

Organize Soviets to Crush Reactionary Plotters!

Portugal Far Right Tests Waters in Elections

Spínola Conspiracy Exposed

APRIL 27—Sunday's legislative elections in Portugal were generally interpreted as a draw by the imperialist media. While the most right-wing parties increased their percentage of the vote compared to last year's April 25 constituent assembly elections, the division between the reformist workers parties (Communist and Socialist) and the bourgeois parties remained virtually unchanged. The stage was set, liberal commentators agreed, for tough bargaining between military factions for the upcoming June presidential vote.

However, the indecisive results of the parliamentary elections actually amounted to a setback for rabidly anti-Communist forces of capitalist reaction, who had hoped to score major gains and achieve a rightist majority. From the defeat of the leftist paratrooper revolt November 25 until now, the right has been on the rampage. Discipline-minded generals arrested leftist officers and dissolved troop assemblies, former associates of the Salazar Caetano dictatorship resurfaced in large numbers and the clandestine Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) continued its campaign of terror bombing against the left.

Finding itself unable to use the cover of an electoral majority in their drive to wipe out the germs of dual power and put an end to the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in Portugal since the fall of Caetano two years ago, counterrevolutionary forces will turn increasingly to less veiled methods. In this sense there is a parallel to the Chilean parliamentary elections of March 1973: unable to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority to impeach Allende, the CIA stepped up its "destabilization" program and military plotters began to lay plans in earnest which came to their bloody conclusion on September 11.

The Portuguese workers, under the treacherous misleadership of social democrats and Stalinists, have been on the retreat for several months. But despite the deep purge of the so-called "military left," the proletariat has not



WV Photo

Ex-General António Spínola, the aspiring Pinochet of Portugal.

suffered a decisive and demoralizing defeat. There is still a chance to create soviet organs of workers power which can turn back the rightist onslaught and deal a death blow to reaction, through socialist revolution.

Yet the hour is late, and reformist illusions (along with their mirror image, adventurist putschism) still hold sway. Without a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, the class-conscious Lisbon industrial workers and militant agricultural workers of "Red Alentejo" may face the fate of their Chilean class brothers and sisters. The vicious ELP bombing of the Cuban embassy on the eve of the election is handwriting on the wall.

Mobilization on the Right

Together, the right-wing capitalist parties had expected to gain 50 percent of the popular vote, basing themselves on their tight control of the towns and villages of the north, where local *caciques* (bosses) and priests call the shots. However, in the unofficial returns, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) received only 24 percent (down 2 percent from last year), and the rightist Social Democratic Center (CDS) received 15.6 percent (double its previous total but less than it expected). The



Expresso

Chief of Staff General António Ramalho Eanes

arch-conservative Christian Democrats (PDC) received only a negligible vote.

The bourgeois parties all try to present themselves as bonafide anti-Salazarist democrats. However, the history of their leaders belies this claim. The head of the PPD, Francisco Sá Carneiro, describes his party as "social-democratic," but was himself a deputy in Salazar's puppet "national assembly." The leading spokesman for the CDS, General Galvão de Melo, talks of "driving the Communists into the sea," and PDC leader José Sanches Osorio was implicated in the attempted rightist putsch of General António de Spínola, the aspiring Pinochet of Portugal, in March 1975. CDS leaders have indicated that even though the nationalizations of the banks and industrial trusts are declared "permanent" by the "socialist" constitution adopted April 2, they would seek to reverse some of them.

But the right is far from limited to its parliamentary face. During recent months there have been reported at least 150 different attacks on Communist Party members and offices as well as other leftists; the election campaign itself left five dead. At the beginning of the month, a leftist priest, a candidate for the Maoist Popular Democratic Union (UDP), and a 19-year-old stu-



Alvaro Tavares/A Luta

Jaime Neves, rightist leader of elite "commando" unit.

dent were killed when a bomb exploded in their car in the town of Vila Real, northeast of Porto. In the southern town of Beja, one person was killed April 13 when troops fired on a crowd demanding release of leftists arrested in clashes with goons of the PPD.

A recent article in *Le Monde* (8 April) reports how many landowners have ties to both the CDS and Spínola's "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP, closely linked to—if not identical with—the terrorist ELP), which is active across the border in Spain: "We have property that straddles the border, so there is no difficulty in slipping someone across from one side to the other," said one person interviewed by the reporter. Another had just returned from Angola where he had served as the right-hand man of Colonel Santos e Castro, the Portuguese mercenary commander of Holden Roberto's FNLA troops.

To the north, in the famous town of Rio Maior, which was the first place a Communist Party (CP) office was burned down last summer, the rightist mobilization is much stronger. The town voted Socialist (SP) in 1975, as did many other small towns, on orders from the *caciques* who felt that to vote openly

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The End of Peronist Rule in Argentina

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile

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Editorial Notes

I.S. Holds Tail of Teamster Wildcat

In line with its major activity in recent months cheerleading for Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) —the International Socialists (I.S.) have just published a four-page foldout in the April 12 issue of *Workers' Power*, ballyhooing the role of the TDC in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) contract fight.

The I.S. admits in this "Teamster Special" that the final settlement the Teamsters got was a sellout. It says: "With the exception of the wage package and a few relatively minor points, the proposed Master Freight Agreement is a pure and simple sellout." As to the wage and cost-of-living provisions, they are labeled "inadequate" and "less than the employers were prepared to pay."

The real contribution of the TDC, claims the I.S., was apparent not at the bargaining table (there is no argument about that), but in the fine model of rank-and-file solidarity it presented, particularly during the recent Detroit wildcat. But as we pointed out in a recent issue ("Detroit Teamster Wildcat: An Autopsy," *WP* No. 105, 16 April) the TDC, which found itself in a position of leadership after the temporary abdication of the Teamster bureaucracy following a chaotic union meeting on April 5, capitulated to that bureaucracy within 24 hours. The TDC thus helped to bring the wildcat to an ignominious end only three days after it had begun.

What was missing in Detroit was a leadership with a class-struggle program to focus and take forward the ranks' anger. The TDC, which in the months before the strike established itself as the only organized opposition to Fitzsimmons, failed to put forward such a program. Instead it counseled reliance on the capitalist state; e.g., taking union opponents to court and sending telegrams appealing to President Ford in the hope of averting a Taft-Hartley injunction.

The *Workers' Power* "Teamster Special" features an article by TDC organizer and I.S. supporter Steve Kindred which passes off the TDC's failure to set up an authoritative strike leadership at the April 5 meeting as a mere "lost opportunity" due to the size of the



TDC meeting in Cleveland last month. WV Photo

meeting, the absence of sound equipment and the exhaustion of the "hard core" militants. These are lame excuses, indeed. In fact, the failure to elect a strike committee flowed directly from the strategy of the TDC, which viewed itself as a pressure group on the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy.

Throughout several months of pre-strike activity, the TDC never once raised the call for an elected strike committee, which represents the very core of workers democracy. An elected strike committee not only makes it possible to coordinate effective actions against the class enemy, but it enables the rank and file to democratically determine strike policy. Such a democratic procedure, however, is incompatible with the TDC's own appetites for bureaucratic wheeling and dealing, so the ranks were not consulted.

Kindred and the I.S. find it difficult to criticize the TDC, because they share the same political methodology. The TDC capitulates to red-baiting, brings its opponents in the IBT to court and runs a strike without an elected leadership. The I.S., in turn, regularly purges members with political differences and refuses to call on speakers from opponent socialist tendencies at its "public" meetings. And if the TDC thinks that Gerald Ford can be argued out of "becoming a strikebreaking president," the International Socialists support the intervention of the same Nixon Ford government into the labor movement in the guise of

affirmative action programs and Labor Department-run trade-union elections (e.g., Mine Workers).

Writing about the red-baiting campaign directed at the TDC by company and union officials, Kindred asserts: "It failed because everyone could see that the charge that the TDC is a 'socialist movement' is a lie." Nothing, alas, could be truer, for the TDC in no way challenged capitalist rule. But this fact by no means stopped the witchhunting. The TDC capitulated over and over to red-baiting, while the I.S. remained silent. *Workers' Power* neglected to even report that leaders of a Bay Area TDC rally flatly refused to defend newspaper salesmen of left groups including the I.S. who were being assaulted by right-wing Teamsters. The I.S. was also silent about an anti-communist motion passed by a TDC steering committee meeting which stated the group's opposition to "political change by any means other than by lawful, constitutional procedures."

The TDC is an unstable bloc around a reformist trade-union program. It is made up of fake-socialists and simple careerists, with the latter aspiring to integrate themselves into the anti-communist Teamster bureaucracy. Having attracted the attention of the IBT bureaucracy, these elements have no further use for their "leftist" partners and stand to gain by denouncing them. Just last week prominent Detroit TDC leader Gene Fleszar, gloating over the new respect with which he is treated by local Teamster officials after the wildcat, said: "We are not radicals. The only problem we've had is a lot of political groups trying to use us to their own advantage."

Fleszar may well prefigure a new, slicker brand of anti-communist Teamster bureaucrat, better able to contain rank-and-file militancy than the aging and out-of-touch leadership presently running the IBT. By providing a left cover to the likes of Fleszar, the I.S. has only created one more obstacle to the building of a class-struggle opposition in the trade unions.

Closet Racist Candidates Come Out for "Ethnic Purity"

Recently Jimmy Carter, apparent frontrunner for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, broke with the bourgeois politicians' standard code of veiled racist insinuation. On the campaign trail in the Midwest, he openly came out in favor of maintaining "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods against "black intrusion" and "alien elements."

What is significant in these statements is not merely that this closet racist candidate, who presents himself as the respectable opposition to George Wallace, has afforded the American people a peek at the sinister politics behind his bible-quoting style and Cheshire cat smile. The really threatening sign in this cavalcade of segregationist demagoguery is the indication that the overt expression of such sentiments has become more respectable.

Ominously, while Carter was issuing phony apologies for his "choice of words" (talking about how much he approved of "low-status neighborhoods"), Gerald Ford seized the opportunity to proclaim that he was as much for preserving "ethnic heritage" as the next Aryan candidate. Clearly Ford did not view Carter's remarks as a "slip" so much as a challenge, a bid for the backlash vote just as Wallace is pulling out of the race. Even the liberals' darling, Morris Udall, while



UPI Jimmy Carter with Martin Luther King, Sr.

clucking this tongue over the phraseology, was at pains to note that he and Carter had the same "technical" positions on open housing.

Two weeks before the Supreme Court's April 20 decision permitting the courts to order low-cost public housing in white suburbs to relieve segregation in the inner city, Carter had already injected the open housing issue into the presidential campaign. Having

courted the black vote with some success (e.g., his only two delegates from New York City come from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto), the Georgia governor is obviously eager to reassure middle America that he is still a "good old boy." And lest that message not come through loud and clear, he noted in apologizing for his brazen language that "I would not arbitrarily use Federal force to move people of a different ethnic background into a neighborhood just to change its character."

Carter's tirade was a major embarrassment to the black Democrats who have supported his campaign. Nevertheless, these cynical ward heelers attempted to cover themselves and their double-talking candidate as best they could. "This doesn't mean to me he's a racist," said Georgia representative Andrew Young. "It means he made a terrible blunder that he's got to recover from. I just think it's an awful phrase. I don't think he understood how loaded it is with Hitlerian connotations." No sir, nobody from Georgia ever heard of "ethnic purity"!

The rash of racist slurs by leading presidential candidates indicates a further rightward political drift and erosion not only of the concrete gains but even of the rhetoric of the civil rights movement. Since the days of the freedom rides, overt bigotry has not been generally popular in national electoral campaigns. Such blatant statements do not fall within the norms of cultural probity and are not considered good campaign talk by respectable candidates. Consequently politicians generally use a coded language, whipping up anti-black hysteria in order to get the racist vote. Wallace talks about nailing "welfare cheats in New York City," an expression which is synonymous with black people in the racist fantasies of the right wing. His crocodile tears for "the safety of the little bused school children" are understood by all to mean advocacy of the most savage Jim Crow policies.

The twin parties of capital compete more and more openly for the support of the racists. For bourgeois politicians faced with a ravaged economy and no answers except further attacks on the working class, scapegoating black people is on the order of the day. The struggle for racial equality demands the independent political mobilization of the proletariat in a workers party based on the trade unions that will fight for a workers government to smash capitalist exploitation and racial oppression.

