a real tight-money policy. This would lead to a series of bankruptcies, a situation which American capital would go a long way to avoid since it would greatly increase the irrationality and unpredictability of an already inherently unstable system.

Ford Turns to the Workers

There is only one source to which Ford can look for a partial solution to the economic problems he now faces, namely George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. The President indicated his awareness of this "reality" by literally running from his inauguration to Mr. Meany's side. Nor is it any accident that one of Ford's first acts as chief executive was to propose the creation of an agency to "monitor" wages and prices, a proposal rapidly granted by an obliging Congress.

Although both Meany and Ford have issued countless denials that either would countenance wage/price controls it is clear as day that Meany's acceptance of, and proposed participation on, the new Council on Wage and Price Stability are a harbinger of future controls under the joint aegis of capital and the trade-union bureaucracy.

The recent working-class militancy and anger over the erosion of living standards and decrease in real wages must, of course, be given time to dissipate. But the minute the current strike wave subsides the despised controls will be hurriedly reintroduced. As for prices, Mr. Ford's "concern" was amply demonstrated by his recent "jawboning" which induced General Motors to back down from an exorbitant 9.5 percent price hike to a mere 8.5 percent rise!

The first battleground against wage/price controls is likely to take place in the government sector. Ford's proposal to defer scheduled pay increases for 3.5 million federal employees is an obvious stalking horse to check out the viability of reintroducing wage controls immediately. If the labor movement does not react sharply to beat back this attack, it will pay dearly for its passivity.

Ford's effort to explore working-class resistance at this early date may seem somewhat rash. However, in reality an "incomes policy" is the only

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Gerald Ford and George Meany

The Working Class Will Never Pardon Richard Nixon!

President Ford's shameless decree of a "free pardon" for Nixon is but the latest dirty deal attempting to amnesty Nixon's crimes within the ruling class. We say: who elected Ford and Rockefeller? We demand: new elections and the fielding of a labor candidate pledged to a workers government—a government which will make Nixon and his entire class pay for their real crimes against the working people in this country, in Indochina and throughout the world. And a step in that direction, as well as a simple measure of democratic sanitation, is to put this ruling-class jackal in jail.

effort to control inflation while creating large-scale unemployment. In their usual manner, the Jeremiahs of the ostensible revolutionary left, the Workers League, have taken these fears to their paranoid extreme: "These [deflationary] policies are designed to allow the collapse of broad sections of industry and to create massive unemployment on a scale not seen in the United States since the Great Depression of the 1930's" (*Bulletin*, 23 August 1974).

If Ford can choose a policy of depression and unemployment as the WL seems to think, he or some liberal can also choose a policy of economic recovery and full employment. Keynesian theory doesn't work either in stimulating or depressing the economy. The laws of the world capitalist system overwhelm even the most capable of bourgeois politicians.

While Wohlforthite demonologists may consider Ford to be an evil force guiding us toward economic disaster, Mr. Ford is hardly suited for the role. He is responsible to a variety of sectoral interests in America's bourgeois society and has neither the mandate nor the political power to trample on significant sections of the economy.

class. The myriad renunciations of wage/price controls are simply preparation for a later coy submission to an "emergency" situation.

Tight Money Shell Game

Insofar as monetary tactics during the Nixon era transcended the level of simple graft they revolved around the supposed high-interest, tight-money policies of Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Now, the 5 September *New York Times* reports that at the first of several economic "summit" meetings there was agreement among academic, business and government economists as to the need for relaxing credit rates. Yet, in fact, the previous policy was anything but tight.

An 11.5 percent interest rate on loans seems quite high if you are a wage-controlled worker trying to get a mortgage. But in a hyperinflated economy where profits have grown even faster than the rate of inflation, such a credit structure actually amounts to an "easy-money" policy for big-business borrowers. Moreover, the money supply has grown at a 7 percent

**Chile:
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Letters

Boston Committee Against Police Brutality

August 9, 1974
Boston

Dear Editor:

In the article on "Cop Terror" in *WV* No. 50 the black forty-year-old shopkeeper, James Wilds, murdered by the Boston police is incorrectly described as a black youth. Also the local committee formed in response to this killing chose to call itself the "Concerned People (not, as reported, the "Peoples Coalition") Against Police Brutality." The committee was in the main composed of various ostensibly revolutionary organizations with the Maoist spectrum being the largest component.

From the very beginning the orientations of class struggle vs. reformism were counterposed in very concise terms. The SL representatives pro-

Except for De Mau Mau none of the participants had even a semblance of links with the ghetto. The campaign was carried out in typical New Left fashion: leaflets enthused "repression breeds resistance," while a petition exhorted its readers to "support the demands of the community," i.e., the several dozen Concerned People. Suffice it to say that only myself and De Mau Mau went petitioning among Boston's housing projects.

At the meeting before the demonstration I requested equal speaking time to address the rally as a supporter of the SL. While De Mau Mau at least defended this basic democratic right, the various Maoists reacted with slanders like "you are divisive," "the SL attacks the farm workers," "we can't let every group use this to further its own ideology." I responded that these were partisan accusations made by supporters of groups who found it unnecessary to make any contribution to political clarity, preferring instead to gloss over politics in order to pose as "community activists." This orientation condemned the group to seeking

their hostility toward white support. The SL proposals concretized the perspective of united class struggle and the Maoists deliberately and unanimously voted them down.

With comradely and Leninist greetings,
A. Sweet

James P. Cannon

August 26, 1974

Comrades:

We have been reading your material for a few years now and we agree on the whole with your political line.

We had been members of the SWP for many years and finally gave up as the tendency became more and more reformist etc.

Saw an obit on J.P. Cannon in the *N.Y. Times*. His last years must have been very sad!

We have a great number of books and pamphlets that we must dispose of (not throw away). If someone is to be in Phila. in the near future please let us know.

We have intended to stop up at your office in N.Y.C. but never seem to make it.

Comradely,

Herb and Pauline L.

U.S. Bars Australian CP Union Leader

Glebe, Australia

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

As an active member of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, I am writing to inform *Workers Vanguard* readers of the refusal of the United States Government to grant an entry visa to Laurie Carmichael, Assistant Federal Secretary of the AMWU and a member of the National Executive of the Communist Party of Australia. In view of your frequent coverage of events concerning the United Auto Workers of the U.S., I would like to address my remarks in particular to readers in that union.

Brother Carmichael, who is also the Vehicle Industry Representative of the AMWU had been invited by the UAW to attend a study course on aspects of American unionism. The U.S. Government rejected his application for a visa under a section of its Immigration and Nationality Act which bars members of a Communist party from entry.

This action by U.S. authorities vitally concerns the workers movement in both our countries. It is a clear attack on the democratic right of unrestricted travel and entry across national boundaries and the workers' right to hear differing political views. Above all, in banning Carmichael, they are directly

attacking the international working class in a manner specifically designed to prevent the development of solidarity and co-ordination within the labour movement internationally. Union militants in both Australia and the U.S. must reply to this exclusion by calling for all necessary industrial action to be undertaken by workers organisations to force the lifting of this ban which is such a blatant attack on democratic rights. With the international capitalist class engaging in trade wars, protectionism and whipping up national chauvinist sentiment, the struggle for international working-class solidarity has never been more urgent.

While the U.S. Government might be under the illusion that Carmichael is a communist, as the CPA's top industrial strategist he has been responsible for repeated betrayals of the workers he purports to lead. He has been the architect of the "strategy of guerrilla action," similar to UAW president Leonard Woodcock's "Apache strategy," which is designed to dissipate workers' militancy into isolated and often impotent actions.

Perhaps the most notorious example of the treacherous nature of Carmichael's fake militancy is the Ford Broadmeadows strike here in 1973 where car workers spontaneously revolted against both his pathetic "guerrilla strategy" and his attempt to ram through a settlement on the company's terms. The ten-week strike of the Broadmeadows workers which followed was effectively sabotaged by Carmichael's refusal to fight for its extension throughout the car building industry.

While the American vehicle monopolies with factories in Australia (Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, International Harvester) are certainly just as rotten as they are in the U.S., Carmichael's fake militant posturing and demagogic rhetoric about the "menace of uncontrolled foreign multinationals" is an excuse to go soft on Australian capitalists.

In spite of Carmichael's record it is imperative to defend his rights against attack by the employers and their government, which is an attack on the rights of all workers. Moreover, by acting together to reverse the ban Australian and U.S. workers can strike a concrete blow for real international labour solidarity.

Carmichael has called on all Australian unions to support his case and has talked of strikes directed against General Motors-Holden and Ford factories in this country. Action along these lines should be supported. It is equally imperative, however, that workers in the U.S., particularly in the UAW, be brought into the campaign by co-ordinated industrial action to break this ban.

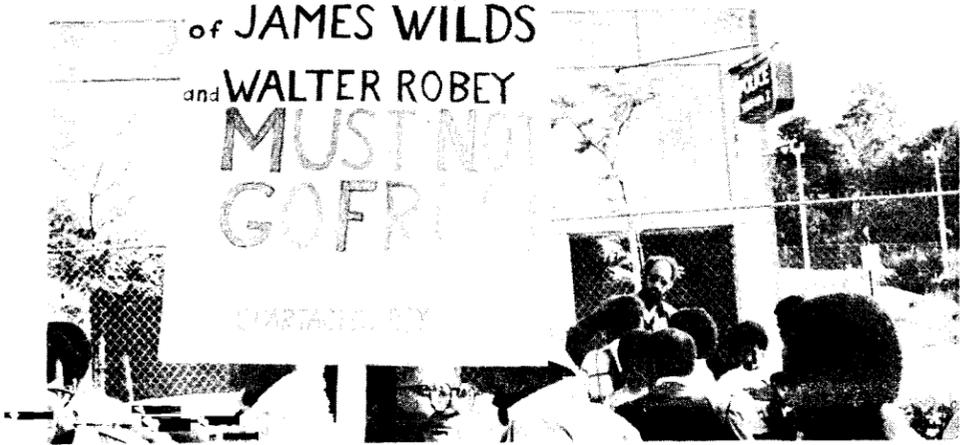
I would like to request that your readers raise this question in the UAW, as I intend to do in the AMWU.

Fraternally,
David Grumot
(member, Sydney Central Branch, Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union)

THE KILLERS of JAMES WILDS

and WALTER ROBEY

MUST NOT GO FREE



WV PHOTO

posed that the group become an action committee open to all groups and individuals who supported two central demands—that the "murderers of Wilds and Robey be arrested and tried" and "disarm the cops." This proposal was included in a leaflet which focused on the necessity to mobilize in particular trade-union support, as well as that of appropriate civic and community organizations, for actions around these demands.

Although the alleged "class-struggle" forces of the African Liberation Support Committee, RU, OL, SWP, Struggle Collective and their supporters constituted the bulk of the committee they felt compelled to liquidate their politics and otherwise capitulate to the slightest whim of a small group of nationalists. The first act of the group was to expel four whites, three of whom were SL supporters, from the meeting. The nationalists then sought to express the exclusion in racial terms by putting forth a motion that the group be named the "African Coalition." The RU Maoists opposed this on the basis that it excluded Spanish-speaking and other "third-world" peoples. A compromise was reached with the OL's definition of people to mean all non-Europeans. The name "Concerned People" was unanimously adopted.

This was the beginning of a long list of opportunist maneuvers that succeeded in liquidating any serious opposition to police brutality. The group was constituted as a white-exclusionist bloc limited to demands such as eliminating "excessively" abusive police weapons (shotguns, .357 hollow-nosed bullets, attack dogs). Having adopted a narrow and non-working-class perspective, with an exclusive orientation to the minority communities of Roxbury and Dorchester, the group solicited a black minister and black Democrat horse-trader Mel King to address the proposed August 3 rally.

a bloc with liberal bourgeois politicians and issuing sterile, liberal, minimum propaganda which covered up the class nature of the police as the capitalist class' arm of repression. The group's deliberate focus on a race/community orientation combined with the unprincipled hostility to racially united labor action represented a conscious negation of the working class, which, unlike the New Left Maoists, has both the power and material interest to bring to bear an effective opposition against the Boston cops.

