

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Shut Down Auto Throughout U.S. and Canada!

Spread the Ford Strike!

DETROIT, September 14—Shouting "No sellout in '76," the first waves of striking auto workers streamed out of Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn at 11:40 p.m. tonight. Together with 170,000 others around the country they shut down the Ford empire. The task now for militant auto workers is to organize to take the strike forward to victory.

But "victory" means different things to different people. For United Auto Workers (UAW) president Woodcock preserving Ford Motor Company's sacred profits and obtaining a seat in Carter's cabinet are prime considerations in building his career as a "labor statesman." For the UAW ranks there can be no talk of victory without a militant fight against the mass unemployment and speed-up which plague them.

Under the misleadership of Woodcock & Co., the impact of the strike will be kept as minimal as possible. Following the self-defeating "one-at-a-time" strategy inherited from former UAW chief Walter Reuther, the union leaders routinely extended old contracts for General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors workers, covering some 550,000 UAW members in all. And breaking the traditional solidarity between U.S. and Canadian auto workers, Solidarity House is making no plans to bring out the 34,000 workers of Ford plants in Canada.

The business-unionist UAW bureaucracy succeeded in keeping the lid on the anger of the hard-pressed ranks almost up to the last minute. At the Rouge complex a number of

foundry workers began to walk out ahead of schedule, but they were kept on the job by union officials. One committeeman told *WV*, "our job is to hold them in." Having allowed key maintenance workers, coke oven operators and other UAW members to cross union picket lines in order to protect Ford property, Woodcock now prepares to betray the strike itself.

Protecting Company Profits

Yesterday, Woodcock announced the union's rejection of Ford's most recent proposal. He described the Ford "reduced work time" proposal as "essentially unresponsive to the putting of new people into the workforce." The company proposal would allow workers with three years seniority an additional 20 hours off per year...starting in January 1978! This would reach 40 hours only with 25 years of service!

On Saturday the media had hailed a new Ford wage offer. However, what this consisted of was a puny 5 cent/hour increase, to a range of 43 to 82 cents (depending on job classification) spread over three years. SUB payment would also be improved by 13 to 23 cents per hour. Management still stands on its demand to pay \$1.00 per hour less than scale to new hires who would reach parity only after a year's service. In addition, there are outstanding differences over new money for retirees, payment of health benefits and tighter restrictions on holiday and vacation pay.

It is no secret that GM, Ford and Chrysler all amassed record or near-record profits during the 1976 model



WV Photo

Workers at Detroit Forge at beginning of 1973 UAW strike.

year. It is clear that the UAW is in a strong position in the current contract battle. But despite this, the Woodcock bureaucracy has essentially demanded only a continuation of the existing contract formula: a 3 percent wage increase yearly with a slightly improved cost-of-living allowance (COLA) formula. And although the companies made their profits by laying off workers and assigning massive overtime, Woodcock is not even demanding voluntary overtime after 40 hours, let alone a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. Instead his farcical "short work time" proposals are nothing but a form of absence control: rewarding perfect

attendance with a few more paid holidays.

This year the UAW ranks lack even the reformist battle cries of past contract struggles, such as "uncap the COLA," "30 and out," "voluntary overtime," etc. And in order to further demoralize the ranks, the bureaucracy has been systematically downplaying the potential of a strike. Workers at the Ford Rouge Local 600 in Dearborn told *WV* that at the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit meeting on September 11, unit president Hank Wilson began his remarks by announcing that no one wants to strike. Apparently it is Wilson who doesn't

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NYT Pictures/Audrey Topping

Thousands of flash cards portray the "Great Helmsman" in Peking sports stadium.

Who Mourns Mao?

SEPTEMBER 13—When the death of China's Mao Tse-tung was announced Thursday, the *New York Times* quoted this glowing tribute to Mao: "a unique man in a generation of great revolutionary leaders." Whose condolences were these? Were they the words of the North Vietnamese government, or perhaps some "Third World" head of state? No, this tribute came from Richard M. Nixon, one of the most reactionary, corrupt, despicable and dangerous imperialist politicians of his generation.

Nixon's praise is typical of the general response of the imperialists to the news of Mao's death. The tone of the bourgeois press obituaries and official condolences reminds one of the utterances which greeted the death of venerable bourgeois warrior-leaders like Churchill and De Gaulle.

Had Mao died five years ago, the imperialist response would have been rather different. The obituaries would have been more coolly critical, the official condolences more formal. Effusive praise for a "great revolutionary leader" would have been limited to the Maoist movement and "Third World" nationalist demagogues.

But in the past five years the atmosphere of relations between Mao's China and imperialist America has shifted radically. As Gerald Ford put it:

"Americans will remember that it was under Chairman Mao that China moved, together with the United States, to end a generation of hostility and to launch a new and more positive era in relations between our two countries."

Labeling the Soviet degenerated workers state "social-fascist," Mao has brought China into an even more open alliance with American imperialism. Peking has encouraged the most reactionary anti-Soviet militarists among U.S. capitalist politicians. It is reported that among those specially invited to attend Mao's

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Editorial Notes

Gerald Ford's Economic Wisdom: Too Many Workers Looking for Jobs

Last Friday's announcement by the Labor Department that the nation's unemployment rate has risen for the third consecutive month to 7.9 percent undoubtedly caused the Ford administration to choke on its long-standing prediction that the jobless rate would fall below seven percent by the end of the year. Democratic presidential contender Carter announced that the report demonstrated a lack of White House leadership in fighting unemployment. However, Carter has recently emphasized that his proposed anti-unemployment programs would be delayed if necessary to balance the budget and curb inflation!

Ford's chief economic adviser Alan Greenspan, known among his colleagues as "one of the finest 18th century minds" and "the man who put the 'dismal' back into 'the dismal science,'" attributed the recent increases to an "extremely abnormal growth in the number of people seeking work." Obvious solution: the unemployed should stop looking for work!

According to the *New York Times* (3 September), Greenspan singled out as specially culpable "an increase of more than one million so far this year in the number of women of child-bearing age in the work force." Apparently the economist preferred that they should bear children and stay out of the job market. Greenspan had no explanation for why so many women 25 to 44 years old were looking for work, but nevertheless "he rejected the suggestion that their decisions reflected simply a greater inability of the American household to cope with inflation."

Perhaps such considerations are insignificant to this highly paid government flunkey, who left a swank United Nations Plaza apartment and the management of a consulting firm to take up his present position, but most people do not have the luxury of deciding whether to work or not.

Greenspan's outrageous remarks in the face of rising unemployment constitute a shameless attempt to get the Ford administration off the hook and shift the burden of responsibility for the worsening economic situation from the capitalist system to the victimized workers.

Moreover, the government's unemployment index systematically underreports the real level of unemployment. The Bureau of Labor Statistics earlier this year released statistics for several additional measures of unemployment. These showed that "nearly one million 'discouraged workers'" have dropped out of the labor market since 1973. These are people "who want work but are not looking for jobs because they believe they cannot find any." They are not included in the official government unemployment index.

