

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

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Goncalves Capitulates—Rightist Generals Consolidate

Portugal Facing Bloodbath?

SEPTEMBER 8—For 16 months a pre-revolutionary situation has been churning in Portugal. Until a few weeks ago, at the major crisis points the political constellation of forces each time lurched to the left: 9 July 1974—rightist premier Palma Carlos dismissed; 28 September 1974—General Spínola ousted; 11 March 1975—reactionary coup frustrated. In December 1974 a proposed economic plan calls for integration of private industry; in April 1975 the banks are nationalized; in July 1975 the remaining major trusts are taken over. Workers commissions spread, vigilance committees appear, (“advisory”) democratic assemblies are instituted in the military units.

But revolutions have a certain rhythm and such a gradual leftward shift cannot continue forever. As the fundamental limits of capitalism are endangered, the reactionaries begin to mobilize, using every means at their disposal: economic boycott and sabotage, mobilizing petty-bourgeois and obscurantist elements against the workers, military conspiracy, imperialist threats. So it has been in Portugal also. And as the rightists stepped up their drive for a showdown the pendulum’s left swing slowed down and then appeared to stop in mid-air.

The ouster three days ago of General Vasco Goncalves from his post as premier may mark the beginning of a sharp swing back to the right. As has been typical of the complex maneuvering of the last six weeks of governmental crisis, the situation is still murky and the whole process was carried out in a deceptively peaceful manner. First, President General Francisco da Costa Gomes dismissed Goncalves as premier on August 29, but simultaneously nominated him as armed forces chief of staff (an equally or even more powerful position). After this met stiff resistance from top generals, Goncalves finally capitulated at a meeting of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) in Tancos on September 5.

This outcome, although it involved little more than some “lapel-pulling” at Tancos, was prepared by large anti-Communist demonstrations in July, the burning of scores of Communist Party (CP) offices and open threats of a putsch from the rightist commanders. And while the shift to the right is small (the new premier is ostensibly “non-aligned” and leftist officers still have considerable weight in the MFA’s highest body, the Supreme Revolutionary Council), it is clear that the anti-Communist generals have occupied important positions of strength in the last 10 days’ maneuvering.

The Portuguese workers must not be fooled by peaceful appearances. The intentions of the “moderate” officers were made clear by the “Document of the Nine” which focuses on the need to combat “the anarchy and populism which inevitably lead to the catastrophic dissolution of the state. . . .” The document and its authors’ actions have made clear that their aims can be accomplished, as we wrote in our last issue, only “by a far-reaching purge in the military, abolishing soldiers committees, eliminating the ‘advisory’ unit assemblies in the armed

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Boston-area police training for riot duty this month.

Boston Herald American

For a Labor and Black Mobilization to Defend the Buses!

Racist School Boycott in Boston

SEPTEMBER 8—As schools open this fall across the country, anti-busing forces are stepping up their national drive to obstruct school integration. The sharpest confrontation last week came at Louisville, Kentucky, where racist violence rocked the city for days. The democratic rights and even the very lives of black people are at stake in a half dozen major cities as court suits, school boycotts, mass marches and angry mobs seek to block court-ordered busing plans. But the focal point of the racist mobilization again promises to be Boston.

Only a massive show of force today barely contained the seething violence of the anti-busing movement as Boston

public schools opened their doors. Nearly 2,000 local and state police, backed up by federal agents, lined the streets and accompanied school buses bringing black children to many formerly all-white schools in the city. Another 600 National Guardsmen waited on call. South Boston High School, the scene of repeated mob violence last year, was cordoned off by police barricades for three blocks in all directions.

City-wide school attendance was less than sixty percent, and in key locations like South Boston, Roxbury and Charlestown High Schools it was less than thirty percent as the result of a white boycott. White lumpen youths from

housing projects in Charlestown attacked police with rocks and bottles, and one police cruiser was shot at. Later in the day the same gang vandalized several cars parked in a bus staging area, setting one on fire. They then surged into nearby Bunker Hill Community College where they assaulted a black student and broke his arm.

As was to be expected, the cops concentrated their repression against the supporters of busing. Of 80 people arrested today, 74 were members of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), a pro-busing group dominated by Progressive Labor Party (PL). They were

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Greetings to Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

The Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands hails the weekly *Workers Vanguard* as an important step forward in our international struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. The weekly will represent a powerful weapon for our tendency for the international regroupment of Trotskyist forces on the firm basis of the Transitional Program. In the last years *Workers Vanguard* has been an important instrument in the crystallization and education of our international political tendency, as well as for the struggle to forge the vanguard party of the working class in the U.S. The weekly means a qualitative leap in the capacity of the Spartacist League/U.S. to intervene with its correct political line in the struggles of the American proletariat and is a powerful boost to the international Spartacist tendency.

Opportunists, from the IC of Healy to the German Spartacusbund, have long seen the production of a "mass paper"—sacrificing Marxist clarity for "agitational" effect—as a necessary "stage" in the construction of the vanguard party. *Workers Vanguard* has been, in contrast, a Marxist newspaper in the best tradition of the political struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, a newspaper which is both a vital interventionist organ and a political educator. The weekly *WV* is a major step forward.

Best comradely greetings,
For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands
(Trotskyist League of Germany)
Section of the iSt

Dear comrades:

To produce a weekly newspaper is not easy, to produce a weekly *Workers Vanguard* is difficult indeed. The fact that you are able—without neglecting the other tasks which are posed for revolutionaries—to produce on a weekly basis the newspaper which has expressed our politics in the clearest and fullest manner means a powerful step forward in the struggle for the reforging of the Fourth International.

Forward in the struggle for the construction of the International Trotskyist League, forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International.

With communist greetings,

Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten
(Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists)
Sympathizing section of the iSt

Dear comrades,

We greet with enthusiasm the transformation of *Workers Vanguard* from a bi-weekly to a weekly.

We have no doubt that your decision will be important in strengthening the political struggle in Europe, as well as in consolidating the Spartacist League in the North American workers movement. The political and organizational determination needed to publish a weekly *Workers Vanguard*, together with the proposal to strengthen the international Spartacist tendency's journal *Spartacist*, expresses the SL/U.S.' determination to proceed forward in affirming the principles of Trotskyism.

For the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia
(Spartacist Nucleus of Italy)
Sympathizing section of the iSt

Greetings from Ligue Trotskyste de France. Passage from bi-weekly to weekly constitutes enormous step forward for SL and for international Spartacist tendency as well. Forward to rebirth of Fourth International.

Ligue Trotskyste de France
(Trotskyist League of France)
Sympathizing section of the iSt

Protectionism Divides the Working Class Call Off Anti-Soviet Grain Boycott!

The Meanyite bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO has once again become the vanguard of anti-communism in this country. A sign on the Houston docks supporting the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) boycott of grain exports to the Soviet Union reads: "No wheat to Russia. Let Commies starve. Give U.S.A. lower prices."

The Spartacist League categorically opposes the Meany/Gleason grain boycott both because we defend the Soviet Union (a bureaucratically degenerated workers state) against American imperialism and because we oppose all forms of U.S. nationalist economic protectionism, which set the workers of different

Soviet flagwaving, the flag being taken down if the price is right. During the early 1950's, the ILA refused to unload a shipment of Russian furs. This cold-war patriotism was quietly discontinued when \$65,000 was handed over to a union business agent.

George Meany's anti-Soviet stance is less venal, but therefore more serious than Gleason's. Just recently, the AFL-CIO president made a big show of hosting Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who called upon the West to launch a crusade against "godless communism" in order to restore in Russia the "good old days" of Tsar Peter the Great. However, even Meany's role in the grain



AFL-CIO chief George Meany and President Ford.

Walter Bennett

countries at one another's throats.

We oppose the grain boycott through a campaign *within* the labor movement, mobilizing the ranks against the Meany/Gleason misleaders. We do not call upon the capitalist government, courts and police to prevent implementation of the anti-communist policies of the union bureaucracy. We do not support the court order against the Houston ILA, because this sets a precedent for the future against international labor boycotts which we will advocate and support, such as against the Chilean junta.

Anti-Soviet Labor Fakers

The grain boycott is being pushed in the name of economic protectionism for the maritime industry, anti-communist jingoism and holding down food prices. The different parties involved in the boycott give very different weightings to these three proclaimed goals.

The ILA acting on behalf of the other maritime unions is simply interested in increasing the amount of grain carried in American-flag ships and increasing the rates charged by Soviet shipping in competition with the U.S. maritime industry. And it now appears that Brezhnev's government is willing to make concessions in the face of Teddy Gleason's blackmail.

The ILA has a long history of anti-

boycott is unalloyed hypocrisy.

In 1973 (the latest year for which figures are available), U.S. exports of machinery and transport equipment to the USSR totaled \$204 million (U.S. Department of Commerce, *U.S. Exports*, 1973). Most of these shipments received the usual government export subsidies and bank trade credits. Yet one does not hear a cheep out of Meany about "giveaways" to the Soviets when industrial, union-made exports are involved. Meany's anti-communist fanaticism becomes quite discreet when it conflicts with the vested interests of the Steelworkers, Machinists and Electricians; only when farmers are concerned does Meany's anti-Soviet consumerism know no bounds.

Blaming Higher Prices on the Kremlin

For years the AFL-CIO officialdom has waged a major campaign for import protectionism, which, if successful, would deprive American working people (as consumers) of the benefits of the international division of labor. The very same issue of the *AFL-CIO News* (August 16) which denounces grain sales to the USSR as the sole cause of all inflation opposes cutting tariffs, that is *lowering* the price of imports, until unemployment falls below five percent (i.e., most likely never, so

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Chile: Two Years of Junta Terror

September 11 marks the second anniversary of the coup d'état in Chile that overthrew the *Unidad Popular* (UP—Popular Unity) government of President Salvador Allende. This was no run-of-the-mill “banana republic”-style coup in which one petty despot replaces another with scarcely an iota of political change. An acute pre-revolutionary situation had ripened with the emergence of embryonic dual power formations as the leftist coalition was increasingly unable to contain a militant working class. Thus the central goal of the reactionary putschists was not merely the ouster of a shaky regime but the bloody annihilation of the organized workers movement. As put by Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, the most vociferous member of the junta, “we want to cancel the last fifty years of Chilean history.”

To accomplish this the generals and admirals unleashed a wave of terror on a scale never before experienced in Latin America. An orgy of indiscriminate murder during the first few weeks after the coup left more than 20,000 leftists, workers and peasants dead. Estimates of the number of political prisoners arrested, sent to concentration camps and (many of them) severely tortured range from 95,000, according to the Catholic Church, to 300,000 (a Radical Party figure). Today more than 5,000 remain in various jails and detention centers, while



Esquerda Socialista

Early 1975 photo of Bautista Van Schouwen hospitalized under detention in Valparaiso because of severe injuries received under torture.

an estimated 80,000 have gone into exile.

The arbitrary quality of the initial bloodbath was followed by increased selectivity. But the junta still continues its policy of periodically flooding workers' quarters and shantytowns with police and army units, rounding up all males, many of whom are hauled off for “further questioning” (i.e., torture). Although, in order to improve its public relations image, the government has made a show of willingness to send prisoners into exile, new political detentions in Santiago alone

run about 40 a week, according to the *New York Times* (25 May 1975).