The chickens came home to roost on the day of the demonstration. The march was a dismal flop, totaling about 80, including about 30 white Maoist supporters. The black and Spanish communities were noticeably absent, as was Mel King. The black supporters of the OL and RU had failed to inform their white "comrades" that they had capitulated to the nationalists in the planning meetings and collaborated in their exclusion. Though the whites were relegated to the rear of the march, even this did not appease the nationalists who regarded the whites as intruders. Race-baiting was rampant; whites expecting to hear militant rhetoric were treated to such expressions of solidarity as "Go home, you white beasts, we wish to talk to black people."

Not unexpectedly the last meeting of these elements as a group was characterized by mutual recrimination. The Struggle Collective accused De Mau Mau of putting forth their own ideology; the nationalists replied that they had said that "only black people can stop police brutality" and "it was the Marxist/Leninists who violated the decisions by inviting their white friends to a black march." I pointed out that indeed the so-called "Marxists" must bear full responsibility for evading every opportunity to confront the nationalists who are quite open about

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James Patrick Cannon



11 February 1890 – 21 August 1974

James P. Cannon was the finest communist political leader this country has yet produced. In his prime he had the evident capacity to lead the proletarian revolution in America to victory.



Cannon (center) with Max Eastman (left) and Big Bill Haywood in Moscow, 1922.



Rose Karsner and Jim Cannon on his 70th birthday.

Report from Oslo:

Workers Strike at Norway's Largest Firm

OSLO, August 16—Workers at Norsk Hydro walked out last month in a two-week strike which is regarded here as the most significant labor dispute in Norway since 1948. The workers were protesting low wages, some of the worst working conditions in the country, a surging rate of inflation and soaring company profits.

Hydro, Norway's largest firm, employs over 5,000 workers, producing key industrial ingredients such as magnesium, chlorine, nitrates and polyvinylchloride. Thus the shutdown posed a considerable economic threat through the chain reaction that shortages of these products could cause in a number of industries. The capitalists' government, including the fake "socialists" of the Norwegian Labor Party, was accordingly anxious to get Hydro back into production at the earliest possible moment.

Pro-Nazi Management and Cold War Socialists

Government intervention and "socialist" sabotage of strikes are nothing new in the history of Norsk Hydro. The company was founded seventy years ago, with part of its financing coming from the Swedish capitalist Marcus Wallenberg. At the start French capital was predominant, but by the 1920's I.G. Farben, the German chemical trust, gained control. (During the war Hydro, as a Farben-controlled firm, was of particular service to the Nazis and helped finance their Norwegian imitator party, the Nasjonal Samling.)

Seeking to "rationalize" the company's operations (and thus increase its profits), Farben caused the summary firing of several hundred workers in 1931. However, the workers resisted

and their militancy eventually had to be suppressed by militia and gunboats. This show of force was arranged by none other than Vidkun Quisling, then defense minister and later pro-Nazi chief of state under German occupation in World War II.

In 1948, fighting for a reduction of the workweek to 42 hours, the workers of the Hydro plant at Heroya took matters into their own hands by declaring a new schedule of shifts. Management answered with a lockout, and the conflict lasted over two months. In the Storting (parliament) Labor Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen launched a Cold War attack on the workers, accusing them of waging a "political action, and one which is but a link in an international action."

The national federation of trade unions (known by its Norwegian initials, LO) also played a rotten role in the 1948 walkout, backing down on the demand for a 42-hour week and then declaring the subsequent shutdown an "illegal" strike, on which grounds it refused to pay strike benefits.

In 1971 the state obtained just over 50 percent of Norsk Hydro's shares, a fact which has been used to paint the firm management as "responsible to the whole society." Nevertheless, even after the state's acquisition of majority-stockholder position, Hydro continues to be represented in the Norwegian Association of Employers. Another example of the reality behind the myth of Scandinavian "socialism" is the conspicuous silence on the strike by LO national chairman Tor Aspengren, who is also a member of Hydro's board of directors.

The main strike issue was the workers' demand for a contractually guaranteed annual salary scale. Although

labor negotiations are shrouded in considerable secrecy in Norway, a bureaucratic practice which leaves the membership in the dark as to what is being fought for, reports put the unions' demands at about a 30 percent increase. An indication of what wage levels have been heretofore is the fact that in the salary classification being demanded by the union the top wage is set at \$8700. Norway's cost of living, subject recently to heavy inflation, is at least as high as that of the U.S.

Lack of a Class-Struggle Leadership

The shutdown at Hydro was not total. Workers in certain divisions are under separate contract, and the magnesium and chlorine plants at Heroya would have required lengthy closing-down procedure. On this basis the strike committee, representing the various unions involved, left some 800 workers on the job during the strike.

The purpose of this was to take the heat off the "responsible" Labor ministers in the government. In a textbook example of the consequences of class-collaborationist politics, *Arbeiderbladet*, the Labor Party's mass-circulation daily, agonized over the lost production, the threat to other industries' raw materials supplies and the general "cost to society" posed by the strike.

The Norwegian Communist Party (NKP), in turn, found itself unable to demand anything more militant than the withdrawal of Hydro management from the Employers' Association! The NKP organ, *Friheten*, gave considerable space to the views of the strike committee chairman Edvard Seland, who

praised both workers and management for their calmness and "adherence to the rules" and made clear his feeling that all a strike is about is to increase the "fairness" of labor's "share."

Orientering, which represents a left-maverick split from the Labor Party, appeared to do the most work on digging up and publishing facts about the strike and its background, but failed to draw any but the mildest reformist conclusions.

Meanwhile the Maoist Workers' Communist Party (AKP) and its organ, *Klassekampen*, came close to missing the strike entirely, so busy were they at their usual task of trying to prove that the Soviet Union is a "bureaucratic-capitalist state." (The latest issue, dated 31 July-6 August, claims that the USSR is an "imperialist power" which "threatens other countries and nations—Norway included." The clear implication of this statement is that the working class should defend capitalist Norway, a member of NATO to boot, against the Soviet Union! No class-conscious worker would support such a counter-revolutionary policy.)

Klassekampen managed to run an article after the strike ended, but concentrated on the seamy history of Hydro without providing any clear program for the workers. The obvious need was to raise such demands as expropriation without compensation, workers control and a sliding scale of wages and hours to counter the runaway inflation and threatened unemployment. But, despite its name ("Class Struggle"), nowhere did the Maoists' organ link the strike to a revolutionary program for the transformation of the labor unions into instruments of a class-conscious proletariat. ■

Third Campers Expel Soviet Defensists

Witchhunt in the RSL

We reprint below an account by supporters of the former Trotskyist Tendency/Soviet Defensist Minority of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) of their recent expulsion from that organization for advocating an ostensibly orthodox Trotskyist policy of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states against imperialism.

Among those expelled number three members of the RSL Central Committee (CC): Margaret Brecht, Jon Myers and Kevin Tracey. Brecht and Tracey were members of the RSL Political Committee (PC), and Brecht also held the position of RSL National Organizational Secretary.

This series of expulsions of leading cadre marks yet another setback for the foundering RSL, which earlier lost its "Black-Latino Coordinator," Don Cane, to the Workers League (Cane has subsequently broken from the Wohlforthites). Coupled with the abortive attempt to fuse with the Platsky/Turner Class Struggle League early last winter and the decision to retreat from a bi-weekly to a monthly newspaper, the recent expulsions only underline the downhill slide of Taber/Landy and Co. and confirm the SL's evaluation of the RSL as a hypervolatile petty-bourgeois formation with no future in the workers movement.

The root of the RSL's problems is political. It attempts to maintain that it is Trotskyist while at the same time rejecting Trotsky's views on the degeneration of the October Revolution and on the nature of Stalinism in favor of a "third camp," state-capitalist position on the Russian question. At bottom, this "third campism" represents a social-patriotic reconciliation to American imperialism.

Consequently, any tendency within the RSL attempting to find its way to a Trotskyist perspective must first of all confront the key Russian question. Rejection of defeatist, Shachtmanite "third camp" positions in favor of a position of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism represents a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the realization of a successful struggle to transcend the RSL's revisionism.

The RSL leadership has only belatedly acknowledged the recent expulsions. But it has defended this atrocity in no uncertain terms trying to justify a series of political expulsions on the grounds that the minority was cliquish and guilty of a new crime—"entrism."

Thus, in the "PC Statement on the Expulsion of Brecht and Tracey" one reads:

"The basis for the charges against Brecht, Tracy, and Myers was that they had acted as an entrism political grouping within the League for the purpose of either securing leadership through apolitical means and if that proved impossible splitting away a section of the League membership. As it happened, when they saw they could not maneuver themselves into leadership, they embarked on a course of wrecking the League in order to maintain their base. They attempted to implement their 'rule or ruin' perspective through a series of cheap maneuvers, petty slander and bald lies to the organization. They organized their supporters into a clique cohered by personal loyalties, gossip, and the promise of special privileges to its members.... This course exposed their complete contempt for and disloyalty to the program and membership of the League. Their ineptness only helped to expose their cynicism."

The next paragraph of the PC Statement begins by noting that:

"Although the clique [Brecht, Myers and Tracey] formally shared a 'Soviet Defensist' position on the Russian Question, it was never organized into a political tendency or faction based on an explicit platform and open to all who held the position."

What monstrous hypocrisy!! For years these "democratic socialists" and "creative Marxists" have been going around screaming about the totalitarian horrors of the "bureaucratic Cannon regime" in the early SWP. But it takes someone such as Landy, the cynical and degenerated product of fifteen years of anti-communist social democracy, to elevate cliquism into a capital political offense, or to expel a group at a meeting where it presents an oppositional document and then turn around and accuse it of being a clique for failing to organize a tendency based on an explicit platform! Brecht and Tracey were expelled at the very same April 13 CC meeting at which they presented their statement of tendency, "In Defense of October."

Lucky Abern! A cliquist who repeatedly blocked with disparate political elements in order to oppose Cannon, he managed to survive over a decade of the "Cannon regime." The latter guaranteed only simple things like the right to factions and lacked the "creative Marxists" to invent such crimes against the working class and the party as "entrism."

By its organizational practices alone, the RSL demonstrates that its Trotskyism is just so much verbiage. In appetites and practice it has much more in common with the very worst of the New Left Maoists.

It is, of course, quite conceivable that the RSL leadership's charges, that the supporters of the former Trotskyist Tendency/Soviet Defensist Minority are unprincipled maneuverers and cliquists, are true. Given the self-evident hysteria reigning within the

RSL, the pompous posturing of most leaders of the organization and its truly grotesque and undemocratic internal life, it would be surprising if a factional situation inside the RSL did not include a heavy dose of cliquism—on both sides. But charges of cliquism and maneuverist behavior do not constitute grounds for expulsion. In this case they are a smokescreen to obscure the programmatic issues that—in the last analysis—are decisive.

If there is a lesson to be learned by the expelled RSL minority it is precisely that of the primacy of program in political struggle. All members of this tendency, including especially former Communist Tendency leader Kevin Tracey, should reflect upon the experiences of the Communist Tendency. As a left oppositional grouping coming from the SWP, the CT rejected the possibility of fusing with the SL despite substantial programmatic agreement, in order to instead liquidate into the petty-bourgeois, workerist International Socialists so as to get "close to the working class." Instead they got close only to the Gregorys, Landys, Landaus and Tabers, while the CT itself totally fragmented and dissolved. Precious years of experience and talent have been lost to the revolutionary movement.

The present ex-RSL minority will never find its way to a Trotskyist perspective unless it understands and rejects the workerism which led the CT into its liquidationist and ultimately disastrous course. The struggle to forge the Leninist combat party is above all the struggle for the program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. ■

ization from a leading committee, Taber began a phone campaign to discredit Brecht and, upon being informed by Myers that he was reconsidering his position, Myers as well.

For more than a month no formal charges were brought while the PC majority bloc—Taber, Sy Landy, Bruce Landau, Jack Gregory—escalated their activities: an hysterical slander campaign on the branch level against these PC and CC members and the growing number of other supporters of Trotsky's position. The "charges" varied from week to week and no evidence was offered to prove them. Indeed, it was declared that the defeatists had no responsibility to prove them. A call for a Control Commission to investigate the situation was denounced as "Cannonite bureaucratism" and, on being asked to prove the "charges," Landau arrogantly proclaimed, "We are Trotskyists, not bourgeois legalists."