CORRECTION

Dear Editor,

Workers Vanguard has consistently provided the most thoughtful and accurate coverage of events inside the ILWU. Therefore we thought it was important to correct two errors which appeared in the *WV* No. 106 [23 April] story on the Victor strike. While there is considerable dissatisfaction with the manner in which the strike has been run, this was not a factor in spurring the march to the city manager's office. The marchers went simply to demand an end to police scabherding.

Also the city manager did not, as you reported, state that escorting scabs was their sworn duty. He simply said that legally the pickets could not block the driveway. Of course, what this means in practice is that the cops can continue to escort scabs. Vigorous action by the union can still bring victory to the courageous sisters at Victor.

Fraternally yours,

Bob Mandel for the Militant Caucus

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SWP Reliance on Cops at Dangerous Dead End

Racist Hysteria Sweeps Boston

BOSTON—The racist offensive in Boston has geared up the official bourgeois press in a mobilization of anti-black hysteria that threatens to plunge the city into open race war. After nearly two years of unrelenting terror against the blacks of Boston's ghettos, the racists have been able to focus attention on a case of indiscriminate black retaliation in which a white auto mechanic was dragged from his car and brutally beaten in Roxbury. The responsibility for this threatening holocaust lies squarely with the liberals and their camp followers who encourage the ultra-rightist terrorist scum by preaching their helpless and treacherous policy of reliance on the racist cops, courts and troops.

For month after month the media had managed to overlook the savage reality of the daily terrorization of blacks. White racist violence has been treated like bad weather—ugly, regrettable of course, but unavoidable and somehow "natural." Black children have been menaced daily—surrounded in school; pelted by rocks, fists and clubs in school buses, public transportation and on beaches. Night riders have taken to the streets in broad daylight in ever more brazen attempts to intimidate blacks, culminating in the most recent attacks: prominent black attorney Theodore Landsmark lanced with the pole of the American flag in the middle of City Hall Plaza in mid-afternoon; two black bus drivers severely beaten by Klan-inspired hoodlums while on the job in South Boston. Then on April 21 a black woman driving through white Roslindale with her five-year-old son was attacked by two dozen youths carrying baseball bats, rocks and bricks.

CORRECTIONS

There have been several factual errors in recent issues of *Workers Vanguard* that have come to our attention. In *WV* No. 106 (23 April), the article "For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Attacks" states that the Socialist Workers Party-initiated April 24 march had "received no endorsements from any significant black organizations in Boston." Although the march did not get the backing of the Boston NAACP, it apparently had at least paper support from individuals associated with black community institutions such as the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, Freedom House and Lena Park Development Center, and was initially endorsed by members of the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus. However, by the time our article was written, checks with Roxbury groups revealed that the April 24 march had no solid backing in the black community. This was confirmed shortly after *WV* No. 106 came out, when the march was abruptly cancelled.

A photo caption in *WV* No. 104 (9 April) states, "Teamster pickets confront scab trucker" in Cleveland. The pickets had actually stopped the truck to check for one of the "red stickers" issued by the union bureaucracy to companies who had agreed to interim contracts until a national pact was signed. The article "For Workers Revolution to Smash Apartheid!" in *WV* No. 99 (5 March) cites an incorrect date for a quotation from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. It should be 29 February, not 29 November as published.

30 APRIL 1976

After the most constant and savage white racist violence experienced in any U.S. city since the civil rights movement in the South, only now—with the beating of a white motorist—has the Boston press discovered "racial violence." Now that some frustrated black youth—their community politically disarmed and misled by the most masochistic liberals and reformists—have struck out in self-defeating retaliation against an innocuous white man, the mayor organized a "march against violence" while Louise Day Hicks calls for federal troops to put down Roxbury's blacks.

The mounting campaign to create a tidal wave of racist hysteria was marked by the cancellation of the pro-busing march called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). The real purpose of the march was to call upon government troops and city cops to protect blacks from racist attack. It is precisely this sort of reformism which has left Boston's black people defenseless and has emboldened the hooligans in their anti-black onslaughts. Those who have preached confidence in the protection of the racist cops have left Boston's blacks without any protection, and dangerously isolated by the flight of the fair-weather liberals.

The only adequate and effective response to the pervasive racist terror is the organization of labor/black defense guards based on the trade unions and black organizations, to defend blacks not only in the ghettos but throughout the city. Those who have counterposed to this strategy the chimera of protection by the cops ultimately bear responsibility not only for the escalating white racist brutality but also for the indiscriminate retaliatory violence by blacks, which can have only tragic consequences for the black masses themselves.

Anti-busing leaders have reacted with bloodthirsty threats, and nightriding white vigilante gangs have stepped up their campaign of terror. South Boston Home and School Association president James Kelly, who has emerged as the leading spokesman for the racist terrorist wing of ROAR, bluntly warned at an April 20 press conference that blacks had better stay out of South Boston. He threatened that, "If a resident of South Boston is killed in a racial incident, there will be a race war."

Meanwhile, the Charlestown Marshals announced a May 2 city-wide "Men's March Against Forced Busing" that threatens to become a focal point for a paramilitary anti-black mobilization. Random, unprovoked attacks on black people have spread out from the tightly knit white neighborhoods that have been the bastions of the reactionary anti-busing movement. Blacks have

been assaulted on the downtown Boston Commons, and a coordinator of the Metco program of voluntary suburban busing, Joseph Henry, was hit on the head with an iron bar while sitting in a downtown subway station.

The very idea that whites might be subject to violent attacks sent waves of hysteria through the local bourgeois rulers. The outcry drove Mayor Kevin White, renowned for his tendency to hide under tables in times of crisis, to call a phony "procession against violence" April 12.

Altogether, some 30,000 marchers turned out in an overwhelmingly white, middle-class and suburban crowd Friday. All signs, banners and speeches were banned from the parade which finished up with invocations by prominent clergymen pleading for divine assistance. With the approval of union bureaucrats, city and state workers were granted extended lunch hours to attend the event, as were employees at some downtown banks and insurance companies. Several colleges urged students and faculty to attend the march.

Also among the participants was local NAACP executive secretary, Edward Redd, and an array of black community leaders. However, despite impassioned pleas from Mayor White and the bourgeois media, prominent anti-busing leaders were conspicuously absent. Joining the boycott was the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association, which seized this opportunity to demonstrate once again their benign tolerance of the racist violence of the anti-busing movement.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the SWP-led NSCAR had earlier called a liberal pro-busing march for the next day. The initial coalition statement called for "city police, state police and federal troops" to "protect" the black community, and appealed to "the religious and academic communities, elected officials, labor leaders, officials of the public school system, brothers and sisters of suburbia to join us on April 24." Ironically, that was, to the letter, the composition of the bourgeoisie's prayerful Friday "procession."

Under the impact of the racist hysteria, the SWP's much ballyhooed march died an inglorious death. With the already tenuous support for the protest march by local black politicians evaporating, the SWP's *Militant* (30 April) reported that "leaders of the Black community in Boston have decided to postpone the national pro-busing march scheduled for April 24." Unable to obtain police protection for its march to demand police protection, the SWP was forced to recognize that in a serious crisis its star-studded list of liberal endorsements did not amount to a hill of beans.

In our last issue (*WV* No. 106, 23 April) we wrote that "with the liberal politics of the march, and given the present extreme racial tension in Boston and the lack of community support for the march, it would be irresponsible to urge militants to participate in the April 24 march." While canceling the event, NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon made clear at an April 21 press conference that the impotent liberal politics remain: "it's not possible to hold a peaceful, legal activity at this time," he announced in the presence of several black liberals. Dixon moaned that the "anti-violence" parade was a "sham" and a "ruse," but just two days later many of the same black leaders joined the mayor's march.

Dixon ended the press conference

with a demand to "city, state and federal governments to provide large deployments of police, state troopers and federal troops...to South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, Hyde Park and other racist strongholds and *not*, I repeat, and *not* into our community." After countless months of calling for troops to protect ghetto blacks, NSCAR must back-handedly recognize that when blacks really need protection, the call upon the imperialist army is revealed as treachery. As Dixon's statement reveals, even the SWP is well aware that cops and troops will be sent to Boston, just as they were to Birmingham and Little Rock, not to protect blacks but to suppress them. Instead of the cynical betrayal of preaching confidence in the armed fist of the racist capitalist state, militants must demand: Cops out of the ghetto!

To call on the imperialist army of Gerald Ford or the racist cops of Kevin White to protect black people is criminal and irresponsible. It is not surprising that arch-racist Louise Day Hicks began talking about calling for federal troops to put down Roxbury. She at least understands, if the SWP does not, that the capitalist state is on the side of the racist terrorists against the oppressed black minority.

The ignominious fate of the April 24 coalition march is a graphic illustration of the SWP's political bankruptcy. Fake leftists and their liberal friends, who peddle the illusion that the black masses can rely on a supposedly benevolent (or at least neutral) bourgeois state to protect them from racist vigilantes, only embolden the reactionary white gangs through such obvious displays of impotence. The events of the last two weeks once again confirm that only the organization of a mass labor/black defense can crush the racist thug attacks and put an end to the racist hysteria sweeping Boston. ■

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The Picket—Battle Line in the Class War

The tradition of respect for picket lines is deeply ingrained in the collective memory of the American working class. Millions have walked the lines, tens of thousands have had their blood shed defending them, hundreds have died picketing. More than a century of unionism, from Homestead to Gastonia and the great organizing battles of the 1930's, has established the picket line as a battle line of the class struggle. Even after decades of relative "class peace" enforced by the sellout union bureaucracy, which seeks to undermine and stifle every impulse of working-class militancy and solidarity, a lone picket in the coalfields of West Virginia or on the San Francisco docks can still shut down an entire work site.

The principle of the picket line is simple. It means, "don't cross." Even bourgeois politicians are forced to pay lip service to the picket line if they expect to capture the votes of union members and other workers. Earlier this month four Democratic presidential contenders found themselves faced with a picket line set up by the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) at a Washington, D.C., hotel where they were scheduled to appear before the Society of Newspaper Editors. NABET is striking NBC, and the union had hoped to keep a scab television crew from broadcasting the event.

Three of the candidates, Udall, Jackson and Carter, decided against appearing in person for fear of having their pictures published crossing a picket line. Instead, they sneaked around the lines by participating in the interview over a telephone hookup from separate locations.

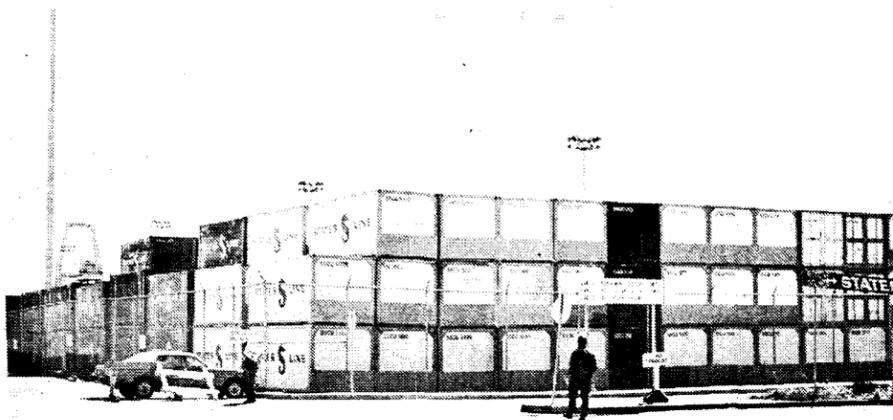
But one presidential hopeful, the non-candidate candidate and George Meany's choice as the "best friend of labor," Hubert Humphrey, found a simpler way to cross the lines. A federal court had that morning issued an injunction against picketing at the main entrance of the hotel, limiting pickets to a service entrance only, on the grounds that the picketing had constituted an "illegal secondary boycott." So, Humphrey simply waltzed in the main entrance!

Admitting that when he had checked with the union its answer had been, "don't go," Humphrey justified his despicable action with lies. "There's no picket line," he croaked. "I'm a strong union person. I don't cross picket lines. But I saw no reason not to come here, and here I am" (*New York Times*, 15 April).

The other three candidates, it turned out, had just been unaware of the union-busting court order. When asked whether they would have crossed the lines if they had had more information, Udall responded that he "would have cleared it with the union"; Jackson unambiguously proclaimed that he "would have been there"; and Jimmy "Open Shop" Carter, who has learned that every position taken is a position lost, ventured a discreet "I don't know."