The first pronouncements by the junta stated its determination to wipe out the “disease” of Marxism and “politics.” All leftist and workers parties were banned, and even the center-right Christian Democrats were declared to be “in recess.” The labor federation (CUT) was outlawed and many individual unions dissolved, to be replaced by corporatist *gremios* (yellow unions) with leaders trained by the CIA-backed American Institute of Free Labor Development. And these draconian measures took their toll. The Socialist Party was utterly destroyed due to its loose organization and heavy infiltration, while the Communist Party's infrastructure was badly damaged. In an immediate sense the junta and its imperialist backers had achieved their aims.

Astronomical Inflation and Mass Starvation

Just as the mass murders were a deliberate policy of General Augusto Pinochet's anti-communist regime, so too was reducing the vast majority of workers to a near-starvation level of existence. It hoped by this means to control the inflation which plagued Allende and to attract U.S. and European investments. The inflation, however, continued and even accelerated under the junta. For the year ending in August 1973 prices rose by 323 percent, the highest rate in Chile's history, yet in the first year after the coup the rate nearly doubled to 611 percent (according to the government's own statistics). Last year the rate dropped to “only” 355 percent but it is currently rising again due to severe shortages of goods. Many small and medium manufacturers of mass consumption items have been forced to fold because of lack of a market.

The price increases were concentrated in the basic necessities (again deliberately), which had been controlled under the UP regime. Thus the cost of powdered milk rose by 5,488 percent from September 1973 to June 1975 and bread, which stood at 11 escudos per kilogram at the time of the coup rose to 1,100 escudos this May. Unemployment presently stands at 15 to 20 percent, much of it accounted for by the systematic firing of all known leftists. It is not surprising, therefore, that the junta is universally hated among the working-class and poor population, to the point where the government was recently forced to arrest leaders of its own yellow “unions” who protested over provisions of a new labor law.

The severe depression and disruption of the Chilean economy has also led to a sharp drop of confidence in the regime from both domestic and foreign business interests. Despite extensive denationalization of industry, Chile's external financing has failed to improve. At a meeting last March, the “Club of Paris,” a cartel of imperialist banks controlling a large part of the foreign debt of Asian, African and Latin American countries, refused to substantially alter Chile's onerous schedule of repayments. And while the junta has begun paying off the U.S. conglomerates for the nationalized mines, income from copper sales has fallen by almost 50 percent in the last year (from \$1.8 billion to \$1 billion). Meanwhile, desperately sought new investment totals a paltry \$2 million (*New York Times*, 6 May).

Having prepared their moves in close coordination with the CIA, the *gorila* generals had expected an immediate avalanche of loans and aid from grateful imperialist backers after the coup. But while always ready to spread around a few million dollars in order to buy the overthrow of a hostile government, U.S. capitalists are still interested in the profit



The Chilean military junta looks on as goose-stepping troops pass in review.

picture, which in Chile is extremely bleak. Even right-wing coups are not always good business and today everyone from Chase Manhattan Bank to the Pentagon appears willing to see the present Chilean rulers replaced by a more “liberal” regime. The situation is so catastrophic, in fact, that the ultra-rightist General Leigh, a junta leader, recently announced his opposition to the government's deflationary policy which, he said, had caused “intense suffering to the more deprived classes of the country” (*Le Monde*, 26 August).

Recomposition of the Popular Front

The bonapartist military dictatorship has always lacked any sizeable social base of support outside of the officer corps. Although it initially enjoyed the approval of all the bourgeois parties and the Catholic Church hierarchy, this positive allegiance rapidly dissipated. For about the last 20 months all but the hard-line ultra-right have sought to put a certain distance between themselves and Pinochet, playing a game of semi-opposition.

Pinochet's provocations accelerated this trend, systematically driving away all moderate conservative elements. The demagogic populist-posturing defense minister after the September 1973 takeover, General Bonilla, was purged last year and then died in a March 1975 helicopter “accident.” And to show how little the government cared about support from the right-wing parties, Renán Fuentealba (leader, along with Bernardo Leighton, of a wing of the Christian Democratic Party) was barred from re-entering the country on the grounds that he had been “politicking” while abroad.

The utter failure of the free-market and heavily repressive “Brazilian-model” economic policy has pushed even sectors of the rightist National Party to publicly criticize the regime. With this “broad basis” for opposition the reformist workers parties have been reconstituting and expanding the class-collaborationist popular-front coalition which from 1970 to 1973 systematically paved the way for the bloody coup. By preaching reliance on the “constitutionalist” officers and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Residents of Santiago search for food in a garbage dump outside the city last year.

Ranks Fight Purge in ILWU Local 10

Bridges Power Play in S.F. Longshore Union

Local 10 President Suspended—Sues Union in Bosses' Courts

SAN FRANCISCO, September 4—Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has been thrown into a deep internal crisis growing out of a split in the union leadership over the issue of raiding in the recent strike by the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) and the Marine Firemen's Union (MFW) against the Pacific Far East Lines (PFEL).

During that strike the Local 10 executive board responded to an offer by PFEL owner and Bridges' pal John Alioto to "give" the longshoremen 50 to 75 container maintenance jobs traditionally handled by the SUP by passing a pro-raiding motion instructing the Local's officers to go out and get those jobs.

While Local 10 president Larry Wing had previously directed longshoremen to respect the SUP/MFW picket lines, he abstained on this motion. (The only executive board member to oppose the pro-raiding motion was Stan Gow, a supporter of the *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition newsletter in Local 10.) However, on July 31, a week after the pro-raiding motion was passed, Wing, to his credit, denounced the proposed deal and walked out of a meeting between the Local 10 leadership and the PFEL.

Wing several times made public his opposition to the raiding. In his July 31 "Longshore Bulletin" he correctly called the PFEL proposal "strikebreaking and raiding." And in another "Longshore Bulletin" dated August 14, discussing a meeting between the PFEL and the SUP/MFW over the issue of job assignments the PFEL had offered to the ILWU, Wing states:

"I assured them (the maritime unions) that Local 10 also was not interested in being used as a pawn by PFEL to raid another union's work and that we intended to continue to do the work we always have done at Pier 96."

Purge Attempt

As Wing is Local 10's president and therefore chief negotiator responsible for signing new contracts, his opposition to the raiding squelched the deal between Alioto and Bridges followers in the Local 10 leadership. In response, pro-raiding forces in the Local launched a petition drive to impeach Wing on the purposely vague charges of malfeasance and misfeasance in office. In so doing they hoped to get rid of Wing while at the same time avoiding a debate by the membership on the raiding issue.

Claiming that over 25 percent of the Local had signed the petition (the union constitution requires 15 percent), Bridges loyalists in the executive board, led by Vice President Watkins and Secretary-Treasurer Smith, moved to suspend Wing as president pending election of a trial committee at the next regular membership meeting. Wing, in turn, appealed to the membership at the August 21 Local meeting to uphold him in his ruling that the petition was unacceptable since it leveled no specific charges against him, and that therefore no trial committee could be elected.

Five times during the August 21

meeting the ranks voted to uphold Wing in his ruling, over the vociferous objections of Bridges loyalists. In doing so the membership showed excellent sense on two counts.

Firstly, Wing's opposition to raiding and scabbing was a principled act of basic union solidarity and not grounds for his removal from office. It is the pro-raiders—Smith, Watkins, Mosely and Co.—who are playing into the hands of the maritime bosses and their divide-and-rule schemes. Raiding by the ILWU in this instance could only open the door to bloody inter-union warfare on the waterfront. It could only mean worker against worker, not the workers against the bosses. The only winners would be Alioto and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) capitalists.

Secondly, to have accepted the proposition that there is a constitutional basis for suspending and trying Wing in the absence of specific charges would have committed the Local to a dangerous precedent. Any union officer on the outs with the Bridges machine could find himself suspended and facing a trial on charges of "malfeasance and misfeasance in office." And any unionist with a grain of militancy must of necessity be on the outs with a sellout artist like Bridges.

Wing Goes to Court

Wing rightly refused to recognize his suspension as valid. And when the executive board voted to remove him as chairman he protested by walking out with several of his supporters. (According to a *Longshore Militant* leaflet, he was also joined by Stan Gow, who walked out to express his solidarity with the decision of the membership on August 21 rejecting Wing's suspension. Gow indicated he has no intention of boycotting board meetings, however, as this would leave the Bridges forces unchecked.)

Wing also moved to circulate a petition bringing Secretary-Treasurer Carl Smith up on charges for proceeding to suspend Wing in the face of the August 21 union meeting. This ploy can only further obscure the air and contribute to the atmosphere of charge and countercharge that is tying the Local up while the PMA steps up its attacks on the union.

Worst of all is Wing's main strategy to get his job back—a court suit directed against the union. In filing such a suit Wing invites the capitalists into the internal affairs of the union. The courts, like the police, prisons and army, are part of the bourgeois state—they exist only to protect the property and interests of the capitalist class. Thus Wing leans on the self-same forces as Bridges, who puts his trust in his pals in the PMA and capitalist politicians to give longshoremen a "break." Wing, of course, claims his motivation in bringing the suit is above reproach. In the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" he says:

"...I have no other recourse but to petition the courts on behalf of Local 10 and myself in order to safeguard Local 10's property and bank accounts."

But Wing's suit, especially that part of it gleefully quoted by pro-Bridges Vice President Watkins shows a less-than-altruistic concern for "Local 10's property and bank accounts." It reads:

"That petitioner be reinstated as President of Local #10 and wherefore, Petitioner prays that damages be awarded in accordance with proof thereof; that Petitioner be awarded his costs of suit; and for such other and further relief as the court deems just and proper."

—"Longshore Bulletin," 4 September

By taking the union to court Wing has transformed his case from a legitimate struggle against arbitrary and disgusting action by the Bridges machine into an attack upon the ILWU. He is treading in the exact same footsteps as one Stan Weir, a longshoreman who turned a struggle against the Bridges bureaucracy's de-registration of B men into a court



Luis Carballar

ILWU Local 10 president Larry Wing.

suit against the union. Although Weir's suit has been dragging on for years, it is still active and threatens to cost the union hundreds of thousands of dollars, raising the potential of some kind of government intervention into the union. Wing's court suit should make it crystal clear that he is no alternative to Bridges and Co. It points to the urgent necessity to construct a principled opposition to the present ILWU misleadership.

Racial Tension

Among the most dangerous aspects of the current dispute in Local 10 is a sharp rise in racial tension among the membership. From the outset both Alioto and the pro-Bridges forces have portrayed the proposed raiding as part of a struggle against the job-trusting, lily-white policies of the SUP and MFW. We warn the black members of the ILWU—this "anti-racist" posture on the part of Alioto and the Bridges bureaucracy is pure cynicism. Alioto wants minority workers on his Pier only so he can continue to qualify for the federal government's capitalist gravy train. Where was John Alioto when his father, San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto, pulled the South African style "Operation Zebra" campaign last year? And where were Harry Bridges and his friends in Local 10 during Zebra? They had not one word of criticism for their "friend-of-labor" Joe Alioto! Bridges and Alioto hold out the prospect for 50 to 75 new jobs. But how many thousands of jobs has Bridges, in collaboration with the maritime bosses, frittered away over the last two decades?

The pro-Bridges forces have been aided in their game of whipping up racial hysteria by acts such as Wing's warm support to the recent San Francisco police strike. ILWU militants must demand that Wing repudiate this disgust-

ing show of solidarity with the direct oppressors of the workers and racial minorities.