According to the AFL-CIO, the present rate is actually 10.5 percent if the calculation includes those who are too discouraged to seek work and those forced to work only part-time.

Not only Greenspan, a devotee of Ayn Rand and extreme laissez-faire economics, but many liberal bourgeois economists call for redefining "full employment" as four or even five percent unemployment. They know that capitalism must maintain what Marx called an "industrial reserve army" of unemployed so that competition for jobs can keep wages down. This is, in fact, the only "solution" which capitalism has to offer. We communists have a different solution—one that will come as a very unpleasant surprise for Mr. Alan Greenspan.

I.S. on Korea: "Third Camp" Social-Pacifism

The bloody clash last month at Panmunjom between North Korean border guards and U.S. imperialist "peace-keeping" occupation forces provoked images of the 1950-53 Korean War and called forth a post-Vietnam "not again" reaction from many bourgeois liberals.

Always sensitive to the shifting moods of the left-liberal political milieu, *Workers' Power*, the phony "mass press" of the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), resorted to the most shameless pacifism as a cover for its refusal to draw the *class line* in Korea. In its article entitled "The Deadly Game in Korea" (*Workers' Power*, 30 August 1976), the I.S. bemoans the Panmunjom border clash and the many other "incidents" as "games of 'chicken'" played by U.S. imperialism and so-called "Stalinist imperialism": "This time, there were some soldiers killed. It will happen again... Those in the so-called 'demilitarized

zone' know they are dead ducks if the shooting war explodes again.... They [the Korean people] were slaughtered by the millions [during the Korean War of 1950-53]...."

Here the I.S. rivals the liberal pacifism of the People's Party of Dr. Spock or the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, wringing its hands in horror over the fate of the soldiers (U.S. imperialist troops included) "if the shooting war explodes again." With this claptrap the I.S. seeks to obscure the class issues posed in any Korean conflict, "forgetting" even to call for a social revolution in South Korea!

While the I.S. does demand the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea, these inveterate social democrats fail to indicate on *which side* they stand in the clashes which threaten "a shooting war." As a political tendency the I.S. is characterized by its refusal to defend the bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states from imperialist attack, rationalizing this objective capitulation to U.S. imperialism with its "theory" of "Stalinist imperialism." Thus, at the time of the Korean War, the "Third Camp" tendency led by Max Shachtman (which later spawned the I.S.) called for the defeat of both sides, but nevertheless asserted that Stalinism was *more reactionary* than "democratic" U.S. imperialism. Declared the Shachtmanites:

"The so-called Northern government is not a government of the Korean people and in no way represents its interests... The victory of its arms would mean nothing but the extension of the slave power of Stalinism over the whole territory of Korea, and therefore a disastrous blow to the people of Korea and the cause of democracy and socialism everywhere."
New Internationalist, July-August 1950

Adapting to the present climate of "détente" the I.S. "puts popularity in command" and often tones down its "Third Camp" Stalinophobia in order to tail "Third

Defend WL Against L.A. Cop Harassment!

Late last month a southern California court announced that seven supporters of the Young Socialists (YS), youth group of the Healyite Workers League, will stand trial October 13 for "dancing without a permit" at a Workers League office in Huntington Park, California. The outrageous charge was made following a police raid on a July 10 YS social attended by 11 persons. Five youths were arrested and all 11 given citations carrying \$50 fines. (Charges against four of the youth who were under 18 years of age have already been thrown out of court.)

At 9:30 p.m., before the dance had even begun, two policemen entered the office without a warrant, scanned the literature on display, harassed the occupants and left.

Thirty minutes after their departure, three club-wielding policemen entered the office, again without a warrant, one of whom demanded to see a license for the office and threatened to shut down the premises on the spot if one were not produced at once. After being shown a license, he demanded to know whether the YS had a permit to hold a dance. When asked if it were illegal to hold a dance, he and the other two left, but without muttering that any of those present living in Huntington Park could expect a police visit at their homes.

Shortly afterward, three squad cars arrived on the scene, with a fourth stationed down the street. The same three cops barged through the door, knocking over one person and threatening another with a felony charge and a \$1,000 fine for touching a policeman.

Everyone was ordered to move up against a table, and five of those present were handcuffed and taken to the police station. The cops refused to show anyone a copy of the law under which the citations were issued and failed to inform the five who were arrested of their rights. One woman was struck on the side of the head, and one officer was overheard to ask his sergeant: "Can I choke this black bitch?"

This outrageous attack on an office of the Workers League must be understood as an attack upon the entire working-class movement. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and Partisan Defense Committee protest this cop harassment and demand that all charges against those attending the YS dance be dropped immediately!

The Workers League has requested that letters, telegrams and messages of protest regarding this incident be sent to:

Mayor Herb A. Hennes, Jr.
6550 Miles Avenue
Huntington Park, CA 90255

World" nationalists in vogue. (Aping the cheerleaders of the MPLA the I.S. "forgot" to condemn the "imperialist invasion" of Angola by the "imperialist" USSR and Cuba.)

Unlike the I.S., revolutionary Marxists unconditionally defend the revolutionary gains represented by the collectivized property relations in North Korea (and the other degenerated/deformed workers states), while calling for a social revolution in South Korea and a political revolution in North Korea to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish soviet democracy. While today indulging in blubbery pacifism, the I.S. upholds a political line which has already taken one generation of "Third Camp socialists" into the bosom of State Department socialism as drummer boys for Wall Street.

Marcyites Call for "Peaceful Reunification"...of the "Global Class War!"

The Workers World Party (WWP) and its more substantial youth auxiliary, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), have long trumpeted the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy as the most intransigent and militant fighter in the so-called "global class war" against U.S. imperialism. But last month, when the confrontation between North Korea and the U.S. occupation forces propping up the Pak Jung Hi (Park) regime in Seoul reached another flash point at Panmunjom, WWP/YAWF suddenly forgot the "global class war" along the 38th parallel and parroted its Stalinist mentors' prattle about "peaceful reunification" of Korea!

In his article on the Panmunjom skirmish (*Workers World*, 27 August) WWP/YAWF leader Sam Marcy begs the U.S. imperialists to abide by the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and recognize the democratic will of the world community on Korea:

"Little has been said in the US about the Colombo conference of non-aligned nations. All 86 voted to demand the withdrawal of US troops from Korea. Eighty-six! Together with the Soviet Union and China, that's the bulk of humanity.

"Here in this Bicentennial year no document has been quoted more frequently than the Declaration of Independence, which calls for a 'decent respect for the opinions of mankind.' Well, here we have the overwhelming majority of the human race demanding the withdrawal of the US military from Korea."

Tailing the North Korean bureaucracy the WWP/YAWF is reduced to "demanding" that the U.S. imperialists, who dropped the atom bomb on Japan and carpet-bombed Vietnam, observe a "democratic" foreign policy in line with the views of Thomas Jefferson!