All the Picket Lines Fit to Cross

Railing against "Picket Line Tyranny," the *New York Times* (16 April) cheered Humphrey and denounced the



Two pickets were enough to close down Pier 80 in S.F. this month.

other candidates for "surrendering mindlessly this week to the keep-out tyranny of pickets involved in a labor-management dispute that had nothing whatever to do with the group all three had promised to address..." "The day is long past," said the *Times*, "when Americans automatically accept a picket line as an uncrossable blockade without concern for its merits or legitimacy. Even among lifelong unionists working in a struck enterprise, the picket line is not always viewed as sacrosanct."

There was nothing "illegitimate" about the NABET picket line. It was an attempt to shut down a scab operation of NBC, which is operating only because of the weakness of the picket lines, a weakness which the *Times* wants to encourage. Itself a big business and leading mouthpiece for the liberal bourgeoisie, the *Times* (for which picket lines are certainly not "sacrosanct," precisely because profits are) has good reason to fear the strike weapons which built the unions in this country.

The bourgeoisie and its government, abetted by the misleaders within the labor movement, have pulled out all the stops in attempting to defuse these weapons. Following the great strike wave of 1946-47, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which among other things outlawed "secondary boycotts," or the extension of a strike to employers not directly a party to the original dispute. This outlawed "hot-cargoing" (the refusal to handle struck goods) and resulted in an abomination called the "informational picket line," a line which is supposed to be crossed by some workers and not others.

The strike weapons outlawed were precisely those which encourage labor solidarity across the boundaries of different unions, and which have been the difference between victory and defeat for many strikes. The bourgeois "friends of labor" collaborated with the passage of this attack on the unions, and the defeatist labor bureaucracy refused to oppose the law with anything more than perfunctory protest. The bureaucrats daily continue their betrayal through cooperation with the government and its courts in the enforcement of this anti-union law.

So it is that the *Times* can wishfully think of picket lines as "long past" and

note the "lifelong unionists" who cross them. No doubt the *Times* has in mind such examples as Harry Bridges, who crossed the picket lines of his own striking office workers. The *Times* is perhaps thinking also of the *Washington Post* strike, in which George Meany (who boasts that he has never been on strike and never walked a picket line) betrayed the striking pressmen by allowing other unions to settle while the weak-kneed leadership of the Newspaper Guild hesitated to expel Guild members who scabbed.

"Nothing Lower than a Scab"

The "informational picket line" is a betrayal; it is a picket line organized by labor traitors to let the scabs in and destroy labor solidarity. It is part and parcel of their narrow business-unionist policies, which include regularly organizing their members to scab on other unions. Class-collaborationist subservience to capitalism is what motivates these fakers, preventing any substantial growth of the unions since the 1940's. It will take a revolutionary leadership to put the teeth back in the picket line through labor solidarity in defiance of the anti-labor courts and laws.

The *Times* is vexed because 30 years of "informational picket lines" have failed to wash away the memory of what a picket line is, because capitalist politicians must still squirm before the traditions of solidarity of the organized working class. It is not what is "long past" that worries the *Times*, but what still lives today in the workers movement. The bosses are worried that in San Francisco, where they are trying to cut the wages of city workers and reinstitute the "yellow dog contract," solidarity and respect for picket lines could bring about the general strike that the quisling Central Labor Council called but refuses to organize.

The *Times*, the bourgeois politicians and the labor bureaucracy all try to bury the fact, but they know that a picket line still means, "don't cross." Those who cross picket lines are scabs. The workers remember who breaks their strikes. Let the Sulzbergers and the Humphreys and the Woodcocks, Meany's and Bridges take note: a scab still has no right to exist, in the words of an old Jack London poem, "so long as there is rope enough to hang him." ■

Free Gary Tyler!

Black Youth Sentenced to Electric Chair

An innocent black youth is scheduled to die in the electric chair May 5 in Louisiana. Even though the death penalty is currently under review by the U.S. Supreme Court, Louisiana officials are still pushing to put the irrevocable executioner's seal on their judicial frame-up of Gary Tyler. Socialists, unionists, defenders of democratic rights of black people must urgently demand that Tyler be unconditionally freed and the death penalty abolished.

Here is the story behind this racist atrocity: On 7 October 1974 the students of Destrehan High School in the KKK-infested plantation town of Destrehan, Louisiana, were dismissed early. However, when black students boarded the school bus to leave the area, they were surrounded and attacked by a mob of



Gary Tyler

rock-throwing white students and parents. During the ensuing melee, a shot was fired, killing a 14-year-old white student, Timothy Webster.

The police had done nothing to protect the trapped black students from attack. Yet immediately after the shooting, the cops forced all passengers to get out of the bus and kneel on the concrete for over two hours while menacing them with drawn revolvers. When 17-year-old Gary Tyler protested this harassment, he was arrested for "interfering with the law." The charge was subsequently changed to murder in the first degree, and the black youth was found guilty by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the electric chair. (Louisiana's capital punishment law is one of five such state laws on which a Supreme Court ruling is awaited.)

On April 23, despite overwhelming evidence of Tyler's innocence, a motion for a new trial was denied by Judge Ruche J. Marino—the same judge who had presided at his frame-up trial.

Tyler's defense attorney, Jack Peebles, brought out the fact that although police had searched both the black students and the bus for two hours following the shooting, they had been unable to find any weapons. The alleged murder weapon—a .45 calibre police automatic which had never been reported stolen—was "discovered" hours

later. Conveniently enough, the bullet that killed the white student was never "discovered," making a positive identification of the murder weapon impossible. In addition, the driver of the school bus, a 20-year veteran of the army, testified that he was absolutely certain that Tyler had not fired a gun.

The key witness for the prosecution, Natalie Blanks, described by her lawyer as having a "nervous mental condition," was the only one to have claimed to see Tyler fire a gun. She has since signed an affidavit that she had lied when so testifying earlier. Blanks, a black student and a mother, swore in a 31-page affidavit that after being taken into custody by the police she was stripped in front of two white deputies and threatened with being charged with accessory to murder and perjury if she refused to testify against Tyler. "Do you want to be put in jail," she was asked. "Don't you want to stay here and raise your baby?"

At the April 23 hearing, Blanks testified that she had in fact seen no one firing a gun on the day of the shooting. This testimony was corroborated by another student on the bus, Donald Files. Files asserts that when Tyler's cousin, Ike Randall, who had seen a man aiming a rifle at the bus just before the shot was fired, warned the students to get down, Files pushed Natalie Blanks to the floor of the bus, making it impossible for her to see who was shooting.

Blanks has sworn that the police tried "to put words into my mouth" and that she had read her entire testimony at the Tyler trial from a piece of paper which had been placed on the floor of the witness stand.

Not one to allow such details to interfere with the swift dispensation of lynch law "justice," Judge Marino ruled that Natalie Blanks' assertion that she had read her testimony was "preposterous." No medical evidence had been introduced at the hearing to disqualify her previous testimony on psychiatric grounds, he said, and there was no proof that she had been coerced.

The Ku Klux Klan has used the Tyler case to revive its terroristic activities in this rural area. David Duke, a national spokesman for the KKK, tore himself away from anti-busing activities in Boston to fly to Destrehan and preside over the racist hate campaign. In addition, following a fundraising benefit for Gary Tyler in late March, a 19-year-old black youth, Richard Dunn, was shotgunned and killed by two white men in a passing car.

While certainly far from exceptional in the history of bourgeois class "justice," the frame-up of Gary Tyler exposes in a particularly outrageous manner several of the grotesque practices which have always been part and parcel of racist American "law and order": lynch terror, blackmail and the barbaric death penalty. These atrocities will have no place in the judicial system of a revolutionary workers state, where the law will serve the masses and not a handful of ruling-class dictators and their flunkies.

Gary Tyler is the victim of a vicious, racist cop court frame-up. His life is at stake! Militants must demand that the execution be called off and Gary Tyler be immediately freed. The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WT* to send telegrams demanding freedom for Tyler to: Governor Edwin Edwards, State Capitol Building, Baton Rouge, LA 70804. Contributions for legal defense may be sent to Jack Peebles, 305 Baronne Street, Suite 1006, New Orleans, LA 70112. Make payable to "Gary Tyler Defense Fund." ■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet
The Fight to Implement Busing
 For Labor/Black Defense to Stop
 Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist
 Threats
 Price: 75c
 Order from/pay to: Spartacus Youth
 Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station,
 New York NY 10013

No to "Preferential Layoffs"! Jobs for All!

Court Orders "Retroactive Seniority"

The Supreme Court ruled late last month that plaintiffs found to be victims of discrimination in hiring were entitled to seniority retroactive to the date of their original job application. This "landmark" interpretation of Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was handed down in a class action suit brought on behalf of two New Orleans black truck drivers by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Some liberal commentators have claimed that the Supreme Court decision in this case (*Franks vs. Bowman Transportation Co.*) is strangely at variance with its recent, virtually unbroken string of reactionary, anti-democratic rulings (upholding state anti-homosexual laws and bans on political activity at military bases, severely limiting protection against defamation by government officials, authorizing police to make routine arrests without warrants, etc.). In fact, the real axis of the ruling is not concern for the victims of special oppression, but the desire to weaken organized labor

employees will of course always be present in instances where some scarce employment benefit is distributed among employees on the basis of their seniority status hierarchy" (*United States Law Week*, 23 March). While dividing on "super-seniority," the justices were unanimous in upholding the "right" of the bourgeois state to overturn negotiated contracts.

The justices pointedly refused to order such measures as stiff compensatory payments and the equalization of fringe benefits. The reason is obvious: they would not have the desired effect of pitting white against black workers, and would instead deplete profit-swollen corporate coffers.

The seniority system, which the NAACP and the court are eager to dismantle, represents a hard-won, if limited, gain of the workers movement. As a clearly defined basis for job advancement and vested job rights, it was bitterly opposed by the companies as an encroachment of their prerogative to arbitrarily victimize militants with

individual minority and women workers obtain by the government's opening up a few jobs or extending preferential seniority, in the long run this will be more than offset by losses suffered by the entire working class as a result of state control of the labor movement.

This recent court ruling underscores the purely tokenistic character of the few crumbs offered to black and women workers in the guise of overcoming discrimination while the bourgeoisie pursues its union-busting schemes. To win retroactive seniority, a plaintiff must prove in federal court that he was denied a job, for which he applied and was qualified, because of unlawful discrimination after Title 7 went into effect. The burden of proof, not to mention time and legal expenses, is on the individual worker. Thus, few victims of discrimination will actually benefit, but the legal precedent for government tampering with seniority rights has been firmly established.

In the seeming absence of a class-struggle alternative—a union leadership committed to challenging discrimination and fighting for jobs for all—black and women workers in a number of industries have turned to the no-win course of reliance on court suits and governmental pressure. The drawn-out court battles against sexist and racist discrimination by the steel bosses have resulted only in token payments of several hundred dollars each to a tiny fraction of the thousands of victims of discrimination in the industry.

Under terms of the 1974 "Consent Decree"—signed by nine major steel companies, the United Steel Workers (USW) and the Departments of Labor and Justice—workers who take the checks waive all legal rights to pursue their cases any further. The theoretical granting of plant-wide seniority was essentially gutted by acceptance of company "lines of progression," which force blacks who transfer out of the hellish coke ovens and blast furnaces to take pay cuts and begin at the bottom in new departments, regardless of their plant-wide seniority standing.

The earlier "Fairfield decision," which was largely superseded by the "Consent Decree," was somewhat broader in scope yet never transcended the basic framework of tokenism. Hailed by reformist outfits like the Communist Party and the Maoist October League (OL) as a great victory, the decision awarded back pay to only 61 out of 3,000 affected black steel workers in Alabama.

"Women's Lawsuit" at Fremont

In the auto industry much attention has been focused on a "women's lawsuit" at the General Motors plant in Fremont, California. This lawsuit, brought by several members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 and supported by the OL, attempted to reduce the number of layoffs of women workers in early 1975, not by stopping all layoffs but by laying off male workers in their place! This was made clear in the plaintiffs' brief, which stated that "such affirmative action plan shall have as its goal permanent population parity for female employees at GMAD Fremont.... that is population parity

continued on page 10



WV Photo

Local 1364 Committee for a Militant UAW spokesman denounces "preferential layoffs" at January 1975 rally in front of S.F. Federal Building.

through government intervention into the unions and placing the onus for overcoming discrimination not on the corporations but on white workers.