For a Class-Struggle Alternative

The way to struggle against racism and for a decent life for ILWU members and all workers is not the way of the Wings and Bridges—not the way of court suits or collaborating with the capitalists, fomenting raiding or promoting racial hysteria. The way forward lies through an unrelenting fight to oust misleaders such as Bridges and Wing and replace them with a leadership committed to the struggle to put an end to capitalism and the racism it spawns, not just in words but in deeds.

The lessons of the current crisis in Local 10 were perhaps most clearly expressed in a leaflet distributed by ILWU militants Stan Gow and Howard Keylor:

"We need a leadership which doesn't stooge for PMA, Alioto and the Democratic Party. We need a leadership that also realizes the capitalist courts are no friend of labor; one that will not compromise with Bridges' class collaboration, accepting "lesser evil" two year contracts. The only way forward for the ILWU and the workers movement is through a program based on the absolute independence of the working class. The present union leadership opposes such a program and its stranglehold must be broken. Then, instead of hall men being pitted against stevedores and the ILWU against other unions in a mad scramble for jobs, we'll be able to launch an all out fight, economic and political, for jobs for all against the PMA, the shipping lines, and the government that protects their interests."

Longshoremen must demand an end to the bureaucratic wrangling in Local 10. Wing must drop his lawsuit against the union; Smith, Watkins and Co. must stop their drive to oust Wing in opposition to the expressed will of the membership. With the PMA becoming daily more aggressive in attacking working conditions and jobs, what is needed is *not* inter-union raiding and appeals to the bosses' courts to intervene in the unions, but rather a united struggle by all of maritime labor against the capitalist offensive. This requires a relentless struggle against the betrayals of *all* of the competing bureaucratic misleaders. ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The kidnapping and possible murder of James Hoffa have thrown a spotlight on the intimate connections between a section of the labor bureaucracy and organized crime in the U.S. The press is filled with references to Robert Kennedy's Senate investigation of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) in the late 1950's as well as stories of more recent mammoth rip-offs of the union pension funds. On Hoffa's whereabouts speculation abounds: some say he is in hiding, others claim he has become a victim of former gangster pals in a "business" deal. Many point the finger of suspicion at Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons, who holds down Hoffa's former job, which he has been scrambling to retrieve ever since being paroled from prison in 1971.

Although Fitzsimmons' underworld ties are not so well advertised by the media, it is he who has been the "god-child" of the mob ever since he took over the post of president. And Hoffa has been threatening to rock the boat. The precious cargo in the Teamster hold is an estimated \$1.5 billion in pension funds, one of the largest financial lending sources in the country. Hoffa was reported to be preparing to tell the government about gangland control and pension fraud in the Fitzsimmons regime. Concurrently, rumors were "leaked" that in return for such services a stipulation of his parole preventing the former Teamster chief from seeking union office might be lifted.

With so much at stake, the Hoffa-Fitzsimmons rivalry broke out into a state of virtual war in Detroit's IBT Local 299 during the last year. Among numerous incidents, the Local's pro-Hoffa president had his cabin cruiser blown up while Fitzsimmons' son (another official) had his Lincoln Continental destroyed by a bomb. According to the *New York Times* (10 August), "organizers and officers on both sides were slugged and shot at so often that all are now under orders never to go out alone."

After so much evidence of corruption and ties to mobsters, liberal commentators are continually amazed to find that many rank-and-file truck drivers still yearn for the "good old days" when "Jimmy" ran the union with an iron fist. What the big business press consciously avoids mentioning is the other side of the Hoffa myth, the image of a tough trade unionist. This reputation for militancy was both the result of and a contributing factor in the transformation of the Teamsters from a weak, regionally autonomous craft union into the largest (2.2 million members) and most powerful union in the U.S. today.

But "Jimmy the con man" and "Jimmy the tough trade unionist" are the same Hoffa, and his Janus-faced image is only an expression of the contradictions inherent in "pure-and-simple trade unionism." Its political vision limited to getting the best deal possible from the companies ("a bigger piece of the pie"), simple trade-union militancy is unable to challenge the capitalist system as a whole. It is powerless in the face of economic depression and, irrespective of the "good will" or "honesty" of various union reformers, inevitably gives rise to sweetheart deals with the bosses, violations of labor solidarity and the formation of a weighty bureaucratic apparatus to suppress rank-and-file discontent.

Trotskyists Brought Militant Industrial Unionism to the Teamsters

Hoffa got to be president of the Teamsters not simply because he had more muscle, slicker accountants and better connections with the mob. His "constituency" was over-the-road drivers and he organized them on industrial union lines. The rest of the organization is split up according to "craft" divisions, with bread truck drivers separate from beer truck drivers, milk truck drivers, bus drivers and every other conceivable subcategory, each with its own particular commission rates and different wage

structure. Hoffa's power came from the extension of the large general freight locals (with a single standard scale for hourly and per-mile wages) from their initial base in the Midwest to the South and Southwest, and eventually throughout the country.

Although Hoffa knew a thing or two about industrial unionism, he didn't introduce it to the Teamsters. He frankly admits that his knowledge of union organizing came straight from the Trotskyist leaders of Minneapolis' 1934 city-wide truck drivers' strike. Out of that strike emerged a powerful General Drivers Local 574 (later Teamsters Local 544 after IBT president Dan Tobin rescinded his expulsion of the militant local from the union) covering all crafts

"reds" out of the union. Eighteen SWP and Local 544 leaders were thrown in jail under the anti-communist Smith Act, while IBT officials were shipped in from other cities to pirate the Minneapolis local. Hoffa was the key hatchet man dispatched from Detroit for this purpose.

Hoffa the Business Unionist

Hoffa became the vice president of an expanded Central States Drivers Council (CSDC) in 1941 and was the major power in it by the end of the war. Using his base in the CSDC, he directed organizing in the southwestern and southern states, managing to unionize drivers in the Deep South at a time when few other occupations in the region were organized. When

ed in the drive. Once over-the-road drivers joined the union, they in turn became a key factor in signing up local cartage drivers and warehousemen.

The effectiveness of this technique was enhanced by the diffuse character of the trucking industry, where it was relatively easy to play one employer off against another. (As recently as 1960 the number of interstate for-hire carriers operating under ICC permits exceeded 17,000 and 80 percent of these had annual gross revenues of under \$200,000. Moreover, since very few operators have licences to operate over all trucking routes, they generally depend on other companies to forward freight to many destinations.) Most important, Hoffa understood how militant union tactics could be used to carve out a place *within* the capitalist system.

While Hoffa picked up industrial unionism and organizing methods from Dobbs, their goals were miles apart. Personal aggrandizement, not workers power, was Hoffa's aim. The SWP, in contrast, not only "thought ahead and planned," but integrated its union organizing into the broader struggle to lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalism. Thus the 1934 Minneapolis strike was directed by a democratically elected strike committee and mobilized not only truck drivers but also their wives and masses of the unemployed. Hoffa's organizing campaigns were invariably run bureaucratically, with minimal participation by the workers.

The "tough trade unionist" disavowed any intention of opposing the "free enterprise" system. As one company official put it:

"Hoffa knows the trucking industry better than probably 99% of the owners. He knows what he wants and he knows what he can get. That is why his demands are never out of line with what the industry can pay."

-quoted in B.J. Widick, *Labor Today*, 1957

This means that Hoffa's demands were actually much less than "what the industry can pay," and he often shoved sellout contracts down the throats of the membership. In Bay Area negotiations during 1961 Hoffa succeeded in eliminating the wage differential between northern and southern California drivers, at the expense of the better-paid northern California division.

The Government Goes After Hoffa

Hoffa's venality and corruption were legendary. His pension settlement alone was estimated at \$1.2 million. Among his business associates and the directors of various Teamster welfare and pension plans were characters with reputations ranging from shady to well-known underworld kingpins. He was also notorious for jurisdictional raiding against weaker unions, and IBT opposition to the AFL-CIO merger hinged on the Teamsters' unwillingness to sign no-raiding pacts with CIO unions. For purely commercial purposes Hoffa would even loan Teamster funds to companies whose employees were engaged in bitter strikes. As one of his followers said, "Jimmy is no angel."

Beginning in the late 1950's Hoffa became the object of a massive government vendetta, with five criminal proceedings in seven years, most of them braintrustered by Robert Kennedy, first as counsel to the McClellan Subcommittee and later as U.S. Attorney General. Finally the feds managed to convict him on two counts of jury tampering in March 1964. In order to get a conviction the FBI kept Hoffa under continual surveillance throughout the trial, illegally bugging conversations with his lawyers. The chief prosecution witness, Edward Partin, was an ex-Teamster official with a long criminal record. He had been facing indictment on 26 counts of misuse of union funds when he was employed by the government to entrap Hoffa. Later, in March 1971, Partin recanted his testimony in an affidavit submitted to the

The Hoffa Myth



UPI
Jimmy Hoffa with Robert Kennedy during 1958 Senate investigation of corruption in Teamsters Union.

not included in other charters. Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Minneapolis local and of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), took this principle of united working-class action against the capitalists and extended industrial unionism to inter-city trucking by initiating the North Central District Drivers Council (NCDDC) in 1937.

Hoffa got his start by organizing workers in a Detroit Kroger warehouse into Local 299. By 1937 he had risen to become "unofficial" head of the Local, and shortly afterwards he was assigned the Michigan district of the NCDDC. In that capacity he worked under Dobbs as the latter forced trucking bosses to sign the first area-wide contract in August 1938, covering 125,000 general freight drivers in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota and adjacent areas. Hoffa credits Dobbs as his teacher:

"I learned a great deal in those days, but I would have been a dunce not to have done so. I was studying at the knee of a master who understood all the intricacies of organizational work, fathomed the responses and reactions of employers, and comprehended the many problems of his union at home base. Instinctively Farrell Dobbs always thought ahead and planned accordingly."

-Donald Rogers and James Hoffa, *The Trials of Jimmy Hoffa*, 1970

But for all of Hoffa's talk about his teacher Farrell Dobbs, the business unionist and the revolutionary were profoundly separated during the course of the class struggle. When the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 opposed World War II as an imperialist war, Teamster chief Tobin joined President Roosevelt to drive

then-president Dave Beck met his downfall before the McClellan Senate subcommittee investigation of union racketeering in 1957, Hoffa was the ranking power in the Teamsters. Shortly thereafter he became union president.

From the Trotskyists Hoffa had learned organizing techniques which were instrumental in producing the area-wide master contract. Chief among them was the "secondary boycott" or "hot cargoing" of non-union cartage. Already-unionized drivers refused to handle freight for unorganized companies target-



UPI
Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons

Eleven Years of Spartacist Press

The Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD!

The appearance of the first weekly issue of *Workers Vanguard* marks an important step forward for the Spartacist League. The official decision to launch the weekly *WV* was taken at the recent plenum of the SL Central Committee, but political and organizational preparations for this leap had already been initiated in Political Bureau discussions beginning in the winter of 1974. The motivation for our determination to undertake a weekly press was stated in the main political resolution presented to the last National Conference of the SL:

"A weekly frequency would transform *WV* from an organ which mainly projects and immediately draws the lessons of the work of the SL but is not itself a rallying weapon, into an organ which initiates and leads the activity of our supporters. With a weekly press we would remain a propaganda group, but with the capacity for limited and exemplary agitation over selected campaigns and major political events."