Ever since its inception as a political tendency the Marcyites have used the "global class war" dogma to justify capitulation to the Stalinist bureaucracies and assorted "progressive" nationalist formations in the "Third World," arguing that these forces have been pitted against the imperialist camp since the Korean War in an inexorable and epochal struggle. However, the Stalinist bureaucracies, from Russia to China to North Korea, are not committed to "global class war" but rather to *global class collaboration*—"peaceful coexistence" and "détente." Thus, the USSR and China both advocate "peaceful reunification" of Korea to appease the U.S. imperialists, while each seeks to bloc with the imperialists against the other.

The "global class war" thesis was first formulated by Marcy during the Korean War of 1950-53 as an impressionistic reaction to the Cold War policy of "containment" of the then seemingly monolithic Sino-Soviet states. Marcyism represented a pro-Stalinist tendency, most despicably revealed by its open support to the Russian suppression of the workers uprising against Stalinism in Hungary in 1956.

Following in the footsteps of the "iron-willed" Kim Il Sung, the WWP/YAWF can offer nothing more than peaceful reunification...of both sides of the "global class war." As against these Stalinoid cheerleaders, the Spartacist League insists that it is not the counterrevolutionary bureaucracies but only the proletariat led by the Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution that can open the road to the communist future of humanity.

—American troops out! For military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism and its South Korean puppets!

—For revolutionary reunification of Korea through social revolution in the South and political revolution in the North!

Chile Solidarity Demos in U.S. and Canada

On September 11, the third anniversary of the bloody Pinochet coup in Santiago, demonstrations were held in several cities across the U.S. and Canada expressing solidarity with the ravaged Chilean proletariat. As in the past, these demonstrations were dominated by class-collaborationist Stalinist politics of uncritical support for Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime. However, despite bureaucratic exclusion and harassment, militant contingents of the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL) and the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) forcefully put forward Marxist opposition to popular frontism and called for a revolutionary mobilization of the Chilean workers to overthrow the military dictatorship.

New York

In New York City, the march attracted approximately 600 people. Organized by Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH) and the Comité Chileno Antifascista, it had a strong pro-Allende, pro-MIR line. But due to the absence of the Communist Party (CP) and the CP-led Chile Solidarity Committee, which were pushing a movie that evening instead, the demonstration organizers did not try to prevent the SL from carrying class-struggle slogans. (This contrasted with the charged atmosphere at the July 4 demonstration against the Chilean torture ship Esmeralda, when Stalinist goons provoked a clash and



September 11 march in New York against the Chilean junta.

split the demonstration.) But NICH "liberality" did not extend to allowing an SL speaker, even though the four approved speakers droned on for over an hour.

Spartacist slogans chanted by a contingent of more than 60 people included, "Junta no, obreros [workers] sí, overthrow the bourgeoisie!" and "Chilean workers must not forget, popular front made Pinochet!" A banner of the Partisan Defense Com-

mittee (PDC) demanded "Free All Class-War Prisoners in Argentina and Chile!" In addition, SL and PDC signs demanded safe conduct from Argentina for several comrades of Mario Muñoz (the Chilean miners' leader who was saved from the butchers of the Argentine junta by an international solidarity campaign). Also highlighted were two leaders of the Argentine PST being held in Videla's jails, while other signs condemned the murder by Venezuelan

secret police of socialist leader Jorge Rodríguez (see article this issue).

Chicago

In Chicago tensions ran high during a march of approximately 70 people through the loop district. When a militant SL contingent started to chant slogans against popular-frontism, the perennial cheerleaders for "Third World" Stalinism, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), tried to drown them out with pro-UP chants. At one point, Bill Massey (a local YAWF spokesman and former leader of the dissolved Internationalist Tendency) became so enraged he tried to attack an SL supporter with a bullhorn!

Vancouver

On the Canadian West Coast, a demonstration in downtown Vancouver drew about 100 people and a spirited Trotskyist League contingent of a dozen. On the march from the courthouse to Oppenheimer Park, members of the Canada-Chile Support Group at first tried to intimidate and muscle out the comrade leading the TL contingent's chants, then tried to drown them out after the TL aggressively defended its right to participate in the march with its own propaganda. The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) participated in this sectarian behavior and conspicuously refused to chant with the TL, even

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Letter

Kim Il Sung

4 September 1976

To the Editor:

Your recent article entitled "American Imperialism Rattles Sabre in Korea" (*WV* No. 123, 3 September 1976) exposed the anti-proletarian character of the Stalinist bureaucracy in North Korea, in particular citing the monstrous cult of Kim Il Sung and the complete political disfranchisement of the working masses. Kim & Co. have sought to buttress their oligarchic regime through authoritarian regimentation and leader-cultism, requiring the workers and peasants to attend daily "study sessions" devoted simply to extolling (in the words of a typical Stalinist tract) "the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il-sung, a great revolutionary leader, a brilliant Marxist-Leninist, an ever-victorious steel-like general, and a kind, paternal leader of

the people who devotes himself to the utmost for them."

It also should be noted that the Kim clique has backed up its voluntarist exhortations with unlimited terror and repression aimed at eliminating all opposition to the bureaucracy. During 1956-59, after a decade of trumpeting the "victory of socialism" in North Korea, Kim Il Sung launched a "collective guidance campaign" to suppress all suspected "disloyal elements." Virtually the entire population of North Korea was subjected to police interrogation, and thousands were imprisoned in labor camps after kangaroo-court "trials."

Moreover, the reactionary policies of the Pyongyang regime do not stop at the 38th parallel. During 1965-70, when Washington set its sights on an all-out military victory in Indochina, the Pyongyang bureaucracy was not presented with any opportunity to angle for "détente" with U.S. imperialism and its South Korean puppet. But by 1972, following the U.S.-China rapprochement and on the eve of the Paris "peace"

accords on Indochina, the North Korean Stalinists negotiated a "détente" communiqué with South Korea which called for "peaceful reunification of the fatherland as soon as possible." This diplomatic overture legitimized the 40,000 "neutral" U.S. imperialist troops then stationed in South Korea as well as the South Korean troops in Vietnam (equal in number to the U.S. forces there at that time).

Equally criminal has been the "détente" Pyongyang has proffered Japan, which still entertains imperialist ambitions to conquer all of Korea. During the Korean war, the mass organizations of the Koreans in Japan were mobilized by the Japanese Communist Party in struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and the capitalist-landlord regime in Seoul. But after the Korean War, when Pyongyang began to seek "détente" with Japan, the Korean mass organizations in Japan were instructed by North Korean Stalinists to cease all "subversive" activities and propaganda. Thus, Kim Il Sung tamed

one of the most combative sectors of the working-class movement in Japan and set back the struggle against capitalism in the imperialist citadel of Asia.