Instead, the defeatists took organizational measures. Brecht was removed from the position of Organizational Secretary. Other Defensists were removed from the local Executive Committees in Detroit and Chicago. Still others were removed from labor committees.

At the April CC meeting, the majority resolution *State Capitalism and the Russian Question: A Rough Draft* was passed. This was the first substantial exposition of their view that the defeatist bloc had ever been able to pass. Only hours later, Brecht and Tracey, against whom formal charges had finally been presented April 1st, were expelled. The next day Myers was removed from the CC and excluded from full membership, with the promise that he would be "dropped" as soon as the "shock" to the membership subsided.

Following the exclusion of the leading Soviet Defensists, others were censured and threatened with expulsion.

When "In Defense of October," the resolution to the CC from the Soviet Defensist minority, was distributed to the membership, its supporters declared a Tendency. In response to this, the PC split over whether to expel the Tendency one by one, all at once at the next CC meeting, or at the Convention. Landy warned against the course being followed: "A necessary but unfortunate political hatchet job was done on Brecht and Tracey... it would not look good to those who have read *In Defense of Marxism*." But at the May 9th PC meeting Taber demanded the expulsion of all the Defensists at the next CC meeting. The PC compromised. The secretary of the Tendency would be expelled. Again Landy objected: "It will look like we expel each of their new leaders."

On May 26th Myers was "dropped." At that same meeting a Declaration of Faction was issued, which documented the centrism of the RSL, its campaign against the Defensists as practical proof of the revisionist and cliquish nature of the central leadership, and which exposed the "secret" plans of the PC.

The hesitancy of the PC members was dissipated. On May 31st the PC issued a statement calling for the ex-

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"The Purge of the Trotskyists from the Revolutionary Socialist League"

On July 13, 1974, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League (USA) upheld the expulsions by the Detroit and Chicago branches of the supporters of the Trotskyist Tendency. This was the culmination of a purge which began with the expulsions by the CC on April 13th and 14th of Political Committee members, Margaret Brecht and Kevin Tracey, and the reduction to candidate membership of CC member Jon Myers. Those purged were all the advocates of the Trotskyist position on the class nature of the Stalinist states who waged the fight against the state-capitalist defeatism of the RSL.

So aware is the RSL leadership of the cowardly and unprincipled character of its own campaign against the Soviet Defensists, that it has been to date unable and unwilling to make any public statement in defense of the purge.

The struggle began at the January 1974 meeting of the CC where the first formal discussion of the Russian Question in the RSL was held. Upon consideration of "On State Capitalism" by Eric Olson, now hailed as a "major break-

through" by the defeatist majority, it became clear to several supporters of the state-capitalist position that the position put forward was inconsistent with the world view of Trotskyism. It also became clear that the RSL did not have one position on the Russian Question, but an amalgam of every view save that of Trotsky; that the leadership of the so-called state-capitalist majority was content with this amalgam because it sought fundamentally only to maintain a bloc against the Soviet Defensist position. It was at this meeting that it was first openly stated in the RSL that Trotsky's position on the Russian Question was "centrist" and that it laid the basis for the degeneration of the Fourth International. And it was at this meeting that the campaign to isolate Kevin Tracey, at that time the sole Soviet Defensist in the leadership, was begun in earnest.

On February 28th Brecht informed the National Secretary Ron Taber that she had become a supporter of Trotsky's position on the class nature of the Stalinist states. Without any author-

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Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

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

NEW YORK

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

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

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

MIR Veers Right After Coup

This week demonstrations are being held throughout the world to mark the anniversary of last year's bloody coup in Santiago and to pledge international solidarity with the junta's victims. While there is widespread outrage at the murder of tens of thousands of defenseless Chilean workers and peasants, there are predictably wide differences over how to respond to the tragic situation.

For the Stalinists it is sufficient that a few thousand militants march around chanting "CIA Hands Off Chile" or "Chile Si, Junta No," and listen to some liberal Democrat denounce the generals. To them the class struggle is nothing; the only goal is to "restore democracy." For Marxists, however, September 11 is an important opportunity to analyze the causes of the junta's victory and to prepare for the revolutionary struggle ahead.

The Spartacist League repeatedly warned, from the time of Allende's

1970 election, that the Popular Unity government was preparing the way for a bloody defeat of the Chilean working masses. The UP coalition, we pointed out, was not a workers government but a popular front—a bloc of the reformist workers parties (Socialist and Communist) with a section of the bourgeoisie—which was explicitly committed to the maintenance of capitalism. Alone among the ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies in the U.S., the SL refused to give any form of political support, however critical, to this class-collaborationist regime.

Now, in the aftermath of the bloody defeat we predicted long in advance, we seek to drive home the lessons of Allende's fall. This the reformists do not want. In the name of "unity" (!) they seek to exclude the Trotskyists from participating in or speaking at Chile defense rallies, and to drown out our slogans of "Workers Si, Junta No" and "No Popular Front Illusions."

So far they have been unsuccessful in winning support for their schemes of bureaucratic suppression, and for good reason. If the victory of the military over Allende was a sharp setback for the workers movement internationally, it was a resounding *political* defeat for the Stalinist policy of "peaceful roads to socialism."

MIR Gives Critical Support to Allende

In Chile itself the organized workers movement has been driven underground and suffered great losses, but it has not been destroyed and atomized. Moreover, reports indicate that elements in the working-class base of the SP and CP have begun to question the policies which led to September 11. So far, the main beneficiary of disillusionment with the UP's moderation and pacifism has apparently been the

New Left/Castroite Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR).

The MIR is a centrist organization whose main characteristics have been sharp tactical zigzags and political confusion. Formed in 1965 out of a fusion of pro-Chinese, pro-Cuban and "Trotskyist" elements, the MIR in its early years focused primarily on students, peasants and slum dwellers. When it finally directed its attention to the organized working class (approximately from 1972 on) the MIR scored some spectacular successes. But it was too late.

At the tactical level these left Castroites switched from a phase of clandestine preparation for guerrilla struggle to de facto support for the existing bourgeois government after Allende was installed. Never an actual member of the UP coalition, the MIR's policy during 1970-73 was one of pressuring

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Free Van Schouwen and Romero!

We print below two letters received by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand in response to the SL/ANZ's campaign last spring to save the lives of the Chilean MIR militants Alejandro Romero and Bautista Van Schouwen.

The revisionist fake Trotskyists of the United Secretariat, or rather its European majority under Ernest Mandel, have also campaigned in defense of the imprisoned MIR leaders. However, the USec defense is a classic expression of its capitulationist policies. Only rarely, and then in the most diplomatic and guarded terms, does the USec even hint at criticisms of these centrists. The SL, in contrast, while showing militant proletarian solidarity, has refused to submerge its independent Trotskyist program.

The situation is all the more ludicrous since the USec has, as is be-

coming its standard practice, *two* competing Chilean sympathizer sections, the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party) and LCCh (Communist League of Chile). However, while the pages of *Rouge* and the *Red Mole* are regularly filled with stories about the MIR, interviews with its leaders, etc., the USec sections are almost never mentioned. Although the LCCh has existed since August 1973, no account of its political positions was published by the USec until June 1974!

This "neglect" is no accident, for in the grand scheme of Mandelian maneuvers, such tiny groups are mere pawns to be traded for influence among the much larger centrist groups. Having earlier spawned the Castroite MIR and the Castro-Mao-Kim Il Sungite Argentine PRT (while covering up the repeated betrayals of its various Ceylonese affiliates for years), Mandel/Maitan/Frank are at it again.

THE AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS' UNION



COMMONWEALTH COUNCIL

128-128 CHALMERS STREET
SURRY HILLS, N.S.W. 2010
Telephone: 698-2324
698-3443

Telegrams:
"Amaloyen Darlinghurst"

Please Quote:

17th April 1974.

The Secretary,
Spartacist League of Australia and
New Zealand,
Box 3473 G.P.O.
SYDNEY, N.S.W. 2001

Dear Comrade,

As you are aware, I recently returned from the visit to Chile and prior to my going I received a letter from the League asking for information in particular about Von Schouwen and Romero.

The only information I was able to obtain was in respect to Von Schouwen. I spoke to students who had a personal knowledge of his arrest and information about his treatment. He was arrested and was brutally treated and finally taken to the Military Hospital in Santiago. The students assure me that there has been no opportunity to see him, but I found that quite a lot of information is passed on from various military and other sources which gets back to what can only be called the underground.

When I arrived in Chile I made enquiries about seeing prisoners and was only able to see those who I had the names of and could say specifically in what camp they were, and consequently when it came to locating Von Schouwen it was not until the second week that I got any reliable information. So far as the authorities were concerned, they simply denied any knowledge of his whereabouts but of course we only spoke to the Minister Benallo and his representatives at the beginning of the visit.

Whilst we were there a number of Court Martials or Military Trials were being held of prisoners, and held in secret, but it was general knowledge that they were taking place. When I went to Chacabooka this was confirmed by the place. When I went to Chacabooka this was confirmed by the place. When I went to Chacabooka this was confirmed by the place. When I went to Chacabooka this was confirmed by the place. When I went to Chacabooka this was confirmed by the place.

I have made contacts who have promised to write to me and follow up any information on a number of people about whom I made enquiries. Should I receive any information I will forward it to you immediately.

Yours fraternally,

James Baird

J.A. BAIRD



OF AUSTRALIA: THE SENATE

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CANBERRA

8 APR 1974

IN THE COMPLIMENTS OF
My dear Senator,
SENATOR A.T. GIETZELT

In the Senate on 20 March you raised with Senator Murphy the question of the welfare of Drs Van Schouwen and Romero, two members of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left. You subsequently passed to my office the enclosed correspondence to facilitate enquiries into the matter.

The Embassy in Santiago, which has now looked into the situation, reports that Dr Van Schouwen is detained in Concepcion while the possibility of bringing criminal charges against him is investigated. Its enquiries into Dr Romero's case reveal that he was arrested in Santiago on 26 October 1973 and that he is now held under house arrest in his home in Santiago. While the Embassy is not able to confirm allegations of torture, it does appear that neither man is in imminent danger of his life.

Australia's concern at the fate of political prisoners in Chile has been registered on a number of occasions and the authorities there are aware of our general attitude. I am asking our Embassy to make a formal approach to the Chilean Foreign Ministry to bring your enquiry to its attention and to inform it of the concern felt here with respect to Drs Van Schouwen and Romero.

Yours sincerely,

(D.R. WILLESEK)

Senator A.T. Gietzelt,
The Senate,
Parliament House,
CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600.

Gandhi Crushes Rail Strike

During the first nine months of 1974 India has already witnessed the fall of two state governments, in Gujarat and Bihar, as a result of violent demonstrations and rioting over food shortages, high prices and unrestrained corruption permeating the ruling Congress Party. Simultaneously, communal riots broke out in Delhi and other major cities. Then in late April, while Gujarat was still smouldering and Bihar was plunged in the turmoil of the mass anti-government upsurge, the National Coordinating Committee of Railwaymen's Struggle (NCCRS), a united-front strike committee composed of unions representing the nearly two million organized workers on India's state-owned rail system, served notice on Indira Gandhi's regime threatening a nationwide strike to begin on May 8.

Faced with perhaps the deepest social crisis since independence, and with its base of popular support precariously weakened, the Congress Party clearly realized that it could not survive a working-class offensive on the scale of a national transport strike. Although the government could conceivably meet the railwaymen's demands—bonuses and wage parity with workers in the other public-sector enterprises—the

the rail unions were in collusion with certain unnamed foreign powers and were plotting to wreak havoc that even "our enemies" (i.e., Pakistan) had been unable to inflict in the past.

In order to project an image of good faith, the government ceremoniously entered into mock negotiations with the NCCRS. However, after a few perfunctory sessions, the government abruptly arrested George Fernandes, Convener of the NCCRS and Chairman of the Socialist Party of India, and more than 2,000 union leaders throughout the country in a series of pre-dawn raids on May 2. Railway Minister L.N. Mishra justified this dragnet with the vague allegation on the floor of Parliament that George Fernandes had something "bigger in his mind than the strike."

Union Leaders Unprepared to Fight Government

Despite the government's determined political offensive, the reformist workers parties controlling the rail unions emphasized from the outset that the strike would not be permitted to develop into a political confrontation with the government. A few days after the beginning of the action, the Social-



Rail strikers in New Delhi.

strike threat represented an unmistakable challenge by the organized working class for a confrontation with the capitalist state. Moreover, if Gandhi granted the union demands she would soon find her government flooded with wage demands from millions of workers whose living standards are being ground down by galloping inflation (more than 30 percent in the last year alone).