The majority opinion, authored by Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., piously urges that "A sharing of the burden of past discrimination... is necessary" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 March). The court insists that other workers not the employers who perpetrated these injustices should share the "burden" by losing their seniority. In other words, employed workers should face the prospect of layoffs to atone for racist and sexist practices of the capitalists!

Making explicit the connection between job discrimination and the mass unemployment inherent in the capitalist system, the Supreme Court held that "conflicting interests of other

threats of firing or down-grading.

In some cases specific seniority agreements, like the departmental seniority system in steel, do discriminate against female or non-white workers. It is the duty of labor militants to fight within the unions to change such systems to more equitable plant-wide seniority, and for a full program to guarantee job security (union control of hiring, strikes against layoffs, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all, and a planned economy under a workers government).

But, in all cases, the corrosive effect of government intervention into the labor movement whether in the form of wage controls, compulsory arbitration or abrogations of seniority and other contractual rights must be vigorously resisted. Whatever the incidental gains

Break with Peronism, Stalinism, Guerrillaism —For a Trotskyist Party! The End of Peronist Rule in Argentina

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile

The coup d'état in Argentina, carried out by a junta composed of the three branches of the armed forces, marked the tragic and logical unfolding of a bourgeois crisis which had grown increasingly acute with the Peronist government's total incapacity to resolve it. It is important to note that the takeover had already begun Tuesday the 23rd [of March] and not Wednesday the 24th as was officially reported.

President Isabel Perón had attempted to ignore social tensions caused by the economic disaster, instead abusing the demagogic prestige that *justicialismo* had won through its *líder máximo*, General Juan Perón. Furthermore, the control over the working class which Peronism had exercised through a veritable bureaucratic mafia in the main Argentine trade-union federation, the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], was no longer viable. The Argentine proletariat was trying to break its dependence on these pimping misleaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie. The most obvious proof of this was the recent general strike just before the coup.

Since the bourgeoisie found its efforts at economic and social planning stymied, it withdrew all support from the government of Perón's widow. The working class will certainly not be duped by bourgeois moral arguments concerning the squandering of public funds by the president and her friend, López Rega. The real reasons for the bourgeoisie's withdrawal of support from the government are of a political order, i.e., the raging economic crisis and the rise of working-class struggle.

When the bourgeoisie can no longer depend upon the services of the government, it falls back upon the state apparatus, and of course upon the armed forces as its enforcers. From its point of view, the moment chosen to shatter the democratic institutions was dramatically correct, since there was no forceful opposition. The Argentine working class has no mass parties capable of putting up any substantial class resistance (thus the counterrevolutionary class-collaborationist policies of the Communist Party, for example, have led it to sell out to Peronism). In Chile an important part of the proletariat was organized in the two mass workers parties, the Socialist Party (SP) and the Communist Party (CP), which in spite of their reformist strategies were nearly destroyed by Pinochet (above all the SP). The guerrillas of the Argentine PRT/ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party/Revolutionary People's Army) and Montoneros had neither the physical nor political capacity necessary [to resist the coup]; their war with the bourgeois army was irreversibly lost from the beginning, no matter how heroic individual militants may have been.

The Argentine armed forces, who have a great deal of experience in carrying out coups, wanted to avoid the unfavorable international image which its neighbor, Chile, has received. Impor-

tant economic interests involving large foreign investments are at stake, and could not simply be thrown overboard. There are even very good economic relations with the USSR. For these reasons the dominant sectors of the Argentine armed forces were opposed to the Air Force-led coup attempt [last December].

In this fashion the military takeover in Argentina appeared to the world as almost "peaceful" and without bloodshed. The only purpose of the CGT's call for a general strike was in order to be able to bargain over the positions which the bureaucracy had earlier obtained. But these are only the appearances, behind which is hidden a silent repression no less bloody than that of similar coups on the continent, most obviously Chile. This repression vents its fury primarily against the

through the violent destruction of the capitalist system of private property and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class, thus laying the bases of the future socialist society.

The Argentine Frente Justicialista [Frejuli, the official Peronist party] is a bourgeois populist party, created by the bourgeoisie itself in order to dominate the rising workers movement in the 1940's. This is how the present CGT arose as a trade-union organization built and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to destroy proletarian militancy. When General Perón proved incapable of fulfilling his class function, he was violently removed and obliged to take an extended vacation in Spain. However, the military governments which followed Perón's fall were also unable to attain social peace. Thus the bourgeoisie was forced to recall the exile



General Rafael Videla



Isabel Perón saluting



U.S.-trained Argentine riot police

Lotta Continua

Argentine working class and likewise against its class brothers from other parts of Latin America who have been forced to emigrate to Argentina, whether for political or economic reasons (assuming that one could speak of pure politics or economics). In particular, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have crossed the Andean *cordillera* from Chile; the brutal repression against them has already begun. By common agreement, the representatives of capital open their borders in order to communicate in the language of death and destruction of the proletariat. Before March Perón had already handed over hundreds of Chileans to the Chilean bourgeoisie; now this deadly traffic in human beings is increasing.

The demagogic populism of Peronism has been exposed. The illusions which it fostered among the Argentine working masses may well have received a death blow. Despite the brief duration of the Peronist government, this period was sufficient to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie (even those of its parties which have working-class support) necessarily bases its system on the exploitation of the proletariat and of the lowest social strata, that there is no such thing as a progressive "anti-imperialist" national bourgeoisie. Capitalism is an international system of domination based on the exploitation of man by man. Anti-imperialism, progress and the liberation of humanity can only be brought about

from Iberia and once more offer him governmental control.

The illusions in Peronism which had been preserved within the working class gave the general an overwhelming electoral triumph. The "critical" support by so-called "Marxists," such as the PST (Socialist Workers Party), to the Peronist government of Hector Cámpora objectively contributed to the working-class defeat which resulted from the military coup.

It is interesting to observe the positions of the different left organizations on the question of Peronist populism. On the one hand the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist groups—the Montoneros and the PRT/ERP—both put forward the same strategy of "national liberation," thus playing the role of left face of Stalinism, under the leadership of Fidel Castro. For them the principal contradiction is between the imperialists and the nation, not between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Therefore, the revolution is to occur in two stages: the first is bourgeois-democratic, naturally in alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, and the second will never be realized. Even in the best case, this strategy leads only to the constitution of bureaucratic anti-working-class regimes, such as the Cuban deformed workers state.

Thousands of valiant young militants have been led to their death by their belief in the Castroite Mandeliste strategy of betrayal. The other groups which

have joined with the ERP in the Revolutionary Coordinating Council—the Bolivian ELN (National Liberation Army), the Uruguayan MLN (Tupamaros) and the Chilean MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement)—have all been virtually destroyed in their respective countries of origin. The Montoneros handed over their arms when Perón took office, only to have to pick them up again later against the repression unleashed by their own patrons. For its part, the PRT/ERP has nothing in common with genuine Trotskyism. It carries out its own war with the bourgeois army behind the back of the working class, which usually suffers the repercussions of the desperado operations of these latter-day "Robin Hoods."

Also present are the representatives of the United Secretariat (USec) of the self-proclaimed Fourth International—an unprincipled federation of the *focoist* [Guevarist] majority, which had built the Castroite PRT/ERP, and the reformist minority of Moreno Coral's PST. Consistent with its class-collaborationist politics the same as those displayed by its American older brother, the Socialist Workers Party (e.g., in the movement against the war in Vietnam) the PST gave support to the bourgeois Peronist government, claiming that "the Peronist party... since 1946 has been the organization and the ideology of the working class" (*Revista de América*, March 1976).

Furthermore, Política Obrera affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, led by the French OCI has abandoned the basic principles of the Transitional Program by calling for a Latin American anti-imperialist united front to force the bourgeoisie to fulfill the program of national liberation; that is, the creation of a Latin American Kuomintang.

Thus the advent of a bourgeois bonapartist military junta in Argentina is the result of the crisis of the bourgeoisie which, unable to halt the workers' advances and to reduce social and economic tensions through traditional democratic methods, falls back upon its instrument of class exploitation and oppression: the state. The armed forces therefore take on their true role as guardian of capitalist interests, not that of "defense of the fatherland", temporarily raising themselves above the social classes.

Another chapter in the history of betrayal, reformist illusions and class collaboration in Latin America has been brought to a close. This must be added to the lessons of the Chilean popular front, where the bourgeois solution to the crisis, Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, failed completely during Frei's Christian Democratic government. Counterrevolutionary Stalinism built the Popular Unity with the bourgeoisie the Radical Party, the Social-Democratic Party, API and the mass workers parties (SP and CP), the MIR acting as their left appendage, and then led the proletariat to bloody defeat and destruction of its class organizations.

We are experiencing the crisis of capitalism, its death agony. Only the proletariat led by an authentic Trotskyist party armed with the revolutionary program can deliver the final blow. This must be a party of irreconcilable opposition to the bourgeoisie and its popular-frontist representatives. The principal obstacles to the construction of a revolutionary workers leadership in Argentina today are those deserters from the camp of Trotskyism who will try to raise anew the putrified corpse of Peronism. These are the centrist and reformist renegades from the Transitional Program, the destroyers of the Fourth International; the USec Pabloism and the Organizing Committee of the OCI. The bourgeoisie and its system of oppression will not be defeated by anti-imperialist or anti-fascist fronts, or any other bombastic name which the betrayers may use to cover up their capitulation to the bourgeois program.

The crisis of humanity is the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the working class, and this will only be overcome by the rebirth of the Fourth International. Exploitation recognizes no national borders only under a revolutionary leadership centralized on a world wide scale will socialism replace capitalist barbarism.

Organización Trotskista
Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile
15 April 1976

Telegram from Martin Sostre

21 April 1976

As a recently released class war prisoner I wholeheartedly support the struggle to free all class war prisoners in Argentina and Chile as well as the struggle to save Mario Muñoz. Hasta la victoria.

Martin Sostre

Mario Muñoz: Miner, Working-Class Leader, Hunted Refugee

by the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile

Mario Muñoz Salas was born 8 June 1939. He began working in the mines at the age of 14. At that time the "pirquineros" (contract miners) were being exploited by Chile's mining barons with the complicity of judges, lawyers, politicians and presidents of the republic. Yankee imperialism intervened directly in the mineral-buying agencies to deprive the miners of the fruits of their years of labor.

Mario Muñoz was among the first to rebel, pushing forward the organization and consolidation of unions to defend the workers' rights. This was no easy task, for 90 percent of the miners were illiterate, many afflicted with silicosis and dying by the thousands in the most abject poverty.

In 1968 the Interprovincial Union of Contract Miners of the provinces of Valparaíso, Aconcagua and Santiago was established. Its founder and leader was Mario Muñoz. The union sought to qualitatively change the traditional struggles over basically economist demands in order to give them a political thrust. Its program envisioned a thorough reform of the Mining Codes to end private ownership of the mines and make them exclusively state property.

For many years Mario Muñoz belonged to the Chilean Communist Party (CP) of which he became a regional leader. Despite his party's opposition he led mine seizures, beginning with those not being worked by their owners. The first mine in the hands of the workers was the "Los Maquis de Pedernales," which they then renamed "La Rebelión." This was followed by many others.

The government attempted to repress the first seizure of a foreign-owned mine, but the troops were forced to retreat in the face of the resoluteness of the miners and consistent support from the peasants. Under the leadership of Muñoz, an authentic worker-peasant alliance was created in these provinces, as the miners also supported the seizures of "fundos" (large estates) carried out by local peasants.

As a result of the widely publicized union mobilizations Muñoz participated in a Channel 4 television interview. In an effort to intimidate Muñoz, the angered Minister of Mines threatened to use police force if such activities continued. Muñoz answered that if the minister were to carry out his threat it would result in the first massacre of "pacos" (cops) in Chile.

After the CP's refusal to support his trade-union policies, Muñoz quit the party and tore up his membership card in front of a mass meeting of miners, at which all present followed his example.

The September 1970 electoral victory of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) coalition did not halt the revolutionary activities of the miners. From public platforms Muñoz forced the leaders of the popular front to not oppose the mine seizures.

In 1971 Muñoz entered the Chilean Socialist Party (SP). He was immediately impelled to lead a left opposition in the party against Allende and his cohorts in high posts.