Likewise, North Korea has pursued "peaceful coexistence" with the Suharto regime in Indonesia, which came to power over the corpses of at least 500,000 Communist workers and peasants in the bloody coup of 1965. In 1972 Pyongyang dispatched an ambassador to Jakarta who hailed "the success of the Indonesian people in consolidating their independence and national economic progress" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 March 1972).

Most recently, the North Korean Stalinists demonstrated their willingness to collaborate with imperialism against the interests of the international proletariat by sending at least 100 military advisors to Zaïre last year to replace the Chinese agents training troops of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). At that time, when the civil war in neighboring Angola had already become internationalized, the anti-communist, tribalist FNLA forces were fighting alongside the South African army and Portuguese colons to massacre the Russian-backed Cuban-led Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and "every communist in Angola."

The role of the North Korean Stalinists in courting the Indonesian butchers, and in training the henchmen of the Pentagon and Pretoria in Angola, should disabuse "critical Maoists" of illusions in the "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist" pretensions of the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy. As *WV* stressed, the revolutionary gains represented by the collectivist property forms of the North Korean deformed workers state can be protected and the road to socialist development opened only through workers political revolution to topple the Stalinist bureaucracy, establish soviet democracy and extend the revolution internationally.

Comradely,
Charles O'Brien



North Korean military advisors confer with Zaïre president Mobutu last year. The North Korean advisors were training troops of the CIA-backed FNLA.

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Meanyite Cold Warrior Moynihan vs. Rad-Lib Scab Abzug

SEPTEMBER 13—With the rest of the Democratic Party reconciled in a love-feast of unity behind Jimmy Carter, the heated New York primary battle between Bella Abzug, representing the "radical-liberal" wing of the party, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, hero of the cold warriors, represents a rare ideological confrontation within bourgeois politics this year.

"Abzug scabbed during our strike," blasted Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), at the 2 September meeting of the New York state AFL-CIO. In response, Abzug admitted crossing picket lines in the 1968 New York teachers strike, but disingenuously denied scabbing. According to her, she was simply a parent and only went into the New York High School of Music and Art to see if it was safe for the Parents' Association to resume classes... during the strike!

This was a conscious, deliberate attempt to break the strike! Abzug's backtracking today is simply a reflection of the fact that the "rad-lib" milieu which was backing "community control" and calling for the union's blood in 1968 has today largely dissipated, and now she needs labor support.

Shanker's favorite is Moynihan, touted by the UFT leader as a man who "never crossed a picket line and never will." If so, and we have our doubts, it could only be because Moynihan is so far removed from the labor movement that he has never been near a strike. In any case, it is doubtful that even the AFL-CIO piccards think Moynihan is a "friend of labor." His real appeal to Meany and the Social Democrats U.S.A. (SDUSA) is his blustering cold-war posture as champion of imperialist America against the "slave societies" (Shanker's favorite expression) where capitalism has been overthrown.

Moynihan: Nixon Advisor Comes Home

While it would be stretching a point to consider Moynihan a liberal, his current claim to the "Kennedy tradition" is well-founded. Kennedy was, after all, the

darling of George Meany and an imperialist war monger responsible for (at least) the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam war. But Moynihan found Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" rhetoric too dangerous in raising blacks' expectations. So he took his *Reader's Digest*-brand sociology to the Republicans, authored the racist policy of "benign neglect" of the ghettos and became a loyal Nixon advisor during the McGovernite heyday in the Democratic Party.

Later, as the U.S. representative to the United Nations under President Ford, Moynihan became the hero of such Meanyite stalwarts as Democrat Henry Jackson ("the senator from Boeing") and the SDUSA for his "defense of freedom at the UN." What was meant was Moynihan's petulant defense of racist Zionism and U.S. imperialism against the "irresponsible" "Third World majority." He called those who voted with the U.S. against an Arab-sponsored anti-Zionist resolution "the decent countries," a category including such viciously repressive dictatorships as the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Uruguay! His jingoistic big-stick waving, while a bit too crude for Henry Kissinger's more sophisticated détente policies, is music to the ears of the aging reactionaries at the head of the AFL-CIO.

The bankruptcy of the petty-bourgeois radicalism of the late 1960's, fizzling out in the McGovern presidential campaign fiasco, combined with a continuing political quiescence of the working class, deeply disillusioned with bourgeois politicians of all stripes, has contributed to a general rightward drift in recent years. Moynihan is quite comfortable drifting back into the Democratic Party, since Carter's "ethnic purity" for whites is quite compatible with his own "benign neglect" of blacks.

Abzug: McGovernite Scab

Abzug's campaign is replete with her usual feminist verbiage ("a stag Senate is

stagnation"), and a typical assortment of trendy schemes such as breaking up the oil monopolies and solar energy to save New York City. An ex-director of Women Strike for Peace, Abzug comes out of the Stalinist fellow-traveler milieu and is one of the few McGovernites still at large. "Running behind Mrs. Abzug in my district is like running behind Mao Tse-tung," said Representative Jerome Ambro from wealthy Suffolk County, summing up feelings among Democratic "regulars."

Even "reform" Democrats, Abzug's habitual bailiwick, are not so reform-minded anymore, however, and the "dove" vote of yesteryear has fluttered away so Abzug is on the defensive in 1976. Her demand to cut the military budget while still defending Israel to the hilt (a key to victory in New York Democratic primaries, where approximately 40 percent of the voters are Jewish) has gotten her into hot water both with the professional hawks in the party and erstwhile radicals on its fringes who are sympathetic to Arab nationalism.

Thus the focus this year has been on labor and Abzug's 1968 scabbing has come back to haunt her. But although Shanker assures his membership that Moynihan will never cross a picket line, neither he nor any of the other contenders—including Paul O'Dwyer, Ramsey Clark and Abe Hirschfeld (a wealthy parking garage builder from Israel whose solution to everything is to lay down more concrete)—can offer a solution to the depression conditions facing working people in New York.

In the midst of an acute financial crisis thousands of city and state workers have been laid off while union contracts are ripped up right and left, ghetto conditions are worsening, welfare cutbacks mount and the candidates have no answers. All wings of the Democratic Party are part and parcel of the bourgeoisie and therefore must bitterly oppose any move by the working masses in the direction of revolutionary class struggle, which alone can lead to full employment,



Bella Abzug



Daniel Moynihan

decent living standards for all and an end to racist oppression. And while the labor bureaucrats throw their support to one or another treacherous "friend of labor" bourgeois politician, they only recreate the clash between radical-liberal strikebreaking and racist Meanyite reaction which divided the working people, minorities and poor against themselves in the explosive 1968 teachers strike.

Down With the Liberal Union-Busters!