Thus on the same day the NCCRS served strike notice, the Political Affairs Committee of the Union Cabinet declared that the threatened strike would be illegal under the Defense of India Rules. Prime Minister Gandhi swiftly authorized a series of draconian measures to prevent the strike: over 300 passenger and goods trains were summarily cancelled in order to stockpile coal reserves and to precipitate dislocations severe enough to kindle anti-strike sentiment among the public; the Territorial Army was instructed to call up over 35,000 railwaymen for duty; at all important rail centers swarms of special police and military units were ominously deployed; and all the wartime authoritarian powers for maintenance of "internal security" were declared to be in effect. Finally, a vicious propaganda campaign was launched which insinuated that the leaderships of

ist Party (which controls the largest rail union federations) stated in its newspaper:

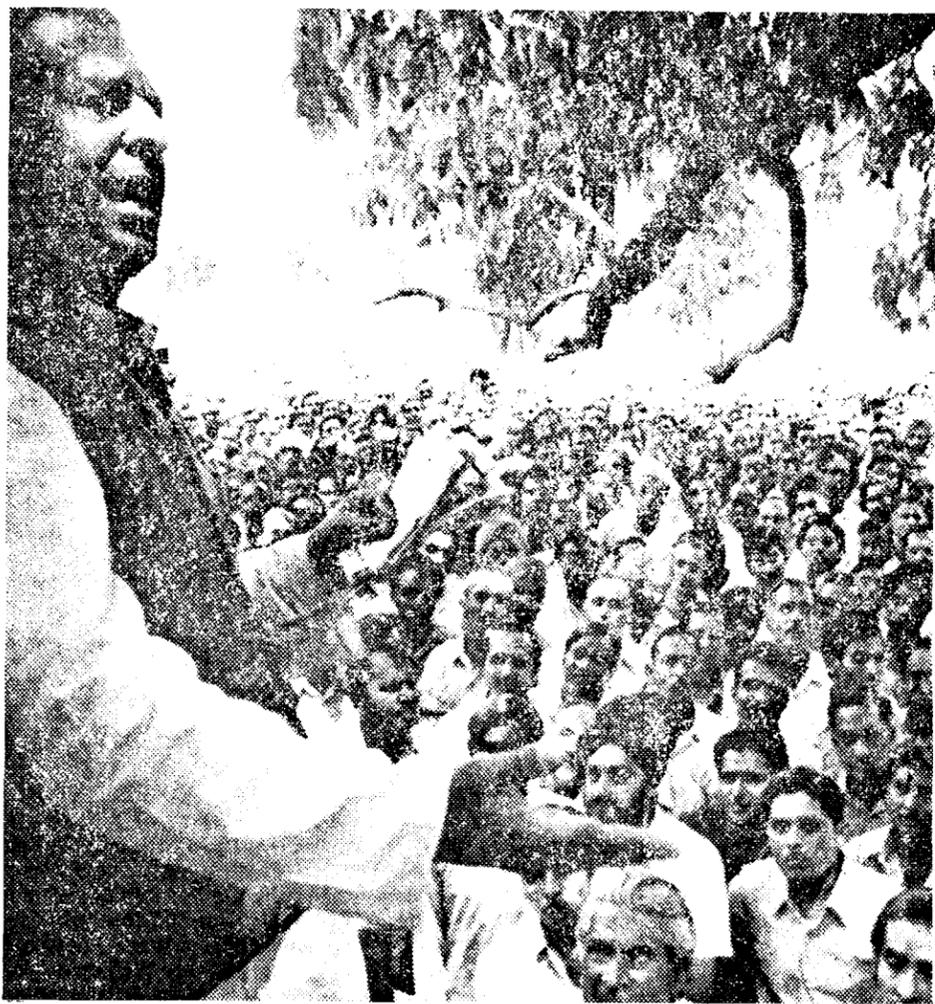
"What is Shri [Mr.] George Fernandes's motive in organizing the railwaymen into action that has no parallel? It is mere trade union action pure and simple, in support of just economic demands."

—Janata [The People], 12 May

For these social democrats the class struggle is nothing but a "mere" means for extracting a few concessions from the capitalists, while "socialist" parliamentary ministers prepare the "peaceful transition to socialism."

The attitude of the ultra-reformist Communist Party of India (CPI) toward the strike was even more crassly defeatist. Thoroughly committed to a policy of class-collaborationist alliance with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeois Congress Party represented by Gandhi, the CPI was forced to place itself on the opposite side of the barricades from the masses during the course of anti-government upheavals in Gujarat and Bihar. The Stalinists participated in the rail strike only to break it.

When the NCCRS first delivered its strike notice, the CPI-led trade-union federation announced its support, but independently of the NCCRS declared that essential commodities such as



Opposition leader addressing rally of railway workers during strike.

steel, coal and foodgrains should be exempted. During the strike the CPI issued calls for the strikers to take group or zonal decisions on returning to work.

In fact, the CPI went so far as to scab on the strike. In a special interview with *Workers Vanguard* correspondents in Bombay on June 16, strike leader George Fernandes disclosed for the first time how CPI cadres operated the trains for the government in the critical area of the Bihar coal fields.

Assured that the reformist leaders of the NCCRS would not launch a political counter-offensive, the government proceeded with an unprecedented reign of terror to smash the strike. By simple administrative circular the Railway Board suspended the Payment of Wages Act and withheld the entire April and May wages of all strikers. In India, where strike funds are inconceivable given the abysmal pay scales, such a move poses the prospects of mass starvation.

Likewise the electrical, water and food supply to government-owned railwaymen's housing colonies was cut, and in many places workers were forcibly evicted with their families. The police and special military units forced striking workers back to the trains at bayonet point, beat their children and in many cases raped the women.

Program for Strike Victory: Political Offensive Against Capitalism

In this situation a revolutionary leadership in the rail and other trade unions could have mobilized powerful class forces and broadened the strike into an anti-capitalist attack on the government. Demands for a repeal of all draconian acts and immediate release of all political prisoners and strikers, joined to a call for armed militias of workers, poor peasants and the unemployed based on the trade unions, were absolutely crucial for the

defense of the strike. Moreover, they could intersect the anti-government upsurges erupting throughout the country. Outrage against government repression had been one of the main forces triggering both the Gujarat and Bihar upheavals.

But the rail strike could be defended and won only through mobilization of the entire Indian proletariat for a general strike. The NCCRS did call for a one-day *Bhārat Bandh* (cessation of all industrial, commercial and public activity throughout the country) in support of the strike for May 15. The fact that the industrial working class responded with the first successful general strike since independence demonstrated the class solidarity and willingness of the workers to join the struggle.

In order to mobilize the workers for a militant general strike and unify the unions in struggle (rather than by mere bureaucratic accords) a revolutionary leadership would have called for the creation of democratically elected, nationally coordinated rank-and-file strike committees. The communists would struggle to win the general strike movement to demands for a massive wage increase and a sliding scale of wages and hours, in order to raise the abysmal standard of living of the workers and combat the killing inflation and unemployment. These demands contain an explosive potential for mobilizing broad masses in struggle, as the desperate food riots in Gujarat and Bihar demonstrated.

In order to link the struggles against price rises, corruption and hoarding to the struggle of the working class, socialists should call for the creation of price committees/consumer cooperatives, based on the power of the trade unions and drawing in poor peasant councils and scheduled-caste ("untouchables"), womens' and student organizations.

Unlike the student-led and politically

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Riots in Newark:

Gibson's Cops Club Down Puerto Ricans

On Sunday, September 1, mounted park police trampled a Puerto Rican festival in Newark's Branch Brook Park, thus beginning four days of riots in which over forty have been arrested, scores injured and at least two killed.

Unlike Newark's ghetto explosions

of 1967 and 1969 which were channeled into Kenneth Gibson's successful mayoral bid in 1970, this time the black mayor and police director were the primary targets.

Today in Newark the price of illusions in "our own mayor" is being paid

in blood. It was "black nationalists" including, in particular, Imamu Baraka who nominated Gibson as their "community choice" at the Newark Black and Puerto Rican Convention in 1969 thus paving the way for Gibson's election. Having "progressed" from "honky"-baiting to an alliance with white racist vigilante Anthony Imperiale to his present posture as an apostle of Marxism-Leninism, Baraka now denounces the Gibson regime as "blackface fascism" (Congress of Afrikan People, press release, 3 September). But Gibson is the same anti-working-class Democratic Party politician he was when Baraka supported him against the 1971 teachers' strike.

Stop Cop Terror

Like the liberal black mayors Bradley of Los Angeles, Hatcher of Gary and Jackson of Atlanta, it is Gibson's job to contain the class struggle while mystifying the sources of black and minority oppression. In the heat of the recent events in Newark, Gibson said that "any attempt to blame" the disorders "on underlying social causes was inflammatory." Yet the unemployment rate among Newark's Spanish-speaking population is 25-27 percent, while almost a third are reported to be on welfare (*New York Times*, 4 September).

In the wake of this outburst by Newark's oppressed Puerto Rican popula-

tion, a "People's Committee Against Police Repression and Brutality" was formed, including Baraka, a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and a former leader of the Young Lords. This ad hoc group has raised several demands that can be supported, including amnesty and medical care for those arrested, firing police director Hubert Williams and elimination of the tactical and mounted police divisions.

The group has also proposed forming a civilian police review board and has called on Gibson to grant it broad investigative powers. While socialists could give critical support in specific circumstances to reform measures directed against the autonomy of the increasingly bonapartist cops, we must expose the call for a civilian review board as impotent and simply a reformist evasion of struggle.

In the context of a desperate struggle of the oppressed masses against "the hired guns of the capitalist class," a revolutionary leadership must seek to rid the masses of their illusions in reforming the bourgeois state. The fight by racial minorities against their oppression must be linked to the class struggle for socialist revolution.

—Disarm the cops—For a multi-racial workers militia based on the trade unions!

—Break with Democratic Party politics, black or white—For a workers party based on the trade unions—For a workers government! ■



Anthony Imperiale and his burned-up motorcycle during Newark riots.

DAILY NEWS

Ranks Solid Despite Defeat

AC Transit Strikers Forced Back to Work

OAKLAND, September 3—After a two-month-long strike here the bus drivers, mechanics and clerks of the East Bay's AC Transit system were finally driven back to work by the conscious sabotage and foot-dragging inaction of their union leadership. The settlement, virtually identical to earlier company offers which had been rejected two times by the membership, was a step backward in every respect.

The key element of the sellout was agreement by Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192 President Ed Cordeiro, backed up by the ATU national bureaucracy, to abandon AC Transit's unique cost-of-living clause. Under the old contract, one of the few in the country to provide real protection against skyrocketing inflation in recent months, wages had risen 36 percent since 1972. In contrast, the new formula provides a one-cent hike for every 0.4 percent rise in the Consumer Price Index, amounting to less than a one-half percent wage increase for every one percent price increase. The only "sweetener" over previous offers was a vague promise of "full percentage" c-o-l coverage in the last year of the contract.

Additional features of the settlement were the dropping of the earlier minimal protection against firing for lateness (something which Cordeiro conveniently "neglected" to mention in his sketchy summary of the terms), a massive pay cut for newly hired workers (for a one year period instead of the previous six months) and a lengthening of the contract from two to three years.

Despite the setback AC Transit strikers went back in good order and without rampant demoralization. No workers were fired and some 357 voted against the sellout for yet a third time,

indicating a sizeable core of determined militants. However, none of Cordeiro's opponents on the executive board had a program for, or made any effort to mount a serious fight to win the strike. Seeing no organized alternative to the pro-capitalist ATU bureaucracy, the ranks finally gave in after 62 days on the picket line.

Coming after a period of plummeting real wages (down 10 percent nationally since mid 1972, the largest wage cut since the early 1930's) caused by the "voluntary restraint" of all wings of the union bureaucracy, from "liberal" Woodcock to the reactionary Meany, the AC Transit strike drew attention both locally and nationally. Across the bay in San Francisco militant Muni drivers demanded a 14 percent wage increase and almost struck to get it, while airport bus drivers rejected company offers three times before ending their strike. Inspired by the East Bay transit strikers (already the highest paid in the country), Los Angeles bus drivers walked out demanding national wage parity in the industry.