A march of miners from Cabildo to Valparaíso took place in March of the same year. The CP, which opposed the march, closed the union hall of the Melón cement workers in the town of Calera where the marchers were supposed to eat and rest. The slogans of the march, led by Muñoz, were expropriation without compensation of the mineral deposits and armed defense of



El Mercurio

March by "pirquineros" (contract miners) union in Valparaíso, 22 March 1971 in support of nationalization of copper mines. Mario Muñoz led the march.

the government against possible imperialist attack. The workers' demonstration ended with a rally at the office of the Valparaíso provincial governor, where Muñoz denounced class conciliation, calling the provincial governor at his side (a member of the Radical Party) a representative of the bourgeoisie.

Subsequently the UP came out against the mine seizures. The first important confrontation took place with the miners' occupation of the Bella Vista plant, whose owners were in the Radical Party. Mr. Cantuarias, a Radical and the minister of mines, tried to speak to the miners, but Muñoz took the floor to denounce the government deals, calling Cantuarias a thief in the service of the bosses. As could be expected, this meeting ended in disorder.

In the face of firm and resolute opposition from the miners and their leader, the parties of the UP sponsored a conference of miners at the University of Federico Santa María in Valparaíso. Through a campaign of slander they tried to undermine Muñoz' rising influence in the Chilean proletariat. Of 152 delegates who attended the conference, 25 were from the contract miners' union. Also invited were the principal leaders of the Central Unico de Trabajadores (CUT) [the Chilean labor federation, dissolved by Pinochet in September 1973], the CP and the SP. However, neither these nor even the presence of Allende himself could silence the voice of Mario Muñoz. The resolutions passed at this conference, which remained in the hands of the UP leaders, were never published.

In this tense climate the Allende government attempted toward the end of 1972 to create the Regional Miners Councils as an organization for bureaucratically asphyxiating the working class. The first congress took place in Copiapó, a province of Atacama. Four days before the opening the miners, with Muñoz at their head, inaugurated the congress by occupying a mine in Salado. The mine was owned by the vice-president of the state National Mining Enterprise (ENAMI), Eduardo Matta. Again Muñoz' speech hailing the mine occupation received an ovation by the workers and in a unanimous vote they elected him president of the Regional Miners Councils.

With this new victory of the mining proletariat, another campaign of calumny was unleashed against Muñoz, accusing him of misappropriating funds, union property, etc. Economic measures were taken to undermine the support of different sectors of miners.

The workers did not wait long to react. At the Bronca de Petorca cooperative, the workers decided to detain the head of the Department of Mines in the Pedro de Valdivia mine and put him to work pushing the ore carts. Faced with the government's refusal to grant [the workers] deeds to the mine, Muñoz marched at the head of the miners to Santiago where they seized the central building of ENAMI and the Ministry of Mines. What had not been gained in nine months was now obtained in less than an hour.

Shortly before the coup a mass meeting of miners took place in the building of the UNCTAD workers in downtown Santiago, where Muñoz met with Allende. In addition to assuring him of the unconditional support of the miners to defend the government against the impending reactionary coup, Muñoz asked how long he (Allende) would continue betraying the workers' interests in open conciliation with the bourgeoisie. Some parties of the UP, principally the CP, tried to prevent Muñoz' speech with goons in the service of their treacherous politics. The miners forcefully defended workers democracy and their leader, and marched afterward to the center of Santiago shouting "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" and "Stop the Fascist Coup!" As a result Muñoz broke with the social-patriotism of the SP, demanding freedom for workers and peasants (of Pangal, etc.) imprisoned by the UP government.

Because of the violent persecution against him—he was ordered shot on sight—at the time of Pinochet's coup d'état, Muñoz was forced to cross the Andean cordillera to seek refuge in Argentina. One of his brothers was murdered, beaten to death by the forces of reaction.

In Argentina he dedicated himself to defending the thousands of Chilean workers and peasants who were also forced to leave the country. The Peronist government issued a decree for his expulsion from Argentina. As a result he had to remain underground until the birth of a new son, which opened the possibility of meeting the conditions for legal immigration. This was bureaucratically postponed up until the coup. Within a few hours of assuming power, the Argentine military began to search high and low for Mario Muñoz in order to shoot him. They stopped at nothing, pursuing his entire family and venting their fury on his *compañera* and their children. The UN has taken no responsibility for his life, which hangs by a thread. Only international working-class solidarity can save him! ■

Mario Muñoz Campaign Gathers International Support



WV Photo

NEW YORK—Chanting "Mario Muñoz, Workers Leader Must Live to Lead Again" and "Stop Videla's Witchhunt, Free Class War Prisoners," approximately 175 demonstrators gathered outside the Argentine Consulate here Thursday demanding safe conduct out of Argentina for Mario Muñoz and his family. Also last week, the campaign to save the life of the Chilean revolutionary trade-union leader took on significant international dimensions. Labor Party and trade-union leaders from Australia and Canada came forward to support the case. The Canadian Labor Congress has now endorsed the campaign, along with leaders of the New Democratic Party (NDP). From its London headquarters Amnesty International issued an Urgent Action memorandum, and in Paris Jiri Pelikan, former Central Committee member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and now editor of the opposition journal *Listy*, agreed to endorse the campaign.

Muñoz, the Chilean mine workers leader who fled Pinochet's terror in 1973, is presently being pursued by the Argentine police with orders to "shoot on sight." The province of San Juan has been sealed off for the hunt. For Muñoz, as for thousands of other South American trade unionists and leftists forced to flee brutal military dictatorships in their homelands, Argentina was the last refuge. Now there is nowhere for them to go to escape the unleashing of a bloody repression by Videla's junta.

An international campaign of protest and pressure to focus attention on the plight of these refugees has been organized by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, jointly sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile.

Written endorsements to the Committee's International Appeal were received this week from several members of the Australian Labor Party, including former Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Jim Cairns; in Canada Ed Broadbent, federal leader of the New Democratic Party, and Gordon Vichert, provincial secretary of the Ontario

NDP, came forward to endorse the campaign. New endorsements received in the United States included the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; University of Chicago student government; John Mitchell, International Representative of the Amalgamated Meatcutters; Herbert Marcuse; Nobel laureate Salvador Luria; Daniel Berrigan, and Dick Gregory.

New York Demonstration

By 5 p.m. on April 22, the announced time of the New York demonstration, the Argentine consulate had been locked up tight, its staff sent home by the back door. Undeterred, the spirited demonstrators picketed and chanted their slogans. Participants in the united-front demonstration included contingents from the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League, Partisan Defense Committee, Revolutionary Socialist League, League for a Revolutionary Party, Communist Cadre, International Workers Party, Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee and Purchase College Cutbacks Coalition. Also marching were supporters of militant rank-and-file caucuses from the UAW and National Maritime Union.

Picketing continued while the demonstrators heard speakers from all the participating groups. Applause broke out when a telegram of solidarity was read from Martin Sostre, the black militant recently released after serving years in prison on a frame-up charge.

Mario Muñoz is a symbol of the tens of thousands of Chilean and other exiles now in Argentina. Among these refugees from rightist terror are the cadres who embody the history and living memory of the earlier struggles and have seen the bloody cost of popular-frontist illusions. They must be a crucial component of the fight to wrest power in Chile from the unstable and increasingly isolated junta. But now their lives hang by a thread. Only a massive campaign of international solidarity can save them. Save Mario Muñoz. Defend the victims of right-wing terror in Chile and Argentina! ■

Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

ENDORSERS:

- Raymond Lee Abraham, Jr., B.S.O.C.
- Eqbal Ahmad
- All-African People's Revolutionary Party
- Argentinian Support Movement, London
- Associated Student Government, Northwestern University*
- Daniel Berrigan
- James Bond, City Council of Atlanta, Ga.*
- Fred Branfman
- Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, Australia*
- Andrew Brewin, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party* (NDP), Canada
- Ed Broadbent, Leader, NDP*
- Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
- Canadian Labor Congress
- Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back*
- John Carroll, Esq., Southern Poverty Law Center*
- Hon. Dr. Moss Cass, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
- Noam Chomsky
- Coalicion de Latinoamericanos
- Communist Cadre
- Fred Cohn, Atty.
- Senator Ruth Coleman, Australian Labor Party*
- Comandos de la Resistencia de la Republica Dominicana
- Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana
- Committee Against Friedman/Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta
- Community Action on Latin America, Madison
- Robert H. Cowen, Math Dept., Queens College*
- Dave Dellinger
- Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
- Edward Disanto, Member of Parliament, NDP*
- Frank Donner, Gen. Counsel, U.E., member ACLU*
- Rosie Douglas
- Jan Dukaszta, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party, Canada*
- Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
- Alexander Erlich, Prof., Russian Inst., Columbia U.*
- Thomas I. Emerson, Prof. of Law, Yale*
- Federated Engine Drivers and Firemans Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
- Mario Felmer, Chilean Young Socialists*
- Friends of Indochina
- Barbara Garson, author
- Eugene Genovese, Prof. of History, Rochester U.*
- Arthur Gietzelt, Senator, Australian Labor Party*
- Jorgen Goderstad, Chairman, S. Central Wisconsin local, Socialist Party*
- Harvey Goldberg, Prof. of History, U. of Wisconsin*
- Dick Gregory
- Will Haasch, pres., Local 507 GAIU, Madison*
- Burton Hall, Atty.
- Frank Hardy, novelist
- Harlem Fight Back
- James Haughton, Harlem Fight Back
- Tom Hayden
- Nat Hentoff
- Janice Howard, Alderman, 7th Ward, Toronto*
- Independent Caucus, FFT, New Jersey State College*
- Ted Innes, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
- International Socialists, Chicago local
- International Student Defense Committee, U. of Chicago*
- International Workers Party
- Dale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
- E. Roy John, M.D.
- Sanford Katz, Atty.
- Florynce Kennedy, Atty.
- Ronald Kent, Field Rep., Wisconsin State Employees Union, AFSCME*
- Noah Kimerling
- Rose Kirk, Chief Steward, OCAW Local 7507*
- Pat Knight, Pres., SSEU Local 371* (verbal)
- Labor Struggle Caucus, UAW Local 6*, Chicago
- Lavender and Red Union
- League for the Revolutionary Party
- Gerald Lefcourt, Atty.
- John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
- Stu Leggett, Member of Parliament, NDP*
- Sidney Lens, author
- Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee*
- Longshore Militant, S.F.
- Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate
- Conrad Lynn, Atty.
- Staughton Lynd, author
- Herbert Marcuse
- Militant Caucus, S.F.
- Militant-Solidarity Caucus, NMU*
- Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906*
- John Mitchell, International Rep., Meatcutters Union*
- Ian Mueller, Dir. of Grad. Studies in Philo., U. of Chicago
- Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society*
- National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Chicago chapter
- National Jury Project
- National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
- Ira Katz Nelson, Assoc. Prof., Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
- New American Movement, U. of Chicago*
- David Newby, State V.P., Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT*
- New York Unemployed Council
- Richard Newhouse, Dem., Ill., State Sen.
- Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8
- Dr. Philip Oke, U.N. Rep., Christian Peace Conference*
- Dean Peerman, *Christian Century**
- James Petras
- Jiri Pelikan
- Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof., Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
- Rank and File Coalition, UAW Local 6*, Chi.
- Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
- Bill Robinson, Exec. Brd., Local 634, AFSCME
- John Rodriguez, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party of Canada*
- Norm Roth, former Pres., UAW Local 6*, Chicago
- Richard Rubenstein, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Roosevelt U.*
- Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
- Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine
- Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
- James J. Sheehan
- Sylvia Sherman, Sec'y, Local 171 AFSCME
- Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria, Australia
- Socialist Party, S. Central Wisconsin local
- Roney L. Sorenson, Alderman Dist. 5, Madison, Wisconsin*
- Martin Sostre
- Spartacist League
- Spartacus Youth League
- Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
- I. F. Stone
- Doris E. Strieter, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile*
- Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina
- Studs Terkel, author
- Rip Torn, actor/director
- University of Chicago Student Government
- United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
- Gordon Vichert, Prov. Sec'y, Ontario New Democratic Party, Ontario, Canada*
- Richard and Cristina Whitcross
- Sidney E. William, Youth Vision Integrity*
- Women and Revolution
- Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd.
- Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
- Howard Zinn
- Marvin Zonis, Prof., U. of Chicago*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only
Partial listing

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

I endorse*

My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!
Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

I pledge \$_____ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

First Battle of 1976 Auto Contract Fight

All Labor Must Back Rubber Strikers!

