

Francisco on Deathbed

For Workers Revolution to Smash Francoism!



Anti-Franco demonstrators in Madrid last June.

Informations Ouvrières

OCTOBER 28—The impending death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco has focused world attention upon the bloody Spanish dictatorship. During and after the 1930's Civil War this gang of butchers murdered literally hundreds of thousands of proletarian militants; they then spent the next 36 years trying to abolish the class struggle by decree. Faced with the departure of their *caudillo*, the politically active sections of Spanish capital are now hoping for an "orderly transfer of power" to the designated heir apparent, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón.

Derided as "Juan Carlos the Brief" by his numerous detractors, the prince does not have the committed loyalty of any sector of the far-from-united regime. Nor does he have the personal command to play the role of arbiter with any degree of success. Above all, the militancy and increasingly open political protests of a working class filled with bitter hatred for the hangman's regime threaten to burst through its brittle bonapartist shell. Francoism without Franco has no future.

As neighboring Portugal moves ever closer to civil war, Spain is on an already ignited political short fuse. Both the right and the treacherous misleaders of the left are desperately trying to stomp it out. "The bunker," as the die-hard fascist Falangists are known, has floated numerous coup warnings in the hope of staving off anticipated "liberalization" measures believed to be imminent upon the prince's accession to office. The Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (Warriors of Christ the King) and elements of the Guardia Civil threaten some kind of drastic action.

For their part, both the PSOE (Socialist Workers Party of Spain) and the Communist Party (CP) are seeking to revive the popular frontism which paved the path to the 1936-39 disaster. Com-

menting on the anticipated death of Franco, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the CP, last week called for the formation of "a provisional government based upon a broad coalition of all those who do not wish to see a new civil war, but who wish to see a pluralist system" (DPA dispatch, 24 October). Both the Stalinists and the social democrats have their coalitions with sectors of the bourgeoisie, the CP leading the Junta Democrática and the PSOE with its Platform of Democratic Convergence.

Spain Is Not Portugal

But the bulk of the Spanish bourgeoisie is not now opting for a popular front. Particularly since the discovery of the Democratic Military Union within the armed forces last summer (see *WV* No. 80, 10 October, "Basque Strikes Rock Franco Regime"), the press has been filled with superficial comparisons to the "Revolution of the Carnations" in Portugal. However, the economic situation and mood in the officer corps are not at all comparable to that of Spain's Iberian neighbor. By 1974 the Portuguese bourgeoisie was in severe economic straits and unable to extricate itself from debilitating colonial wars.

In contrast, the Spanish economy has been one of the strongest in capitalist Europe. Based on sharp restrictions of the masses' standards of living, a powerful banking sector with heavy foreign investments, and a large tourist trade, Spanish capitalists succeeded in rapidly industrializing the country during the "miraculous decade" of the 1960's. The per capita gross national product rose from \$300 in 1960 to \$2,000 in 1975 (*Newsweek*, 13 October).

While clustered outside the Pardo Palace awaiting the latest medical bulletin

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Fight MFA Gag on Left-Wing Media in Portugal! 2

Moynihan's Crusade: Imperialist Hypocrisy at the UN

Throwing Stones from Glass Houses

OCTOBER 27—The United Nations, imperialism's most exclusive club, is dedicated to the false proposition that there is honor among thieves. Lately that proposition has been put to a severe test by an intense debate over the character of Zionism. The debate has been marked by an unusually high level of hypocrisy, even for this big-wig assembly of imperialist war criminals, tinpot dictators and Stalinist bureaucrats.

At issue is a resolution adopted by the UN's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee and scheduled to come before the General Assembly. It contains a sentence proclaiming that the UN "determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." The fight over this resolution produced some interesting bedfellows. Daniel P. Moynihan, U.S. chief delegate to the UN, was especially incensed at the large number of Latin American nations that supported or abstained on the motion. They "deserted" us, he moaned.

A particular target of Moynihan's wrath was Chile, which has apparently struck a bargain with the Arab states for going easy on its torture centers, a subject due to come up soon in the UN Humanitarian Committee. In return the military butchers of Chile voted to condemn Zionism, thus gaining entry into the "Communist-Third World bloc" of "anti-imperialist" countries.

This prompted one U.S. official to comment that "The fascists [!] in Chile and some like-minded military regimes are lining up with the anti-semites" (*New York Times*, 19 October). These are strong words, especially coming from a representative of the country that spent millions of dollars to put those same "fascists" in power and watched with satisfaction while the police sadists used their CIA-designed equipment and American training in the vile art of electronic torture. Obviously, the U.S. government feels that Pinochet and his

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Idi Amin

Marion Kaplan/Echave & Associates



Daniel Moynihan

UPI

Fight MFA Suppression of Left Media in Portugal!

OCTOBER 27 On Wednesday evening several tens of thousands of left-wing workers, accompanied by soldiers from virtually every unit in the Lisbon Military Region, marched on Rádio Renascença. Finding no one in the government who would authorize reopening the station, closed since troops occupied all radio and television facilities on September 29, the crowd broke the seals. After some difficulties caused by the removal of parts by the occupying troops, Rádio Renascença went back on the air at 3 a.m.

The battle over this left-wing transmitter—formerly the voice of the Catholic Church hierarchy—is yet another in a series of crises resulting from attempts by the sixth provisional government to clamp capitalist law and order on a country on the brink of civil war. Ordering a ban on publishing all statements by members of the armed forces, attempting to impose army control of broadcast media, moving to purge left-wing officers and even whole units, the right wing of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) has been checked at every step by massive resistance.

The Rádio Renascença events took on particular importance because control of the station had been a main focus of left-right dispute in Portugal ever since it was occupied by the workers five months ago. Mario Soares, head of the Socialist Party (SP), claims that during negotiations over the formation of the cabinet Premier Jose Pinheiro Azevedo promised that the facility would be returned to the Church hierarchy. Thus when troops were withdrawn from all the other stations (after the collapse of the occupation, due to pervasive fraternization between soldiers and workers), Azevedo ordered commandos to close down the Renascença transmitter.

The occupying forces were withdrawn on October 15 and the facility sealed. A meeting the following day with representatives of numerous Lisbon-area workers, soldiers and neighborhood commissions decided to guard the building with around-the-clock pickets in order to prevent sabotage from rightist forces and warned against "any thoughtless acts, such as unsealing the transmitter" before conditions were ripe. When it became clear the government would not agree to reopen the station under the workers' control—President Costa Gomes had an audience with Pope Paul at the Vatican the same day Rádio Renascença was "liberated"—a struggle committee composed of delegates from several major industries and military units organized the reoccupation.

Rádio Renascença: Workers vs. the Bishops

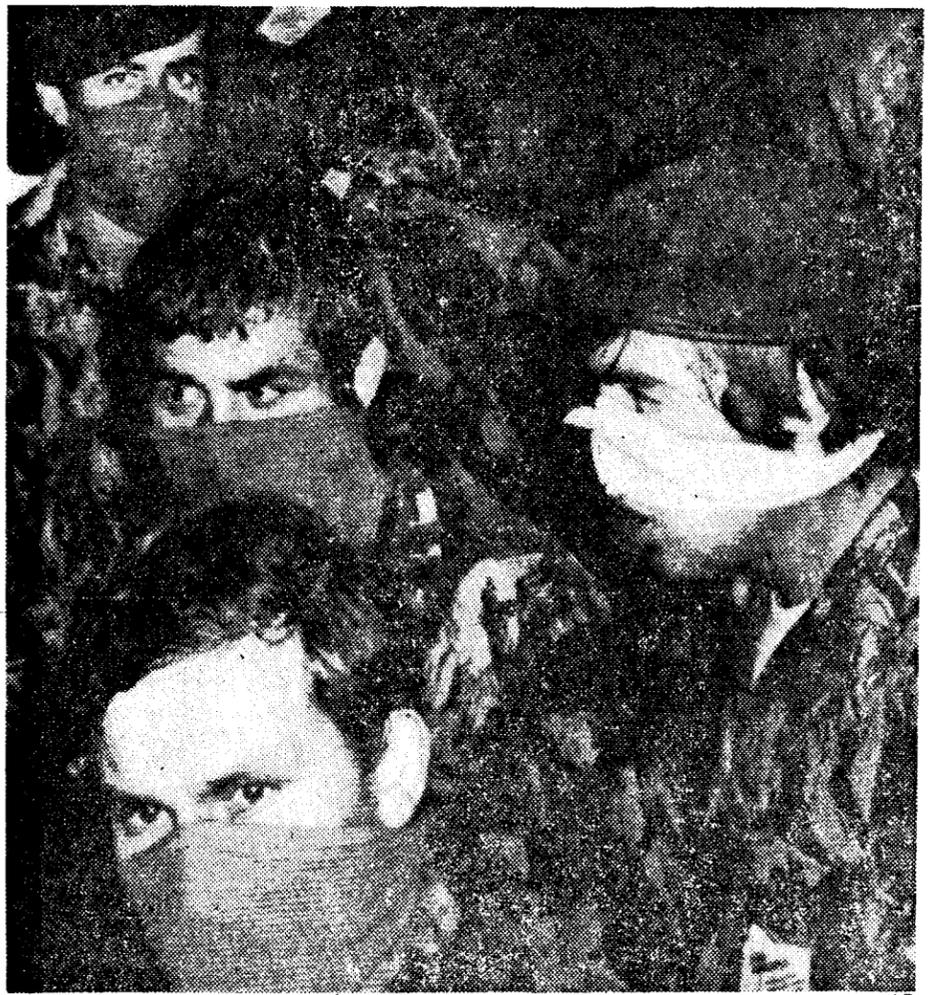
Although the Rádio Renascença dispute has dragged on for months almost

nothing has been published in the foreign press, left-wing or bourgeois, on the origins of the clash. Even today many details are unclear to an outside observer, and our information comes almost entirely from a lengthy article in the 10 July *República*. Controversy reportedly first arose at the station a few days after the 25 April 1974 coup d'état that toppled the Caetano dictatorship, when some editorial personnel objected to censorship of news by management (i.e., the Church hierarchy). Several months later, in September, 13 workers (half of them editorial) were fired for refusing to submit to unprecedented "psychological tests."

A "workers coordinating commission" was then formed and the Ministry of Labor intervened. Negotiations dragged on until February 19 when the workers finally were forced to strike against an unyielding management. But on March 11 came an attempted right-wing putsch. Throughout the country workers rushed to occupy major points of transport and communication (airfields, intersections) and surround key barracks. Learning that Rádio Clube Português had been forced off the air because of damage to its antenna—and remembering the important role played by left-wing radio stations in the "battle of the communiqués" during Spínola's September 28 power grab—Rádio Renascença workers immediately re-entered the station and resumed transmission under the workers coordinating committee.

As a "reward" for this action, the government appointed a "mixed commission" (three military men and a representative of the Ministry of Labor) to investigate the labor dispute. But as the church hierarchy continued its intransigence, the commission was reduced to "talking in circles." An example of the position of the hierarchy was the refusal by the archbishop of Lisbon to permit Rádio Renascença to broadcast the daily mass from any church in the capital! Finally, in exasperation the workers occupied the station on May 27 and threw out management.

As was inevitable in Portugal's highly charged atmosphere, what began as a labor dispute quickly took on political overtones. The church hierarchy immediately began screaming about atheists and communists attacking religion; a Maoist group, the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), was accused of leading the action. However, according to the 10 July *República* account, the occupying workers were mainly left-wing Catholics, some of them members of the "Christians for Socialism" group. A spokesman for the workers coordinating committee was quoted as saying: "We are not proposing to do any more than what the Catholic Church proposed, for example, at the Vatican Council II.... We believe that it is



Soldiers retake Rádio Renascença transmitter which had been sealed by the Portuguese government in an attempt to silence left-wing media.

the Church hierarchy that goes against Christian ideology."

Revolutionary Marxists must defend the Rádio Renascença workers in their struggle, particularly against the government's recent efforts to shut down the station. The latter was an attack on the entire working class. But if the facts outlined above are roughly correct, then the workers committee made an important tactical error with its May 27 occupation of the broadcasting facility. They evidently took a simple trade-union approach in conditions which required comprehensive revolutionary strategy. They were clearly not prepared for the anti-communist propaganda offensive which the bishops immediately unleashed.