—"Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League of the U.S.," 10 August 1974

With the transformation to a weekly, *Workers Vanguard* will thus increase the interventionist capacity of the SL. The expansion of available space will also allow for a greater variety of subject matter, while the rapid growth of the Spartacist tendency internationally places special requirements on *WV* to provide extensive international coverage and analysis. The achievement of a weekly represents a significant gain—indeed, a mere four years ago the SL had never had a regular press!—but this promising beginning will become a deformation if the weekly *WV* is unable to live up to the standards set for it by its predecessors. The weekly *WV* is intended to stand squarely in the tradition of the SL press, as a high-level heavily programmatic and polemical organ.

The occasion of the first weekly *WV* is an appropriate time to review the history of the SL press and to examine its basic guiding conceptions. Key aspects of press policy were outlined before the cadres who were to found the Spartacist League had a press or even an independent organization. Differing press conceptions were prefigured in a discussion in the spring of 1961 between two leaders of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the Socialist Workers Party: the now notorious Tim Wohlforth, then head of the RT, and James Robertson, currently National Chairman of the SL. The RT had to face the possibility of an early expulsion from the SWP, propelling the RT into independent organizational existence with extremely small forces. It was projected that hard choices would be necessary in the short run between crucial elements of organization. Robertson argued that the first functionary of an independent group should be a national secretary, while Wohlforth tended to favor an editor. This divergence over hypothetical allocation of resources implied conflicting priorities of programmatic cohesiveness vs. immediate public face. Wohlforth later made his "Potemkin Village" press policy manifest in the *Bulletin* of his Workers League: a garbage organ of fake-agitational character.

A further delineation of press perspectives emerged from a meeting of the New York Revolutionary Tendency on 13 November 1963. In the context of a discussion on "long-term perspectives," RT leader Shane Mage projected a mimeographed newsletter of somewhat abstract and non-factional cast, to be distributed only to

subscribers. Other RT supporters recognized Mage's liquidationist thrust, fully in keeping with his position that the application of democratic-centralist norms to the organization was premature. The intention which emerged from this debate was to aim for a bi-monthly printed newspaper of a more interventionist nature.

Although meager resources hampered the organization's ability to put this policy into practice on any regular basis, the first issue of *Spartacist* succinctly stated our conception:

"We intend our periodical to be a propagandist publication directed toward the same two aims which we have hitherto pursued exclusively within the confines of SWP member-

Left: *WV* spearheaded an international campaign to save Chilean MIR leaders Romero and Van Schouwen.

Right: Class struggle sharpens in Portugal. *WV* sent a special correspondent in summer 1974.



WV photo

ship. We want to influence such radical and leftward moving groups or sections as aspire to Marxist clarity and direction. We frankly state in advance that the purpose of our action is to further a revolutionary regroupment of forces within this country such that a Leninist vanguard party of the working class will emerge. Secondly, we want to win individual supporters for our viewpoint from among radical youth, militants in the civil rights struggle, and seek to create modest nuclei within key sections of the working class. Critical to our success will be the ability of our comrades to both be involved as revolutionists in the social struggles of our times and to undertake effective inquiry into the pressing theoretical and political issues posed for Marxists today."

—*Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

In the years that followed the formation of the Spartacist organization (the Spartacist League was founded in 1966), many articles of lasting value appeared in *Spartacist*. To note only a few, "Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965), an account of Castro's repression of the Posadistas based on a trip to Cuba by a Spartacist comrade in the summer

of 1964, was recognized as definitive by both the radical and the bourgeois press; "Centrism and the Fourth International" (1934) by Leon Trotsky was reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967; "Black Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967) incorporated the experience in struggle of Spartacist supporters in the black movement in both the North and South; "China: Popular Front" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970) forthrightly exposed the dangerous consequences of class collaboration at a time when virtually the entire ostensibly socialist movement was mindlessly enthralled over Allende. During these early years a high priority was also given to the production of the *Marxist Bulletin*, which provides the documentary record of our organization and history.

However the infrequency and irregularity of the press were a central weakness and a fetter upon the growth of the organization. On 16 October 1971 Robertson wrote to SL West Coast spokesman George White summarizing the difficulties surrounding the production of *Spartacist* and projecting bringing into national center a full-time editor. Although the proposal was implemented, the year 1968 saw no particular improvement in press frequency and concluded with a faction fight which virtually monopolized the cadres' resources of the SL.

But by early 1971 the organization had begun to grow rapidly and a regular press had become not only urgent but necessary but also evidently possible. A Political Bureau meeting on 28 April 1971 projected the transformation of *Workers' Action*, a trade union-centered publication produced on the West Coast, into the central organ of the SL as an 8-page monthly. Subsequent Political Bureau discussions centered on the prerequisites for making this leap, especially the strengthening of the national center. This perspective was summarized in the "Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the Spartacist League," drafted in August 1971 and adopted in September 1971 at the Central Committee plenum. The document summarized the great objective opportunities, both domestic and international, confronting the organization and noted that "...almost every aspect of struggle and motion has four compelling to intervene, and in a way qualitatively

variance with our self-designation as an unstable propaganda group. Since our intervention has been a vanguard nucleus while the reality of our forces has been a sub-propaganda group, in the past three years we have found ourselves functioning under great tension and have overextended...."

"As we have recognized from our inception, a regular frequent press is central to our existence as a propaganda group. Now that the SL also finds imposed upon us tasks of, and key elements in the capacity to be, the nucleus of the vanguard party, the inability to resolve our question would reduce us to a mockery...."

"The name *Workers Vanguard* is appropriate to the kind of paper we intend. From the vantage point of the vanguard is appropriate to treat the struggles of all of the oppressed and in a fully Marxist fashion, while centering on the struggle...."

—"Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the SL," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 1, Part III

The leap to a more regular and frequent press was seen as occurring concurrently with other central tasks, notably international expansion, increased industrial implementation, the founding of a national youth organization

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SPARTACIST

NUMBER 22 WINTER 1973-74 35 CENTS

The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

by Edmund Samarakody

The Editorial Board of Spartacist is proud to bring to our readers an important article making accessible to Trotskyists in the U.S. and internationally an analysis of the history and development of the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon. This understanding is crucial for the rebirth of Trotskyism in Ceylon. The Ceylon experience has profound lessons for our movement, especially in the undeveloped countries, in the struggle to build sections of an authentic Fourth International rooted in the working class.



Edmund Samarakody

The author, Edmund Samarakody, is uniquely qualified to comment on this experience. A veteran Trotskyist militant and currently spokesman for the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon, Comrade Samarakody was a founding leader of the Ceylon section of the Fourth International. His early experience dates back to trade-union organizing for the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in the years before World War II. During the war, Comrade Samarakody, along with other central leaders of the LSSP, was interned by the British and, following his escape, was involved in coordinating the activities of the illegalized LSSP. He then joined other leaders of the LSSP in temporary emigration to India—a crucial internationalizing experience for the Ceylonese Trotskyists—until the end of the war.

Comrade Samarakody's oppositional history begins in 1957, when he and other left militants in the LSSP resisted the LSSP's accommodation to the bourgeois nationalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). Particularly crucial in understanding the development of the international Trotskyist movement is the

USec Covers Up Tampoe Scandal... 25
Letter to the OCRFI and the OCI... 32

SPARTACIST exposed United Secretariat cover-up of its corrupt Ceylon section.

the systematic pursuit of opportunities for work among blacks.

The first issue of the 8-page monthly *Workers Vanguard* appeared in October 1971. From April to November 1972 *WV* oscillated in length between 8 and 16 pages; it was stabilized as a 12-page monthly in December. The first bi-weekly issue appeared on 27 April 1973 and was 8 pages long. Immediately thereafter *WV* became a 12-page bi-weekly.

The weekly *WV* is the main organ of the Spartacist League/U.S., supplemented by a variety of other



WV photo

publications which extend the scope and audience of the SL press. The Spartacus Youth League, disciplined youth section of the SL, produces its own monthly paper, *Young Spartacus*. *Women and Revolution*, edited by the SL Women's Commission, appears three times per year. *Spartacist* has subsequently become the organ of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), edited under the direction of the iSt's Interim Secretariat, and is now issued irregularly in English, French, German and Italian. In the Spanish-language key documents of the iSt have been published in the format of *Cuadernos Marxistas*. English-language *Spartacist* is now intended to center on international and documentary materials.

The SL press has come a long way in recent years. The inauguration of the weekly *Workers Vanguard* represents an enormous increase in the impact of our program. Yet this moment, which is of great satisfaction for all SL supporters, was prefigured by all the earlier struggles of a fighting propaganda group striving to become the vanguard party of the proletariat. In taking this step we are merely seeking to fulfill the role projected in the first issue of *Spartacist* almost a dozen years ago.

SPARTACIST

édition française numéro 2 1973 16 mai 1973 3,00 F.

Purge à la LCR pour délit d'opinion

Pour la première fois depuis la formation de la Ligue Communiste en 1969, la section française du Secrétariat Unifié (SU) - la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) - a exclu un membre de son Comité Central pour ses opinions politiques. C'est un fait sans précédent dans l'histoire de la LCR. En conséquence, le SU a décidé de publier un numéro spécial consacré à ce délit d'opinion.

SPARTACIST

edizione italiana numero 7 settembre 1973 1,20 L. 500

Dichiarazione per organizzare una tendenza trotskista internazionale

1. La Spartacist League di Australia e Nuova Zelanda e la Spartacist League degli Stati Uniti dichiarano di costituire il nucleo per la cristallizzazione di una tendenza trotskista internazionale basata sulla Dichiarazione di Principi del 1966, e consacrata alla rinascita della IVa Internazionale.

2. In mezza dozzina di paesi esistono partiti, gruppi e comitati, mentre in altri paesi vi sono compagni sparsi, che hanno espresso su un piano generale o specifico la loro simpatia o il loro appoggio alla tendenza Spartacist internazionale. Fra questi gruppi e singoli, in Europa come in Asia, si trovano compagni con più anni e persino decine d'anni d'esperienza quali quadri nel movimento trotskista.

3. Per aver espresso opinioni d'opposizione all'interno del "Segretariato Unificato", i rappresentanti della Tendenza Rivoluzionaria Internazionaleista, un piccolo

Dichiarazione di principi della Spartacist League

Spartacist publications program now encompasses five languages.

SPARTACIST

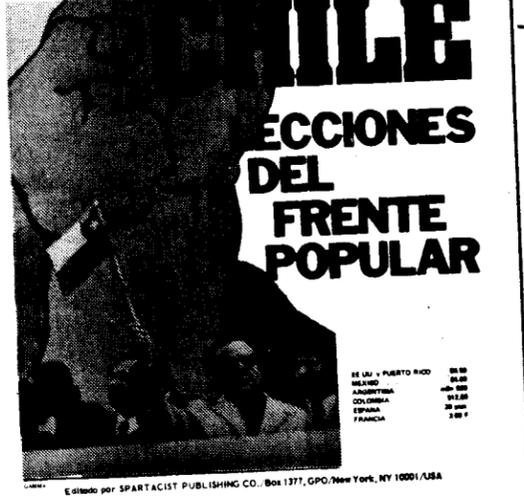
Deutsche Ausgabe Nr. 3 - März 1973 DM 1,- 85 F.