CLEVELAND AKRON, April 25
More than 60,000 rubber workers in 47 plants and 21 states across the country downed tools Wednesday and began what could turn into a long and bitter strike against the "Big Four" tire and rubber manufacturers. The chief issue in the strike is the drastic loss of real wages under previous contracts which lacked any protection against inflation. In the three years since the last agreement was signed, rubber workers have lost a full 10 percent of their real income to increases in the cost of living.

The United Rubber Workers (URW) leadership under Peter Bommarito is currently putting on a show of militancy by calling an industry-wide shutdown for the first time since 1967. It is also insisting on a cost-of-living (c-o-l) clause for the first time ever, and declaring a worldwide boycott of all Firestone products. The membership immediately demonstrated its determination to "catch up" on wages by vigorously backing the strike.

In addition to "unlimited" c-o-l protection, the URW demands of a \$1.65-per-hour raise for production workers and \$2.00 per hour for skilled tradesmen are designed to restore rubber workers' traditional parity with auto workers' wages, a standard which has been steadily eroded over the past ten years. By limiting the official demands to recouping past losses, however, Bommarito & Co. have guaranteed in advance that no new gains will be made and that some of the "catch-up" will be sacrificed in yet another bargaining table betrayal.

Rubber workers are in a good position to go on the offensive against the companies since the industry is still in a conjunctural upswing. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (16 April) noted that the strike takes place in the context of the "strong upturn in tire company fortunes in the past six months or so." However, following a report by the Wall Street brokerage house of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith predicting that the URW would win an unlimited c-o-l allowance and pay increases worth \$1.19 per hour, the union leadership quickly began whittling down its "rock bottom" wage demand in order to "frame an agreement" along the lines of the market analysts' report.

The companies are taking a tough stand in defense of the multi-million-dollar profits afforded them by the rubber workers' losses. Even Bommarito was forced to declare Firestone's final pre-strike offer of \$1.15 per hour and a limited escalator clause "a slap in the face." In fact, the companies are on a provocative offensive which could turn into an outright union-busting campaign. They are well aware that the URW's meager strike fund is expected to pay no more than \$35 per week to the strikers for at most three weeks after payments begin May 5.

Already the local papers in rubber industry centers are speculating that "The longer the strike...the greater the likelihood of violence, as hungry workers may try to cross the picket lines to get back to work" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 21 April). This weekend Goodyear and Firestone spokesmen made an unprece-

dent announcement designed to sap the strikers' morale: they were halting the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) which were due by contractual agreement to more than 1,400 laid-off workers of the two companies. A candid Goodyear official openly admitted that this was "a pressure tactic."

Already the big business press is singling out rubber workers for scapegoating, figuring that the URW's relatively small size makes it a prime candidate for a strikebreaking drive. The *New York Times* (24 April) labeled the strike a "roadblock to resurgence of American economy" in one headline. A concerted attempt by the rubber monopolies would be no surprise considering their vicious anti-labor record. In 1967, the five industry giants formed an "unholy alliance" for mutual protection and provoked a long strike. Moreover, many rubber plants (particularly in the South, where they have migrated in search of low-wage labor) remain unorganized; the present walkout closes only 10 of Firestone's 15 domestic tire plants, and but a tiny fraction of its non-tire operations.

Militancy in Akron

As soon as the midnight, April 20, deadline passed, Akron workers



Beacon Journal (Akron)

URW president Peter Bommarito

launched into the strike with determination and militancy. Mass picketing prevented salaried workers from entering the plants, while rocks and bottles sailed onto Firestone property during the first night of the strike. Six B.F. Goodrich strikers were arrested by Akron police amid reports that the cops had beaten some of them. At Firestone, company cops were much in evidence to help the police do their dirty work.

The companies immediately obtained a court injunction limiting pickets and requiring open access to the plants. Defiance of the injunction was reported at Goodyear Plant 2 on the second day of the strike, when a large group of

pickets stopped coal trucks from entering the plant until they were ordered aside by sheriff's deputies. Subsequently attempts were again made to block access to the plant.

Bommarito's reputation climbed a few notches with his initial show of militancy, although strikers on the lines were generally very guarded and suspicious. "Bommarito's got his nose to the stone," one rubber worker told *WV* on the first day of the strike. "He's got to produce this time, '73 wasn't good enough." Others were less optimistic, saying "there's going to be a sellout" and "Bommarito's a crook." There was also criticism of the URW leadership for its total blackout of information on the bargaining—agreed to jointly with the companies—and for poor organization of the strike.

Support for the industry-wide shutdown was solid, with many strikers vowing to smash the "unholy alliance." Even though this anti-strike pact has been known to the union leadership at least since 1967, strikes since then have been run on a "target company" basis. In 1973 Bommarito concluded a sellout agreement with Goodyear prior to the deadline, then called a token strike at B.F. Goodrich for essentially the same terms!

Make "30 for 40" a Strike Demand!

Totally ignored by the leadership in the present strike is the key question of unemployment and the shorter workweek. Rubber workers have lost 9,000 jobs since 1973. For many of those without work, SUB funds are already exhausted, as at Uniroyal, or are dangerously low. In Ohio, where much of the industry is centered, the state recently cancelled extended unemployment benefits.

A shorter workweek has in the past been a key union demand. The six-day, 36-hour week was instituted by the companies in 1930 in order to protect their workforce from dispersal through unemployment during the depression, since trained tire builders were among the most highly skilled workers of any mass production industry. Later the companies sought to restore the 40-hour week, and this became one of the critical issues in the historic Goodyear sit-down strike of 1936 which built the union and paved the way for the auto plant seizures a year later.

The URW succeeded in retaining the short workweek and halting layoffs which the company had begun by lengthening hours. In 1945, the union made the 30-hour week one of its goals, and Canadian rubber workers fought in the late 1940's to shorten their workweek to 40 hours. At present in the U.S., only Goodyear and General Tire workers retain the 36-hour week, while the rest work 40 and the union leadership has totally abandoned its earlier demands. The present industry-wide strike must have "30 for 40" as one of its chief goals.

International Solidarity Key

The international implications of the strike cannot be ignored even by narrow business unionists like Bommarito.



Ott Ganji/Beacon Journal (Akron)

Picket at gate of Firestone plant 1.

Goodyear has plants in at least 23 countries, Firestone in 16, Uniroyal in 13 and Goodrich in 7. Bommarito is going to Geneva to get support for the strike from the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions (ICF), and the head of the Japanese rubber workers union has promised an "unlimited walkout" by April 26 if the URW is still out.

But Bommarito's "internationalism" is hypocritical at best. While the union strikes in the U.S., Canadian URW members continue to work. A four-month Canadian strike in 1946 was sabotaged by U.S. companies shipping tires and other products to their Canadian subsidiaries. Many union-busting assaults have been mounted against Canadian rubber workers. URW leaders betrayed Quebec Firestone workers who were the victims of vicious scabherding during a 7-month strike in 1973-74. The close links of Canadian and U.S. industry require joint strikes, and URW militants must demand full parity for Canadian rubber workers.

Bommarito's chief excuse for his 1973 betrayal was that the contract occurred under Nixon's wage controls. The Goodrich strike was the first confrontation with a major industrial giant under Nixon's "New Economic Policy," yet the URW had already settled at Goodyear on terms which could be hailed in a joint company-union statement as falling within the 5.5 percent guideline. At the time, we predicted (*WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973) that the Goodyear terms would mean a loss of real wages by 1976, and called for an internationally extended, industry-wide strike to smash Nixon's wage controls and for a campaign to organize the South and Puerto Rico as well as for eliminating the substantial differential between tire and non-tire wages.

AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW Must Aid Rubber Strikers

Today, as the court injunctions and federal government intervention in the negotiations demonstrate, the need to resist the bosses' government is essential. Government "mediation" must be rejected and the anti-picketing injunctions smashed! The strike must be

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Rubber...

(continued from page 9)

extended to Canada and the toothless consumer boycott of Firestone turned into a labor boycott of all struck products, particularly tires coming from non-union shops. The opportunity of the industry-wide strike must be seized to complete the union organization of the rubber industry.

Relations between rubber workers and auto workers have always been close, as in 1937 when URW members streamed to Flint to defend the General Motors sit-down strikers. The utmost solidarity is needed now—this is the first battle of the 1976 auto contract fight. Stocks of tires held by the auto companies, purposely built up prior to the strike, will run out in two to three weeks in most cases. Auto workers must refuse to handle new supplies of tires, no matter what the source! Teamsters must refuse to handle tires during the strike. In addition, strike fund contributions are urgently needed from the AFL-CIO and other unions, as well as support for URW picket lines to prevent scabbing, defy injunctions and keep the struck plants closed.

The rubber workers' plight underlines the need for a sliding scale of wages and hours for all workers in all industries. URW members have suffered acutely from simultaneously rising unemployment and inflation. SUB funds have been wholly inadequate and subject to capricious company attack during the strike, while cost-of-living protection

has been non-existent. Rubber workers must insist on a full, uncapped cost-of-living escalator and on a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, with sharp restrictions on overtime. The SUB funds must be extended indefinitely, guaranteed by the company and the federal government, and the companies penalized for cutting off funds during the strike.

Yet cost-of-living formulas in contracts are never adequate. Even under the most liberal formulas workers only recoup a part of their wages lost to inflation. Delays in computation and implementation, the bias of government price statistics, counting increases as part of basic wages for figuring pension and other fringe benefits are some of the many ways the capitalists subvert them.

Only a sliding scale of wages and hours, extended over all industries, can adequately deal with these problems. But for this a general assault on the capitalist system is required. Industry must be expropriated without compensation and state economic planning instituted by a workers government.

From adequate cost-of-living protection to a workers government, the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie who presently mislead the union movement remain the most important roadblock to success. The bureaucracy is as committed to maintaining capitalism as it is subservient to government wage controls. Rubber workers must begin now the fight for a class-struggle program which alone can ensure that Bommarito & Co. are replaced with a militant leadership capable of leading all labor to victory against the class enemy. ■

Seniority...

(continued from page 5)

without regard to workforce size at any time."

As the court and all participants well understood, such "population parity" (presumably 51 percent women) could only mean preferential seniority for women and layoffs for men. When the UAW International tried to enter a legal opinion as a "friend of the court," the judge ruled that the union's only possible standing would be as a defendant in the case.

At Fremont GM an alternative to the bureaucrats' callous indifference to racial sexual oppression and the reformists' divisive and ineffectual ploy of "preferential seniority" court cases was put forward by a class-struggle opposition called the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW). The committee denounced the suit as an open invitation to the government to "rewrite our contract and break the seniority system" and counterposed a nationwide UAW campaign against layoffs and plant closures through the use of sit-down strikes to win a shorter workweek at full pay.

The CMUAW circulated a petition in the plant demanding that the suit be dropped by its initiators and that "the union fight all forms of discrimination and mount a campaign to end layoffs." This petition was signed by some 750 workers, over half of them female or non-white, causing great embarrassment to the handful of women backing the reactionary suit. Supporters of the suit subsequently started issuing a plant newsletter called "Stand Up," flaunting their opposition to the militant tactic of the sit-down strike in favor of trusting the bosses' courts.

Now that the second shift has been recalled at Fremont, the Stand Up caucus has tried to hide the decisive repudiation of its court suit among workers in the plant by pretending that although "At first our suit got a bad response from the men in the plant... a lot has changed over the past year..." Referring vaguely to "a copy of the local union newspaper" (no title, no date), an article in the March issue of the OLS *Call* implies that workers who (correct-

ly) support "the right of women to be in the plants" therefore support the anti-union "women's lawsuit."

In response to this duplicity, a spokesman for the CMUAW described to *WT* the real situation in the plant:

"The Stand Up caucus has escalated their cover-up operation on the women's court suit against the union to overturn our seniority provisions. Last year they called it 'modifying seniority'; this year they call it 'strengthening seniority.' The workers at Fremont call it 'breaking seniority.'"

"Stand Up raised their disingenuous slogan as a resolution at the February 27 union meeting and our committee exposed this as underhanded support to the suit. Unfortunately, it was ruled out of order by the union officials before the workers were able to vote it down."