The takeover of Rádio Renascença gave the Salazarist hierarchy an excellent occasion to mobilize backward peasant masses from the conservative north to fight "godless communism." There were marches on the shrine of Fatima, site of a 1917 "miracle" which the clergy hailed as a sign of divine displeasure with the Bolshevik revolution. At several demonstrations called by the bishops around the slogan of restoring the "National Catholic Broadcasting Station" the most popular cry was "Death to the Communists." Many burnings of Communist Party offices occurred in the aftermath of these reactionary rallies.

On March 11 the Rádio Renascença workers showed good political sense in calling off their strike in order to provide radio communications during a decisive battle. Again on October 22, the "struggle committee" correctly sought to avoid a disorganized confrontation with the government by temporarily holding off on reoccupying the transmitter, then carrying out the occupation in a disciplined manner clearly demonstrating support from key sectors of the working class. If a revolutionary policy had been followed in May, methods of struggle other than the occupation would have been chosen. The strike could have been resumed, for example. And in terms of stopping counterrevolutionary propaganda by the reactionary, Salazarist episcopacy, it would have been far better had the workers taken over the studios in the course of refusing to broadcast appeals for anti-communist

demonstrations.

But once the action had been taken it was the task of communists to defend Rádio Renascença workers against attack by the class enemy.

República Revisited

The occupation of Rádio Renascença came only a week after the closing of *República* by the MFA due to a dispute between the newspaper's left-wing workers and its SP editor. The two cases have been closely linked during the political developments of the last four months, but the *República* affair and the Rádio Renascença dispute are not identical. In contrast to the virtual blackout of information on the latter case, reams have been written about *República*. Yet the facts in this conflict are, if anything, even less clear, with two conflicting versions of every important development.

Thus, for example, when *República* printers voted in mid-May to oust the editor Raul Rego and put out the newspaper themselves, both sides occupied the premises, each side accusing the other of calling in the military forces who emptied and then sealed the building. There is also sharp disagreement over

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Jordan Sims Reaps "Rewards" of Lesser-Evilism

UAW Clamps Receivership on Eldon Local

Hands Off UAW Local 961!

DETROIT—Moving to slap down a mildly troublesome dissident, United Auto Workers (UAW) leaders recently struck at Local 961 president Jordan Sims: on October 9 his Eldon Gear and Axle Chrysler local was placed under International administration. Sims is the black co-chairman of a reformist "opposition" in the UAW, the United National Caucus (UNC). While the UAW tops cite recent "arbitrary" actions by Sims, their real concerns have nothing to do with guaranteeing auto workers' rights. With the General Motors and Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds exhausted, tens of thousands of auto workers still laid off and speed-up intensifying for those still in the plants, the UAW brass is already preparing to throttle rebellious locals in the 1976 contract negotiations. Solidarity House is going after Sims now not because either he or the UNC is a red-hot threat, but to serve notice on any and all who dare oppose the Woodcock machine's disastrous pro-capitalist policies.

Bureaucratic Harassment

The specific charges against Sims relate to his recent suspension of the Local 961 secretary-treasurer and removal of the Local vice president from grievance handling. Both were elected last June as part of a pro-International group based largely on white skilled tradesmen. Sims was narrowly re-elected over his tradesman opponent Elroy Richardson with a scant 100-vote margin.

Allegations of financial irregularities surrounded the elections. Richardson and his cronies tried to get Sims disqualified, but a check on the union books by the International reportedly uncovered no wrong-doing on Sims' part. In an interview with *WV*, Sims claimed that the Local's books had been audited five times in the last six months!

Encouraged by this clear pattern of bureaucratic harassment from the UAW hierarchy, Local 961 secretary-treasurer Kronenberg reportedly changed the combination lock on the local's safe, refusing to tell Sims the new combination, to fill out the payroll or to let Sims do so. Sims then suspended Kronenberg. Although Sims' decision was reportedly upheld by a subsequent local meeting, the intra-bureaucratic war escalated. Sims also removed the vice president from grievance handling responsibilities, charging failure to process Stage 3 grievances.

These actions provoked the International to intervene, naming as administrators UAW vice president Doug Fraser and regional director George Morelli (notorious for his red-baiting, strikebreaking role in crushing the Mack stamping plant sitdown strike in 1973 and the Dodge Truck wildcat in 1974). Fraser and Morelli also claim that Sims temporarily appointed two stewards

and then failed to hold elections within the specified 30 to 60 days, that he was himself negligent in processing grievances, and that on a number of occasions he failed to carry out democratic mandates of the union membership.

Under the terms of the UAW constitution the International has authority to do as it pleases with a local in administration, including suspending any local officer and holding new elections. While it is unclear if the International will take this course, it could spell the end of Sims' short and spotty career in the bureaucracy.

Jordan Sims' Radical Friends

The outfit Sims co-chairs is a small and politically mixed grab bag combining skilled trades officials and disgruntled bureaucratic aspirants with a host of young radicals whose views are regularly praised in the pages of *Workers' Power*, newspaper of the International Socialists (IS). The latter and numerically preponderant wing is constantly willing to sacrifice class-struggle policies for the sake of currying favor with slightly better known opportunists. Except for an occasional and quickly forgotten paper resolution, the UNC cares nothing about fighting for a program to defend auto workers' interests, instead preferring endless get-rich-quick gimmicks.

Thus, for example, although the left-reformist IS proclaims advocacy of a labor party to be one of the basic principles of "class-struggle unionism," five of the six IS-supported UNC slates in last spring's Detroit-area UAW local elections refrained from any mention of this crucial demand. When massive layoffs hit auto in late 1974, the IS refused to call for factory seizures. While mentioning a shorter workweek, IS-backed UNC groups initially emphasized a scheme for alternating weeks of work and unemployment, with pay to come from "Short Work Week Benefits." This would have caused a 20 percent pay cut in the off-weeks for all auto workers involved, with no benefits at all for workers with less than one year's seniority!

Grasping at straws, the IS predictably fell in behind union-busting calls for "preferential layoffs," urging the courts to tear up union contracts in order to grant "super-seniority" to black and women workers over higher-seniority white males. This divisive capitulation to layoffs is the IS view of how to be the "best builders" of an economist "rank-and-file movement."

Jordan Sims is virtually the only even relatively well-known black leader of the UNC, and is therefore highly touted by the IS. He has not proved, however, to be their most sterling item. He gained the Local 961 presidency in 1973 only under the auspices of a Labor Department-supervised election, preferring govern-

ment fiddling with union affairs to the more difficult task of building an organized opposition among the rank and file.

In the earlier, allegedly rigged, election, Sims sought to demagogically ride a wave of black proletarian militancy that surfaced in the late 1960's. However, not wanting to appear too radical, Sims repudiated support from the Eldon Revolutionary Union Movement (ELRUM), affiliated to the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. From the beginning Sims' gamble has been that a slick-talking black militant posture, together with politics not too divergent from Reuther/Woodcock would assure him a UAW future.

Not long after taking office, Sims voted in the UAW Chrysler Council for the sellout 1973 contract, much to the embarrassment of his radical allies in the UNC. After a little coaching, Sims



WV Photo

Jordan Sims

disingenuously announced that he had been "tricked" into support of the contract—at best, a self-indicting testimony of incompetence and supreme naïveté. At the last national UNC conference, Sims again proved embarrassing to the radicals, bitterly opposing a resolution from a non-UNC member which called for the defense of black school children and busing in Detroit.

The Hanged Man Supports the Noose

Sims' half-hearted opposition stance is underlined by his flirtation with the UAW tops. In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* he stated his inclination to support UAW Chrysler Department head Doug Fraser for union president when Leonard Woodcock retires in 1977. This is the same back-stabbing bureaucrat that has just taken over his local! Sims compared the three leading candidates Fraser, Pat Greathouse and Irving Bluestone to a "cobra, a viper and an asp" saying that "you can train a cobra. At least he won't bite your head off"! His own decapitation notwithstanding, Sims prefers the dead-end game of picking the lesser of three evils.

Given Sims' equivocation, and his inability and failure to build a rank-and-file base in his own plant (where a quarter of the membership is still laid off), combatting the machinations of Solidarity House will not be easy. Even the fawning IS has been forced to lamentingly admit the absence of support within his own local, "the lack of which has made him vulnerable to this attack" (*Workers' Power*, 17 October). But despite Sims' record, all auto workers must adamantly oppose the takeover of Local 961. The auto companies' servants in the UAW leadership are moving not to clean up local leadership, but to quash even the most wavering criticism. The task of defeating opportunists like Jordan Sims lies not with the pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy but in the hands of the Auto Workers' ranks. ■

Racists Fuel Boston Cauldron

BOSTON, October 27—The racial tensions which have been seething here for weeks beneath a surface calm, maintained only by massive police presence, began to boil over in recent days. Spurred on mainly by racial clashes inside the schools, anti-busing marches and "funeral processions" have been increasing in size. A "prayer march" on October 18 was led by a woman carrying a burning cross, symbol of the murderous Ku Klux Klan! Police battled racists at an "unofficial" anti-busing march the next day at South Boston High School, resulting in several arrests and injuries.

On October 23 fighting broke out between whites and blacks after a high school football game when black sportscaster Baba Johnson was insulted and shoved by white racists. Violence spilled over into South Boston High the next day. Tactical and state police were called in, and the school was closed 90 minutes early.

Proclaiming "National Boycott Day," the racists held another march and rally today. A white school boycott was almost 100 percent effective at Charlestown and South Boston High Schools, and the rally drew a reported 8,000 to 10,000 people, by far the largest anti-busing demonstration this school year. The march passed close to South Boston High School where black students were sent home early. Stores along the route of march were "requested" to close and most did. Speaking at the rally, State Representative William Bulger referred to the many anti-busing bills and amendments put forward in Washington by ambitious redneck politicians, trumpeting "We are now being heard in the halls of Congress."

Since the end of the teachers' strike last month, racist assaults and suspensions have become routine occurrences in Boston schools. Black students have held press conferences and demonstrations protesting discrimination and harassment by racist students, administrators and cops. They have demanded, among other things, more black cops, teachers and administrators, fairness in suspensions, closing South Boston High School and moving it to a neutral site. White students have demanded that no concessions be made to the black protesters, that the pledge of allegiance be said daily (!) and that they be permitted to leave school "when they feel threatened." What this amounts to is allowing racists to carry out assaults on black students and then take refuge on white "turf."

The large police presence on the streets of Boston has not stopped the reactionary mobilizations. At best it has temporarily frozen the racist status quo. The capitalist state will not provide real protection for black people under racist attack; calls for black cops or "fairness" cannot change this. Only a broad mobilization of labor, black organizations and all anti-racist forces, totally independent of bourgeois courts, cops, troops and politicians, can defeat the reactionary anti-busing movement. ■

Boston SYL Class Series:

Marxism or Menshevism—
An Introduction to the
Communist Movement
Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m.
October 29-December 10
Phillips Brooks House
Harvard University
Second Class—November 5
"Stalinism or Bolshevism"

S.F. CWA Tops Slam Door on Fired Militant

seeing the firing as a dangerous precedent that could be used to get rid of anyone the company dislikes and as an attack upon the union—the Local 9415 leadership has done as little as possible, going so far as to actively sabotage Margolis' defense.

Thus at Local 9415's September meeting union president Kirkpatrick led a campaign to discourage attendance by telling people not to show up. When Margolis and her supporters took the floor to discuss the case, Kirkpatrick cut off the mike, adjourned the meeting and scurried out of the hall. He was joined by his opponent for the Local's presidency, one Jack Whitehouse.

Despite these antics, most of the 50 CWA members who attended the meeting stayed on for two hours, denouncing Kirkpatrick's walkout and discussing how to fight Margolis' firing and the wave of downgrades and layoffs hitting Local 9415.

Margolis met with further resistance by the bureaucracy at the October executive board meeting where she was granted the opportunity to present her case to the union leadership. Most of the officials present showed their pro-company bias by refusing to do anything more than agree to continue processing her grievance. They refused to even consider a motion submitted by Margolis which demanded of the company that she be reinstated with full back pay! Having had her union dues sent back, Margolis submitted another motion, that she retain full union rights and be permitted to run in the upcoming union elections. In a petulant display of contemptuous backstabbing, the executive board turned down this resolution as well.

Motions by several exec board members (who at least retained some shred of union militancy) to the effect that Margolis retain union membership while her grievance is being processed or that she be hired as a part-time union organizer (and thus retain union membership) were quashed by the Kirkpatrick machine. Kirkpatrick's "opponent" Whitehouse merely sat on his hands, obviously uninterested in what the company does to the union's militants.