The key to victory lay in spreading the strike geographically and broadening it politically into an attack on the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The ATU leadership ordered two re-votes and actually called in cops to guard the ballots because they did not trust the membership-elected committee which was to oversee the counting.

The Spartacist League fought for a Bay Area-wide transit strike, calling for full cost-of-living protection in every contract, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and free public transportation. These demands were favorably received in Local 192 and were raised by militants both there and

among Muni drivers in San Francisco who were considering strike action.

The struggle to replace the Cordeiros and their ilk with a class-struggle leadership of the unions requires the formation of opposition caucuses with an explicitly political program counterposed to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy down the line. Among the transitional demands such caucuses would raise are a sliding scale of wages and hours (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, full c-o-l protection) to fight inflation and unemployment; for full equality in hiring, a union hiring hall; for workers control of production; for a workers party based on the unions and for a workers government, as opposed to the bureaucracy's support for the Democratic and Republican parties of big business.

That "rank-and-file" militant trade unionism is not enough was indicated by the equivocal response to the AC Transit strike by two reformist opposition group active in San Francisco transit workers' unions. The Concerned Muni Drivers passed a resolution calling for "support" to the East Bay bus strike but left out any reference to a Bay Area-wide transit strike. This key demand was part of the original motion introduced by militants from ATU Local 192. The PL-supported Workers Action Movement put out a leaflet calling for solidarity of Muni drivers with AC Transit strikers, but called only for "mutual aid pacts" between the unions involved and for an "emergency meeting" to "support and spread the strike."

In early August, at a time of accelerating inflation and the height of the Watergate crisis of the capitalist politicians, a Bay Area-wide transit strike would have been a powerful blow not

merely against the union tops and employers directly involved. In addition to winning the demands of the AC Transit, Muni and airport bus drivers, it would have been a sharp blow at "friend of labor" politicians like San Francisco Mayor Alioto. Bureaucrats like Cordeiro would agree to any number of emergency meetings, mutual aid pacts or strike support resolutions (all meaningless so long as they remain in power) before ever giving in to the demand for an area-wide transit strike. The rapid escalation of last February's S.F. city workers' walkout into a near-general strike showed the union tops what could easily happen under such circumstances.

The WAM and Concerned Muni Drivers' failure to support the call for a Bay Area-wide transit strike was an open admission of their inability to provide class-struggle leadership to the workers, letting the bureaucracy off the hook at the crucial point.

With the San Francisco city council's refusal (based on a legal technicality) to grant city workers wage increases in July, and its vote last month to place the "Feinstein amendment" on the ballot in November (a measure which would re-categorize Muni drivers in order to cut their pay), the stage is set for potential political strike action and greatly increased interest in demands for a workers party based on the unions. The demonstrated will to fight of AC Transit workers can give them a chance to play a leading role in such a confrontation. Militants in Local 192 must take up the fight to crystallize a class-struggle opposition caucus in their union and to spread it to transit workers throughout the area. ■

Trotskyist Expelled from L.A.

Socialist Collective

We print below a statement by Charles D. protesting his expulsion from the Socialist Collective, a black ostensibly revolutionary Marxist organization in Los Angeles. Charles D. subsequently joined the Spartacus Youth League (formerly Revolutionary Communist Youth), the youth section of the Spartacist League. In the last issue of WV we published a press release issued by the SC following a brutal assault upon its members inspired by the Communist Party and Republic of New Africa. Commenting on the press release we vigorously protested this cowardly Stalinist/black nationalist attack on the SC, while making clear our political differences with the latter.

The Socialist Collective was formed earlier this year out of a loose grouping in the Los Angeles black radical milieu. Like most local collectives, where personal social ties are important, the politics of the SC were extremely eclectic. Members ranged from classic pre-World War I Menshevism to Guevarism.

The SC came under the leadership of one Joe Johnson, an ex-member of the Workers League who has spent the last few years as a dilettantish hanger-around of various "Trotskyist" and "third camp" organizations. The healthiest aspect of the SC has been its clear rejection of black nationalism and its commitment, although in an abstract way, to the primacy of class struggle. It was this above all that caused the group to be labelled Trotskyist within the L.A. left and won it the hatred of the Stalinists and nationalists.

At various times the Socialist Collective has expressed criticism of the Leninist theory of the vanguard party, its own views reflecting both anti-intellectual workerism and a vague anti-authority levellerism. In addition, the SC claims that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist" without having a coherent theory of what that means. Its positions on China and Cuba are distinctly vaguer, no doubt reflecting the greater popularity of these states in the black radical milieu.

The SC initially went through a phase of extreme activism. During that period, it participated in a fully responsible way in a united-front demonstration, initiated by the Spartacist League, to defend Van Schouwen and Romero, two Chilean leftists threatened with execution by the junta. More recently the collective has begun to disintegrate, suffering from a lack of national perspective and Johnson's organizational high-handedness. At its best, the SC was a serious attempt to break out of the New Left/black nationalist/Stalinist deadend and find a global communist solution to social oppression. We say to the members of the Socialist Collective that this path is the one taken by comrade Charles D. in joining the Spartacus Youth League, the Trotskyist youth organization in the U.S.

July 29, 1974

To the Socialist Collective:

I have been expelled from the Socialist Collective for the political views that I hold. I openly expressed these views inside the S.C. without violating discipline. It was only for my politics that I was called a "Spartacist League agent", and expelled.

What does this say for the S.C.'s method of applying democratic centralism (freedom of discussion, unity in action)? Freedom of discussion should not be a hollow phrase merely for the S.C. to display in the "Collective Rules". Marxists understand that "freedom of discussion" is absolutely necessary, because real understanding requires a struggle. To a revolutionary organization, "freedom of discussion"

is not a luxury, but a necessity. Expelling me for fighting in favor of communist politics is not an affirmation of "freedom of discussion", but a repudiation of that principle....

As I was expelled for having Spartacist League politics, it is important to note that S.C. members do not, for the most part, know what S.L. politics really are. All the assertions—such as, "The S.L. is objectively on the side of the state" (the S.L.A. question); "They (S.L.) say C.L.U.W. is a C.I.A. funded organization, run by bureaucrats, and they (S.L.) will have nothing to do with it"; "Armchair revolutionaries" with a "good-sounding paper program, but no practice" etc.—amount to unqualified statements, with no investigation.

How many S.C. members investigated for themselves the S.L.'s position on the S.L.A., and terrorism in general? I'm sure that if comrades had known that the S.L. had been the only group on the left to defend the Weatherman terrorists—even with all the unpopularity brought on to them for taking this principled position—then instead of us blindly throwing around accusations, we would at least have made a competent investigation of their politics on that question....

As a consequence of this lack of understanding, the S.C. has put forward the antiquated slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as "the only sure road to safeguarding independence and class emancipation". Don't the S.C. comrades know what this means as a result of its use by the Stalinists, and other reformists? This strategy has been repudiated by revolutionaries before and since Lenin's "April Theses" where he stated clearly that the fate of the Russian Revolution lay in the hands of the workers, manifested by "the dictatorship of the proletariat".

In *State and Revolution* (August 1917) you will not only fail to see any advocacy of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"...but you will read unmistakably, that: "The essence of Marx's theory of the state has been mastered only by those who realize that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary..." (*State and Revolution*, p. 41, Peking edition). And also, "Only the proletariat, by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production, is capable of being the leader of all the toiling and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploits, oppresses, and crushes often not less, but more than it does the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an independent struggle for their emancipation" (*State and Revolution*, pp. 29-30, Peking edition). Do these sound like any "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"??

When Lenin used the phrase...he at least had the idea of uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie, so that the events of the February Revolution (1917) convinced him that the ["democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"] was no strategy for uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie, but in fact, tied the workers to the bourgeoisie. Trotsky's strategy [was one] of a social revolution, where the workers would lead the peasants, under a "dictatorship of the proletariat"...the only one that could resolve the national and democratic tasks (land to peasants, national independence, etc.). Marxists understand that the peasantry can only follow—follow the bourgeoisie, or proletariat.

How in the world can the peasantry organize and run society in its own class interest, when it's spread wide, its interests varying from one locale to another, and its class outlook is individualistic. In what manner can it organize and develop large-scale industry?

What has happened in the intervening years is that the Stalinists have bent the phrase ["democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"] and used it to justify their betrayals to the class struggle. For example, Stalin's telling the Chinese Communist Party to accept the leadership of the Kuomintang (we talked about this when studying "On Contradiction") and the result of following that advice was being butchered by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927....

The pessimistic view that "underdeveloped" countries can't have socialist revolution has a long history in the movement, from the Mensheviks in old Russia, to the Stalinists-Maoists today. While the revolution can only start in such countries, if *can*, in fact, start there. The Russian revolution was not doomed to failure from the start. It was crippled when the German revolution failed, mostly because a tested leadership was lacking. The German communists had come too late to Lenin's ideas on party-building; this lesson S.C. comrades should read more about.

The S.C.'s rejection of Leninism and Trotskyism as the contemporary expression and continuity of revolutionary Marxism is what leads to embracing such reactionary theories as the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry", and makes its application of democratic centralism hollow, thereby blunting its concern for developing cadre.

The organization does not struggle to create unity internally, but instead expels "troublemakers". How can we talk about the legitimacy of factions, and then expel me for merely fighting for my politics? Where are the charges of violating "unity in action"? Even though I did oppose many of our political statements and actions carried out, I did help carry them out. No one

can deny this.

I have been pointed out as the source of disruption in our meetings, that is, principled, up-front political opposition. But let us look at what sort of stuff is disruptive, not just to the meetings, but to the existence of the S.C. itself....

The coldest thing that I have witnessed in the S.C. was the last meeting that I was at when, after Joe's motion to remove Leslie from coordination of the youth group and the C.C. (because of "incompetency", being too "commandeering", and "turning people off") was voted down, Joe then resigns from the five member C.C., because of "liberalism". Then Leslie resigns from the C.C. for the sake of an odd number on the C.C. (three), but requests that with his resignation...he remain as coordinator of the youth group. Larry (I think) then opens up nominations for a five member C.C., himself as one. Joe nominates J.P., and J.P. nominates Joe. Then, after J.P. and Joe are elected, Leslie is removed from coordinating the youth group, and replaced with J.P. What kind of revolutionary organization would the S.C. be to accept this sort of manipulative, roundabout maneuvering to sneak in a motion already defeated? To top it off, Joe responds to the question "Why are you back on the C.C., when you resigned earlier?" with the answer, "I no longer feel that liberalism is present" (!!).

I understand that the S.C. has repudiated this particular event. But this is not the first time that the S.C. has allowed this sort of conduct....

If the S.C. is to qualify its seriousness, then it must confront its past actions and behavior with a critical eye. I am not afraid to admit that I was also a part in letting a lot of this stuff slide, and even sometimes caught up in

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it myself, not knowing what to do....

I am not exactly sure what the S.C.'s position of "state capitalism" is, but the application of such a position is as follows: If you believe that no overturn of property relations has taken place in the *deformed* or *degenerated* workers states, then, say if *Cuba* went to war with (bourgeois) Mexico, then you could not side with the Cuban workers and peasants in defending the gains of the Cuban revolution from capitalist restoration, and imperialism, while calling for a *political* revolution to place workers democracy... in place of the Stalinist bureaucratic control of that (deformed) workers state....

The point is not whether socialism exists (because it can't—not in one country), but whether there is the economic basis for socialism. Politically it is a *degenerated* workers state, in Russia's case where the revolution degenerated, with the workers being *politically* expropriated by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The *deformed* workers states (China, East Europe, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba) are called such because the workers never had political control of their state, but should be considered social revolutions because of the revolutionary and economic dynamics they possess, expropriating the bourgeoisie, destroying the old army and state... the argument that a market and commodity production exist in, say, Russia or China and therefore that they are essentially capitalist is not a dialectical approach to the subject. The market will "wither away" the same as the state. It cannot be abolished in a workers state here or there, but will only "wither away" internationally. Also production in the deformed workers states is not generally guided by profit guidelines as it is under capitalism. The most important point is that it would be a defeat for the international working class if capitalism were restored in China, Russia, Poland, Cuba, etc. This would immeasurably strengthen world imperialism, led by the United States....