As the Shanker/Abzug imbroglia shows, the issues of the 1968 teachers strike have not disappeared. That strike resulted from a serious effort by the liberal establishment, represented by Mayor John Lindsay and the Ford Foundation, aligned with "black power" community bureaucrats and predominantly student-based New Lefters (plus the Communist Party) to destroy the teachers union. Exploiting petty-bourgeois anti-union attitudes and liberal guilt, the city administration

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Dominican Hunger Strikers Protest Mistreatment of Leftist Prisoners



WV Photo

On Saturday, September 4, 75 persons demonstrated in front of the Dominican Consulate in New York to dramatize the plight of five leftists now being held in isolated border prisons in the Dominican Republic. These men (Plinio Matos Moquete, a leader of the 12 de Enero group, Jorge Puella [El Mén], a leader of one of the wings of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano, Alcides Encarnación, Augusto Alvarez and Castillo Pujols) have been held in solitary confinement, subjected to systematic torture and denied visiting rights.

In a desperate attempt to persuade the Dominican government to return the prisoners to La Victoria prison in the capital city of Santo Domingo, where they stand a better chance of receiving at least minimal medical attention and personal security, their relatives began a hunger strike on August 16 in front of Santo Domingo's church of Our Lady of Carmen. The hunger strike was supported by over a hundred prisoners in Santo Domingo and by the Comité Pro-Defensa de Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana in New York City, which last week held a three-day hunger strike in front of the Dominican Consulate in support of the demand to move the prisoners to the capital.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) do not limit their call to merely moving these class-war prisoners from one of Balaguer's prisons to another, but rather demand their unconditional and immediate release. Spartacist supporters and a PDC representative participated in the demonstration Saturday, protesting Balaguer terrorism and calling for freedom for all class-war prisoners. The SL's slogan "Abajo Balaguer. Obreros al Poder" ("Down with Balaguer. Workers to Power!") was enthusiastically picked up by other demonstrators.

Telegrams protesting Balaguer's repression and demanding release of these prisoners can be addressed to Joaquín Balaguer, Palacio Nacional, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Protests can also be sent to the New York correspondent of the Santo Domingo daily *Nacional de Ahora*, Mr. Espinal, 1860 Broadway, Rm. 910, New York, New York 10019. Please send copies to P.O. Box 516, Washington Bridge Station, New York, New York 10033.

Mario Muñoz Safe, But ...

Chilean Militants Still in Danger

The safe arrival in Europe of persecuted Chilean trade-union leader Mario Muñoz was a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of left-wing Latin American political refugees still trapped in Argentina, as well as the numerous Argentine working-class militants facing junta terror. The international protest and solidarity which was key to the successful defense of Muñoz is likewise crucial to safeguarding

them from the massive police and military repression and proliferating anti-communist death squads.

Among those militants whose lives are in peril are several compañeros of Mario Muñoz. Like Muñoz, they were forced to cross the Andes clandestinely and seek refuge in Argentina. Like Muñoz also, they have suffered the repression of both the Pinochet and Videla juntas. Included among these are:

- Jorge Henrique Pereira, president of the Papelera del Laja industrial union and secretary of a local committee of the Communist Party (CP). Following the 1973 Chilean coup he was held at the naval base in Talcahuano and tortured for eight months. Later he fled to Argentina with his wife and two children, only to be detained on various occasions since the March 23 coup there.

- Manuel Garrido Vargas, technical secretary of the Contract Miners Union of Aconcagua, who was imprisoned by air force intelligence for five months after the 1973 coup.

- Juan Manuel Asmay Cruces, secretary of the CP youth in Concepción and a bodyguard for Fidel Castro during the latter's visit to Chile in 1971. Following the Pinochet coup Asmay was severely tortured (both shoulders fractured) and held for 17 months on the island prison of Quiriquina. Both he and Garrido were arrested together with Muñoz in Mendoza in July of this year.

- Eduardo Crus Fariás and Daniel Flores Matamala, student leaders from Concepción, were both arrested in Mendoza in June 1976, brutally tortured for seven days, released and then rearrested.

- Luis Tapia Lopez, regional leader of the miners cooperatives of Aconcagua, arrested and tortured in Chile aboard the prison ship Lebu for four months following the September 11 coup. After arriving in Argentina he was again detained and tortured, and is presently living in Buenos Aires with his wife and eight-month-old child.

The danger faced by these left militants and working-class leaders was signalled by the fate of Ricardo Moroni, a former Socialist Party leader of the miners federation in Chile, reported killed recently by Argentine authorities. After being arrested in Argentina, he had attempted to obtain a Canadian visa. However, he was unable to do so because his Chilean identity papers had been taken from him when he was arrested. When he went to the Chilean embassy to obtain a birth certificate he was arrested by the Argentine police, and that was the last time anyone saw him alive. Subsequently he was reported to be among the victims of a mass slaying last month.

The Partisan Defense Committee calls on socialists, unionists and defenders of democratic liberties to defend Muñoz' comrades from the rightist repression in Argentina. Telegrams demanding that they be granted safe conduct from the country and political asylum elsewhere can be sent to: Aga Khan, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland. ■



WV Photo



WV Photo



Veneziano

Funeral march for Rodriguez at Central University in Caracas, July 27.

Venezuelan USec Leader Tortured to Death by Police

Jorge Rodriguez, secretary-general of the Liga Socialista (Venezuelan sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat), has been assassinated by security police in Caracas. Detained on Friday, July 23, he was found dead the following Monday. Initially, the cause of death was explained as a "heart attack" following interrogation by the Disip (Police Security and Intelligence Agency). A subsequent official report revealed that Rodriguez was killed by "torture and physical violence that caused seven ribs to be broken and the rupture of the liver" (reported in *Guardian* [London], 29 July 1976). All labor and socialist organizations and opponents of cop terror must protest the vile assassination of this socialist leader!

Following revelation of the police murder, a mass funeral protest demonstration was held beginning at the Central University where Rodriguez had been a student leader. Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez called the killing an "unspeakable act" and mouthed promises of a full-blown investigation of the circumstances surrounding the killing (*Latin America*, 30 July 1976). The director of the intelligence agency resigned and the four Disip cops immediately responsible for Rodriguez' murder have been arrested and are being investigated for "operating on their own account." But despite official expressions of "concern" over the murder, the July 27 demonstration was fired on by members of the armed forces during the funeral march (*El Universal* [Caracas], 28 July).



Red Weekly

Slain USec leader Jorge Rodriguez.

Rodriguez had been detained along with eight others on fabricated charges of involvement in the kidnapping of U.S. businessman William Niehous. Niehous, the president of Owens-Illinois' Venezuelan subsidiary, was taken captive for \$15 million ransom in February by an unknown guerrilla group calling itself Comando Argimiro Gabaldón, which accused the U.S.-based glass manufacturer of interfering in Venezuelan internal affairs by conspiring to build large windows in public housing projects (*Le Monde*, 7 April 1976)! Niehous' disappearance has led the interior minister, Octavio Lepage, to indiscriminately round up "far left" militants for investigation and torture and murder. Furthermore, when the murder of Rodriguez was discovered Lepage sought to deflect attacks in Congress on the political police by implicating two opposition deputies in the kidnapping.