Kirkpatrick then underlined his position at a special October union meeting to nominate candidates for the upcoming union elections. When Margolis was nominated for traffic rep to the executive board, Kirkpatrick ruled the nomination out of order on the grounds that union constitution and by-laws, according to his "reading," exclude Margolis from the CWA. Members of 9415 are well aware that when one of Kirkpatrick's cronies is involved he "reads" the rules with a different pair of glasses.

A number of people angrily shouted seconds to Margolis' nomination and one took the floor to denounce Kirkpatrick for his spineless capitulation to the company frame-up. Following what is now becoming a monthly ritual Kirkpatrick once more hastily adjourned the meeting and fled from the membership. Again a number of members stayed on and argued the issues raised by Margolis' firing. Subsequently, Margolis and the MAC have stated their intention to refuse to recognize Kirkpatrick's bureaucratic suppression of her nomination by running Margolis as a write-in candidate. Already a number of Local 9415 militants have come forward and offered to help in the write-in campaign.

Kirkpatrick and Whitehouse: Tweedledum and Tweedledee

Margolis' firing, the struggle to get her job back, her fight to be allowed to run for union office—all these have served as litmus tests for the various candidates for union office. While a few executive board members have in one way or another tried to defend Margolis (a reflection of the support for her case among the membership), most of the candidates for office have done absolutely nothing to fight this atrocity.

Especially noteworthy in this respect is

Kirkpatrick's presidential opponent, Jack Whitehouse. Militant talk is cheap at election time, and the challenger has gone to a lot of effort to pose as a real alternative to the sellout Kirkpatrick leadership. But Whitehouse has been silent on the Margolis case. Instead he has put all his energies into a "Jobs Committee" consisting of himself and a few "radical" supporters who have shamefacedly tried to cover their backing for him by "supporting the issues, not the man."

In fact, the "Jobs Committee" is simply an electoral vehicle for Whitehouse. All it has done is to call for enforcement of the union contract, while proposing *fining those members who work overtime!* As far as the Margolis defense effort goes, the "Jobs Committee" has said and done next to nothing.

An especially disgusting role has been played by those sympathetic to the views of the Progressive Labor Party. They have gone along with Whitehouse 100 percent, giving a fake "left" cover to his "Jobs Committee." This despite the fact that *Whitehouse in his former role as president of Local 9415 oversaw a purge of PL supporters from the Local!* Their stupidity is compounded by urging a

policy of going out on adventurist, ill-conceived "wildcats." In the past this has only served to get the best militants in the union fired.

The MAC, on the other hand, has put forward a program that speaks to the real objective needs of the telephone workers—an end to the company's reform-school-like work rules; a national strike for a full cost-of-living allowance and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; for workers control; for expropriation of the phone company with no compensation; for an independent workers party to struggle for a workers government.

Local 9415 members who are determined to fight the company instead of joining Kirkpatrick and Whitehouse on their knees will show their support for Jane Margolis by voting for her in the upcoming union election. The transformation of the CWA into a fighting union can only become a reality through mobilizing the union membership. Repudiation of the cowardly policies of the Kirkpatricks and Whitehouses and the election of MAC candidate Jane Margolis can be an important step forward for all phone workers! ■

SAN FRANCISCO, October 28—The fight to reinstate fired union militant Jane Margolis continues to be a major issue facing Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415. Margolis, a leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), is waging a determined campaign against her September 5 firing by Pacific Telephone for alleged "abuse" of a personal leave of absence.

As we reported earlier, Margolis' firing was a pure frame-up—a blatant attempt by the company to purge a long-time union militant who is vigorously fighting Pacific Telephone's drive to cut its workforce; the company is on a rampage of widespread harassment, firings, downgrades and layoffs. Pacific Telephone especially wanted to prevent Margolis, who had previously served as an executive board member in Oakland's CWA Local 9410, from running for the 9415 executive board as representative of the traffic department.

To accomplish these ends the company suspended Margolis, pending an "investigation," following her return from a six-day personal leave. Upon concluding this "investigation" PT&T bosses fired Margolis using as their excuse the two days she spent in transit to and from Philadelphia, where she had gone due to a serious illness in her family.

From the time of her suspension in mid-August Pacific Telephone had maintained that Margolis had "falsified records" concerning the leave. Rumors were whispered that she never left the Bay Area and had been seen walking United Farm Workers picket lines. The company alluded to a mysterious "source" who would prove that Margolis was somewhere else.

Confronted during the grievance procedure, PT&T was forced to admit that there never was any "source" (i.e., it had no reason for the suspension, and furthermore had lied to justify the act). The company now does not dispute any of the written evidence submitted by Margolis, which supports her statements in every detail. Nor does it claim that the personal leave was grounds for her firing. Instead, management, in effect, now bases the firing on the ludicrous assertion that Margolis should have been able to make the 6,000-mile trip to and from Philadelphia... instantaneously!

Phone workers, who daily have to face PT&T's incredibly arbitrary and vicious "labor discipline," were shocked by this "1984"-style grotesquerie. From the start the case has won widespread support and sympathy in the Local. During the first week of its existence, a Committee to Defend Jane Margolis collected more than \$100 in donations and gathered over 100 signatures to a petition condemning the firing, demanding immediate reinstatement of Margolis and calling upon the union to adopt a policy of retaining all fired and laid-off members in the union with full membership rights.

Bureaucratic Sabotage

While many union militants have come forward to defend Margolis—correctly

Philip Allen Frame-Up: The Facts Speak for Themselves

Age: 20 years.

Height: 5 feet, 3 inches.

Weight: 135 pounds.

Occupation: Student at Los Angeles City College (LACC), carpenter.

* * * * *

• **1 January 1975**—After New Year's Eve party at Whiskey-A-Go-Go in Los Angeles, Philip Allen joins curious crowd in front of broken store window. Police arrive. A fight ensues.

—Allen is confronted by four deputy sheriffs and beaten to the ground. During the fight one deputy sheriff killed, two wounded.

—Allen arrested, jailed and later informed he is charged with murder.

• **5 March 1975**—Allen released on bail of \$25,000 after 67 days in county jail.

• **1 July 1975**—Trial begins. Sole accuser is Deputy Sheriff Grimes. Says he knew "by instinct" his service revolver was missing.

—A lie detector test which Philip Allen took showing him to be innocent was not allowed into evidence at trial by the judge.

—No paraffin tests were performed on Allen, or on any of the deputies. This test would have been positive proof of who fired the gun.

—No fingerprints were found on the gun, although Grimes stated himself that he held the gun.

—Grimes admits to pulling trigger twice on revolver pointed at Allen's head while Allen was on the ground. Gun was empty.

—Prosecution claims Allen's motive derives from courses in Black Studies at LACC.

• **19 August 1975**—Allen found guilty of "voluntary manslaughter" and two counts of "assault with a deadly weapon on a peace officer."

• **1 October 1975**—Allen speaks at a rally to protest his frame-up and conviction.

• **2 October 1975, a.m.**—Allen sentenced on one assault count: five years to life. Granted bail of \$25,000 pending appeal. Judge "positive" that Allen is good bail risk.

• **2 October 1975, p.m.**—Bail revoked in judge's chambers. Judge says he has been informed Allen has been speaking publicly proclaiming his innocence and "agitating."

• **7 October 1975**—Formal motion to grant bail denied by the judge.

* * * * *

Support Philip Allen! Protest this frame-up and denial of democratic rights! Philip Allen's life is in danger—He must be freed now!

The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WV* to send messages of support and greatly needed contributions to the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.

Stop the Sellout in Canadian P.O. Strike

Break Trudeau's Wage Controls!

TORONTO, October 25 —Last Friday, Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) president Joe Morris announced that the 2-million-strong federation had no intention of mobilizing its ranks to defy the federal government's new wage control "guidelines." Morris' announcement came as leaders of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) prepared to scuttle their four-day-old national postal strike—a strike with the potential to spark militant action by the entire labor movement against prime minister Pierre Trudeau's anti-union attack. As we go to press, CUPW officials are preparing to resume negotiations with the government, and most outstanding issues appear to be "settled." "We're not really very far apart," said a union spokesman in Ottawa Wednesday.

CUPW leaders have "unofficially" announced that they would agree to a government wage offer, which they had denounced as unacceptable only days before. This offer based on the terms of Judge Jean Moisan's conciliation report, is identical to the sellout settlement reached with outside postalworkers in the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) last June—a 38 percent pay raise over a 30-month contract. Because of an escape clause providing for wage parity in the case of closely related groups of workers (such as CUPW and LCUC members), a settlement under the totally inadequate terms of the Moisan report would fall within the guidelines of the wage-control legislation. Thus bringing CUPW to heel would represent the first major victory for the government in its battle to implement the controls.

A Sellout in the Works

A settlement under Moisan's terms would also mean a grave defeat for the ranks of a historically militant union. Inside postal workers in CUPW face speed-up, job dislocation, increased surveillance and eventual layoffs under a new automation scheme (known as MAPP) which the government is introducing to "rationalize" postal operation. Under rank-and-file pressure, union officials had made the right to negotiate over technological change (denied to postal workers under the terms of the reactionary Public Service Staff Relations Act) a key element in their original contract demands.

CUPW negotiators now express satisfaction with Moisan's "solution" to the MAPP question—which provides for binding arbitration of disputed issues. Thus postal workers are guaranteed that technological change in the post office will not be to their benefit, but will instead lead to worsening job conditions and a cut in the workforce.

National CUPW president Joe Davidson and his fellow bureaucrats have been setting the stage for a sellout for some time. The union leaders' original contract demands—including a 71 per-

cent wage increase with full cost-of-living escalator, a one-year contract and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—gave them a "radical" veneer sharply at variance with their demonstrated inability to defend the membership's interests. As far back as last May, Toronto local president Lou Murphy warned that the union leadership had no real intention of fighting for its demands, shrugging off the "30-for-40" demand in particular as "negotiable... we don't expect it" (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 16 May).

A year ago the CUPW tops disaffiliated from their joint bargaining unit with the LCUC rather than take steps to realize the democratic merger of the two unions which is so necessary. They then launched an abortive raiding campaign on LCUC drivers and carriers, seeking to force a "merger" on their own bureaucratic terms by swallowing the other union whole.

Last spring, when management fired 47 militants in Montreal and suspended



UPI



UPI

Top: Jean Claude Parrot (left), chief negotiator for the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, along with CUPW national president Joe Davidson last week. Bottom: Striking Canadian postal workers in Montreal.

hundreds more for protesting the use of scab "casual" labor, the CUPW national executive refused to call a national strike in their defense, promising instead to raise the question of rehiring the militants during contract negotiations. Now the issue has been shunted off to the grievance procedure, and even Davidson admits that the union has little chance of winning the case.

For a National Strike of All Postal Workers!

Not content to give management the green light for job-cutting automation schemes, junk the officially adopted wage demands, sabotage postal workers' unity and abandon victimized militants, the CUPW tops have now worked out a "deal" with LCUC leaders to force outside postal workers to cross CUPW picket lines during the strike! What is needed instead is a national strike of all postal workers, which would also reopen the LCUC contract to provide job protection against MAPP and lay the basis for a democratic merger of the two

unions under one contract. In addition to winning the CUPW demands this could provide the necessary impetus for a massive counteroffensive against the anti-labor wage controls.

The CLC's recipe for "fighting" the government's austerity program is quite different: pressure Trudeau through the reformist New Democratic Party and negotiate a "fairer" system of restraints with government and management representatives on the tripartite Labor Relations Council. But only a militant mobilization of labor and defiant strike action, not class collaboration, can provide a real strategy for successfully smashing the "guidelines."

By calling for labor solidarity in defense of their strike and against the wage controls, CUPW could have spearheaded the fight. However, the union leadership, through both its past actions and the impending sellout, has sought to prevent the necessary labor counteroffensive from materializing.

Davidson and Murphy cannot lead such a struggle precisely because their perspectives are limited to pro-capitalist

business unionism. Nor can the various ostensible oppositions in the postal unions—from "militant" Montreal local president Marcel Perrault, to the economist Postal Action Committee (PAC) in Toronto (led by the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labor, analogue to the U.S. Progressive Labor Party), to supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG)—all of whom fail to raise the necessary class-struggle program. Their lack of a consistent program for struggle against capitalism has led all of these would-be militants to commit betrayals which are qualitatively no different from those of Davidson & Co.