"The latest issue of *The Call* claims widespread support to the suit by the workers at Fremont. But anti-suit sentiment is so prevalent that in order to get any votes at all in the recent special elections, Stand Up hastily pulled together an opportunist slate of aspiring bureaucrats on a platform of 'strengthening seniority.'"

"Their slate evaporated when the polls closed. They continue to lie outside the plant about imaginary mass pro-suit support, while inside the plant all they talk about is 'strengthening seniority.' Ill-will against women in the plant has been generated by the divisive anti-union suit. However, the workers at Fremont still stand with the 'Drop the Suit' petition, representing a pole of unity between women and men: defense of the union against government interference."

Long on phony schemes and short on principles, reformist groupings like the Stand Up caucus and the OLS represent nothing more than variations on the labor fakers' policies of class collaboration. The entrenched bureaucratic misleaders of the UAW, Steelworkers, etc., appeal to backward social attitudes and narrow parochialism among white male workers as they counsel reliance on labor's so-called "friends" in congress and the courts. The phony militants and would-be bureaucrats, in turn, try to win support from black and women workers by pitting them against the rest of the working class and preaching that the bosses' government can be pressured into overcoming racial and sexual oppression nurtured by the capitalist system. The real answer is that the working class must rely only on its own strength to liberate itself and all the oppressed. ■

S.F...

(continued from page 12)

contract must be the starting point for new talks.

ATU Local 1225 drivers used to rank in the top five on the wage scale of transit drivers. Now they have dropped to 22nd place nationally and get a lower wage than Bay Area Rapid Transit, AC Transit, San Francisco Muni drivers and the Santa Clara County system drivers. They are required to work about 30 percent longer than the standard 40-hour week with many drivers driving 10 to 14 hours a day.

Furthermore, lower seniority drivers are threatened by unemployment because of the Bridge District's policy of licensing and subsidizing private charter "club buses." The number of such "club buses" is growing rapidly and Bridge Directors adamantly defend the practice. Referring to the "club buses" San Rafael mayor and Bridge Director Paul Bettini says "It's the District's privilege to run its business. But we need public support if we're to stay tough" (*Pacific Sun*, 23-29 April). *Workers Vanguard* reporters who showed up at a bus barn of Golden Gate Transit the first day of the strike were met by ATU pickets who told them their union was fining them for throwing up picket lines before they had received union authorization! Since then, as a conciliatory gesture, ATU pickets have been withdrawn from the Bridge District's Sausalito ferry lines.

No Friends in City Hall

The trade-union bureaucracy is prostrate before this anti-labor onslaught. Until the strike began, Labor Council secretary John Crowley and the leaderships of the craft unions were on cordial terms with the "friends of labor" they helped elect to city hall last fall. Now most of these politicians, including Moscone and the bulk of the Democrats (who have a 9 to 2 majority) on the Board of Supervisors, are spitting in the Central Labor Council's face.

Many of the bureaucrats in the leadership of the strike are frightened and confused. For years they have collaborated with and appeased the bosses and their Democratic Party politicians. For years they have sacrificed the interests of working people in order to feather their nests as big-shot "power brokers" delivering the labor vote to the latest Democratic Party "friend of labor."

Such collaboration had its returns. Labor Council secretary John Crowley sat on former mayor Joseph Alioto's bond-screening committee. Machinist union head Stan Jensen holds a seat on the Redevelopment Agency. Laborers union head George Evankovich sits on the Housing Authority, and Plumbers union head Joe Mazzola is still a member of the Airport Commission, placing himself in the exquisite position of representing both the bosses and the craft workers striking city airport facilities.

But the "rules" of this treacherous game are changing. The bourgeoisie has decided it can dispense with the services of Crowley, Evankovich, Jensen, Mazzola & Co. The bureaucrats discover that they have run out of "friends" at City Hall. They can not figure out whether they should bluster a bit or just grovel.

Bureaucrats in a Quandary

Certainly, if the bureaucrats had been able to get away with it, they would have sold out the current strike long ago. Following the initial general strike threat they have done less than nothing. Laborers' leader George Evankovich, under great pressure from his international, reportedly tried to "negotiate" a 10 percent wage cut for his union. Under pressure from his outraged membership, he is now holding out for a wage freeze with a cost-of-living allowance.

Meanwhile Evankovich ended the strike by 150 janitors and groundskeepers against the San Francisco Housing Authority. Housing Authority wages are not set by the Board of Supervisors but normally follow city patterns, and the craft unions usually strike the Housing Authority anyway as a pressure tactic.

As if this weren't bad enough, Evankovich is chairman of the Housing Authority's Board of Directors! While he blasted the Authority's use of tenants as scab labor, he claimed his members were so intimidated by the scabbing that they "were willing to go back to work even without pay if it was necessary to save their jobs" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 April). With leadership like this, who needs enemies?!

The Central Labor Council held a meeting on Monday night, April 26. It was an incredible spectacle of paralysis. A significant portion of the meeting was taken up with business as usual. The Muni general strike deadline was not even discussed, and those few delegates who spoke in favor of a general strike received no support from the main-line bureaucrats.

Instead Crowley & Co. are still banking on Democratic Party "friends of labor" to pull their chestnuts from the fire. State AFL-CIO leader John Henning tearfully beseeched Democratic Party leaders to pressure the nine Democrats on the Board of Supervisors to negotiate. "The refusal of the Board to negotiate violates all the principles that Franklin Roosevelt held essential in relationships between labor and management," whined Henning in a telegram addressed to California governor Jerry Brown and other state Democratic notables (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 April).

Moscone and Kopp were definitely not impressed. "It's a misunderstanding of the problems to believe this is a Democrat vs. Republican struggle or even a liberal vs. conservative struggle," intoned Moscone. Kopp replied that "this is not a partisan affair. It would be unfortunate," he continued, "...if some kind of Big Brother influence was sought to be exercised on the free will of the voters of San Francisco" (*Chronicle*, 24 April).

Kopp and Moscone are, in their own way, quite right. What the craft strike poses is the class struggle—certainly not a "partisan" issue dividing the Republicans from the Democrats, both of which represent the interests of capital.

Red Baiting

Fearful of a repetition on a larger scale of the events of the April 20 Strike

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Center meeting and aware of the widespread disgust with their conduct of the strike, the bureaucrats have moved to tighten their control of the strike. They have reasserted command over the Strike Center and are attempting to isolate militants by red baiting.

Bureaucrats who haven't run a strike in 30 years are complaining about "Spartacus" (sic!) leaflets urging labor solidarity and a general strike. They are joined by the bourgeois press and the scab-herding cops. The Hearst-owned *Examiner* characterized the militant April 14 City Hall picket line as peppered with Progressive Labor Party and Spartacist agitators. Renegades from the labor movement, such as ex-longshore bureaucrat Joe Johnson, are sent to the picket lines by the Mayor's office to ferret out "reds."

So far the bureaucrats' red baiting has gotten them nowhere. The striking workers are very much aware that it is Crowley, Jensen, Mazzola, Glen and Evankovich who are running the strike into the ground—not "reds."

Sentiment for General Strike Grows

As the strike continues, the motivation for the vicious anti-strike propaganda of the city government becomes clear. Many workers who had first bought the anti-labor lies of Kopp and Moscone are opening their eyes.

This was demonstrated by the warm reception accorded to city workers who spoke at a meeting of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 (longshore). Supporters of the oppositional group *Longshore Militant* told *Workers Vanguard* reporters that they and other ILWU members had submitted the following motion to a meeting of ILWU Local 10 held the evening of April 22:

"1) To immediately join the picket lines. 2) To implement president Harry Bridges' pledge of support by shutting down all San Francisco port facilities and calling on all other San Francisco ILWU locals to shut down their facilities. 3) To call for an emergency mass meeting of city labor to launch an immediate general strike to defend the city workers."

While Local president Larry Wing was able to rule sections one and two of the motion out-of-order, the third section reached the floor. According to a spokesman for *Longshore Militant*, a prominent Communist Party (CP) supporter moved to amend the motion by calling upon the leadership of Local 10 to contact the leaderships of the concerned city unions to arrange a meeting to discuss labor action in support of the city strikers. This amendment's clear intent was to strangle the original motion with bureaucratic red tape tacked onto the motion. This brazen CP sabotage is not surprising. All along the CP has done next to nothing in support of the striking city workers. Its sole leaflet to the San Francisco working class simply urges workers not to scab and advises them to send messages from union and

community groups to Kopp (!) and to "convey messages of support to the Muni drivers for their solidarity with the strike of the craft workers."

Win the Strike!

By such policies and maneuvers, both the bureaucrats and their reformist hangers-on hope to buy time and a chance to negotiate a sellout. Since the beginning their gutlessness and inaction have left San Francisco workers without any real leadership. The bureaucrats' policies are aimed only at undermining the workers' militancy, stifling every impulse toward solidarity and extension of the strike. Only the arrogant union-busting conduct of the city, not the half-hearted efforts of the strike leadership, has goaded the working people into fighting back in simple self-defense. The bourgeoisie has made it clear that it will not be satisfied with a simple sellout—it demands a total rout that will destroy the striking unions, rendering them completely unable to protect their memberships.

This must not be allowed to happen! This strike can be won! But it will be won only in spite of, not because of, the present strike leadership. The last three weeks have proved that these fakers can't even defend the most basic rights of the trade unions. They must be thrown out of office and replaced by a leadership which will fight for the interests of all working people.

If the strike is to succeed, it is necessary that the union memberships—including Muni—take concrete action to deepen and extend the strike: strike committees must be elected at every work place to broaden the leadership of the strike, oversee its conduct and prepare its defense; delegations of strikers must appeal for support directly to the memberships of the major San Francisco unions (AFL-CIO, Teamsters and especially ILWU longshoremen). It must be driven home to other unionists that, if the city workers are defeated, then their heads will be on the block next; their own union leaderships are cut from the same cloth as Crowley & Co.

These delegations must raise the demand for a mass meeting of all San Francisco unions to support the city workers and organize a general strike. But the preparation for a general strike must begin now, and no opportunity must be overlooked to bring about immediate labor action to show solidarity for a general strike call. Direct action by longshoremen resulting in the closing of the port of San Francisco would be a powerful first step. For a militant city-wide general strike to beat back the city bosses' union-busting offensive! Shut down San Francisco! ■

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(continued from page 1)

for the CDS was politically unwise at that time. Today the local SP leader has his bags packed, ready to flee to England at a moment's notice. On the window of the principal town cafe is a telegram to "the valiant people of Rio Maior" thanking them for the way "you have given a lesson to the Communists.... If the government cannot eliminate them as it should, let us pray to Salazar to call them to him right away." Next to this is a second telegram, from Colonel Jaime Neves, the leader of the elite "commando" unit that crushed the November 25 military revolt, thanking the town for an invitation to a dinner in his honor (*Le Monde*, 3 April).

Spinola Plots

During the election campaign, General Morais da Silva, the reactionary head of the air force whose removal was the number one demand of the paratroops last November, warned against "forces which are opposed to the installation of a democratic regime and who have no intention of calmly awaiting their electoral defeat." On the contrary, it is Silva himself and his cohorts who are already now hatching their plans for a counterrevolutionary putsch to smash the workers movement and democratic liberties.

This was made clear earlier this month by a sensational article in the German magazine *Stern* (7 April) by journalist Günter Wallraff. Doing research in the northern Portugal region of Braga, Wallraff made contact with members of the MDLP under the guise of representing an extreme-right group of German businessmen. Learning of plans for a coup by Spinola and his "friends," the journalist disguised as a businessman set up a meeting in Düsseldorf with a certain "General Walter." In the meeting on March 25, however, "Walter" turned out to be none other than ex-General Spinola himself.

The former commander of Portuguese forces in Guinea-Bissau and first president of Portugal after the 1974 "revolution of the carnations"—thanks to the Stalinists and their supporters in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), now defunct—presented an expensive shopping list: 6,000 automatic rifles and pistols, 11 million cartridges, 10,000 grenades, 350 mortars, to be brought to the south of Portugal by boat. Spinola also asked for 10 million German marks, payable to a Swiss account. For all this, he would supply "100,000 men" who, he said, "are not debutants."

Spinola is not the world's most adroit plotter, as the fiasco of his attempted putsches on 28 September 1974 and 11 March 1975 indicates. But he is not without "friends." A sizeable number of trained soldiers could indeed be raised from among small farmers of the north who have been whipped into a frenzy by rightist leaders who tell them the Communists are coming to take away their land. And in the conversation with Wallraff, Spinola announced his trump card: three men on the Council of the Revolution who, he said, were "his." He named Morais da Silva, northern region commander General Pires Veloso and army chief of staff General Ramalho Eanes. This claim is not impossible.