The absurdity of the government's excuse for accusing Rodriguez of complicity in the kidnapping is shown by the fact that the Liga Socialista's newspaper, *Voz Socialista* (April 1976), criticized the guerrilla group claiming responsibility for Niehous' kidnapping, labeling acts of individual terror as "the road of passivity and defeat, which will not further the struggles of the masses" (quoted in *Latin America*, 30 July).

It is evident that the kidnapping of Niehous has been used by the Venezuelan "democracy" as a convenient justification for an intimidation and terror campaign against left-wing militants. Behind the façade of bourgeois democracy lies a bloody fist of repression—one which has brutally murdered Jorge Rodriguez and threatens other militants. Down with the assassins of Rodriguez! ■



WV Photo

New York, September 11.

The following is the second part of a talk given at last month's European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 rendered Marx's *Grossdeutsche* [Greater Germany] position—the inclusion of German-speaking Austria—obsolete. It was now a fantastical program. Marx didn't like it but he had to accept that—except for Alsace-Lorraine—Germany had acquired its boundaries. This, of course, reopened the question of what to do with the Austro-Hungarian empire. Marx died before he tried to figure out a solution to that insoluble problem. Engels, who lived longer, was stuck with it.

By the time he died in 1894, Engels had moved very far away from the 1848 position on what was called the Eastern question—the East European question—but had not entirely abandoned it. By the late 1870's, Marx and Engels had come to expect a radical democratic revolution in tsarist Russia. This made the question of Polish independence much less important strategically. Nonetheless, Engels still regarded Russia as in some sense the gendarme of Europe, even in the 1880's. He was, therefore, very reluctant to accept the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire, believing that it would primarily benefit tsarist expansionism. Engels' movement from the notion of "progressive nations" to advocating the right of self-determination can be seen in a letter written in 1882 and an article written in 1890.

In the early 1880's, Engels faced "Luxemburgism" on the national question even before Rosa Luxemburg. For well-motivated reasons, some Polish socialists did not want to fight for the independence of Poland, but rather looked forward to participating in the greater Russian revolution. Engels opposed this position, but he opposed it with a new argument. No longer was an independent Poland seen as a kind of democratic bastion against reactionary Russia—that was not the primary argument. Rather an independent Poland was necessary to sharpen the class antagonisms within Polish society. He wrote to Kautsky (7 February 1882):

"It is historically impossible for a great people even to discuss internal problems of any kind seriously, as long as it lacks national independence. Before 1859 there was no question of socialism in Italy; even the number of Republicans was small.... Only after 1861 the Republicans increased in influence and later transferred their best elements to the Socialists....

"So long as Poland is partitioned and subjugated, therefore, neither a strong socialist party can develop in the country itself, nor can there arise real international intercourse between the proletarian parties in Germany, etc., with other than emigre Poles....

"An international movement of the proletariat is possible only among independent nations." [emphasis in original]

There is still the empirical qualification of "great nations," not all nations. In the same letter, Engels still doesn't think much of independence for the Czechs, Croats, Rumanians, etc.:

"Now you may ask me [this to Kautsky, who, incidentally, was half Czech] whether I have no sympathy whatever for the small Slavic peoples, and remnants of peoples, which have been severed asunder by the three wedges driven in the flesh of Slavdom: the Germans, Magyars and Turks? In fact I have damned little sympathy for them."

However, Engels agrees that after the fall of the tsar it would be all right for the small Slavic peoples to have their independence: *after, not before*. Then he adds, "I am certain that six months of independence will suffice for most Austro-Hungarian Slavs to bring them to a point where they will beg to be readmitted." So Engels still considered the smaller peoples of East Europe as economically unviable units, and the Austro-Hungarian state as in some sense progressive.

By 1890 his position had undergone considerable evolution toward the classic Second International position in favor of the right of self-determination. During the 1880's, which was the beginning of the imperialist epoch, the alliances were formed which would result in World War I: tsarist Russia and bourgeois-democratic France against Wilhelmian Germany and Austro-Hungary. Engels foresaw that such a war would have a completely reactionary character. Furthermore, he was aware that changes in military technology meant that the war would be incredibly destructive, and that it would be impossible to predict who would win such a war.

In the 1880's, one begins to notice in Engels' writings and in social-democratic propaganda a strong anti-war and anti-militarist thrust which was absent from the pre-1870 period. As a result there is a much more sympathetic attitude toward self-determination in East Europe. Discussing what will happen the day after tsarism is overthrown, Engels writes in 1890:

"On the same day Austria will lose its single, historical justification for existence—that of a barrier against the Russian drive toward Constantinople.... Magyars, Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgars, Arnauts, Greeks and Turks will then finally be in a position to settle their own mutual disputes without the intervention of foreign powers, to settle among themselves the boundaries of their individual national territories, to manage their affairs according to their own judgments."

—"The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism"

Kautsky: Multinational States Are Reactionary

After Engels' death, in the period of the Second International, one can distinguish four characteristic poles on the national question: the German social-democratic center, whose theoretical spokesman was Karl Kautsky; the German-dominated Austro-Hungarian social democracy, whose theoretical spokesmen were Karl Renner and Otto Bauer; Rosa Luxemburg's Polish group; and Lenin's Bolsheviks.

The differences and similarities between these tendencies are extremely complex and defy a simple schema. For example, on the question of the right of self-determination one would find Kautsky and Lenin in favor, and Bauer/Renner and Luxemburg against. On the question of whether to have a centralized rather than a nationally federated party one would find Kautsky, Luxemburg and Lenin for, and Bauer/Renner against. However, in certain aspects of methodology, I would argue that Kautsky and Luxemburg tended to emphasize the objective economic factor in determining the configuration of nation-states, although they drew diametrically opposite programmatic conclusions. On the other hand, Bauer/Renner and Lenin tended to emphasize the subjective factor, and the question of how to achieve the unity of the workers movement within a multinational state. Finally, I will argue that Lenin's position is unique in his heavy emphasis on the question of the right of self-determination, rather than on any particular configuration of nation-states.