Thus Perrault refused to call for official strike action to defend the victimized workers in his local in May, or to support the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) postal mechanics strike two months earlier. Today he sits on the union negotiating team, reportedly wielding great influence, while the membership's demands are being thrown away. As for the Postal Action Committee, some of its leading members went so far as to cross picket lines and scab on the PSAC strikers. During the current CUPW strike PAC has raised no demands beyond those of the union leadership. The RMG supporters' reformist trade-union strategy led them to bloc with the bureaucrats by voting to end a national wildcat in April 1974 at a point when the strike was still solid and the only "concession" from management was agreement to arbitrate the dispute. Today they flounder aimlessly in search of some elusive "new mass vanguard" to give them leadership.

No confidence can be given to such fakers. Militant postal workers must fight within their unions to replace the sellout bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership which can show the way forward for the entire working class against capitalist attacks. Caucuses must be formed which go beyond simple trade unionism, putting forward a full political program to expropriate the capitalists and put the working class in power. ■

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Puerto Rican Maoists Stabbed in the Back by China's UN Vote

Last year Chinese premier Chou En-lai coined a new epigram. "Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution," he said, and Maoists throughout the world immediately took up this inanity. But anyone naive enough to believe that such a statement has any relevance to the actual policies of the Peking bureaucracy was in for a rude awakening on August 20. On that day China abstained in the United Nations Decolonization Committee on a resolution calling on the U.S. to refrain from any measure that would hinder "the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination" (see "China Withholds Support for Puerto Rican Independence," *Young Spartacus* No. 37, November 1975, for more details).

Naturally, Mao's Puerto Rican apologists were quick to make excuses for this stab in the back, the product of U.S.-Chinese "détente" and Chou's policy that "Soviet social-imperialism" is the "number one enemy" (the resolution was introduced by Cuba and backed by the Soviet bloc). But this Chinese action will certainly raise questions in many minds concerning the revolutionary credentials of those who back a government that *abstains* on Puerto Rico's right to independence.

Maoists Squeeze Left

There has never been a strong ostensibly socialist movement in Puerto Rico. The Socialist Party enjoyed a brief period of popularity in the 1930's but soon lost all credibility after entering the colonial government and actively helping to break the militant 1934 sugar workers strike. The Puerto Rican Communist Party first capitalized on the SP's demise, then lost its working-class support after uncritically supporting the bourgeois autonomist (i.e., anti-independence) Popular Party of Muñoz Marín in 1938 and subsequently liquidating itself into the Populares in 1943 when Stalin scuttled the Comintern.

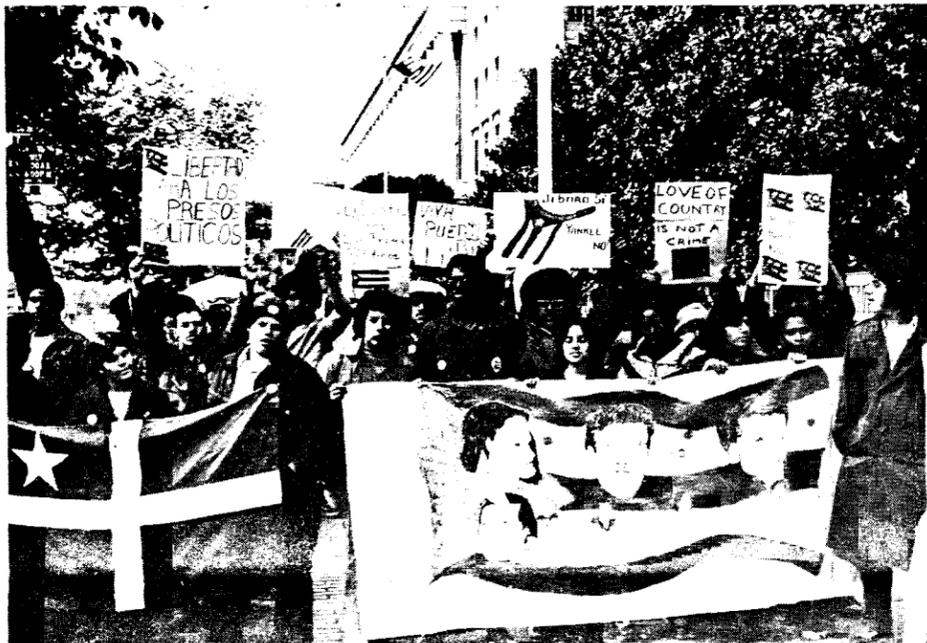
From the 1940's to the 1960's the Puerto Rican left was dominated by bourgeois nationalist organizations. After the virtual disappearance of the Nationalist Party following the 1950 Jayuya uprising, the largest groups were the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), both of which had their strongest support in the university. However, after a decade of largely fruitless student agitation and a brief flirtation with guerrillaism, the MPI in 1968 began a process of transformation into the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), a party which combines Menshevik theories of "two-stage revolution" with virulent nationalism. It calls for an "independentista united front" in the elections, which binds the workers to the class enemy (in the form of the bourgeois PIP).

The PSP enjoyed rapid growth since 1969, now having a daily newspaper and several thousand supporters both on the island and within the Puerto Rican community on the mainland. By virtually sewing up the slot of reformist misleader of the working class, the PSP has effectively forced its opponents on the Puerto Rican left to adopt a stance of apparent opposition to its grossly class-collaborationist policies. For the several Maoist groups this has meant rejection of the "two-stage revolution" schema and the nationalist "divided nation" theory. But this has been done on a purely empirical basis leading to total confusion rather than a revolutionary Marxist program.

Thus Resistencia Puertorriqueña

(Puerto Rican Resistance, a New York-centered group sympathetic to the Communist Labor Party) rejects the perspective of capitalist independence for Puerto Rico, denouncing "the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie that desperately tries... to drag the Puerto Rican working class on its tail and to make the Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S. into a mere appendix of the reformist struggle for the banana republic of Puerto Rico" ("Analysis of the Political Declaration of the PSP in the USA," October 1973). Another group, El Comité, which also goes by the name of Movimiento de Izquierda Nacional Puertorriqueño (Movement of the Puerto Rican National Left), adds specific arguments:

"...the non-existence of a significant



Demonstrators in Washington, D.C., October 1973, demand freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoners. WV Photo

peasantry; the objective alliance of the local ruling class to U.S. Imperialism as its very existence, its very dependence on the continued imperialist domination of Puerto Rico and the existence of a petty bourgeoisie whose interests become closely bound to U.S. capitalists' interests. These aspects of Puerto Rican society coupled with the existence of a numerically large working class determine that strategically the struggle for Puerto Rican independence is fundamentally and predominantly a struggle for socialism."

—*Obreros en Marcha*, 24 July 1975

The Spectre of Trotskyism

While leftist posturing toward the PSP is to be expected, the danger in arguing for proletarian revolution in a colonial country is clear to every Stalinist: behind the perspective of socialist revolution lies the spectre of Trotskyism. Such charges are already being thrown around the Maoist milieu. At a debate last July the Movimiento Socialista Puertorriqueño (MSP—Puerto Rican Socialist Movement), a group based on the island and uncritically supported by El Comité, was accused of "assuming a 'Trotskyist' position in opposition to the 'two-stage revolution'." The MSP reportedly answered by denouncing "mechanical applications of other revolutionary experiences" (*ibid.*).

The "other" experiences alluded to, of course, are Mao's "theories" of "New Democracy" and a "bloc of four classes." In contrast to the Mao Stalin call for a "first stage" of "democratic" bourgeois revolution, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution holds that during the epoch of imperialist decay the weak bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are inextricably tied to domestic reactionaries and the imperialist powers. Fearful of mobilizing the exploit-

ed masses, the native capitalists are incapable of carrying out even the most basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, such as national independence. It is up to the proletariat, by establishing its own class rule with the support of the oppressed urban and peasant masses, to fulfill these democratic tasks. And with the workers in power there can be no "Chinese Wall," no barrier between a first and second stage, as the revolution must quickly pass on to socialist measures in an uninterrupted process.

Rather than coming to grips with Trotskyism, the Puerto Rican Maoists seek refuge in a vulgar empiricism which denies the validity of the historical lessons of the world communist movement. The MSP restricts itself to talk of "concrete

analysis of concrete conditions." Resistencia Puertorriqueña and El Comité go slightly further, speaking of special conditions in an "industrial colony." The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Movement (PRRWO) talks of a "capitalist colony," but quickly adds that there "may or may not" be a "one-stage revolution, depending on certain concrete conditions." Having had somewhat more experience in Mao-Thought than the other groups, the PRRWO is careful to state that "a certain degree of capitalist development" was correct in China, and that the Mao Stalin Menshevik program of "two-stage revolution" is valid for "normal" colonies ("In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism: The Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead," November 1974).

Formula for Betrayal

The history of the workers movement is unfortunately filled with bloody defeats resulting from class-collaborationist alliances with "progressive" capitalists that lie at the heart of the reformist "two-stage" hoax. The Shanghai massacre of 1927 was the direct result of Stalin's political bloc with "anti-imperialist" General Chiang Kai-shek. The Great Organizer of Defeats allowed Franco to drown the Spanish workers in blood rather than upset his "democratic" imperialist "allies" by permitting a revolutionary assault on capitalist rule. In 1965 a similar deadly blow was administered to the Indonesian workers and peasants with the massacre of half a million leftist militants. Resistencia Puertorriqueña chalks this defeat up to the "strategic line of Moscow," completely ignoring the responsibility of Mao & Co. in encouraging the Indonesian Commun-

ist Party to restrain the revolutionary movement and support the bourgeois nationalist Sukarno.

From last October's Madison Square Garden extravaganza organized by the PSP on the liberal theme of a "Bicentennial Without Colonies" to this fall's Havana Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, the Maoists have vigorously denounced "Soviet social-imperialism" and the Russians' sacrifice of national liberation struggles on the altar of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. They are fond of citing Chile as a case where the pro-Moscow CP's reformism led to a bloody debacle. Yet they are silent about China's role. How could they justify the refusal to accept a single political refuge? (In fact, the head of the Chilean Maoists was able to reach Peking following the 1973 rightist coup only by way of the USSR!) And what excuse do the Maoists give for the fact that China was among the first to accord diplomatic recognition and negotiate trade agreements with the butcher Pinochet?

The treacherous implications of Maoist Stalinist strategy can be clearly seen right next door to Puerto Rico, in the Dominican Republic. The Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD—Dominican People's Movement), the largest pro-Peking organization in Latin America, in 1972 signed the Agreement of Santiago with not only the bourgeois-nationalist PRD of Juan Bosch (the Dominican equivalent of Muñoz Marín's Populares) but also with the executioner of the 1965 Santo Domingo uprising, General Wessin y Wessin! Naturally the Agreement provided for the maintenance of the capitalist army and failed to expropriate the agrarian bourgeoisie.

Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

The Maoists have rejected the PSP's theory of the "divided nation," which holds that Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are part of a spiritual nation united by Eastern Airlines' "air bridge" between New York City and San Juan. Although erroneously viewing Puerto Ricans in the U.S. as a "nationality" or "national minority" (they are immigrants), the Maoists have correctly concluded that "the majority of Puerto Rican people in the U.S. are objectively an integral part of the proletariat in this country" (El Comité, "The Process of Puerto Rican Migration and the U.S. Working Class," January 1975).

Yet Puerto Rican Maoists in the U.S. remain trapped in a nationalist framework, to which Maoism provides no alternative. Their independent organizational existence flowed from earlier "Third World" poly-vanguardist politics, when they accepted "divided nation" theories and the rest of the nationalist baggage. With a turn toward workerist Maoism and away from the glorification of ghetto rebellions, the rationale for a separate political grouping of Puerto Ricans disappeared. The barrios of the South Bronx and East Harlem are no longer the limits of their world.

For the last several years, the PRRWO, El Comité and Resistencia Puertorriqueña have flailed around unable to find an organizational anchor in the splintered U.S. Maoist milieu. The PRRWO, together with the Black Workers Congress, careened from the Revolutionary Union to the October League to the Communist League and is now drifting aimlessly in the hazy mists of Mao-Thought, searching for a "multi-national vanguard party." While the former

Independence for Puerto Rico!

Young Lords Party now denounces the reformism of the RU and OL, and the "Trotskyism" of the CL, it is evident from the polemics that bureaucratic appetites (namely fear of being swallowed up in a national organization) have been a major reason for its inability to find a home.