Die SWP und die Vierte Internationale, 1946-64: Ursprünge des Pabloismus

Die amerikanische Sozialistische Workers Party und die europäische Arbeiterbewegung sind im Verborgenen von den unterrevolutionären Parteien des Revisionismus, des Reformismus und des Sozialismus, die sich als Arbeiterbewegung darstellen, in den USA und in Europa, in den Jahren 1946-64, in der Theorie und in der Praxis, entstanden. Die SWP und die Vierte Internationale, 1946-64, sind die Ursprünge des Pabloismus. Die SWP und die Vierte Internationale, 1946-64, sind die Ursprünge des Pabloismus. Die SWP und die Vierte Internationale, 1946-64, sind die Ursprünge des Pabloismus.

Cuadernos Marxistas

Documentos de la Spartacist League/EE.UU. No. 3



Young Spartacus

Number 20 November 1974 25 cents

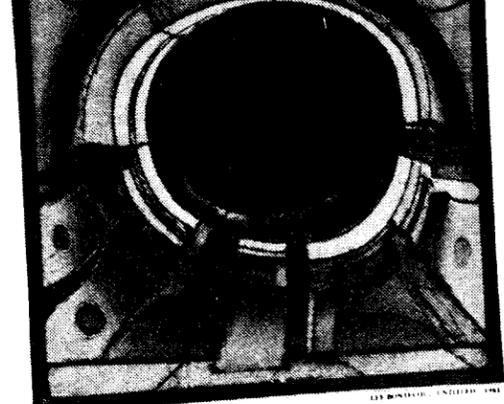
Stop Racist Terror in Boston!

Implement and Extend the Busing Plan!
Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense!

RU Calls for Smashing Busing CP, SWP Demand Federal Troops

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League



"Women, Culture and Class Consciousness" (W&R No. 7) received "fan mail" for months.

Women, Culture and Class Society...2
The Woman Question and Revolutionary Marxism...10
Women in Castro's Cuba...15
CLUW: Dead End for Working Women...24

(continued from page 3)

Kissinger's Sinai Pact: Imperialist Fist

SEPTEMBER 7—No matter how token or sordid are the diplomatic maneuvers of U.S. imperialism, they are invariably presented with elaborate bombastic fanfare. And so it was with the "Sinai Pact," initialed by Egypt and Israel on September 1 and officially signed three days later. President Ford praised the pact as not only "a great achievement" but as "one of the most historic certainly of this decade and perhaps of this century" (*New York Times*, 2 September).

The U.S. president chose to remain silent on whether this "great achievement" was greater and more historic, or will prove to be more permanent, than all the other "understandings" (both public and secret), ceasefires, truces and armistices that have failed to end the permanent state of war existing between Israel and the surrounding Arab states since the inception of the Zionist state in 1948. These "agreements" now lie broken and abandoned, like the destroyed tanks and planes that cover the Sinai sands, tombstones to the meagre results of a quarter century of "shuttle diplomacy."

U.S. Imperialism and Israel

Various "Third Worldists" contend that Israel is simply a direct military-garrison extension of American imperialism in the Near East, that its expansion everywhere and under any conditions is supported by the U.S. However, after both the 1956 and 1967 wars which resulted in Israeli occupations of the Sinai, the U.S. has called for Israeli withdrawal from the peninsula. In 1956 Eisenhower put direct economic and political pressure on Israel, threatening to cut off U.S. Zionist aid and German reparations and thereby forcing a rapid retreat by this "schnorring" (Yiddish for begging) state. Likewise, following the June 1967 war in which Israel occupied the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Sinai, the U.S. formally supported UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 demanding "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories of recent conflict."

There is no question that American imperialism is committed to the continued existence of the Zionist state in the Near East. Israel serves as a bastion of anti-communism, as a lightning rod to deflect the hatred of the dispossessed Arab masses away from their ruling classes, and to do certain dirty work for imperialism such as building CENTO air bases in Turkey, training paratroopers in Uganda (including General Idi Amin) and the Iranian secret police.

But the principal interest of U.S. imperialism in the Near East is control of and access to "safe and secure" sources of oil, which in turn is dependent upon maintaining "political stability" in a region ruled by reactionary capitalist elites, whether they be the Saudi royal family or Ba'athist colonels. As long as Israel contributes to this "political stability," Washington is quite willing to provide a plethora of weapons to the Tel Aviv generals. In the extreme, it is prepared to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust in order to preserve Israel, as demonstrated by Nixon's "Condition 3" alert of all U.S. forces in the 1973 October War.

But the U.S. also realizes that if Israel is too successful militarily, if the defeats it inflicts on surrounding Arab states are too decisive and humiliating, then this

also will upset the fragile stability of these regimes. The State Department has not forgotten that Israeli military successes in the 1948-49 war were rapidly followed by a military coup in Syria, mass uprisings in Iraq, the assassination of Transjordan's King Abdullah, the overthrow of King Farouk and ousting of the British from Egypt.

Therefore, U.S. imperialism has always imposed certain limitations on Zionist expansionism, including insisting on a buffer zone between Egypt and Israel in the Sinai and a well-armed Jordan. Thus the recent pact is tied to the Ford administration's attempt to sell King Hussein \$240 million worth of Hawk anti-aircraft missile batteries, knowing full well that it was a lack of just such air cover which kept Jordan from participating fully in the October War. No doubt the Sinai pact was also a reward to Egyptian President Sadat for throwing out 6,000 Russian advisors in 1972 and opening up Egypt to foreign capital investment.

What's in the Sinai Pact?

According to the *Wall Street Journal* (2 September), an Israeli official is said to have quipped about the Sinai pact that "Israel gives, Egypt gets, and the U.S. pays for it." In particular, Egypt is given back a thin corridor along the Gulf of Suez which includes the Abu Rudeis oil fields and Egyptian troops in the "limited force zone" on the east bank of the Suez Canal are permitted to advance eight miles further eastward. Israeli troops must withdraw from the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes, which now become part of the UN "buffer zone" patrolled by the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF).

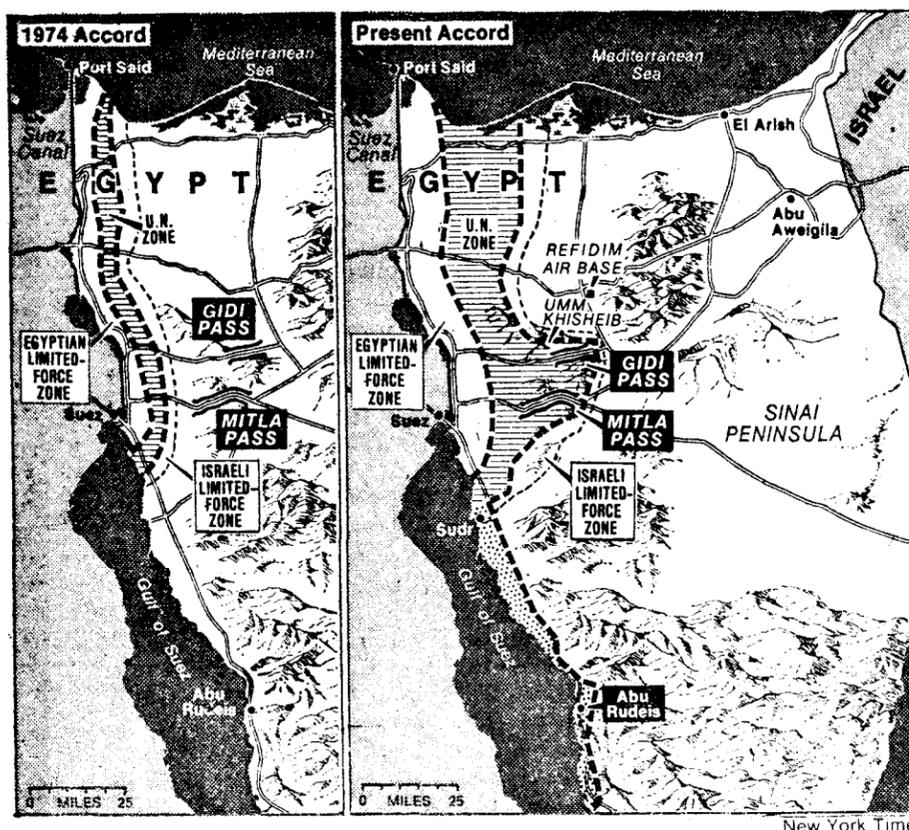
In return, Egypt publicly agrees to refrain from a naval blockade against Israel's access to the Red Sea from the Gulf of Aqaba, a blockade which Egypt had in practice already ended, and to permit non-military cargoes on non-

Israeli ships to pass to and from Israel through the Suez Canal. Further, Sadat agreed to renew the presence of the UNEF annually for two or three years. However, a similar UNEF set up after the 1956 war was simply swept aside by Nasser in May 1967 in preparation for the June War, and a UNEF presence can be vetoed at any time by any of the five members of the UN Security Council (including the Soviet Union and China). But (Maoists please note) up to now China has cooperated with the Near East machinations of the "superpowers" by not vetoing the UNEF.

The U.S. will pay Israel for this agreement a promised \$350 million annual compensation for the loss of Abu Rudeis—which Israel earlier stole from Egypt—thus proving that at least some crimes pay. In addition the U.S. has promised approximately \$2.5 billion in military aid and loans, including its most advanced fighter-bomber, the F-15, and advanced electronic surveillance systems developed by the U.S. for Vietnam. An open question is whether the Pentagon will sell Israel the Lance surface-to-surface guided missile, which because of its accuracy and expense would only be desired for launching nuclear weapons. In addition, Washington will probably supplement the oil sheikdoms' subsidies to Egypt with a few hundred million dollars in aid, including (if shuttle-weary Kissinger keeps to a prior promise) nuclear power plants for both Egypt and Israel.

Another U.S. "payment" for the Sinai pact is even more ominous: the direct involvement of American "technicians" in manning early-warning and surveillance outposts in the UN buffer zone. These "technicians" will formally be civilians, but in fact they will inevitably be ex-military officers now employed with the Central Intelligence and National Security Agencies who have the necessary experience to operate such equipment.

continued on page 9



New accord allows Egyptian forces to advance to eastern edge of old UN zone set up in 1974 and recover oil fields at Abu Rudeis in the far south. Israelis are to withdraw from Gidi and Mitla Passes, and U.S. is to control early warning systems in them.

alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. Allende lulled the vigilance of the working class and blocked the road to the formation of an authentic workers and peasants government, based on democratic soviets, which would destroy the bourgeois state. Instead the UP coalition formally pledged to work within the limits of the constitution, to suppress workers militias and not to interfere with the armed forces. In an effort to buy off the commanders, Allende even increased the military budget by more than 60 percent over previous years!

The Popular Unity coalition in power was unable to win any more substantial bourgeois forces than the small Radical Party and marginal left-Christian Democratic formations (initially the MAPU and later the Christian Left). Particularly during the last month of the UP, Allende repeatedly sought to entice the Christian Democrats (CDP) into the government. It is the absence of the CDP in the government which the reformist Communist Party (CP) has always pointed to as the main factor leading to the coup. The Stalinists have succeeded in convincing the other parties of the popular front in exile—the "coalition of Rome"—of this line.