What about the public statements about the C.P., B.P.P. and S.L. being "objectively on the side of the state". I have failed to read anywhere when that has been given the analysis it deserves. In fact, the only public exposition given on it was the S.L.A. speech at the second rally. But it is a weak attack to essentially say, "Who is the S.L. to call the S.L.A. petty bourgeois terrorists. They have parents that are court judges, plantation owners, etc." If anybody had read their position on the S.L.A. they would have known that S.L.'s criticism of the S.L.A. was not because they are "petty bourgeois" but *terrorists*, and the type of terrorism that it was. Not like the Tupamaros, whose terrorism is at least very political (kidnapping oil executives, government diplomats, etc.) [but] the type of cultist stuff the S.L.A. would talk about, and actions which left people baffled (Marcus Foster slaying, hit list, and shoot-outs over penny-ante shoplifting). What is most important to me is not so much the positions that are taken, but the lack of thorough investigation, which I see as being the reason why we have adopted many inaccurate positions.

The S.C. is already expelling left and right and having many resignations. It has no clear perspective on its current course, and I am not sure how long past summer it will last. People do get tired when they struggle so hard and sacrifice so much of their time to something that they discover too late in the game... really [isn't] going anywhere, much less leading the movement. The fortitude and willingness to struggle against greater odds is without a doubt a positive quality of the Socialist Collective. This is why I hope comrades do not shy away from these not-too-pleasant criticisms that I have submitted to you, but deal with them directly, without backing away from any issue.

It is too bad that I am not able, today, to present my criticisms from within as a Socialist Collective member.

Yours in communist solidarity,

Charles

Continued from page 6

India Rail Strike

heterogeneous "Youth Committees for Building Anew" in Gujarat and the Student Action Committee in Bihar, such price committees/consumer cooperatives could have moved to expropriate the vast stocks of hoarded foodgrains. Backed by the power of the armed trade-union militias and militant strike committees, they could sweep the venal Congress Party politicians from their positions in the state grain procurement and distribution system and institute direct workers control of distribution.

However, a general strike in India today would obviously unleash powerful social forces and contain the potential for rapidly developing into a revolutionary situation. Communists must foresee this development and prepare for it. The strike committees could draw around themselves broad proletarian, exploited petty-bourgeois and unemployed masses and develop into soviets, the embryonic structure for a new proletarian state. Simply the most basic problems of survival for the striking workers would pose the question of capitalist property relations, and revolutionists would raise the slogans of expropriation of industry under workers control, land to the tillers and for a workers and peasants government.

The Rail Strike is Crushed

By their refusal to adopt a class-struggle perspective the Stalinists and social democrats betrayed the rail strike. Both the CPI and the SP have a long record of strike sabotage. As recently as last February a CPI-led union called off a solid 40-day textile strike in Bombay on the eve of an already planned general strike in support of the union! The Stalinists claimed that the massive general strike would have precipitated a "blood bath." It must not be forgotten that Fernandes' SP refused to join its forces in the massive May 1973 Bombay general strike against the growing famine in the state, and on numerous occasions, including May Day celebrations, has allied with the anti-labor, reactionary-

communist Jan Sangh (Peoples Party).

When the government declared the threatened strike illegal and began preparations for its counteroffensive, Fernandes did nothing but await the tea-sipping, polite "negotiations" in New Delhi. No steps were taken to organize a united front of all trade-union federations, set up rank-and-file elected strike committees that could provide leadership in the likely event of sweeping arrests or provide even the most elementary defense measures.

At no time did the SP tops seek to link up the struggle of the rail workers with the spreading anti-government struggles, and the *Bhārat Bandh* was called simply as a passive observance of an "anti-repression" day. When militant struggles erupted spontaneously during the strikes, Fernandes reacted by writing a letter to Gandhi from jail assuring the Prime Minister that he, too, was absolutely opposed to "political adventurism".

Lacking a class-struggle leadership the railwaymen were in the end powerless to combat the devastating repression and prevent the slow, agonizing crushing of the strike. On May 28 the NCCRS finally called off what had been the longest and most costly strike in the history of independent India. As a result of the action 50,000 workers had been illegally arrested and detained without trial, 16,000 fired, 15,000 temporary workers dismissed and 12,000 evicted from their government-owned hovels.

Pabloists Tail Students, Strikers

The convulsive social struggles of the last year have been a serious test for the ostensible Trotskyists in India. Numerically tiny and politically heterogeneous, these are loosely grouped into the Communist League of India (CLI), section of the revisionist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." In general, while the CLI has published militant propaganda on the upsurges in Gujarat and Bihar as well as on the rail strike, it reflects a characteristically Pabloist strategy of pressuring and tailing after youth vanguardist and reformist bureaucratic forces.

Thus the article in the Hindi-language central organ of the CLI advances the following perspective:

BUILD THE SYL!

The third national conference of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth group of the Spartacist League, unanimously voted to increase the frequency of its press, *Young Spartacus*, to a monthly beginning with the next issue and to change the name of the organization (effective at the initiation of the fall campaigns on campuses) to the *Spartacus Youth League of the United States*.

Since its last national conference the RCY experienced a dynamic growth, expressed in establishment and consolidation of a number of active campus fractions, geographical extension and greatly increased press circulation.

Last spring the RCY ran communist campaigns in student government elections at four campuses, conducted principled united-front defense work, participated in strike support and several campus union organizing drives. It also helped to build the SL-initiated campaigns around the defense of imprisoned Chilean militants and solidarity with the British miners' strike.

Continuing its struggle as the SYL, the RCY rightfully claims the heritage of the first, and finest, Trotskyist youth organization in this country—the Spartacus Youth League, youth group of the Communist League of America. BUILD THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE!

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"The next step is the demand for that strong parallel governmental distribution system which ought to be able to provide full rations to the poor of the village and city. In this system let there be the building of peoples-committees for curbing pervasive corruption. For giving adequate foodgrains to the weaker groups of society let there be in the villages forcible grain procurement through the help of the peoples-committees."

The article concludes:

"The youth of India are awakened. They will change this outmoded capitalist economic system and colonialist social structure. At that time the building of socialism will be possible."

—*Mazdūr Kīṣān Krānti* [Worker-Peasant Revolution], April 1974

The centrist CLI here recognizes the need for the creation of a vehicle for struggle, but substitutes youth vanguardism for the necessity of a conscious political struggle for the hegemony of the Transitional Program.

This conception was even more explicitly articulated in a declaration issued in Bombay on April 15 by a state leader of the CLI, who played a prominent role in coordinating the activities of the Youth Committees for Building Anew in south Gujarat:

"The formation of Nav Nirman Janata Samitis [Peoples Committees for Building Anew] in factories, workshops, mohallas [wards] and villages should therefore be the primary task in the next phase of the upsurge which must be directed against the exploitative capitalist system as a whole... The SSA [Study and Struggle Alliance—a youth organization led by the CLI] therefore calls upon all progressive forces to convene a state-wide conference of trade unions, Kisan sabhas [peasant councils], farm labour unions and organizations of students, youth, women and adivasis [landless laborers] to thrash out a common program of action in their struggle against the present capitalist-landlord system which is the source of all corruption, price rise and inflation, unemployment, starvation and all other social and economic ills."

Unless based on the proletariat as the decisive social class and committed to a clear anti-capitalist program the "Peoples Committees for Building Anew" will simply be a broader version of the then existing (but now non-existent!) Youth Committees for Building Anew.

Concerning the rail strike, the propaganda of the CLI was essentially confined to general statements of solidarity and support. Thus, the special "rail strike number" of *Mazdūr Kīṣān Krānti* (8 June 1974) lacked any strategy or slogans for turning the strike and the *Bhārat Bandh* into a general strike aimed at overthrowing the Gandhi government. Thus whenever the opportunity presents itself the CLI submerges its program and functions as a pressure group to force the centrist and reformist leaderships of the working class to the left.

In response to the Gujarat-Bihar struggles and in preparation for the rail strike the Bombay CLI shelved the most important demands of the Transitional Program in order to form a propaganda bloc with the opportunist Revolutionary Socialist Party. This opportunist bloc, the "Revolutionary Worker-Youth Alliance," is seen by both the CLI and the RSP as a left pressure group on the local "united left front" formed by the Stalinists and Socialists.

The present sharp polarizations and social crisis in India have brought to the fore once again the crying need for revolutionary leadership. The perspective of the Permanent Revolution has seldom been so sharply posed. Only the Indian proletariat in power, supported by the peasantry, can solve the unfinished, urgent democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, among them: elimination of communalism and casteism, liquidation of landlordism, forging national integration and the development of industry and agriculture. Only the creation of a genuine Trotskyist party in India, section of a reborn Fourth International, can open the road to the creation of the Socialist Federation of South Asia. ■

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Chavez...

Recently, UFW bureaucrats announced that they were filing 15 more lawsuits against both the growers and the Teamsters. (Not to be outdone, a 500-member growers' association filed a \$106 million suit against the UFW the very next day!)

Failing to learn a single lesson from experience, the UFW leadership has spent months pressuring the legislature in Sacramento to pass Bill AB3370, which would provide for union elections and legalize the secondary boycott for farm workers. While these are desirable democratic reforms, this legislation also gives power to a governor-appointed commission to be granted "the right to subpoena records and witnesses" and to unilaterally determine the validity of contracts. Though the bill was endorsed by the California AFL-CIO, it was effectively killed for the year by a Senate vote in August.

Fake Socialists Embarrassed

As the already desperate situation of the UFW daily worsens as a result of his pacifist class-collaborationist policies, Chavez has recently lashed out at critics on the left, castigating "pseudo-revolutionary groups" and "those people in the cities who don't have to deal with the realities of the fields" (speech at Davis, Calif., UFW rally on August 13). Among these are groups so loyal to Chavez in their opportunism that they have until recently never expressed a word of criticism and have therefore proven themselves indeed "pseudo-revolutionary" betrayers of the farm worker ranks.

In contrast, the SL has consistently and actively solidarized with the farm workers' struggle. An important part of our support has been to counterpose a class-struggle program and methods

to the betrayals of Chavez and Co. This has led to red-baiting attacks and physical threats against our supporters by the UFW bureaucracy and its lackeys including the Communist Party and Revolutionary Union.

But Chavez' current activities, including his capitulation to George Meany in abandoning the lauded secondary boycott tactic, are so gross that even his most loyal bootlickers, the October League, RU, Socialist Workers Party and International Socialists, are now finding it necessary to print the first hints of criticism in their respective presses, though delicately phrased, of course.

The SWP's recent article advising Chavez to "Solidarize With Undocumented Workers" (*Militant*, 2 August) and references to UFW leaders' "betrayal" in turning in "illegals" to U.S. authorities are nothing but nauseating hypocrisy in light of the SWP's earlier touting of the UFW as "the vanguard of the U.S. trade-union movement," even as betrayal after betrayal was perpetrated by the Chavez leadership. The SWP meekly dismantled its literature table to "clean up" last year's UFW convention for Edward Kennedy's entrance as keynote speaker without a word of public protest. Last fall, when Chavez shut down the picket lines at the height of the lettuce and grape strikes, the SWP actually apologized for this betrayal (*Militant*, 31 August).

What has happened is that the SWP has for years uncritically tailed after both Chavez of the UFW and Bert Corona of CASA, a Stalinist-led Chicano organization. Since the recent massive deportations of tens of thousands of "illegal" Mexicans in L.A. (CASA's base) public strain has appeared between Corona and Chavez, and the SWP now has to choose which one to continue tailing.

The CP is taking the difficult position of supporting both Corona and Chavez. Thus the 3 August *People's World* printed without comment a letter

from Corona with mild criticisms of the UFW ("we cannot understand and lament with much regret the press statements..." etc.) while it continues to publish uncritical articles about the union's activities.

Perhaps most cynical of all are the Maoists of the RU and OL, who only last fall were offering to beat up



WV PHOTO

SL/RCYers on the picket lines and at rallies if the UFW should request their services. When Chavez shut down the picket lines in favor of the impotent boycott tactic, not a peep of criticism was heard from these pseudo-revolutionaries. But now the RU meekly notes that "the UFW leadership's decision to give up the secondary boycott in exchange for Meany's promises could lead to very serious consequences" (*Revolution*, May 1974). And the OL now comments that UFW attacks on "illegal" farm workers "can only hurt the cause of the UFW" (*Call*, August 1974). One wonders where these "communists"

were when Chavez was supporting the Kennedy-Rodino bill in 1973.