But the problem goes far beyond organization. Both the national Maoist organizations and those based in the Puerto Rican ghettos of New York City are unclear on the relation of Puerto Ricans to a U.S.-wide party for the same reasons they have wandered all over the map on the black question (a "Negro nation" in the South, black nation "of a new type," "self-determination for the Black Belt," etc.): there is no Maoist strategy for the advanced capitalist countries, nor does the Peking bureaucracy give any concrete political direction to its acolytes outside China.

Neither is there a Maoist International, as this would only hinder Chinese foreign policy maneuvers. Puerto Rican Maoists are reduced to placing their faith in an elusive "proletarian style that joins communists around the world" ("In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism..."). For Stalinism and its Maoist variant, the doctrine of "socialism in one country" is the reflection of a nationally insular bureaucratic ruling caste seeking to protect its privileges by working out a deal with imperialism. For them world revolution is a threat, and an International thus unnecessary.

The Trotskyist movement is armed with a Marxist program uniting the struggle of proletarian revolutionaries in the semi-colonial countries, the advanced capitalist states and the deformed workers states. Rather than resorting to limp "Puerto Rican exceptionalist" arguments, the theory of permanent revolution explains why no significant section of the colonial bourgeoisie is willing to fight for independence from imperialism, a fact which is just as true in Indonesia or the Dominican Republic as in Puerto Rico. And despite the destruction of the Fourth International by the advocates of Pabloist revisionism those renegades who abandoned the struggle for an independent Trotskyist party in order to tail after the pro-Moscow Stalinists, Maoists and Guevarists—authentic Trotskyists continue to struggle today for the rebirth of the world party of socialist revolution. —Immediate Independence for Puerto Rico!

For a Puerto Rican Workers Republic in a Soviet Federation of the Caribbean! ■

PDC Telegram

29 October 1975

Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners
Box 164, 161 East Houston St.
New York, New York 10002

The Partisan Defense Committee solidarizes with the demand for unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners. Their imprisonment is an outrage against all who struggle in the interest of the oppressed! Free Collazo, Lebrón, Cordero, Flores and Miranda!

Partisan Defense Committee

FALN Bombs Symbols of Colonial Rule

NEW YORK, October 27—In what seems destined to become an annual event, a chain of bombings early this morning hit four New York City banks, the U.S. mission to the United Nations, three Chicago office buildings and the State Department in Washington D.C. No injuries have been reported. As in the bombing of five New York banks a year ago yesterday, credit was claimed by the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Puerto Rico. An FALN message discovered in a New York phone booth said the "simultaneously coordinated attack against Yanki government and monopoly capitalist institutions" marked the first anniversary of the organization and commemorated the Puerto Rican nationalist uprising of 1950. The communiqué demanded the immediate independence of Puerto Rico and the freeing of Puerto Rican political prisoners, including the five nationalists imprisoned in the early 1950's for attacks on Blair House and Congress.

The bourgeoisie's response to the

bombings is completely predictable. They will scream about "radicals and terrorism" while at the same time stepping up repressive police measures. But the ineffectual bombings of the FALN cannot be measured on the same scale as the terrorism of the bourgeoisie against the working masses. The capitalist statesmen who now profess pious indignation are servants of the ruling class which has for decades sucked the blood of the Puerto Rican people. These are the statesmen who advise, applaud and bankroll the torturers and jailers of the Chilean working masses. These are the gentlemen who have murdered millions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The Spartacist League stands opposed to the strategy of terrorism carried out by the FALN—not out of some moral abhorrence of "violence" but because the historical experience of the working-class movement shows the futility of such individualistic terrorist acts.

We unambiguously side with the outrage of the oppressed against the oppressors. We uncompromisingly support Puerto Rican independence and liberty for the nationalist prisoners. In this context we defend the FALN against the bourgeois state.

But we also know that the terrorism of the FALN is a dead end, a pointless detour from the fight to free the working masses of Puerto Rico from imperialist bondage. The minor damage inflicted by the FALN this year and last does no real harm to U.S. imperialism; its resources are not drained by replacing some plaster and a few window panes. The power of the bourgeoisie derives from its ownership of the means of production, backed up by its army and police. Blowing up a few buildings or assassinating this or that official enrages the bourgeoisie but does not even momentarily weaken the grip of the colonialist fist.

While we understand the legitimate rage of those who daily feel the boot of U.S. imperialism upon their necks, we cannot defend the FALN in those instances when frustration leads it to acts of indiscriminate terrorism such as last year's bombing of the Fraunces Tavern in Manhattan.

That bombing was utterly despicable and indefensible. The bomb was knowingly placed so as to kill and maim as many people as possible who happened to be passing by the restaurant at lunch hour. Among the four killed and 44 wounded were many working people who were in the area because they worked there. The revolutionary vanguard must distinguish such truly criminal acts from misguided attempts to attack the real oppressors of the Puerto Rican people and symbols of their authority such as banks, government offices, etc.

The powerless acts of isolated terrorists, of no consequence to capitalist rule, can only boomerang against their initiators and, more generally, against the radical and labor movements. As the FBI entered the case immediately in all three cities bombed today, a crackdown on Puerto Rican communities, and left and nationalist militants in particular, is threatened. This must not be tolerated!

Those who are committed to ending imperialist rule in Puerto Rico must not permit themselves to be sidetracked into the dead end of impotent terrorist acts, which are a diversion from and substitute for organizing the revolutionary vanguard party of the working class. Only the massed power of the conscious working class of Puerto Rico and the U.S., led by Leninist parties, can break the fetters of colonial enslavement through the revolutionary overturn of international capitalism. ■



Irving Flores



Lolita Lebrón



Rafael Cancel Miranda



Andrés Figueroa Cordero



Oscar Collazo

Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners!

Twenty-five years ago this October 30 the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party staged an armed uprising in the town of Jayuya, proclaiming a "Second Republic of Puerto Rico" (the first being the short-lived 1868 "Grito de Lares" revolt against Spanish colonial rule). The 1950 uprising was brutally repressed by U.S. forces. Hated mercenary police held searches at gunpoint, the National Guard fired on homes of independence fighters and entire towns were bombed by Air Force planes. Hundreds on the island were arrested, including Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos. The Jayuya revolt was an expression of despair, a heroic gesture, rather than a powerful proletarian uprising.

Shortly afterward, on November 1, two Nationalist Party members who were unable to leave the U.S. in order to take part in the revolt shot their way into Blair House—residence of U.S. president Harry Truman—in an attempt to assassinate the commander-in-chief of American imperialism. Both Nationalists were seriously wounded, Torresola fatally. Collazo received the death penalty. As a result of mass protest Collazo's sentence was later commuted to life in prison. He

has already sat in jail longer than any other political prisoner in the U.S.

Later, in 1954, four other Nationalists carried out a gun attack on the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding five congressmen, to dramatize the cause of Puerto Rican independence. Still in jail, they are: Lolita Lebrón at Alderson, West Virginia (with a sentence of 16 years 8 months to 50 years), Rafael Cancel Miranda at the federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois (25 to 75 years), Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores (25 to 75 years each) at Leavenworth, Kansas, where Collazo is also being held.

Although they were directed at bourgeois politicians responsible for the perpetuation of colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation, the attacks on Congress and Truman did not advance the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Nevertheless, it is the duty of all socialists and class-conscious workers to defend those who lash out against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the oppressed. We demand: Unconditional independence for Puerto Rico! Immediate freedom for Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores! ■

Teamster Politics: Trade Unionists and Trotskyists

by Chris Knox

Teamster Politics (New York: Monad Press, 1975) is the third in a projected four-book series by Farrell Dobbs on the historic organizing done by Trotskyists in the Teamsters union in the 1930's. The first, *Teamster Rebellion* (1972), told the story of the great strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 which transformed a bitterly anti-union town into a bastion of industrial unionism and class struggle. The Trotskyist leadership of General Drivers Local 574, of which Dobbs was a part, organized local drivers and inside (warehouse) workers in mass numbers for the first

REVIEW: *Teamster Politics* by Farrell Dobbs

time. They successfully faced down vicious union-busting attacks by local employers, murderous cops and the National Guard in three hard-fought strikes. Combined with the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the San Francisco general strike of the same year, the Minneapolis truck drivers strikes demonstrated the potential for revolutionary leadership of the working class after years of betrayals and failure by the conservative AFL union bureaucracy and ultra-left "Third Period" sectarian Stalinists. These victories paved the way for the subsequent rise of the industrial-union CIO.

The second book, *Teamster Power* (1973), chronicled most of the succeeding seven years of militant union organizing in which the same leadership extended the 1934 victory to other workers and the unemployed. Local 574 (later 544) was forged as a model of democratic, class-struggle unionism, fully independent of employers, the government and the reactionary Teamsters bureaucracy of Dan Tobin. Most noteworthy among the achievements of this period was the campaign to organize over-the-road drivers led by Dobbs, as a result of which the long-haul drivers were incorporated into the previously federalized Teamsters for the first time. Forcing recognition even from Tobin (and retrospectively from James R. Hoffa, who worked under Dobbs in the organizing), this eleven-state campaign achieved the first uniform minimum wage scale, laying the foundation for the powerful Teamsters union of succeeding years.

Going back over the same years covered in the second book, *Teamster Politics* demonstrates that organizing unions and running strikes weren't the only things that occupied Trotskyists and other class-struggle militants in the Teamsters union. The book traces such themes, only lightly covered in earlier volumes, as FBI harassment of militant union organizers and a notorious "fink suit" raid on the union's records. These were only preludes to the 1941 Smith Act assault against the Minneapolis 18—Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders who were clapped in jail for opposing the imperialist World War II. *Teamster Politics* devotes four chapters to the brilliant unemployed organizing and 1939 WPA strike led by Local 544; and it covers in detail the in-fighting

in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, a third-party formation which populists and Stalinists succeeded in tying to the Democratic Party.

Fighting Imperialist War and the Fascists

In almost every chapter, the reader can find striking contrasts between the revolutionary work of the Trotskyists during the 1930's and the miserable reformism of the present-day SWP, which continues to call itself "Trotskyist" only through deliberate misrepresentation. Thus when Roosevelt escalated war



Local 544 Union Defense stopped meetings of the Silver Shirts in late 1930's and drove the fascists out of Minneapolis.

preparations sharply in 1938, the SWP responded with a campaign against imperialist war which was at once taken into the unions. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union passed a Trotskyist resolution for "class struggle opposition to all imperialist wars." It affirmed that "the government's preparations for war are a mortal danger to organized labor," and noted that "the purely pacifist, non-working-class opposition to war has already collapsed in Congress" (*Socialist Appeal*, 2 April 1938). In contrast, during the 1960's, the SWP violently opposed a working-class orientation for the antiwar movement, supported pacifist draft resistance and mouthed social-patriotic slogans such as "Bring Our Boys Home" in order to attract liberals in Congress.

When the Silver Shirts, one of the small fascist groups which sprang up in the late 1930's, attempted to establish itself in Minneapolis with mass meetings in 1938, the Trotskyists led in the formation of a mass Local 544 union defense guard which successfully prevented the meetings and quickly drove the Silver Shirt menace out of town. Not for an instant did the Trotskyists even consider raising such treacherous bourgeois-liberal slogans as "democratic rights for fascists," yet the SWP today supports precisely this slogan. Moreover, the SWP also opposes the call raised by the Spartacist League for labor/black defense guards in Boston to defend endangered schoolchildren from racist mobs, calling instead on the federal government to send troops.

Dobbs describes Trotskyist opposition

to the Wagner Labor Relations Act and a Minnesota "Slave Labor Law" copy in terms which would make the SWP of today howl:

"This piece of legerdemain [the Wagner Act] was hailed by trade union bureaucrats throughout the country as 'Labor's Magna Charta' [sic]. Like the authors of the Wagner Act, they hoped it would enable them to steer the workers away from self-reliant action and toward dependence on the capitalist government."

Today the SWP bows low in reverence before the AFL-CIO bureaucrats such as Cesar Chavez, and utters not a peep of protest at measures such as the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, a modern "Slave Labor Law" recently foisted on California farm workers by Chavez.

Adaptation to Rooseveltians in the Unions?

As the record of a participant in a unique chapter in U.S. labor history and in an outstanding example of revolutionary trade-union work, Dobbs' series is of the greatest interest not merely to historians but chiefly to revolutionists, who seek to profit from the Minneapolis example in order to advance the struggle for socialism. But for Trotskyists, a vital aspect of the history should be critical reassessment in the light of the continual need to sharpen the revolutionary program and its application. This aspect is completely missing from Dobbs' accounts. The history is presented simply as a record of the past, with no attempt to draw lessons for the present.