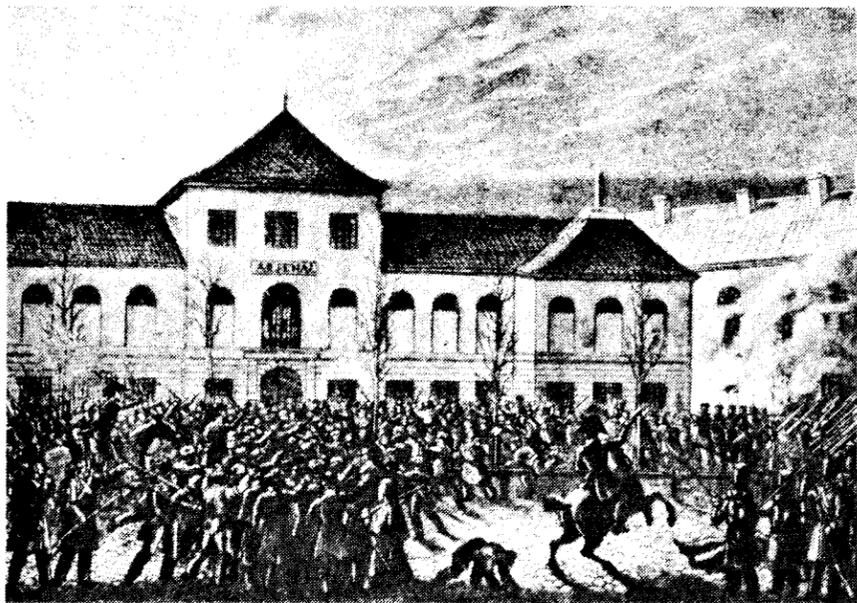
Under Kautsky's guidance, the Marxist movement finally liquidated the outdated notion that tsarist Russia was somehow more reactionary than Wilhelmian Germany. Consequently, the Second International in its 1896 convention in London was now able to assert the general principle of the right of self-determination.

Kautsky's position was that the Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires were essentially feudal remnants—that they were cases of arrested development. He maintained that a normal, healthy bourgeois development in East Europe required the break-up of these multinational units into their constituent nations. In other

Part 2 of 2

The National Question in the Marxist Movement, 1848-1914

by Joseph Seymour



Akwatinta Dietricha z rys. Piwarskiego

The masses storm the arsenal during Polish uprising of 1830-31.

words, Kautsky regarded the national liberation of the smaller Slavic peoples as a task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in East Europe.

Because the Austrian social democracy did not agree with this position, Kautsky never fought for it publicly. However, his real position was for the dissolution of the multinational states in East Europe. This comes through clearly in a letter (5 June 1901) from Kautsky to Victor Adler, head of the Austrian party:

"Most of our people suffer from the delusion that one can find a solution to every problem, if only one is clever enough. But there are insoluble problems, and the establishment of a viable Austria is one of them. National autonomy would not be a remedy either. It is essential for us in our propaganda and organization, but under the given conditions, and with the present relation of forces, it is not conducive to a solution.

"In Austria of all places, a gradual approach to some solution or other is unthinkable. The only cure lies in complete collapse. That Austria still exists is to me not proof of its viability, nor yet evidence that we now have the political basis for a slow and peaceful development; all it proves is that

bourgeois society is no longer capable of doing away with even the most rotten structures: the Sultan, Tsarist Austria."

—quoted in George Lichtheim, *Marxism*, 1961

Bauer/Renner: Saving the Austro-Hungarian State

The national program of Austrian social democracy, codified at the Brünn (Brno in present-day Czechoslovakia) Congress in 1898 called for a federated, democratic Austro-Hungarian state, and did not call for the right of self-determination. The national program of the Russian social democracy, codified in 1903 before the split, called for a unitary state with local autonomy, and did call for the right of self-determination. This significant difference cannot be explained simply on the basis of left versus right. The Russian Mensheviks also supported the right of self-determination, while even radicals in the Austrian party, like Friedrich Adler, did not advocate it.

Why was the simple solution of breaking the empire up into its constitu-

ent nations unpopular among Austrian social democrats of all shades? The problem—and this is why Kautsky was right to call it insoluble—was that everyone knew the break-up of Austro-Hungary would precipitate a war between Russia and Germany over the spoils. The various nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian empire hated one another, but they feared tsarist Russia and Wilhelmian Germany more. In contrast to all shades of Polish nationalism, the program of mainstream Czech nationalism was *not* independence. Rather, it was extreme federalism—creating a state-within-a-state—combined with some kind of extra-territorial control over all Czechs in the empire.

(I have the impression that present-day French Canadian nationalism is rather similar to pre-World War I Czech nationalism. The goal is not outright independence, but rather virtually unlimited autonomy for Quebec plus some kind of union of all French-Canadians throughout Canada.)

So the Austrian Socialist Party sought to devise a program that would preserve Austro-Hungary in the face of violent national antagonisms. The heart of this program was so-called “cultural-national autonomy,” according to which nations were no longer associated with territories, but were embodied in individuals. In practice this meant that a Czech in Vienna could attend an exclusively Czech school and a German in Prague an exclusively German school. In fact, Karl Renner likened nationality to religion and argued that national organization should be modeled on churches. He writes in 1908:

“We must draw on the map a double network, the one economical, the other political. We must cut in two the sum of the activities of the state, separating national and political matters. We must organize the population twice; once along the lines of nationality, the second time, in relation to the state, and each time in administrative units of different form.”

—quoted in Arthur G. Kogan, “The Social Democrats in the Hapsburg Monarchy” in *Journal of Modern History*, 1949

From the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, the worst thing about the Bauer/Renner position was that it

regarded nationality as a positive value. They actually presented their scheme to save the ramshackle Austro-Hungarian empire as an anticipation of communist society. Bauer writes in his 1907 opus, *The National Question and Social Democracy*:

“The organization of mankind into autonomous national communities enjoying, organizing, and developing their cultural goals is the final national aim of international Social-Democracy.”

—translated in Robert A. Kann, *The Multi-National Empire*

For Bauer, the state may wither away, but national affiliation goes on forever.

Luxemburg: National Blindness and Revolutionary Optimism

Now we come to the anti-Bauer, Rosa Luxemburg. It is important to emphasize that Luxemburg’s position on the national question is very much Polish-centered which in a sense is a paradox. There were, however, rather plausible reasons for a Polish revolutionary Marxist to oppose the independence of Poland. Luxemburg inherited that tradition, she didn’t invent it. One must realize that Poland was the most advanced, most industrialized part of the Russian empire with privileged access to a relatively large market. From the 1880’s on, Polish nationalism was a petty-bourgeois, not a big-bourgeois, phenomenon. Luxemburg was convinced that the economic integration of Poland with Russia had gone so far that there was no possibility of an independent, viable Poland. So she considered Polish nationalism a form of petty-bourgeois reactionary utopianism analogous to Proudhonism in France or Bakuninist anarchism in Spain.

Rosa Luxemburg’s position on Polish independence is also closely linked with her revolutionary optimism concerning the possibility of a socialist revolution breaking out in the Russian empire and then spreading west. She more or less accepted Trotsky’s position on the permanent revolution in Russia. In fact, Trotsky’s seminal articles on the subject were first published in Luxemburg’s Polish-language journal. Thus, Luxemburg developed an attitude toward the

continued on page 11

Spartacist Tendency Holds European Summer Camp

The third European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was held in late August. Planned primarily as a week of educational sessions, the camp also included a national conference of the Ligue Trotskiste de France and a joint conference of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL). The attendance of 85 comrades conducting political work in 11 countries testified to the substantial extension of the work of the iSt.