Sick and Tired of Pacifist Betrayal

Though sporadic and often spontaneously initiated, showing little evidence of a centrally coordinated effort, the strikes waged this summer by the UFW, including the present tomato strike near Stockton, California, have evidenced militancy and a tense undercurrent of barely restrained anger among UFW farm worker ranks.

UFW pickets and sheriff's deputies have several times clashed with arrests resulting. The 7 August *Stockton Record* reported that 20 deputies were pressed against a fence by angry pickets while ten other pickets dashed into a field to "harass non-union pickers near Highway 99."

John Giumarra, a California growers' spokesman, alleged at the end of July that an "organized campaign of arson and destruction" had ruined hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of crops and farm properties this summer, attempting to imply a connection between these incidents and the UFW.

Farm workers are increasingly fed up with Chavez' pacifist deadend strike strategies. Neither are they comfortable with the proposition that the way to keep scabs out of the fields is to turn them over to the *la migra* cops for deportation, the growers' tactic for dealing with "troublemakers."

It becomes increasingly evident that the struggle for survival of the UFW must be one in which the ranks of the unions defeat the bureaucrats in the process of mobilizing the organized force of the entire labor movement in defense of the farm workers. Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers! For an international UFW! Teamsters out of the fields! Hot-cargo scab products! For armed self-defense of the picket lines! For a state-wide general strike to defend the UFW! ■

Continued from page 12

...Phone Wildcats

bureaucrats had simply walked out of the meeting, having no intention of obeying the membership's wishes. Leadership of the strike committee had fallen to MAC, but a successful strike was not possible because the official leadership had not yet been deposed in the eyes of the ranks.

Most workers returned to work when they saw that the official leadership—still "the union" in their eyes—opposed the strike. If MAC had attempted to maintain picket lines, even though an official meeting had voted to stay on strike, the result would simply have been the elimination of the best militants from the union. The Caucus sought instead to exploit the issues politically, in order to win sufficient support to oust the present misleaders permanently.

At the "Strike Organizing Committee" meeting MAC spokesmen stressed the need to build more support for a strike locally and nationally, warning that an isolated action would lead to a company/union purge of militants which would prevent them from being around for future decisive battles. These remarks went unheeded by PL, which later reported that the "main opposition [to the wildcat] came from fake 'communists' who said we were 'too small' to organize a walkout" (*Challenge*, 29 August). Apparently support from the workers is irrelevant to PL/WAM, which also never acknowledges a defeat.

The role of WAM supporters verged on the criminal in their disregard for the actions they knew would be taken by the union leaders, in collusion with the company, to crush the strike and fire militants. Over MAC objections, WAM and UTU members entrusted a loyal member of the Local 9410 executive board, who was obviously at the meeting for information-gathering purposes, with leading the walkout at one

of the largest buildings.

Later, PL lyingly reported that "Many of us were surprised by the company role our union 'leaders' were playing, trying to sabotage the walkout instead of supporting and helping lead it" (*Challenge*, 29 August). The game PL was playing here was deadly and despicable. PL supporters knew full well what the role of the bureaucrats would be, yet they made a show of naïveté, attempting to push workers into trusting a duplicitous official in order to later "teach" the workers a lesson about the bureaucracy. This cynical approach assumes that the workers are too stupid to understand a lesson without having their heads knocked first. In the eyes of PL/WAM the role of leadership is to beguile and trick the workers into a position in which they will "learn" the hard way.

WAM's cynical adventurism is nothing new. It used the same tactics during the Mack Ave. auto wildcat in Detroit in 1973, where a small handful of militants attempted to conduct a "sitdown" strike. The UAW tops mobilized a 1,000-man goon squad to break the strike, and 40 workers are still fired as a result.

The walkouts never affected more than four or five of the small buildings in San Francisco. In order to keep up a pretense of "victory" in the face of its obvious failure, WAM planned to expel MAC supporters from the strike committee. MAC members were denounced as "Company agents" and scabs, despite the fact that Rosalind Benedet, a MAC member, had been involved in the walkout in her building from the beginning and no MAC supporters crossed any picket lines. The vote to expel MAC from the strike committee was 30 in favor and 15 opposed, with 25 abstentions. Following the expulsion two other strikers slammed down their chairs, declared that the meeting was worse than official bureaucratism and walked out in solidarity with MAC. Since the meeting, MAC has earned authority with many workers who say that they supported what MAC said but

did not have the courage to say it themselves.

At the following "strike" meeting, the UTU member most known for support to the Democratic Party was chairing. He was prepared to expel half of the attending workers for expressing MAC's ideas before he was called to order by WAM leaders. In the subsequent *Challenge* version of the story,

"The majority of people felt that the time had come to retreat to our shops. A PL member pointed out that the main strategic question wasn't whether we retreated or not, but rather 'are we going to build the wildcat momentum into a Local-wide strike and turn the union meeting around?'"

How the workers are to "build the wildcat momentum" of a failed wildcat strike was not explained, nor is there any self-criticism for the failed tactic which only a few days earlier had been promoted as the way to grow automatically "from 50 to 100 to 1,000." For WAM, every "bold action," from the Mack Ave. debacle to the San Francisco phone wildcat, is a "victory," no matter how many militants are needlessly sacrificed.

In contrast to MAC's enhanced reputation for intelligent leadership, the loss of authority by the wildcat "leaders" has been drastic. Attendance at a demonstration called for Friday, September 6 at a downtown telephone building in defense of the fired victims of the strike was limited to 15 including MAC supporters. The ten fired workers were all members of the oppositional groupings, WAM, Traffic Jam and MAC. The task now is to build a strong united-front defense of all the victims through struggle within the union.

The problems of phone workers can not be solved by a few wildcats in a few locals, or by local or nationwide strikes under the present union misleaders. These bureaucrats cannot be simply bypassed or pressured to the left, nor will the ranks change leaderships lightly. The class-struggle forces must earn their authority by consist-

ently providing correct leadership and pointing the way to victory. An alternative leadership must be built on a nationwide scale, extending into all the locals and linking up with workers in other unions. It must ruthlessly expose the reactionary bureaucracy, but not attempt to substitute itself for the masses of workers: it must seek to lead the workers, not go around them or maneuver them into "educational" confrontations with superior forces. For cynical opportunists such as PL/WAM and on occasion the RU, defeats are irrelevant as long as they can "get the masses moving" with "bold actions." But for class-conscious workers the test of real revolutionary leadership will be the ability to show the way forward to victory for their class. ■

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Wage Controls...

course open to the American ruling class at this time. Even moderate economists such as Hendrik Houthakker, a Harvard professor and former member of the Council of Economic Advisors under Nixon, are led to make such "modest proposals" for labor as the following:

"In the field of *Labor* unreasonable restrictions on union membership, such as prior apprenticeship or excessive entrance fees, would be prohibited. Union-operated hiring halls would be abolished. The Davis-Bacon Act and similar laws concerning wages paid under government contracts would be phased out. The bill would also reform unemployment insurance so as to make it less of a disincentive to work, and would exempt juveniles from minimum wage laws."

—Wall Street Journal, 20 July

It is indicative of the expected depth of the current economic crisis that even "responsible" bourgeois elements such as Mr. Houthakker can blithely propose the smashing of the trade unions and the mobilization of the unemployed against the employed. Although not currently on the agenda, such proposals will proliferate as the economic crisis worsens.

Minorities Hit Hardest

Because they are traditionally "last hired and first fired" black workers have in recent years lost the gains they achieved during the period of a tight labor market in the late 1960's. During that period the black population experienced a 32 percent gain in real income, as opposed to 16 percent for whites. However, the median income for black families was still only 61 percent of that for whites.

More recently, since 1970 the number of blacks whose income was below poverty levels has actually increased,

whereas the opposite trend is present in the white population. Currently, blacks and other racial minorities are *twice* as likely to be unemployed as white Americans, and the median income of black families has sunk back to 58 percent of that of white families.

The prospect of large-scale unemployment in the mass production industries, an inevitable result of a sharp recession or depression, threatens to aggravate this situation still further as blacks now form a significant, sometimes predominant, part of the basic industrial workforce. Moreover, the projected governmental spending cuts will certainly be implemented in social services—health, education and welfare—and will therefore also hit racial minorities hardest.

The intersection of rising unemployment, spending cuts in areas which primarily affect racial minorities, and recent losses by those groups in terms of their living standards means that we can expect a reawakening of militant discontent in inner-city areas along with the revival of large-scale reform/protest movements in the black population. This resurgence of black militancy could also lead to an exacerbation of inter-racial hostility, a phenomenon which Mr. Ford and his bourgeois cohorts will do their best to exploit.

The Period Ahead

Despite possibilities of increasing racial tensions during coming months the immediate future abounds in possibilities for revolutionaries. Quite unlike the 1960's, rising black militancy will likely occur alongside seething working-class discontent in the context of a major economic downturn. Moreover, the class collaborationism inherent in even the most militant versions of black nationalism has been exposed by the dramatic rightward evolution of the Black Panther Party and demagogic gyrations of the likes of Newark's Imam Baraka, from his current "Marxism/Leninism" hustle to earlier support for black Democrat Gibson and alliance with white racist vigilante

The RSL has consistently refused to confront politically the positions of the Trotskyists. Brecht and Tracey's attack on the RSL's position on the SLA was never printed in the bulletin. Fred Michael's letter on its abstentionist position on the French elections was never printed. While making a pretense of offering the pages of the press to our tendency, the RSL leaders printed Myers' letter on the dissidents only after he was excluded and haven't yet printed his reply to Harry Parker. To date, these people have refused to debate the Russian Question either before the membership or publicly, a debate which they themselves at first proposed. Even at the appeal of the Trotskyist Tendency to the July CC, they sat silent, having nothing to say in their own defense.

The character of this campaign is confirmation of Trotsky's view that the defeatist position is a capitulation to petty-bourgeois democracy and American imperialism. It could not be waged without borrowing from the Stalinist arsenal. Landy, who made his name as a Shachtmanite red-baiter in the '50's, claimed: "Fascism in this period will masquerade as Trotskyism." His supporters were more explicit when they implied that the Soviet Defensists were police agents. Continuing in the same vein, the leadership orchestrated a chorus of sexual innuendos and abuse, designed to appeal to the most backward elements in the organization. Finally, Taber's personal supporters organized the burglary of the files of a member of our tendency in Los Angeles.

We believe that the RSL is doomed as an organized tendency. Nevertheless, for the future of our movement, it will be necessary to identify these cynical gangsters who have attempted to masquerade as Trotskyists, wherever, as individuals, they may reappear.

TRUTH

Formerly the Soviet Defensist Minority and Trotskyist Tendency of the Revolutionary Socialist League

Anthony Imperiale. With the likelihood of mass protests directed against black mayors and, in some cases, black local union officials the greatly increased opportunities for revolutionary Marxist leadership are self-evident.

The major obstacle to a united working-class upsurge is the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy which will fight both to preserve the racial divisions which have historically lamed the American working class and to maintain the subjugation of that working class to the bourgeois political parties. Thus the need for building militant class-struggle opposition caucuses in the unions, to depose the union bureaucracy and to fight for a workers party based on the unions, is clearly posed by the current economic crisis.

As the bourgeoisie moves toward the reimposition of wage controls the need for independent working-class political action may become sharply focused on this key issue, in the first instance over the federal employees' cancelled pay increases. Militants must demand that the unions organize a united labor demonstration in Washington around the demands: Support the federal employees' pay demands! No state wage controls! Inaction now will shortly lead to massive cuts in the living standards of all U.S. workers. ■

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MIR Veers Right...

the regime for more extensive reforms. It demanded more nationalizations, more aggressive agrarian reforms, the setting up of a "People's Assembly" called for in the UP program, and so on.