Organizer had failed to conduct a campaign for an independent candidate to oppose Roosevelt in the elections.

The bloc with progressive trade-union leaders willing to follow the Trotskyists' lead in union organizing was vital to the success of the revolutionary movement's work in the unions in the 1930's. But it was not this to which Trotsky objected. The deformation was that—as can be seen in the pages of the *Northwest Organizer* this bloc was allowed to interfere with the struggle for a revolutionary program in the unions. On class-struggle trade unionism the *Organizer* was excellent, but on political subjects, it tended to represent two views: one revolutionary, and one reformist. The program of the Trotskyists for workers power mingled with the reformism of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (F-LP) in part because of the Trotskyists' own tactical confusion on the handling of this middle-class, third-party hangover from the LaFollette movement of 1924.

The Farmer-Labor Party

The nature of the F-LP as a "two-class party," attempting the hopeless task of reconciling the interests of two classes in one party and program, was recognized by the Trotskyists, as Dobbs points out in *Teamster Politics*. The Declaration of Principles of the Workers Party (1935) stated that, "any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct an appeal to all classes," is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to

Specifically, Dobbs makes no mention of criticisms of the SWP's adaptation to pro-Rooseveltian progressives in the trade unions during the late 1930's. These criticisms were raised by Trotsky in discussions with Dobbs, James P. Cannon and others in 1940. Trotsky sought to convince the SWP leaders of the need to give critical support to the Communist Party in the approaching presidential elections in order to reach the CP's worker ranks, who had just been ordered (following the Hitler-Stalin pact) into a 180-degree turn away from support for Roosevelt and toward opposition to imperialist war. Meeting stiff resistance to this maneuver (which was never carried out), Trotsky saw as the reason the bloc with anti-Stalinist progressives, "not only fakery but honest rank and file," which the SWP had established in the unions, as in Minneapolis.

"Yes they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive. You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy.... You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists."
—Trotsky, *Writings*, 1939-40

Trotsky singled out the *Northwest Organizer*, the Teamster paper edited by Dobbs, as "a photograph of our adaptation to the Rooseveltians." The *Northwest Organizer* was founded in 1935 by Dobbs to aid the over-the-road organizing campaign, and it thus figures prominently in both *Teamster Power* and *Teamster Politics*. Trotsky was particularly concerned that the *Northwest*

the big capitalists...." In 1929, in a *Platform of the Communist Opposition*, issued just after their bureaucratic expulsion from the Stalinist Communist Party, the Trotskyists had been even more emphatic:

"The organization of two classes in one party, a Farmer-Labor Party, must be rejected in principle in favor of the separate organization of the workers, and the formation of a political alliance with the poor farmers under the leadership of the former. The opportunist errors of the [Communist] Party comrades in the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and other states [in 1924] flowed inevitably from and were secondary to the basically false policy of a two-class party, in which the farmer and worker are ostensibly on an 'equal basis,' but where in reality, the petty-bourgeois ideology of the former actually dominates."

—*Militant*, 15 February 1929

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota had already completed its "surrender to the big capitalists" before the 1934 strike when Floyd B. Olson, its key leader and the governor who sent the National Guard against the strike, placed it firmly in the camp of Roosevelt. However, the Minneapolis AFL unions which came to follow the lead of Local 544 on trade-union matters were the main trade-union base of the F-LP. This reflected considerable illusions in the F-LP and in Olson among the rank-and-file workers.

The Minneapolis Trotskyists "solved" this problem by treating the middle-class F-LP as though it were a reformist workers party, doing prolonged entry work and giving critical support to its candidates in the elections. The thrust of

Pass the New York ERA!

their slogans was to make the F-LP truly independent of capitalist politics, and to put it firmly on the organizational base of the unions and not the ward clubs. The latter were represented way out of proportion to the size of their membership and were the chief vehicle for Stalinist penetration of the F-LP.

But the F-LP was not a reformist workers party; it was a party in which the mass organizations of the workers were subordinated to petty-bourgeois and bourgeois class interests. Its commitment to Roosevelt suppressed the class contradictions within the F-LP still further, since the New Deal was a bourgeois program in no way representing the interests of workers. The revolutionists' central task was to break labor from the New Deal Democrats who posed as champions of the plebian masses. The two central demands of the Trotskyist—break with Roosevelt, base the F-LP organizationally on the unions—should have been made the *preconditions* to any electoral support to the F-LP.

Split the Two-Class Party!

Backward workers not yet willing to break with the F-LP and support socialist candidates could still have been approached in the course of the struggle for revolutionary politics through the unions, since the unions formed the potential basis for a real workers party movement. To the extent that they thought that the Farmer-Labor Party *ought* to be held strictly accountable to the labor movement, the masses of union members in Minneapolis, while still far from revolutionary politics, formed the basis for splitting the Farmer-Labor movement along class lines programmatically and organizationally, thus establishing the possibility for real independent working-class political action.

The Trotskyists succeeded in mobilizing enough mass union support to begin this necessary splitting process. In 1938 a district F-LP convention defeated the reformist-Stalinist clique and passed a militant resolution against imperialist war, and in the same year the trade unions chose the Minneapolis mayoral candidate by mobilizing to defeat the Stalinists. The SWP correctly withdrew its own candidate in order to give critical support.

The *Northwest Organizer* reflected adaptation to progressive trade unionists primarily through its attitude to the F-LP. Although it reported the efforts of Trotskyists and the trade-union caucus to make the F-LP independent, base it on the unions and steer it in the direction of a national labor party, the paper also avoided angering F-LPers by muting its criticism of F-LP candidates during elections. Sometimes criticism was non-existent, and rarely did the paper attack the subordination of the F-LP to Roosevelt. On the death of Olson in 1936, it carried a completely uncritical eulogy, in which Olson's ideas of reforming capitalism "peacefully and legally" were implicitly supported. Subsequently, the paper featured a motto, "Keep faith with Floyd"! In 1940 it failed to mention, even in the form of letters to the editor, the desirability of a trade-union candidate to oppose Roosevelt.

Despite their errors, the Trotskyists set a record in Minneapolis of which revolutionists can be proud, and which is certainly not besmirched by the galloping degeneration of the SWP into reformism during the mid-1960's. Class struggle union militants and revolutionists of today should study Dobbs' books for the positive examples they contain, viewing the record with a critical eye. Trotsky indicated the corrective in 1940: "Our real role is that of third competitor," distinct from both Stalinists and "progressives." While prepared to undertake principled blocs and united fronts for common action, the Spartacist League supports the formation of caucuses struggling openly for the Transitional Program within the unions. There must be no confusion of the revolutionary program with the reformism of simple trade unionism. ■

This November 4, voters in New York State and New Jersey will vote on whether to add to their state constitutions an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) which asserts that women are entitled to "equality of rights under the law." The bills are expected to pass in both states. Proponents of the ERA view these state votes as significant mainly in keeping up the momentum of their drive to ratify the federal ERA. The National Organization of Women is reportedly calling for a "women's strike" on October 29 to publicize the New York State and New Jersey votes.

The federal Equal Rights Amendment, whose wording is virtually identical, requires a "yes" vote in 38 states before the March 1979 deadline to ratify the 1972 Congressional vote and thereby establish the ERA as the 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. New York and New Jersey have already voted in support of the federal measure, but the ERA is still four states shy. Opinion polls indicate that a majority of the U.S. population favors the bill. But the foam-flecked anti-ERA campaign spearheaded by reactionary ideologues is having an effect; Nebraska and Tennessee rescinded their ratification votes.

That the amendment—one simple sentence affirming equality of the sexes under law—is so passionately contested is a measure of an increasingly hard-line polarization on social issues such as race and sex. "Operation Wake-up," one of the myriad anti-women's liberation groups springing up, claims 100,000 members according to the *New York Times* of 18 September. In their rabid opposition to the ERA, the medievalists of the Catholic hierarchy, the "right-to-lifers" and the racist anti-busing mobs have acquired an uneasy bloc partner: a sizeable section of the left movement including, most prominently, the Communist Party. Nervously seeking to distinguish themselves from groups like Phyllis Schlafly's "Stop the ERA"—which fears the "unisex" amendment will entice "happy housewives" out of their homes—the leftists argue that the ERA jeopardizes existing protective legislation for women workers.

In its simply stated form ("equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any state on account of sex"), the ERA represents a bourgeois-democratic right. If passed it should overturn at least 200 laws in New York State concerning areas such as employment, credit, taxation and education. Despite the bland assurance of the anti-ERA leftists in presenting the bill as a bourgeois conspiracy against women workers, it is far from clear what effect the ERA would have on existing protective legislation.

It is true that the ERA is an expression of bourgeois liberalism which includes some not-so-liberal bourgeois elements among its backers. The bourgeoisie will always try to "take away with the right hand what it grants with the left," to manipulate in its own interests formally democratic advances. Within the legal framework of the ERA, protective legislation applicable to women only (e.g., maximum hours, weight limits, compulsory overtime, cleanliness of work facilities) could be ruled unconstitutional, with harmful consequences for women workers. But the extension of protective laws to both sexes is equally compatible with the ERA.

Protective legislation is itself a two-edged sword: restrictions on the working conditions permitted for women have historically functioned both to inhibit the bosses' merciless exploitation of one section of the workforce and to exclude women workers from certain high-paying jobs. Numerous state protective laws

have already been declared abrogated under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The fate of protective laws rests ultimately not on judicial interpretation but on the class struggle. If the ERA is passed, employers will certainly seek to use it as a means to intensify the exploitation of working people; it is the responsibility of the labor movement to struggle to extend protective legislation to men. Those who oppose the ERA because of potential employer manipulation have already accepted an anti-struggle perspective which sees as the source of progressive social change the "benevolence" of the liberal bourgeoisie. The ERA is a legalistic, token statement of sexual equality. We certainly do not oppose it. In supporting it, however, we do not credit it with the power to effect any fundamental solution to the oppression of women in capitalist society. Like any bourgeois-democratic reform, the ERA will acquire content only if in the hands of the class-conscious proletariat it is used as a weapon to increase the working masses' unity, consciousness and capacity to struggle for power.

Whereas communists seek to polarize the women's movement along class lines, winning a section of it to the side of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, the reformist Socialist Workers Party supports the ERA in order to

stump for the Democratic Party. An SWP-sponsored forum October 18 in New York City featured state senator Carole Bellamy; the SWP remained silent when Bellamy argued that the ERA should be supported because the ability of women to bring more money home would strengthen the family. While refusing to allow supporters of the Spartacist League to distribute an announcement of a forum on the ERA, the SWP publicized an ERA benefit featuring Gloria Steinem, recently exposed by the feminist press as having allegedly been connected with CIA-backed activities.

Propping Up the Family

The ERA is the rightists' rallying point because the question of women's rights strikes at the oppressive family system. Senator Sam Ervin termed the ERA simply "evil."

The family is needed by capitalist society because its deadening, conservatizing environment is a brake on the revolutionary potential of working people. A prison-house for women, keeping them trapped in routine household drudgery, atomized and isolated from the process of production, the family is also an important component of the transmission of bourgeois values to the youth.

In the 1930's the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR deliberately rehabilitated the nuclear family, reversing the measures undertaken by the Bolsheviks to liberate women from the confines of the home through creating facilities for the socialization of household functions. The Communist Parties of today are no less zealous in kowtowing to the family system. The American CP argues that protective legislation is crucial "so families will not suffer and child care provisions for family safety and security [are needed] to protect the specific reproductive capacities of women" (*Daily World*, 25 October). In 1974 the Italian CP opposed the legalization of abortion.

The anti-ERA "Committee to Restore Women's Rights" warns that if you let women out of the house, before you know it you've got "homosexuality, abortion, and disrespect for family and religion." Unfortunately, it is not always easy to distinguish the leftists from the outright reactionaries on social questions. Perhaps most extreme on the left, the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union) lists its own catalogue of horrors that stem from the breakdown of the family. At bottom, this apparent convergence reflects an opportunist craving to achieve "unity" with the workers on the basis of existing backward consciousness. However, simple puritanism is evidently an additional component of the workerist leftists' social outlook.

According to the CP and the International Socialists, the ERA should be opposed because it is only a token reform which does not guarantee full employment, job training or child care. This fundamentally reformist outlook seeks a solution to sexual oppression through bourgeois law. No reform, including the ERA, can guarantee equality for women. Sexual oppression, essential to capitalist class society, can never be legislated out of existence.