Parliamentary Cretinism

Despite innumerable proofs that the MFA from the beginning contained within it many officers who were prepared to act as a fifth column for Salazarist forces, the Stalinists and social democrats continue to pledge their loyalty to the "democratic" officer corps. Both the CP's Alvaro Cunhal and SP leader Mario Soares have indicated support for a military leader as president in the June elections. They also support the present constitution and signed a pact last year guaranteeing the

capitalist army a veto power on all major questions for a "transitional period" of several years. Together the two main reformist parties polled nearly half the vote (35 percent for the SP and 14.6 percent for the CP).

During the campaign, Soares centered his propaganda on the promise to either "govern alone" or go into opposition. Since the six different coalition governments in the last two years had proven manifestly unstable, the SP leader argued, a minority Socialist government would increase stability and therefore win over the middle class from the right. To make sure that his message was well understood, Soares also proposed to correct "errors" and "excesses" of the agrarian reform—i.e., send the army to expel agricultural workers from estates they had occupied. And again for emphasis: "the first thing that must be said to the Portuguese people, and we Socialists say it, is that there will be no more nationalizations" (quoted in *New York Times*, 3 April).

The Communist Party also played the "stability" and "moderation" theme. Its call was for a "left government" of the CP and SP, excluding the bourgeois PPD, whose leader Sá Carneiro had clearly shown his bloodthirsty anti-Communism in the last few months. While such a "left government" would consist solely of the two leading workers parties, Cunhal & Co. were at pains to demonstrate their acceptance of the capitalist framework and commitment to work in alliance with (or, more accurately, under the command of) the generals. For the electoral period, the CP announced a "social truce," i.e., called off strikes.

During last summer and fall, the SP lined up with the right wing of the MFA in order to stamp out all workers militias, workers commissions, soldiers committees, etc., that did not subordinate themselves to the bourgeois state. The CP attempted to rein in militant strikes and unrest in left-wing military units, calling for a return to the "Fifth Government" headed by General Vasco Gonçalves. Now, with the right on the offensive, the SP and CP have moved closer together.

Yet an SP government supported by the CP, or even an SP-CP government, has nothing to do with revolutionary unity of the proletariat around a *class* program; in no way would this indicate a break from their policies of class collaboration. In fact, both parties continue to be part of a popular-front government headed by Pinheiro and swear to continue these policies in the future.

These *bourgeois* workers parties represent the major roadblock to a successful defense against the rightist offensive; their parliamentarist illusions and submission to the "democratic" officers disarm the workers politically before a class enemy that will stop at nothing. Only by uniting the numerous workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, soldiers commissions and other mass organizations of the working people in a representative soviet body, with representatives democratically elected and recallable at any time, and by forging a Trotskyist party to lead the soviets can the Portuguese proletariat provide itself with an organizational weapon capable of crushing reaction. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bureaucrats Stall General Strike Momentum

For Immediate Election of Strike Committees in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27— The strike by 1,900 city craft workers, still solidly backed by the 2,000 Muni drivers of Transport Workers (TWU) Local 250A, is entering its fourth week. With every day that this strike continues, it becomes clear to more and more workers that this is no longer an ordinary struggle over wages.

The issue of the strike is union busting. At stake is the future of the trade unions in the strongest "union town" in the country. Defeat for this strike would give the bosses the green light to attack pay and job conditions of working people in San Francisco and throughout the country.

That this strike is still hanging in the balance is a tribute to the solidarity of the Muni drivers and the militancy of the striking craft workers despite the treachery and incompetency of the official strike leadership. The strike could have been won quickly if the union tops had organized a solid city-wide strike of the entire San Francisco labor movement. Instead, they tried to bluff the city government by threatening a general strike which they had no intention of organizing.

The militant craft workers and Muni drivers have had to bear the full brunt of the strike. At every step of the way they have had to contend with the sabotage of the Central Labor Council tops, who have consistently opposed every attempt to expand the strike despite a demonstrated willingness by members of other unions, particularly the longshoremen, to honor the city workers' picket lines.

This strike can and must be won! But its present groveling misleaders have amply demonstrated that they fear militant action by the union memberships more than they fear defeat at the hands of the capitalists' city government. Their cowardice has only emboldened the bourgeoisie in its union-busting drive.

Union-Busting Frenzy

Driven to a blood-lust frenzy by the flabby response of the strike leadership, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors demands of the unions only one thing— unconditional surrender. Leading the charge are Board of Supervisors' president Quentin Kopp and supervisor John Barbagelata. San Francisco's answer to Louise Day Hicks. The racist Barbagelata has made his career in San Francisco politics by opposing busing and catering to the most reactionary anti-labor sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie.

Playing the "hard cop" role, supervisors have been unyielding in demanding that the strikers accept 25-30 percent pay cuts, drastic worsening of working conditions and "yellow-dog" contracts that will force their unions to scab on other striking workers.

Barbagelata, Kopp and the rest of the board claim only to be carrying out the

"will of the people" expressed in the notorious Proposition B, an amendment to the City Charter which repealed a provision pegging the wages of craft workers to the hourly scale prevailing in private industry. Its passage by a 2-to-1 margin in last fall's elections, prepared by an orgy of anti-labor propaganda, reflected the spineless response of the trade-union leadership.

The anti-union propaganda barrage, orchestrated by the Chamber of Commerce, continues unabated. The capitalist press, radio and television stations have joined together in a shrill chorus. Artfully making use of the labor tops' low-wage sellout of 18,000 non-craft city workers and the history of job-trusting and racism in the building-trades unions the bourgeoisie has been able to encourage widespread scabbing on the strike.

The \$40,000-a-year supervisors hypocritically weep crocodile tears about the "little guy" getting ripped off by the allegedly "greedy" craft workers (in fact, 60 percent of the striking craft workers are unskilled or semi-skilled laborers), painted as responsible for everything from rising property taxes to the victimization of the poor, elderly and racial minorities.

With impunity the Board of Supervisors organizes "civic-minded scabs." Under the disingenuous headline "Street Debris Sparks Action by Citizenry," a local paper reports:

"Bring-Your-Own-Broom session in front of the main library on Larkin Street yesterday.

"About 75 concerned citizens gathered to sweep up the mess left since the street sweepers and other craft-union members went on strike.

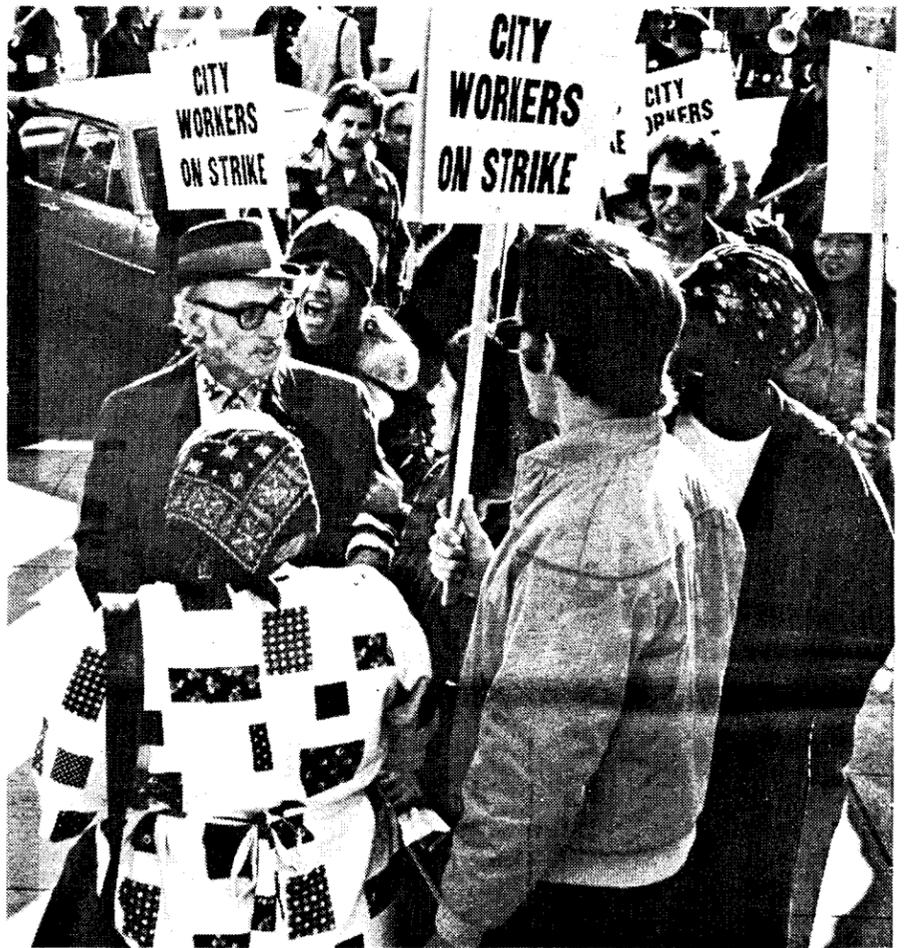
"Among the participants were Quentin Kopp, president of the Board of Supervisors and Robert Mendelsohn, a supervisor hobbling around on a cane with an ankle cast. He broke a bone playing tennis....

"Yesterday's efforts appeared to work well. Physicians, stockbrokers, householders and policemen were on hand to keep the peace."

—*San Francisco Sunday Chronicle and Examiner*, 25 April 1976

This brazen mobilization of scabs is indicative of both the weakness of the strike and the intent of the city, which is whipping up petty-bourgeois frenzy and preparing the ground for a massive scab effort to break the strike.

Sensing the irresolution of the strike leadership and growing daily more confident, the city government and its capitalist masters are in no mood to compromise. The federal mediators who the labor bureaucrats had hoped would let them off the hook have been spurned by supervisors' president Quentin Kopp: "As far as we're concerned there's no further reason for the Federal Mediation Service to be involved. We're just going to have to weather the strike out" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 April). Kopp's hard line was the bureaucrats' reward for pulling pickets



Pickers confront scab outside S.F. City Hall April 14.

WV Photo

from the Opera House, the Laguna Honda Hospital and the school-bus yards.

Now the bourgeois press is floating the idea of applying section 25.02 of the city's "civil service rules," which reads: "absence from duty without proper authorization in excess of five continuous working days shall constitute abandonment of the position."

In an obvious move to stall any talks and completely undercut collective bargaining, the supervisors have moved to place two city charter amendments on the June ballot, Propositions K and L. These would approve the supervisors' suggested 25 to 30 percent wage cuts while allowing for small (\$100 to \$500 per year) cost-of-living increases. At an annual rate of inflation of 10 percent in the Bay Area, these c-o-l adjustments amount at most to a two percent annual increase!

Meanwhile, "friend of labor" Mayor George Moscone is playing the "soft-cop" role. Moscone "deplores" the supervisors' ploy of submitting the city's terms in the strike to the voters. This is sheer hypocrisy! Moscone supports the no-strike and "yellow-dog" provisions contained in Propositions E, I, and O. He is commander-in-chief of the scab-herding cops and has vowed to prosecute arrested militants "without mercy." On March 31 Moscone signed into law the supervisors' wage-cutting bill and thus provoked the present strike.

The "modern" Moscone recommends

spreading the wage cuts over three years or cutting wages by lengthening the workweek from 35 to 40 hours. This "40 for 35" scheme is truly impudent coming at a time when both the cost of living and unemployment are soaring. Workers don't need Moscone's "40 for 35" scheme, but a big pay boost, full cost-of-living allowance and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make more jobs available.

The Golden Gate Transit Strike

The same vindictive and intransigent spirit motivates the bourgeoisie in dealing with the strike of 300 Golden Gate Transit drivers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1225. The drivers, who carry commuters from suburban Marin, Santa Clara and Sonoma counties to San Francisco, have been striking the Golden Gate Bridge District since April 11.

As in the case of the craft workers, the strike was deliberately provoked by the District directors, some of whom are members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Despite offers by the weak-kneed ATU officials to submit all issues to arbitration, the directors refused and the strike became inevitable. Enraged by the drivers' refusal to accept an offer hammered out in a week's negotiating, the directors broke off negotiations with the hard line that the old expired

continued on page 10