MIR Support for a New Popular Front

Following the generals' and admirals' coup all political opposition has been forced underground. The Communist Party, which repeatedly sought the collaboration of a wing of the Christian Democratic Party under the Allende regime, now sees real possibilities for an alliance with the CDP. Consequently the Stalinists are quite careful to specify the "immediate objectives" of the resistance as including *only* "end the situation of internal warfare." They studiously avoid references to overthrowing the junta because that would raise the question of what should follow. This might disturb their hoped-for bourgeois allies.

The MIR, beginning late in 1973, has turned sharply to the right and endorsed this minimum platform. Its major statement since the coup, "A los trabajadores, a los revolucionarios y a los pueblos del mundo" (January 1974) lists as an immediate objective, "To construct a political front of the *anti-gorila* [militarist] resistance incorporating all the forces of the left and a sector of the CDP (the democratic petty bourgeoisie)." The MIR also signed a "Declaration of the Chilean Left" (*Tricontinental News Service*, 13 March 1974), together with the parties of the former UP coalition, which praised the Allende regime, called for the struggle of the "fatherland" and "all anti-fascists" against the junta and in every other way represented the CP's reformist line.

Earlier this year we denounced this sharp right turn of the MIR ("Chile After the Coup," *WV* No. 42, 12 April). We pointed out that the MIR's inability to understand the class character of the UP coalition as a bourgeois popular front and its failure to break with Allende meant it would be unable to show the way forward to the workers. Now the MIR's earlier confusion has been codified into a political line which is indistinguishable from that of the Stalinists and social democrats.

"Armed Propaganda" and Strategic Unity

More recently we have received the text of a press conference by MIR

leader Eduardo Enríquez (brother of Miguel Enríquez, the MIR secretary-general) in Havana in June of this year. In this speech he spells out several aspects of the group's current policy. First, the "petty-bourgeois, democratic" wing of the Christian Democratic Party is specified as the Leighton wing; second, the next stage of the resistance is characterized as "armed propaganda"; third, there is no criticism of the Communist Party.

As to the so-called "Leighton" or "Leighton-Tomic" wing of the CDP, it did in fact verbally criticize the junta shortly after the coup; but it, like the more conservative Frei-Aylwin section of the party, was in part responsible for the coup in the first place. Among other things, the CDP as a *whole* voted for a Congressional motion in late August 1973 which declared the UP government to be acting outside the bounds of legality.

As was obvious at the time, this parliamentary maneuver, like the truck owners' stoppage (also backed by the CDP), was an integral part of the preparations for the coup—setting the stage in public opinion. How is it possible, comrades of the MIR, to form a strategic alliance with elements of the bourgeoisie who actually helped prepare the September 11 bloodbath? You are only preparing the way for a new massacre!

Of course, the biggest responsibility for the coup falls on the Stalinist CP and Allende's own Socialists since, as workers parties, they had the power to mobilize the proletariat. Instead they told it to trust in the "constitutional" generals. For the same reason that it is not possible to form a lasting alliance with the "left" Christian Democrats (as opposed to episodic tactical agreements for joint action), Marxist revolutionaries can have no strategic unity with the chief traitors of the popular front! This is doubly true now, for the chief task at present is to expose these traitors before their own base, to draw the lessons of the defeat as the precondition for moving forward to victory. That is why the MIR's current refusal to criticize the Stalinists or Allende in recent months is itself a major betrayal.

Finally, the new turn to "armed propaganda" and the eventual constitution of a "revolutionary people's army," evidently on the model of the Argentine ERP, is a military and political dead end. As was shown in Guatemala in the mid 1960's, when Yon Sosa's MR-13 guerrillas adopted this technique, it only temporarily deflects the military from direct attacks on the insurgents—by directing its attacks against the mass of working people.

Not simply the tactic of "armed propaganda" but the whole strategy of guerrilla warfare is a profound deviation from the path of proletarian revolution. This is the road of isolated petty-bourgeois terrorist bands or peasant insurrections.

It is a strategy of impotence as shown not only by the fiasco of Che Guevara's Bolivian adventure in 1967, but also by the recent events in Argentina. When rightist police took over the industrial center of Córdoba in February 1974 the Argentine ERP was powerless to act even though this was historically its stronghold!

The working class must depend on its organized strength in production and as a cohesive class with common interests. To cite a simple fact: before the coup the membership of the Communist Party alone was more than double the size of the entire Chilean military! It was not that the workers were powerless—rather, their leaders would not let them fight. The struggle for a new revolutionary leadership, for a Chilean Trotskyist party as part of a reborn Fourth International, is the key to defeating the junta and preparing the way to proletarian revolution in Chile. Anything less will only restore the conditions which led to the bloodbath in the first place. ■

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RSL Witchhunt...

pulsion of the Trotskyist Tendency. On June 9th the order was carried out by the Detroit and Chicago branches.

The only "charges" presented in all these cases, "entrism" and "cliquism," demonstrate the nature of the RSL's campaign. "Entrism" means nothing more than opposition to the inner circle. Thus, the leadership could never explain how *founding members* of the RSL became "entrists," or for whom they were "entrists." "Cliquism" has no more content. It was simply a device to intensify hysteria. Thus the leadership never even bothered to advance a *class* characterization of our tendency, without which "cliquism" becomes merely a Shachtmanite catchword, until we mentioned this minor detail to them. This "charge" becomes more cynically ludicrous when one learns that the RSL leadership has called *itself* a clique.

Women and Revolution

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CHICAGO SL FORUM

Bay Area Phone Wildcats

OAKLAND, September 7—The main concern of the International leadership of the Communications Workers of America in recent months has been to prevent a nationwide telephone strike and snuff out the militant local walkouts which have marked the industry in the past. Ex-President Beirne's last act was to come up with a "national bargaining" scheme, the content of which was to eliminate local contract ratification, thereby rendering illegal local strikes such as the seven-month New York State strike of 1971.

After more than a month and a half of maneuvering and delays the new president, Glenn Watts, finally got his contract ratification by a two-to-one vote. But dissatisfaction was rampant. Many local leaders either refused to endorse the contract or outright opposed it.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which had been bargaining in tandem with Watts, broke ranks and struck Western Electric—the Bell System's equipment supplier—for improvements over the CWA deal. IBEW tops slapped Watts in the face by calling on CWA ranks as well to turn down the proposed terms. In addition there were numerous wildcat strikes at the local level, particularly in Michigan.

In San Francisco there was also a small wildcat strike in August lasting

five days. The wildcat strike is often the last resort of militants frustrated by the betrayals of union leaderships which are vastly more interested in preserving labor peace for the "good of the country" (read profits) than they are in advancing the workers' interests. But isolated unofficial actions are tactical danger zones full of pitfalls for the unwary.

If massively supported, "unauthorized strikes" can sometimes be partially or even wholly successful. The nationwide postal strike of 1970 was a wildcat, as was the Baltimore city strike this July. Most wildcats, however, mobilize only a fraction of the work force and lead to firings and victimizations of the best militants. This naturally produces widespread demoralization in the ranks.

The San Francisco wildcat was of the latter, most common variety. It was led by members of Workers Action Movement, a trade-union opposition group supported by the Progressive Labor Party, with supporters of Traffic Jam, a telephone caucus supported by the Revolutionary Union, tagging along most of the way. Overall, it was a dismal failure. At most, a hundred or so workers were pulled out of four or five of the smaller buildings in San Francisco for five days (which included a weekend). Ten workers were fired, all

members of militant opposition groups in the union.

The Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group based on a class-struggle program which is active in the Oakland and San Francisco locals of CWA (9415 and 9410), argued against the wildcat in favor of local-wide strikes and a struggle for a nationwide strike. MAC was the only group to present a militant alternative to Beirne's "national bargaining" hoax at the convention in June, an action which led to its physical exclusion by a bureaucratic goon squad.

MAC had been agitating for a strike since well before the contract deadline of July 18. Caucus members presented motions in both Oakland and San Francisco locals calling for a strike to begin with the expiration of the contract. Although the San Francisco meeting was attended by 400 angry workers, the WAM and Traffic Jam supporters present saw no need to speak in support of a strike or MAC's motion. One member of the "United Trade Unionists," an amalgam including WAM members and Democratic Party supporters, called for a one-day strike. Both this and the MAC motion were ruled out of order by Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick.

Following this, MAC initiated a petition campaign (supported, somewhat

reluctantly, by WAM and Traffic Jam) to call another meeting at which a strike could be discussed. Twice the necessary number of names was collected, yet Kirkpatrick refused to call the meeting. At this point WAM and Traffic Jam, despite their small size and weak base, thought they had the power and authority to call a strike. On August 8 they issued their first leaflet, entitled "This Contract Stinks, Let's Take a Walk," and signed by an ad hoc group—the Strike Organizing Committee—which no one had ever heard of. The leaflet announced a planning meeting to organize walkouts, which was attended by about 50 militants. According to PL's *Challenge* (29 August),

"PL members pointed out how 50 workers could initiate a wide-spread strike by pulling out areas in which we worked first, then massing these forces together to pull out other larger offices that weren't organized enough to do it themselves. We indicated that this tactic could enable us to grow from 50 to 100 to 1,000 fairly rapidly."

MAC spokesmen provided the only rational anti-bureaucratic opposition to this wishful thinking. The MAC position was based on sound experience. In 1971, a meeting of 500 workers in Local 9415 had demanded to continue the strike despite a national settlement, and the

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Chavez Finks on "Illegal" Mexican Farm Workers

Cesar Chavez' repeatedly demonstrated inability to defend the UFW from the many-pronged attack of California's growers has now become a question of blatant class treason and suicidal self-destruction for the union. Recently even the UFW's boycott campaign, not to mention strike activity, has taken second place to a campaign of pressuring the federal government to stop the flow of "illegal" farm workers, mainly from Mexico, into the country.

According to the 17 May *San Francisco Examiner* Chavez "said UFWU reports on the location of illegal immigrants given to federal agents in Fresno, Bakersfield, San Jose and Los Angeles have been ignored..." His accusation is that the Immigration Department is acting in collusion with agribusiness to smash the UFW and prevent the organization of farm labor by maintaining a reserve army of destitute labor to be used as scabs.

This of course is entirely true. The use of contract labor and "illegals" has been a primary weapon of the agribusiness corporations in preventing the organization of agricultural labor in the U.S. for decades. A good percentage of UFW members are themselves "undocumented" or have at some time been contract laborers.

Acting as if this were something new, Chavez has stepped into a trap set by the growers. His call for the immigration authorities—an arm of the bourgeois state—to enforce the laws of capitalist society in the interests of farm workers, or any workers, is infinitely absurd. Moreover, by calling for the enforcement of the racist U.S. immigration laws, Chavez is fostering the same practices of national chauvinism which have led the labor movement to systematically ignore the (predom-

inantly Latin) agricultural workers in the past. Worst of all, in appealing to *la migra* Chavez is now actively fingering workers to the cops!

The Watchword is Hypocrisy

Chavez' course toward this betrayal, as ignominious as Teamster union-busting, was the logical extension of his entire previous positions and orientation. Until March 1973 the UFW leadership favored passage of the Kennedy-Rodino Bill, which would have brought about increased discrimination and harassment of "illegal aliens."

The Spartacist League, unlike the entourage of uncritical fake lefts interminably hovering around Chavez, criticized this hypocritical capitulation to national chauvinism and has consistently fought for full citizenship rights for "foreign" workers and for international working-class solidarity, insisting on the necessity for union organization across international borders.

But, says *El Malcriado*, the UFW's official organ: "The position of the United Farm Workers of America is undaunted—the 'illegals' must either be granted full democratic rights, including the right to join a union of their own choosing, or they must go." This slimy statement contains two counterposed propositions, one for full democratic and union membership rights for immigrants, the other, that "they must go."

Relying on the Bosses' State

Chavez has chosen to struggle for the latter, supposedly in the name of "realism." In fact, however, armed self-defense of the picket lines and



Cesar Chavez

WV PHOTO

mobilization of the rest of the labor movement with hot-carguing of scab products and eventually a state-wide general strike in defense of the UFW—demands advocated by the SL—are infinitely more realistic possibilities.

As the SL has repeatedly pointed out, Chavez' strategy is to rely on bourgeois public opinion and the gov-

ernment to accomplish tasks which only the mobilization of the labor movement in united struggle can accomplish. The same courts and cops that provide and enforce injunctions for the growers, allowing them to murder farm workers with impunity, are called upon to intervene for justice in the labor movement.

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