Revolutionists fight to mobilize the tremendous potential power of the organized workers movement to embrace as its own the struggles of all the oppressed against injustice and exploitation. Through this fight must emerge the revolutionary workers vanguard to lead the working people forward to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of capitalist social relations. Full equality of all men and women will be achieved only in the course of creating a world socialist society. ■

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Glass Houses...

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hitmen have welched on their deal. Like the Mafia, the CIA knows when it is owed a favor, and the U.S. godfathers fully intend to collect.

On the other hand, Moynihan had nothing but unctuous praise for "the decent countries" who voted against the motion, "If you had to pick your company in the world, you wouldn't pick better." This time the old boys' club of the "democracies" included Haiti, home of Papa Doc, Baby Doc and the Tontons Macoutes.

Zionists and Other Murderers

Like all nationalisms, Zionism is murderously racist in character. Its ethnic exclusionism contains the seeds of genocide. This is repeatedly demonstrated in Israeli bombing-raid reprisals against entire Arab villages "suspected of harboring guerrillas." But the Zionists have no monopoly on racism or genocidal appetites. While self-righteously debating the question of Zionism, spokesmen for American imperialism, who defend the rape of Indochina, exchange insults with bourgeois Arab representatives, who defend the genocidal slaughter of half a million black Africans in the Sudan or Iraq's savage war against the Kurds.

Idi Amin, self-styled Führer of Uganda, responsible for thousands of murders and the forcible expulsion of 60,000 Asians, earlier this month visited the UN, where he called for "the extinction of Israel as a state." Ford-mouthpiece Moynihan responded indignantly by quoting the *New York Times*' characterization of Amin as a "racist murderer." This is the same Daniel P. Moynihan whose cynical answer to racial oppression in the U.S. is "benign neglect"—cutting federal funds for the already meager social services in the ghetto. The difference between the two-bit tyrant and the academic imperialist is mainly one of style...and resources. Moynihan's superiority exists not in the realm of morality but only in firepower.

Besides screaming betrayal, the American government has responded to the anti-Zionist vote by a not-so-gentle tug on the pursestrings. The U.S. pays about a quarter of the UN's \$1.3 billion budget. Last December John Scali, then UN ambassador, reminded delegates from numerous "small nations" that the U.S. was "deeply disturbed" about recent decisions regarding Israel and South Africa. He threatened that the U.S. will "reassess our priorities, review our commitments, and redirect our energies" unless "the United Nations can return to the path of the Charter" (*New York Times*, 7 December 1974). That path, of course, was originally plotted in the interests of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States.

The American ruling class is not about to sit back while the UN pretends to be something other than its creators

intended—an instrument of imperialist reaction. And the official bluster and economic blackmail may be having the desired effect: "Reports from Washington that Congress was reacting with displeasure to the United Nations denunciation of Zionism, and might withhold United States funds from the world body appeared to be worrying some third-world delegations and others" (*New York Times*, 23 October).

Their Internationalism and Ours

Thirty years ago, when the United Nations began amid cynical imperialist maneuvers and utopian reformist illusions, it provided the protocol for the post-war imperialist/Stalinist division of the world into "spheres of influence." A podium for the sanctimonious façade masking the cynicism of "great power" politics, the UN is for the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states a vehicle for their shameless quest for a global accord with imperialism at the expense of proletarian revolution. All the while the UN has served the bloody aims of imperialism well—in the Korean War, in the invasion of Lebanon in 1958 and in maintaining Kissinger's "peace" in the Near East today.

While the UN in practice has nothing in common with its mythical status as the vehicle for world peace, it could prove to be a propaganda staging ground for world war. Against this hypocritical den of thieves and murderers—the likes of Moynihan, Pinochet and Amin—masked as bourgeois internationalists, we pose the real internationalism of proletarian revolution. ■

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Actualidad Española

Generalissimo Francisco Franco with Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón in 1974.

Francoism...

(continued from page 1)

tin on the dictator's condition, foreign correspondents have noted no unusual excitement in the streets. This has led some to write idiocies about the Spaniards' alleged love for monarchy, support for the regime, etc. It is true that the end of Franco's rule will not be met with the general euphoria which marked Lisbon in the first weeks after the April 24 coup. But the outward calm only represents a temporary lull in the waves of political strikes that have swept the country in recent months. If there is a hesitation to initiate the sharp battles which must come, it is because both the bourgeoisie and proletariat have bitter memories of the Civil War and are understandably reluctant to repeat it. There will be no carnations in Madrid.

No Bonapartism without the Bonaparte

The obvious difficulties standing in the way of a smooth transfer of power from Franco to the prince are inherent in the nature of the Spanish regime. Since its inception, Franco's dictatorship was characterized by unwillingness to rest on support from any sector of the popular masses, including the plebeian right. The development of Falangist paramilitary forces was obstructed even during the Civil War, and the fascist movement was purged of its more independent leaders. (The *caudillo* of the Falange, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, died early in the Civil War.)

Franco ordered the fusing of the Falange with its most hated opponent on the right, the monarcho-clerical Carlist party, which both provided a compliant state party and defused the then-growing fascist movement. After the dissolution of a Falangist conspiracy to monopolize power in 1940-41, the real basis of the triumphant regime was made clear to all. As one of Franco's ministers of the interior put it: "In the last analysis, the center of gravity, the true support of the regime (in spite of the appearances which we foolishly forced ourselves to exaggerate) was and would continue to be the Army..." (cited in *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*, by Stanley Paine, 1961).

By the 1950's the Falange, whose membership had reached 600,000 in 1939, was virtually lifeless, with old-guard Falangists occupying only about 5 percent of the political posts in Spain. During the 1960's Franco used the right-wing clerical "modernizers" of the Opus Dei order to remove virtually all vestiges of Falange influence at high levels in the government. Today the fascists are concentrated above all in special repressive organs and in the corporatist syndicates. Their instinctive fear of an organized proletariat is heightened by the knowledge that, due to their proximity to the masses, in the event of a revolutionary uprising they would be the first to go.

Franco could concentrate power in his person because he was able to maneuver between the Falangists, monarchists, army, big capital and church. But this concentration was based on the absolute disfranchisement of the entire population, a condition which together with the regime's viciously anti-labor policies guaranteed the absence of a sizable social base of support. Franco's regime was a rightist bonapartist dictatorship, not fascism as is sometimes claimed. And while it managed to stay in power for three and a half decades—due to the treachery of the reformists—such a regime is incapable of harmoniously transforming itself.

Make Way for the Spanish Proletariat!

Because of its firm determination to crush the proletariat at all costs, and also due to the prosperity and relative social peace which followed the initial blood-bath, the Spanish bourgeoisie was loyal to Franco to the end. This has imbued the proletariat with a powerful hatred of the capitalist class as a whole. In terms of organization and class consciousness, Spanish workers are far advanced over the level of their Portuguese brothers and sisters in 1974. Already there are thousands of workers in key plants who have rejected Stalinist and social-democratic class collaboration.

Across Spain there exist today hundreds of workers commissions separate from the corporatist syndicates. These workers commissions have often played a leading role in the mass strikes which have swept the country from the Asturian miners to SEAT auto workers in Barcelona, culminating in repeated effective general strikes in the industrial Basque region. While it would be dangerous to entertain illusions about these organizations—many are dominated by reformist CP, PSOE or left-Catholic bureaucrats—they have organized the most militant sectors of the proletariat.

Even among those who have gone beyond reformism there is no desire to repeat the tragic experience of the Civil War...unless there are conditions for victory. The CP seeks to play on this sentiment by calling for unity of all those opposed to civil war. The Stalinists make a great deal of the moderately liberal Democratic Military Union—comparing it to the far more leftist Portuguese Armed Forces Movement—and even chase after former defense minister Diez Alegria.

As they did forty years ago, the Stalinists would lead the working class into the arms of the butchers. To avoid another massacre the answer is not the philistine chant of "no to civil war"—a favorite of the Chilean CP—but a resolute struggle to prepare the workers for the necessary revolutionary uprising to overthrow Francoism and the entire capitalist state. That the murderer of two generations of proletarian fighters could die in bed is the most damning condemnation of the reformists' criminal betrayals. But condemnation is not enough. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 2)

precisely what happened June 16 when an attempt was made to reopen the paper under a compromise maintaining Rego as editor while protecting the jobs of the employees. In addition there has been conscious deception on both sides: the Socialist Party attempted to portray *República* as its party paper rather than a bourgeois paper with an SP editor, and the workers commission invented a disingenuous story that the whole affair was a labor dispute caused by the printers' fear of losing their jobs due to declining circulation.

In *WV* No. 73 (18 July) we outlined the main political points of the *República* affair:

"... the dispute was not a 'labor problem' but a clear case of political censorship, initiated by the CP and enforced by the MFA. The subsequent CP-initiated efforts to stop Rego from publishing a paper at other shops only underlines this obvious point. The suppression or curtailment of bourgeois-democratic rights under capitalism must be opposed. Whether initiated by Stalinist bureaucrats or directly by the government, it is the capitalist state which ultimately will enforce such censorship. Moreover, even if initially directed against conservative forces, censorship laws and other abridgements of democratic rights will ultimately be used above all to suppress the labor and socialist movements."

This remains fundamentally correct, although containing what (on the basis of later information) now appears to be a factual error concerning the exact nature of the Communist Party's role in the events. While the two CP members of the *República* workers commission participated in the move to oust Rego, there were also supporters of the Maoist UDP in the commission. Moreover, a *WV* reporter in Lisbon during August was told by members of both the UDP and the New Left-syndicalist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) that there had been a split in the CP's cell at *República* some time after the takeover.

The issues of the newspaper published after it was reopened in mid-July indicate that the dominant political views at *República* roughly coincide with those of the so-called "far-left" wing of the MFA, headed by General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. There is the same theme of "non-partyism," and the activities of Carvalho's cheerleaders in the civilian left (the PRP) are given prominent coverage. (The first issue to appear in July carried a photo of a banner from a June 17 demonstration bearing the statement:

"*República* workers support the CRTSM." The latter "Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors" are PRP front groups.)

The same line characterizes the "Manifesto of the Workers of *República*" published on 11 June. This document states: "A prostituted press in the service of such parties under the claim of pluralism can only contribute to the dissolution of society, leading to indifference and relaxation." In addition to considering itself the voice of the workers commissions, the newspaper also echoes Maoist themes. Thus the "Editorial Statutes" published in the 1 August *República* define its policies as "a political line of National Independence against the superpowers."

A Misguided Provocation

While it now appears that the Communist Party did not initiate the takeover, it was certainly involved. There is no doubt that the CP took advantage of an opportunity to harass its main opponent in the working class, the SP. The CP-controlled Graphic Arts Union actively supported the *República* workers commission by stopping publication of Rego's *Jornal do Caso República* in other shops.

It is also clear that the whole dispute was not a "labor dispute" occasioned by a desire to protect jobs. In fact, an article in the 19 September *Le Monde* reports that the circulation of *República* is lower than ever, with 30,000 printed and far less than that (possibly no more than 5,000) actually sold. Now the workers actually are in danger of losing their jobs for purely economic reasons. The newspaper reportedly asked the government for a loan to cover its substantial losses, but was turned down.

That the purpose of the attempted takeover on May 19 was in fact censorship of the SP editorial views is beyond question. Thus the 11 June "Manifesto" states: "The commandist tops whom we are trying to get rid of have already proven their lack of moral fitness to consistently use the newspaper as an instrument of revolutionary action and analysis." And a representative of the workers commission said in an interview with *Rood*, the Flemish language newspaper of the United Secretariat's Belgian section, that "... the editors under the guidance of the Socialist Rego were following more and more the line of the Socialist Party.... We printing workers did not want *República* to lose its independence and tie itself in this way to one party" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 13 October 1975).

Finally, the *República* workers were clearly well aware that they could only take over the newspaper with the permission of the MFA, that is, of the bourgeois government. In a June 26 letter to the premier, the workers commission stated: "We request that your excellency arrange to order immediate nomination of an administrative committee" to run *República*. And when the paper resumed publication on July 10 it was under the editorship of Col. Pereira de Carvalho, who was appointed by the MFA's Supreme Revolutionary Council. (The paper reports that the masthead was originally supposed to read "under the direction of the workers," but this was changed when Col. Carvalho was appointed by the regime.) That the state-appointed editor is evidently in agreement with the dominant political line on the workers commission does not change this fact.