Moreover, sectors of the Christian Democrats have recently given hints that they might be willing to go along with an expanded coalition. Leighton has reportedly attended at least one conference with former leaders of the UP, and at a conference in Venezuela this summer individuals representing the Leighton Fuentelba wing of the CDP signed a joint statement with the Radical and Socialist parties (*Washington Post*, 18 July).

It is appropriate that this latter meeting was sponsored by the German Social Democrats' "Friends of Friedrich Ebert Foundation," as Ebert (German chancellor after the overthrow of the Kaiser) was one of the main traitors responsible for drowning the 1918-1919 German revolution in the workers' blood.

While for now the "center" CDP leaders are unwilling to go beyond flirtations with the Rome coalition, there is no doubt that in the event of an insurrectionary overthrow of the junta they would (as happened in Italy and France in the wake of the German defeat in 1945) rush to join a government of "national salvation" with the CP and anyone else. *Its purpose would be to halt the revolution, to disarm the workers, crush all incipient organs of dual power and preserve the bourgeois state.* The Stalinists and social democrats are well aware of this, and it is precisely to be the guarantor of capitalism that they appeal to the liberal bourgeoisie to form a "broad anti-fascist alliance."

MIR Collapse

Of all the leftist groups, the Castroist Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) best weathered the tremendous repression immediately following the coup. However, beginning with the murder of its main leader, Miguel Enriquez, last October 5, the MIR has suffered extremely heavy casualties to the point where its existence as a functioning movement is in doubt. By all accounts, approximately 20 of its top cadre have been killed and twice that number are in jail, amounting to most of its central committee. One member of the MIR's political commission, Humberto Sottomayor, was expelled from the MIR for seeking asylum in the Italian embassy and two others, Bautista Van Schouwen and José Bordas, are held by the junta. (Van Schouwen is paralyzed as a result of severe injuries received under torture and is presently being held at the Valparaiso Military Hospital.)

The MIR is also in a shambles politically, reportedly with numerous internal factional differences, as a result of a sharp right turn since the coup.

Lacking a coherent Marxist program, the organization has shifted erratically with every major political event. At first seeking to replicate Castro's march into Havana at the head of a peasant guerrilla army, it called for a "bullets-not-ballots" abstention in the 1970 elections. Seeing Allende's popularity, however, the MIR did an about-face, giving "critical support" to the "compañero presidente" from 1970 to 1973, and even provided his personal bodyguard.

But while it once talked of the choice between "socialism or fascism," beginning in late 1973 the MIR again switched gears and now calls for a bigger and better popular front, in effect posing *bourgeois democracy* as the alternative to the junta. While it has joined the "Committee of the Chilean Left Outside Chile" (the Rome coalition) and signed a February statement with the parties of the former UP calling for a political bloc of "all anti-fascists," the MIR has sought to pose to the left of the CP by denouncing the latter's aim of uniting with the *entire* CDP, including former President Eduardo Frei who was obviously involved in preparations for the coup.

Instead, the MIR appeals only to "all the left parties and the sectors representing the democratic petty bourgeoisie of the Christian Democratic Party" to form "a broad resistance front against the dictatorship" (interview with Andrés Pascal Allende, Miguel Enriquez' successor, in the MIR's *Correo de la Resistencia*, March 1975). This distinction is entirely phony. What the MIR calls the petty-bourgeois democratic sector of the CDP, or those who had, "before the coup declared their opposition to such a move" (*Rouge*, 6 April 1974), is the Leighton/Fuentealba wing. But in late August 1973, in one of the major moves preparing the coup, the *entire* CDP congressional delegation voted for a National Party resolution denouncing the UP government as acting outside the bounds of legality. Just as does the reformist Communist Party, the MIR favors unity with the class enemy, including with those directly implicated in preparing the massacre of tens of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants!

What Unity?

Recent reports from Chile speak of increasingly open expressions of mass discontent. This May a wave of spontaneous, short strikes swept the country and in August, after the junta announced the firing of 16,000 miners and 8,000 "superfluous" railroad workers, *Reuters* reported a wave of protest. There are also reports of various kinds of clandestine resistance formations among the working class.

As the generals' grip weakens it can be expected that more and more outbursts of popular anger will take place, and as the possibilities of such actions increase, the tactic of the united front will be of great importance. In organizing a strike or a clandestine workers commission, it is obviously vital to achieve united action

with Stalinists, social democrats and even Christian Democratic unionists. But particularly under clandestine conditions, where questions of security are paramount, tactical united fronts with reformist misleaders who are the most bitter strategic enemies of the revolutionary communists can only be episodic and limited.

The main task of Chilean revolutionaries at this time continues to be the struggle to draw the lessons of the popular-front disaster, steeling the workers with the program of working-class independence and thereby preparing the political destruction of the treacherous CP, SP and MIR, who with their class-collaborationist policies paved the way for the coup and would in the future short-circuit a proletarian uprising if they got the chance. The struggle to build an independent Trotskyist party, as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, must be the axis of the action of those who would preserve the Chilean workers and peasants from a repeat performance of September 1973. ■

Sinai...

(continued from page 8)

Needless to say, "protection" of such "U.S. civilians" has often been the pretext for full-scale U.S. military invasion. Even a leading bourgeois politician like Senate majority leader Mansfield has reacted to U.S. involvement in the Sinai with the statement, "One Vietnam is one too many," and Pentagon hawk Senator Jackson (a strident pro-Zionist) is opposed to the "civilian" commitment.

In the meantime, Israel will continue even under the "most historic" Sinai pact to occupy the West Bank, Golan Heights, Gaza strip and 85 percent of the Sinai. The Palestinians are still deprived of their right to self-determination. And all the state powers in the region are busily squandering their resources on building up arsenals for the next war, which may involve nuclear weapons and in which the chance for "superpower" involvement has been heightened by this very Sinai pact.

Israel out of the occupied territories!

No U.S. presence in the Sinai!

No U.S. aid to Israel or Jordan!

For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew nations—For a bi-national workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

CORRECTION

A statistical error appeared in "SL/U.S. Summer Camp Marks International Growth, Prepares for Weekly *Workers Vanguard*" (*WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975). The article stated that some 72 percent of those attending the plenum of the SL Central Committee had been members of ostensibly revolutionary organizations before joining the SL. The figure should have read "52 percent."

Miners...

(continued from page 12)

coal trusts to break a strike. Fuming over Miller's strong denunciations of the strike and his incessant orders to return to the pits, miners here are particularly incensed that UMW lawyers have often refused to represent miners in court for "illegal" picketing. In one such hearing, August 26 in Charleston, Judge K. K. Hall found five men in contempt of court, and fined each \$500—payable to the Amherst Coal Company! Though miners filled the chambers during these kangaroo court proceedings, union lawyers were nowhere in sight.

Miller has sent telegrams to officials in the wildcatting areas instructing local leaders to identify UMWers on picket lines. This outrageous company-finking has caused signs and chants of "Miller is a scab!" to mushroom in miners' rallies throughout the striking areas. At Drawdy Falls Roadside Park, a traditional meeting place during wildcats, 2,500 miners rallied for three hours on August 24, despite intermittent rain storms, to shout their disapproval of Miller. A march was also held the following day in Charleston when 400 miners protested the injunctions and jailing of Howze.

Beginning at the Quarrier Street Federal Building—headquarters for the hated Judge Hall—miners chanted "Arnold Miller—You can't sell us out," "No work—No coal," "Stop the injunctions," and "We demand the right to strike." After forcing the closing of UMW's District 17 headquarters, solidarizing with postal workers' informational pickets at the Charleston P.O. and jeering outside the Kanawha Coal Operator Association offices, the miners were set upon by local police, who had several times earlier tried to block their path with patrol cars. While the cops had backed down earlier to chants of "Move 'em or we'll overturn 'em!" this time they blocked Capitol Street and, after a heated exchange, seized the keys from the marchers' soundtrack. Miners and cops clashed with nightsticks and fists as the miners chanted "Get the keys, get the keys." The miners got the keys and marched back to the Federal Building for speeches, leaving at least one guardian of the law sprawled on the sidewalk.

With this demonstrated widespread militancy, a group centered in District 29—the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike—has played a prominent public role. Originating in the 1974 contract fight, the Right to Strike Committee described itself in a letter published in the November 1974 issue of the Maoist Revolutionary Union's *Revolution*: "The Right to Strike Committee is a group of rank-and-file coal miners united to organize and fight for a STRONG CONTRACT which includes the RIGHT-TO-STRIKE written clearly into the grievance procedure" [emphasis in original].

Unofficial strikes are highly vulnerable to sabotage by the union bureaucracy and are often adventurist. However, in this case the powerful tradition among miners of refusing to cross a picket line and the massive wave of militant anger caused by the jailings and court injunctions, with

the additional factor that the job action was launched by local union officials, created conditions for a wildcat coal strike that would not simply be a rout and had possibilities of real success. The Right to Strike Committee correctly sought to broaden the strike demands and a current Committee leaflet rightly calls for an end to injunctions, reopening of the contract to include the right to strike, and amnesty for all individuals, locals and the UMW as a whole from court penalties.

But the group has apparently decided to restrict itself to these popular issues. This is at the expense of waging the necessary political battle for a class-struggle program that alone can free miners from the grip of Miller and all stripes of impotent reformism. Despite its obvious aspiration for union leadership, the Right to Strike Committee currently has a program *more limited* than was Miller's in 1972, and should logically dissolve if the right to strike is won!

While the Committee desires to "keep the judges and government out of our union" (quoted in *Revolution*, December 1974) its leaders apparently do not see that even "critical support" to Miller's election (which was the Revolutionary Union's position) was an invitation to government intervention. While of course opposing the gangster Boyle, the Spartacist League refused to support the "reformer" Miller's election precisely because his reliance on Labor Department intervention spelled a grave threat to the independence of the union from the bosses and their state. We countered to the Boyle vs. Miller dead end the perspective of building a class-struggle opposition, which would fight not only for the right to strike but also for strikes to unionize the 30 percent of bituminous coal fields still unorganized, for full cost-of-living protection, a shorter workweek with no pay loss to make jobs for all, expropriation without compensation of the energy monopolies that own the mines and labor's political independence through the formation of a workers party and a workers government.

The Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike is not such an opposition. Not only has it failed to raise such a full class-struggle program, but it shuns crucial social issues right under its nose: the anti-abortion, anti-busing and notorious anti-"dirty school book" movements being led by local reactionaries and the Ku Klux Klan. Anxious to insure a monopoly for its narrow brand of simple trade unionism, the Committee is not above abusing elementary norms of workers democracy. At the Charleston rally a District 17 miner distributing a leaflet advertising a Kanawha Valley Association rally against racism was told by Committee members he would be "trashed" if he continued his leafletting.

Forging the necessary class-struggle leadership for the UMW will surely not be an easy task. A miner who announced at a recent rally in the southernmost tip of West Virginia that he was a member of a communist organization was nearly lynched for his declaration. Yet the militant miners have already experienced the bankruptcy of reformism: sacrificed at the coal companies' altar by Boyle, they are now betrayed by Miller. Both today's wildcat and tomorrow's inevitable battles require the creation of a class-struggle leadership. This is the prerequisite to fulfilling the aspirations expressed by a young Boone County miner, who was speaking for thousands of disgruntled miners, "We're not quitting, we're going all the way!"

Victory to the miners' strike! Drop all charges, fines, sentences, subpoenas and injunctions against miners and their union!