Thus it is necessary to repeat our earlier warnings against censorship and control of the press by the bourgeois state, even by the "left" MFA. The *República* workers may have been justly outraged over the increasingly rightist line taken by the SP editors, yet their actions only played into the hands of the bonapartist officers, paving the way for even more

drastic attempts at government management of information such as the occupation of the Lisbon radio stations on September 29. As Trotsky noted in his 1938 article, "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class":

"It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive fist of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organization and their own press.... The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press."

Intercontinental Press, 9 June 1975

Defend República and Rádio Renascença!

The workers' takeover of Rádio Renascença was a serious tactical error in a labor dispute. The attempted takeover at *República* and ouster of the editor was a misguided provocation, and a direct appeal for state control of communications media. Both served as excellent pretexts for the Salazarist church hierarchy and the virulently anti-communist SP leadership to mount a hypocritical campaign around demands for freedom of the press (doubly hypocritical because these same forces are now in the forefront of those demanding that the sixth provisional government purge leftists from the mass media). It would have been far better if workers with a distinctive political viewpoint had sought to put out their own newspaper or set up their own radio station. Then when the MFA sought to repress them—as it undoubtedly would have done—the workers would have had the advantage of mobilizing support to defend their democratic rights under attack.

But while we would have argued against the takeovers in late May, Trotskyists would do so from the point of view of revolutionaries, not as reformists who place bourgeois-democratic freedoms above class issues. The question of freedom of the press cannot be considered abstractly, but only in light of specific conditions. Under a stable bourgeois democracy the Socialist Party and the Catholic Church should indeed have the right to express their opinions (as should the Marxists). But were it a workers soviet, rather than the bourgeois MFA, which proposed to take over rightist newspapers, as opposed to an SP-line press, then we would take a different

position. Trotsky upheld the Petrograd Soviet when in February and March of 1917 it ordered the closing of monarchist and ultra-rightist papers. Moreover, in conditions of civil war a workers government would be compelled to restrict or deny freedom of the press to counterrevolutionary forces (possibly including social democrats).

Under a regime of workers democracy, a revolutionary government would both expropriate the press monopolies and make printing facilities (presses, paper, supplies) available to all significant currents of opinion which do not place themselves in the enemy camp against the revolution. Lenin was the author of a press decree in November 1917 that provided for such regulations. He also called for state monopoly of advertisements. Thus Trotskyists are decidedly opposed to the censorship and state monopoly of information media such as are imposed by the Stalinist bureaucracies of the present degenerated and deformed workers states.

While Portugal is not yet in a civil war, the present pre-revolutionary situation raises many considerations beyond the question of democratic freedoms. Thus it is important that the state of mind of the workers involved appears to be subjectively leftist. If what was involved was a simple state takeover using the workers as pawns, or a purely bureaucratic coup by the CP, our tactical approach would be different. In the case of an action growing out of leftist impulses it would be our obligation, while continuing to counsel a wiser course, to stand with the workers against state repression and anti-communist mobilizations. This acquires burning importance as the sixth provisional government moves against leftist-controlled media in its attempts to crack down on the rebellious soldiers and workers.

—Defend *República* and Rádio Renascença!

—Down with the MFA—CP and SP out of the popular front—Unite the workers, soldiers and neighborhood commissions into a national workers assembly! Toward a workers government!

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For A City-Wide NYC Phone Strike!

OCTOBER 28—New York City Western Electric installers walked off the job this afternoon to protest N.Y. Telephone's bringing in of outside contractors for a major fire-circuit installation job. At present layoffs at Western go back to 8 years in seniority, and more than 100 new jobs have been threatened. CWA Local 1101, the city's major craft local, says it will honor the picket lines, but this is not enough. The picket lines must be defended against scabs, and the jurisdictional dispute turned into a city-wide phone strike against layoffs!

Because of massive fire reconstruction at the Second Avenue central office, Local 1101 has not yet faced the layoffs and short workweeks which have hit Western and traffic personnel, as well as craft employees across the country. But large-scale work cutbacks are already in the offing.

For years phone strikes, particularly in New York, have been defeated because the unions have ignored each other's picket lines—operators scab against craft, and vice versa; one CWA local against another; CWA against IBEW, and so on. A united telephone strike would have tremendous economic power. Not union raiding, but a fight for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, is needed!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote No on Anti-Labor S.F. Charter Amendments!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 24— Behind this year's dreary S.F. mayoral campaign is a sinister debate among bourgeois politicians over how best to tame the restive Bay Area labor movement. The traditional alliance between liberal Democrats (in particular, the Alioto family) and the union bureaucracy has proven less and less effective as the ruling class finds it has virtually no crumbs left to throw to the public workers' sector.

The increasing inability of the liberal-labor alliance to maintain "social peace" became evident in March 1974, when a routine dispute over municipal workers' wages nearly exploded into a city-wide general strike. It was averted at the last minute only by the direct intervention of San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto, who threw a few cents more into the deal. But when city workers returned to work they found their raises delayed for a year by a so-called "taxpayers' suit" cooked up by the local Chamber of Commerce.

This year Alioto nearly lost control again when police and firemen struck for higher wages. Marxists do not regard cops as part of the working class and do not support their demands (more pay for strikebreaking, racist harassment such as "Operation Zebra," etc.). The bourgeoisie, however, also did not appreciate the sight of mobs of armed cops roaming San Francisco streets openly defying "law and order." The affair was settled only by Alioto's invocation of an emergency powers provision of the city charter, allowing him to grant the cops' wage demands without approval from the Board of Supervisors. Alioto is well aware that the bourgeoisie must placate its potentially bonapartist hired killers if the police are to be a reliable instrument to bludgeon the workers movement in periods of social crisis.

Over the past two years a clear split has developed between the mayor's office, which prefers to let the labor bureaucrats do the dirty work of disciplining the ranks, and the Board of Supervisors, which more openly advocates union-busting. The supervisors running for mayor have placed a number of anti-labor city charter amendments on the ballot as they vie for the "enraged taxpayers" vote.

The most publicized is Proposition B, which would delete section 8.403 of the city charter. That section pegs the pay rate for municipal trades and crafts workers to the prevailing wage received by similar employees in private industry. Since San Francisco is a union town, section 8.403 has meant relatively high wages for city tradesmen. If Proposition B passes, craft wages would be set by direct negotiation with the Board of Supervisors and thus come under heavy direct attack. Proposition B is the brainchild of notorious anti-labor supervisor John Barbagelata, a leading mayoral candidate, and is fully supported by the rest of the Board and by the Chamber of Commerce.

Cringing before bourgeois "public opinion," the reactionary labor bureaucracy has not sought to mobilize labor action against this onslaught but instead is trying to defeat the Proposition by pandering to the anti-labor vote. Thus



Police attack strikers during spring 1974 S.F. strike wave.

San Francisco Examiner

another impotent electoral bloc between Democrats and labor bureaucrats has emerged, the "Citizens Opposed to Unnecessary City Strikes." On billboards even the word "unnecessary" has been eliminated, possibly to catch the vote of unwary anti-union elements or perhaps simply to underline the bureaucrats' capitulation. The new "Citizens" coalition includes the usual motley collection of liberal politicians and labor fakers, among them the other leading mayoral contender, Democrat George Moscone, along with Jack Crowley of the Central Labor Council and David Jenkins of the ILWU. Appealing to the basest anti-labor sentiment, the "Citizens" group boasts in one leaflet that "FOR THIRTY YEARS THERE HAS BEEN NO CITY STRIKE OF CRAFTS PEOPLE" (emphasis in original) and warns in another leaflet that "If Proposition B is passed, it will pit labor against business..." To reformists like Crowley and Jenkins, it is unthinkable that unions should be anything but vehicles for their class collaboration.

No doubt the labor skates consider all this sweet talk to be simply clever electoral maneuvering, but sooner or later it will backfire against the trade unions. The anti-labor reaction whipped up in the campaign is building the political base of politicians who are out to smash the unions, bureaucrats and all.

Other propositions on the ballot reflect in-fighting between Mayor Alioto and the Board of Supervisors. Proposition N would limit the mayor's ability to use "emergency" powers by requiring him to obtain approval from a majority of the supervisors. While it affords no real protection, Proposition N should be supported since "emergency" powers

granted to bourgeois officials invariably undermine bourgeois-democratic rights and lay the legal basis for police rule.

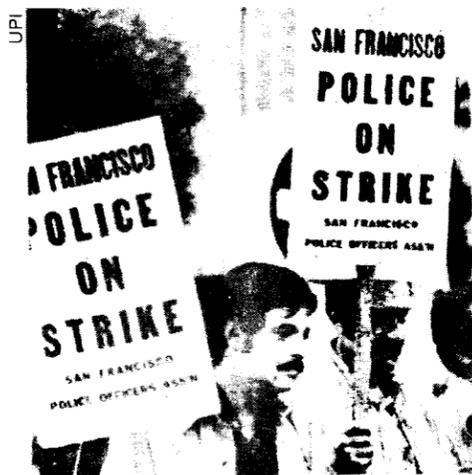
Propositions O and R, backed by the Board and the mayor respectively and directed against strikes by cops and firemen, should be opposed only because firemen are part of the working class and should have the legal right to strike. For similar reasons Proposition P, directed against cops' and firemen's wages, should also be voted down. The police, it goes without saying, will not be restrained by propositions, but must be resolutely opposed by labor and eventually *smashed* by the power of a revolutionary proletariat and its workers militias. It is necessary as a first step that class-conscious workers demand the expulsion of cops from the union movement.

The split between Alioto and the Board of Supervisors became obvious over the Proposition L campaign in the fall of 1974. Initiated by Diane Feinstein, head of the Board and now a mayoral candidate, the so-called "Feinstein amendment" to the city charter would have locked city workers' pay into a rigid formula based on an average of low-wage non-unionized areas of the state. In response to this threat, the labor bureaucrats put forward a purely legislative strategy, creating the "Citizens United Against Proposition L" with Alioto & Co. Only the Spartacist League called for a break from this class-collaborationist line-up and for labor strikes against the charter amendment. The SL also initiated a general strike contingent at a "Citizens United" rally in October 1974. Although Proposition L was defeated at the polls last year, the 1975 propositions represent

another concerted attack on the working class.

Although Alioto is on the way out, the mantle of "friend of labor" seems to have been passed to state senator Moscone, who in the past has received heaps of undeserved praise from ILWU hacks like Jimmy Herman. The Communist Party's *People's World* (18 October), a reliable weathervane of "progressive" politics, goes out of its way to laud mayoral candidate Moscone, who we are told "continues to garner support from his friends in the labor movement, minority communities, and senior citizens—in general among the organized sections of the poor and working population of the city." The Stalinists, while beating the drums for their preferred capitalist candidate, conveniently overlook his sponsorship of a state bill to outlaw police and firemen's strikes. In a display of bipartisan union-busting the Republican mayoral candidate, state senator Milton Marks, backed Moscone's proposal (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 September).

While the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) maintains a formal separation from the Democratic Party by running "independent" electoral slates, the *practice* of these ex-Trotskyists runs neck-deep in class collaboration. For instance, Roland Sheppard, the SWP's candidate for lieutenant governor of California, boasts in one electoral flyer that he is a "delegate to the United Labor Action Committee." The short-lived ULAC originated as a bloc of bureaucrats—including Harry Bridges of the ILWU, George Hardy of the SEIU, Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and others—to channel unrest against the wage freeze into an impotent protest rally at San Francisco Civic Center in April 1973. By pre-arrangement the rally had been officially endorsed by Mayor Alioto, thereby transforming it into a political vehicle for the bureaucrats' pro-Democratic Party politics. Needless to say, the SWP was afraid to alienate the bureaucrats by calling for labor strikes against the wage freeze. Similarly during last year's campaign against Proposition L, the SWP limited



Striking S.F. cops—Workers' enemies! Cops out of the unions!

itself strictly to the bureaucrats' electoral strategy, deliberately avoiding any call for a general strike. Clearly the SWP yearns to be the waterboys for the labor bureaucracy, saving its "socialist" rhetoric for harmless electioneering.

For the ILWU ranks who have seen their jobs eroded by the treacherous Bridges Alioto cabal, for women workers in the SEIU who were led by feminist Maxine Jenkins into supporting Diane Feinstein for S.F. supervisor in 1973, for the entire labor movement of San Francisco, the class-collaborationist strategy of supporting bourgeois politicians is a death trap! Class-struggle oppositions are necessary in the unions to dump the treacherous misleaders. Labor must build its own party and fight! ■