Re-open the contract to include the right to strike, full cost-of-living escalator clause and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to create jobs for all!

Oust Miller and all the bureaucrats—For a class-struggle leadership in the unions! Break with the Republicans and Democrats—Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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Grain Boycott...

(continued from page 2)

long as capitalist rule is maintained).

That the Ford administration is opposing the Meany/Gleason boycott should lead no one to believe it is soft on Brezhnev's Russia. Ford's old-fashioned cold-war, rocket-rattling speech to the American Legion in Minneapolis should dispel any such illusions.

At present the USSR is the only country which is the target of export controls on food. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz claims this is because the Russians make very large, unexpected orders. In reality, the export controls are an instrument of economic blackmail, to be relaxed or tightened depending on the state of "détente." In the past few years, the Brezhnev regime has invested heavily in livestock cattle and a serious feed grain shortage would require extensive, premature slaughtering with substantial economic loss. It is in the rational interest of U.S. imperialism to maintain the Soviet Union at a certain level of agricultural import dependency. Thus in the grain boycott, as in many other instances, Meany's crude know-nothing anti-communism conflicts with the longer-term strategy of the Metternich of American imperialism, Henry Kissinger.

Much of the outcry about higher prices stems from the widespread belief that the sale of 19 million tons of grain to the USSR in 1972 triggered the food price explosion that year. In reality, the Soviet grain purchases fed into a situation that would have led to rapid food price increases in any case. In 1971 and again in early 1972 the U.S. dollar was devalued, there was a sharp economic boom in all the advanced capitalist countries while global food output actually fell. During 1972-73 U.S. agricultural exports to West Europe and Japan greatly exceeded shipments to the USSR.

The present situation is very different from 1972. The U.S. will have a record grain harvest with output two to three times domestic consumption. To date, Soviet purchases amount to only 12 percent of wheat and corn exports, Japanese purchases being significantly greater (*New York Times*, 24 August). Some experts contend that the harvest is so ample that exports to the USSR need have little effect on price. Thomas A. Hieronymus, food economist from the University of Illinois, suggests that the U.S. could easily increase its exports by 25 percent and asserts, "there may be more corn available for export than the Soviets have money to buy" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 August).

The phony exactitude of Secretary Butz's statement that Soviet grain purchases will cause food prices to rise by 1.5 percent is based on several shaky assumptions. To begin with, Butz assumes that if Russia did not purchase 9.8 million tons of grain, total demand would be that much less. However, if excluded from the U.S. market, the USSR would certainly expand its purchases in Australia, Argentina and other grain-exporting countries. Increased Soviet purchases abroad would deflect non-Russian customers into the U.S. markets. Thus the net effect of shutting off American grain sales to the Soviet Union would be increased export demand from non-Russian customers.

Alternatively, the Soviet government is quite capable of buying through third countries. There is now speculation that Japan is buying for transshipment to the USSR.

Calculations about the effect of increased exports on domestic prices are shortsighted, taking into account only this year's harvest. A member of the Agricultural Council of America interviewed by *WV* argued that preventing grain exports to the Soviet Union would be financially "disastrous" for farmers, leading to a severe cutback in acreage sown in 1976. Thus the longer-term effect of export restrictions may well be a supply shortage and higher grain prices.

In any case it is well known that the overwhelming proportion of food prices is accounted for by the middleman and not the farmer. The farm-gate price of wheat accounts for only about 10 percent of the supermarket price of bread. And from November 1974 until May 1975 (before the latest Soviet grain deal), wheat prices fell from \$4.87 to \$3.47 a bushel, while in the same period the wholesale price of bread rose from 32.5 cents to 35.6 cents a pound loaf (U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Prices*, May 1975)!

Ninety percent of grain export trade is monopolized by just five companies, which could give the CIA and Mafia a lesson in shady operations, including product adulteration, price fixing and short weighing. Four of the five are not even public corporations and so are not legally obliged to disclose any financial data at all. If the AFL-CIO bureaucracy were seriously committed to holding down food prices, which it certainly is not, it could begin by demanding that Continental, Bunge and the rest of the grain-dealer cartel be nationalized without compensation.

But assuming, as is likely, that the contracted grain sales to the Soviets do raise food prices somewhat, it still does not follow that the overall impact of these exports will be inflationary. The Soviet Union is buying hundreds of millions of dollars worth of U.S. commodities. The increased demand for dollars in the foreign exchange market increases the value of the dollar relative to all other currencies, thus *cheapening* the price of all imported items.

Oppose Meany/Gleason Anti-Soviet Boycott!

We call upon the ranks of organized labor to oppose the Meany-backed maritime union boycott of grain shipments to the USSR. Despite its being ruled by an oppressive Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union represents historic economic and social achievements of the world working class (expropriation of the bourgeoisie, collective ownership of the means of production, planned economy) and therefore it, as well as the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, must be defended against economic blackmail by U.S. imperialism.

We oppose all forms of economic protectionism, which set the workers of different countries against one another. The road to plenty for all lies through the internationalist unity of the working class, which alone can free production from its capitalist fetters and institute a rational international division of labor in a planned economy. ■

Hoffa...

(continued from page 5)

same judge who tried and sentenced the former Teamster president.

The furious "Get Hoffa" frame-up campaign cannot be explained by a supposed hatred of corruption and strikebreaking on the part of capitalist politicians. More to the point is the fact that Hoffa was jailed shortly after signing the first national master freight agreement (including both over-the-road and local cartage haulers) in 1964. While many union bureaucrats blithely signed no-strike contracts, Hoffa jealously guarded the right to strike over grievances. This served as an effective means of circumventing Taft-Hartley provisions outlawing the secondary boycott, the most important organizing weapon in the Teamster arsenal.

It was Hoffa's record in securing relatively large economic benefits for his membership and the spectre of union power represented by a single, unified truck drivers' union that triggered the government onslaught against the Teamsters and produced the accompanying anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act. The "Get Hoffa" campaign proves once again that even in the most extreme cases of union corruption the capitalist state must be kept out of the labor movement.

Not Simple Trade Unionism But Class-Struggle Leadership

Hoffa's successor, Frank Fitzsimmons ("that guy Jimmy used to strike his matches on"), has compiled an unenviable record as Teamster president. His pitiful 1970 contract package led Chicago-area drivers to wildcat, and after the unauthorized strike shut down most of the Midwest for days the companies came up with an additional 65 cents per hour wage hike. "Fitz's" strong support for Nixon led him to remain on the Pay Board even after George Meany walked off and produced another sellout contract in 1973. Last year he left independent truckers in the lurch during their protest against fuel price gouging by the oil monopolies, and the Teamsters' shameless raiding of the United Farm Workers set a new low for the labor movement.

While Hoffa might have avoided some of the extremes of Fitzsimmons' actions, his militant image could not have survived the battles of recent years. Consolidation of the trucking industry has sharply posed the need for a nationwide transportation strike, a measure Hoffa

always rejected in the hope of avoiding a showdown with the employers. In the present depression conditions a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, full cost-of-living (c-o-l) protection and the expropriation of the transportation companies are vital simply in order to preserve the living standards of the working class, yet Hoffa consistently fought against any demand that had even the slightest hint of radicalism. While Hoffa could only appeal to one or another big business politician (he supported both Democrats and Republicans), genuine labor militants must point out the need for a break with the capitalist parties and call for the construction of a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

Of all the major union leaders in the post-World War II period, Jimmy Hoffa had the most militant reputation. This is a sad commentary on the state of the U.S. labor movement, but the contradictions of con-man militant Hoffa are not fundamentally different from those of other business unionists. The erstwhile socialist Walter Reuther, Hoffa's rival in Detroit labor, espoused such gimmicks as the "guaranteed annual income" and profit-sharing, then gave up the c-o-l escalator, agreed to tie wages to productivity and abandoned the fight for a shorter workweek. John L. Lewis, America's best known union "maverick," founded the CIO and led bitter strikes against the government in the 1940's, but also acquiesced in massive automation which cut employment in coal by 60 percent following World War II. Common to all these bureaucrats—the "socially concerned" Reuther, the "maverick" Lewis and the "tough" Hoffa—was acceptance of the limitations of the capitalist system.

The bizarre episode which may mark a mysterious end to Hoffa's life is entirely consistent with the rest of his turbulent career. He fought the near-feudal "barons" who ruled the Teamsters before he took power (and who once again hold sway under Fitzsimmons). But because he shared the same limited goal—summed up in Samuel Gompers' one-word slogan, "more"—and never challenged the capitalist system, Hoffa's rise to power was necessarily personal and bureaucratic. In a gangster-ridden union this meant more guns, more goons and more kickbacks. Only a militant opposition fighting for a full class-struggle program could clean out the IBT's Augean stables of crime and corruption, by mobilizing the ranks to smash capitalism and its agents in the labor movement, the venal union bureaucracy. ■

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Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

forces, crushing the incipient workers councils, banning numerous left groups and (at least) totally regimenting the unions."

The threat of a bloodbath of the most advanced elements of the Portuguese proletariat is posed by the rightist officers' grab for power. This must be fought by every class-conscious worker and revolutionary militant. This means fighting for the development and extension of organs of dual power—workers and soldiers committees, workers militias, workers councils—and their unification into a national soviet, which could serve as the basis for a workers government and whose first task would be the crushing of the reactionary forces. The struggle for soviets, moreover, is inseparable from the struggle to break the workers' illusions in the MFA and in the so-called "progressive" officers such as Gonçalves, and to destroy the political influence of the reformist workers parties, principally the Stalinist CP and the social-democratic Socialist Party, who have treacherously tied the proletariat to the class enemy in repeated popular-front coalitions.

But at present a Marxist vanguard would also seek a temporary military bloc with the Stalinists, other workers parties and even officers of the MFA who are prepared to fight against the rightist officers' attempt to consolidate power. Although pro-NATO elements in the officer corps have landed an important blow and the current is clearly running against the left, it is by no means clear that troops would today obey orders to crush

militant workers. Last week, for example, several hundred military police (led by the Maoist MRPP) demonstrated in front of the presidential palace announcing their defiance of orders sending them to Angola.

Moreover, the navy (whose officers voted solidly against the rightists last week) is entrenched on the south bank of the Tagus River at its Alfeite naval base, close to the Lisnave shipyards and other factories of a proletarian "red belt" in which Maoists and syndicalists of various parties play a leading role. To their east and south is the "Red Alentejo" region, in which the CP has a solid implantation among the farm workers. And neighboring Spain has for months been in a state of barely contained social turmoil which could explode from a spark in Lisbon. Militant resistance to the reactionary officers in Portugal today is most definitely *not* hopeless.

Prop to a Popular Front

A military bloc for common action against the reactionary mobilization, however, is something quite different from a coalition giving *political support* to the Gonçalves government. Such a class-collaborationist formation was set up in late August as the then-premier and his CP backers were flailing around for any support they could find to stave off the anti-Communist offensive unleashed by the SP and the nine "moderate" officers headed by Melo Antunes. With its name shifting between "United Revolutionary Front" and "United Popular Front" depending on whether it is the "far left" or the CP that is speaking, this pact was signed by the Communist Party, the Popular Socialist Front (FSP), the anarcho-Castroist LUAR, the left social-democratic MES, the CP's petty-bourgeois electoral front MDP, the syndicalist-Castroist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), the semi-Maoist May 1 group, and the ostensibly Trotskyist Internationalist Communist League (LCI), Portuguese sympathising section of the United Secretariat (USec) headed by Ernest Mandel.

This treacherous front is an open call for political confidence in the Gonçalves regime, the same government which has prepared the present crisis by temporizing with the reactionaries, the bonapartist regime which has sent troops against innumerable strikes, jailed unionists and Maoists, and committed innumerable other crimes against the working class. The communiqué signed by the eight parties of the front on August 25 contains the following statement:

"3. The document 'Lines of Programmatic Action and Transitional Demands' [a proposal for governmental policy by General Gonçalves on August 21] constitutes the basic document for guiding the government's action until the conditions necessary for the formation of a government of revolutionary unity are met."

—*Diario de Noticias*, 26 August

There is not even a fig-leaf here: the government and even the program of the premier are explicitly supported! If that were not enough, the provisional secretariat of the "revolutionary/popular united front" as its first act issued a set of slogans including "Fifth Government, Transition to Revolution."

Moreover, another clause of the August 25 communiqué makes an explicit call for participation in the front by capitalist forces. The fourth point speaks of "The creation of a front including the parties and other revolutionary political organizations, revolutionary militants, the MFA and autonomous organs of people's power..." (our emphasis). The MFA is the political expression of the officer corps of the capitalist army—the very core of the capitalist state power—and thus is a *bourgeois* formation no matter how "left" some of its pronouncements may have been. Thus the clearly expressed aim is to transform this prop to the bonapartist government into an explicit popular front.

This treacherous coalition can only lead militant Portuguese workers to continue to place their faith in demagogic

officers such as Gonçalves; it can only reinforce the Stalinists' policy of class collaboration; it stands in direct contradiction to the central axis of Marxist politics, the fight for the independence of the working class from bourgeois forces. The LCI will no doubt seek to excuse this alliance on the grounds that it does not actually include a bourgeois party. After signing the communiqué it disingenuously issued a separate statement disagreeing with "some points," and in particular with the call for "integration of the MFA in a front of the organs of workers and people's power" since the MFA is not revolutionary (*Diario de Noticias*, 26 August).

Aside from the obvious dishonesty of signing a document one of whose key points is rejected, the "revolutionary/popular united front" is not so free of direct participation by the military as would seem from the list of signers. The introduction to the August 25 communiqué notes the presence, at the meeting to form the front, of "representatives of the MFA, who acted simply as elements of cohesion..." According to a news account, these unity brokers included representatives of the Fifth Division, COPCON, the Coordinating Committee of Air Force Sergeants, the Navy MFA and the Revolutionary Supreme Council. Moreover, it was officers of the COPCON who took the initiative to form the bloc. Thus both its origins and program

unambiguously confirm the class-collaborationist character of this unprincipled bloc.

As to the participation of the ostensibly Trotskyist LCI, this is directly opposed to the whole struggle of the Fourth Internationalists in the 1930's against Stalinist popular frontism. It is the identical capitulation that led the Spanish POUM to enter the popular front in 1936, explaining all the while that the pact was only for the purpose of elections and that the Catalan nationalist Esquerra was really "petty-bourgeois" rather than a bourgeois political formation (just as the LCI maintains that the MFA is not bourgeois but petty-bourgeois!).

This *betrayal* of the Portuguese workers and of Trotskyism—for that is what joining the "revolutionary/popular united front" amounts to—is not simply an unfortunate error of the young and inexperienced LCI. Far from it. The same identical "error" was made by the USec's section in Bolivia, the POR (*Combate*), when it joined the "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" (FRA) in 1971, where it cohabited with former President General Torres. Thus the USec's Pabloist liquidationism is the origin of the LCI's betrayal. Only by struggling for the rebirth of the Fourth International, in opposition to the USec's revisionist policies, can an authentically revolutionary Trotskyist party be built in Portugal. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 1)

arrested while trying in stupidly adventurist fashion to breach police lines at South Boston High School in order to welcome the buses arriving with black children from Roxbury. Frustrated racists, who had been held back by police at the high school, attempted to break into the courthouse where the CAR members were taken.

The anti-busing forces prepared for today's events by a rally on Sunday at which prominent local politicians made unmistakable appeals for lynch-mob violence. Clearly referring to the Ku Klux Klan inspired violence in Kentucky, former School Committee chairman John Kerrigan told the crowd of 3,000, "Louisville is Boston's farm club. Let's show that to the world." Nancy Yotts, reportedly connected with the racist thugs of the South Boston Defense League, announced that "We stand together, united like on December 11th, May 3rd and August 10th." Those were the dates respectively of a mob attack on black students at South Boston High School, the rock and brick throwing spree in response to PL's May Day March and the recent confrontation with black demonstrators protesting racist harassment at Carson Beach.

The thin line of police that stands between black children and the lynch mobs cannot be relied on. If today they reluctantly protected the buses, tomorrow, when the national spotlight is off Boston, they will dispense the same racist "justice" that black people endure everyday. The myth of police neutrality was exploded by the cops' vendetta against PL/CAR, their brutal handling of black demonstrators at Carson Beach, the use of police dogs against black children in the Mission Hill project last month and the police "sick-out" this past weekend, which was aimed at sabotaging the busing program by leaving black children vulnerable to stonings, beatings and even worse. These racist gunmen of the capitalist class must be replaced, not by the imperialist army as many reformists demand, but by a mass integrated defense force based on the trade unions and the black community.

Racist Terror in East Boston

In the weeks preceding school opening, racist terror permeated the city. A housing project in East Boston has been

the scene of particularly vicious and persistent assaults. Since black and Latin families were firebombed out of the Orient Heights project this spring, the Sumner and Maverick Streets project has housed the only significant concentration of non-white residents in East Boston. White street gangs have tried to repeat the pattern of Orient Heights, so far unsuccessfully, at Maverick and Sumner. On a number of occasions they have been met with effective resistance by black residents and members of left and community organizations.

Outraged at their repeated failure to drive the black families from the project, about 60 racist youth gathered on the night of August 25 armed with rocks, bricks, baseball bats and car antennas. The attacks escalated through the night. Two black youth were beaten in the playground, and several apartments belonging to black families had their windows smashed. Police in the area refused to act. One of them even commented, "These are nice kids; we grew up with them here in East Boston." The authorities only acted later in the night when an integrated group of black tenants and their supporters began to set up a defense perimeter in front of the homes. At that point the cops moved in, arrested one of the defenders and forced the rest to disband.

Such racist atrocities must be protested, and the victims, who include members of the Greater Boston People Against Racism and the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, must be defended against all charges. Furthermore, these small and relatively isolated defense efforts must be extended to involve broader forces. A political fight must be waged within the only existing mass organizations of the working class, the trade unions, to win their active support for the democratic rights of black people. This means support to busing as a minimal step toward integration and racial equality. But equally necessary is organization of integrated defense of the black children riding the buses and of joint black-white patrols to prevent attacks on black people in racially mixed and borderline areas. Besides the Boston Teachers Union, such unions as the Meatcutters, United Electrical Workers and Hospital Workers Local 1199 bear a particular responsibility as they are integrated and self-proclaimed "progressive" unions, whose members work in some of the most racially tense neighborhoods. ■

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Militant Wildcat in Coal Fields

Miners Fight for Right to Strike

CHARLESTON, W. Va., September 7—A coal miners' wildcat strike that began near here in Logan County August 11 and encompassed at its peak two thirds of the United Mine Workers (UMW) 120,000 members continues in an atmosphere of deepening bitterness. Amid increasing reports of bomb threats, gunfire and rock throwing in neighboring coal fields, angry miners are defying UMW President Miller's repeated back-to-work orders as well as massive court fines (now up to \$1 million and increasing at the rate of \$100,000 a day).

This already four-week-old strike, the longest and largest in the country so far in 1975, has cost the coal operators more than 2 million tons of production—and, more costly to them, has deeply shattered whatever lingering faith miners had in Miller, whose "reform" leadership team has moved as surely to sabotage the miners as did its predecessors in the Tony Boyle regime.

Sparked by the firing of Local 1302 president Roger Thompson in Lundale, a neighboring Logan County mine went out in sympathy with 1302's protest strike. Though a grievance has been filed against Amherst Coal Company's firing of Thompson, to date no answer has been received by the union. A Logan County miner from a nearby local told this reporter of five recent firings at his mine and the growing fear that the companies were getting the upper hand. Thompson's firing, he said, "was the straw that broke the camel's back." His local walked out. The wildcat spread from District 17 (the UMW's largest) into neighboring District 29 (the second largest), and within two weeks spilled into northern West Virginia, Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Alabama and Indiana.

Among these miners, with a long history of hard strikes, the union is sacred—and so is a picket line. The president of Local 5922 (Logan County), Bill Belcher, declared in court that "I have been a miner for nearly three decades and had never crossed a picket line and I never will. If the courts tell me I have to cross a picket line I'll hang up my hat. I'll never tell my men to cross." Even Miller, while denouncing the strike, has not dared to call for crossing picket lines.

Court injunctions to break initial sympathy walkouts only fueled the spreading strike. Sim Howze, black president of Local 8454 (Lorado, West Virginia) refused to order his men back and was slapped with a 90-day contempt of court jailing by District Judge K.K. Hall. Following Howze's jailing August 15, the wildcat spread ferociously. After only five days in jail, Howze secured his release by promising his best efforts to end the wildcat and limit the issue to ending court injunctions. But by then, miners had seized on the key question of



Cops battle striking West Virginia miners in Charleston, August 25.

Charleston Daily Mail

their right to strike over grievances and would not be cajoled back to work so easily. A retired miner ended his speech at a recent rally with the thought of many: "Without the right to strike, you've got no union. You might as well throw the UMW in the ditch."

Though Arnold Miller backed the local right to strike in his 1972 campaign, he dropped this elementary need in the 1974 contract negotiations. The resulting contract was only narrowly ratified (44 percent voted "no") after a desperate campaign by Miller against the "unauthorized" contract strike. A Logan County miner (who didn't support the contract) says that there has always been suspicion in his local about the voting tally on the contract since the ballots were called in for secret counting. Another said he considered the contract a trick; the "legalese" about the right to strike and grievances wasn't clear, and he feels Miller pulled a fast one on the membership. In comparing the blatant no-strike deal saddled on the Steelworkers by I.W. Abel with the current situation of the miners, he said at least steelworkers know whom they should be against, "Miller's too sneaky."

But it is difficult to be "sneaky" when you openly join hands with the courts and

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Victory to NYC Teachers' Strike!

SEPTEMBER 8—United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker has reluctantly been forced to call a strike against the New York City Board of Education, fronting for the bankers of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC). Following the disastrous pattern set by the capitulation of other municipal union leaders, Shanker has indicated his willingness to accept thousands of layoffs, a cut in real wages, higher class sizes and a reduction in preparation periods and other rights that teachers have enjoyed for a decade. But that is apparently not enough for MAC, which wants to administer a stinging defeat to the troublesome public employees unions in New York.

The UFT cannot defend itself in isolation from the community and the rest of the labor movement. In particular, the union must fight against ALL educational cutbacks and ALL layoffs (especially vital to its minority members, who are overwhelmingly teachers' aides, paraprofessionals and teachers with low seniority). Not one job, not one penny for Big MAC! The UFT must take the lead in mobilizing a city-wide general strike against the capitalists' austerity program!

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