The opening educational session dealt with the French Trotskyist movement of the 1930’s, with particular reference to the antecedents of the present-day OCI of P. Lambert. Noting that the OCI still possesses an appreciable number of cadres from the historic French Trotskyist movement—part of the basis for its claim to “continuity”—iSt secretary J. Sharpe stressed that virtually all of these were drawn from the rightist Molinier/Frank wing.

In the bitter disputes which racked the French movement in the 1930’s, two key questions can be discerned: Molinier/Frank’s conception of a fake-mass press and their call for “revolutionary action groups” as centrist umbrella formations. The OCI’s perennial penchant for a newspaper which presents itself as the press of some sort of loose grouping of militant workers, rather than as the organ of a party, is a direct descendant of these Molinierist deviations.

The present political physiognomy of the OCI, following its sharply accelerated rightward motion in the 1973-74 period, can be characterized as the result of the dissociation of the Molinierist and orthodox politics which had coexisted in this tendency since the post-World War II reconstitution of the French movement and the struggle against Pabloist revisionism in the early 1950’s. The initial break with Pablo took shape over the narrow question of the attitude toward French Stalinism and the tactic of entrisism in the French Communist Party and CGT. The issues became generalized only in 1953 by the fundamentally principled opposition of the French majority to the Pabloists’ capitulation to Stalinism over the East Berlin workers’ uprising in June and the French general strike in August.

Another highlight of the camp was the presentation on critical support, the united-front tactic and the workers government slogan. Comrade F. Krüger discussed unclarity and opportunist formulations regarding the workers government which emerged at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and illuminated the connections between this discussion—which must be assimilated critically as part of our history—and the disputes between the various wings of the German Communist Party in 1922-23.

The presentation on “Marxism and the National Question, 1848-1914” examined the evolution of Marx’s position toward oppressed nationalities, concluding with a discussion of the controversy over the national question within the ostensibly Marxist movement in the period preceding World War I and the conflicting views put forward by the Kautskyans, Austro-Marxists, Luxemburgists and Leninists (see *WV* Nos. 123 and 125). A presentation on the national question today centered on Ireland and Cyprus.

The session on the origins of European Pabloism focused on the crystallization of rightist oppositions within the Fourth International following World War II. The discussion emphasized the inexperience and disorientation of the orthodox Trotskyists who sought to reassert the revolutionary will of the Fourth International in the face of the doubtism and defeatism of the right-wing oppositions. The critical weaknesses and deformations of the post-war Trotskyist movement became decisive only in the early 1950’s, when the majority of the Fourth International caved in to the liquidationist conclusions of Pablo’s “theory” that the “objective” pressures of a “new world reality” would compel Stalinism to play an essentially revolutionary role.

A spokesman for the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile, which has fraternal relations with the iSt, presented the history of the OTR, which coalesced as a left opposition within a Chilean sympathizing group of the United Secretariat (USec) around 1970. The OTR initially upheld the central necessity of “irregular warfare” based on the working class, which the speaker characterized as a more workerist version of the Guevarism of the USec majority. At the time of its expulsion from the fused USec sympathizing section in late 1972, the OTR still had not reached a full understanding of the need for an independent Trotskyist party, as demonstrated by its substituting the journals of trade unions in which it played a leadership role for an independent party press.

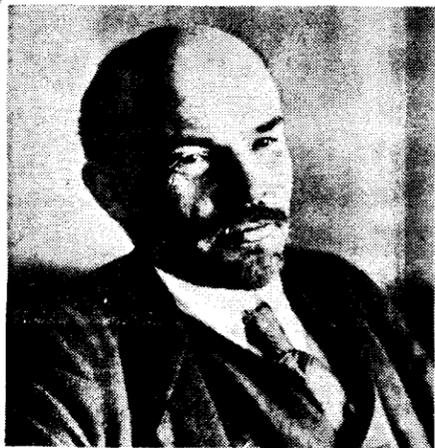
The OTR’s strength, which enabled it to reject the intrigues and maneuvers of the USec and also of the French OCI, was its commitment to defend the workers’ interests against the popular-front Allende government. Until it came in contact with the iSt, the OTR thought it was the only group in the world which had opposed the class collaborationism of the centrists and the reformist workers parties in Chile, whose prostration before the bourgeoisie paved the way for the bloody coup of September 1973.

The final session of the camp was devoted to “Problems of the Fourth International.” Comrade J. Robertson recalled the failure of SWP head James Cannon’s 1939 trip to Paris, where both the leaders of the sterile, sectarian official section and sundry capitulationist elements outside it seemed to be united only in casually dismissing the leader of the strongest section of the FI.

Cannon’s experience in France, the speaker noted, certainly contributed to the “insular bias” of the leadership of the American section. He also criticized the SWP’s earlier international representatives, such as Max Shachtman, who behaved like “a bunch of trouble making radical tourists” rather than functioning as disciplined representatives of a leading collective.

While noting that hindsight is cheap, Comrade Robertson criticized the SWP leadership for too passively accepting the obstacles to intervention in Europe by Americans during World War II and in the post-war period. In contrast to the European comrades, the American section uniquely maintained a continuity of experienced leadership. The

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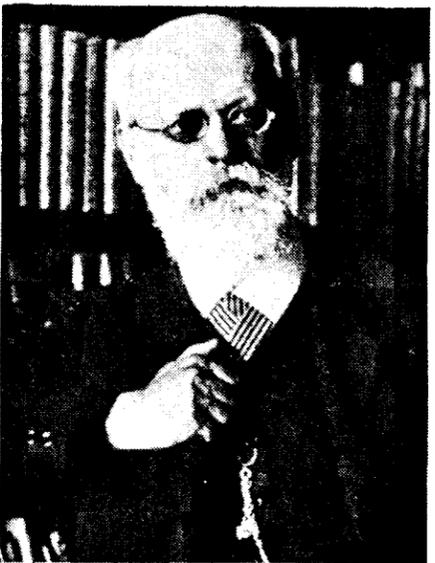


V.I. Lenin



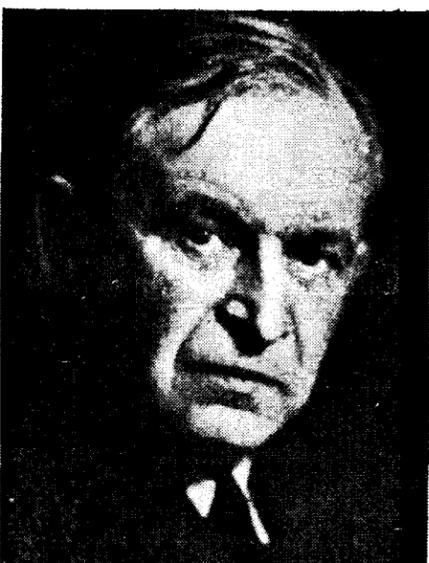
Rosa Luxemburg

Archiv



Karl Kautsky

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Otto Bauer

Archiv

Argentina...

(continued from page 12)

tightly restricted union activity, eventually coopting the basically conservative and highly corrupt Peronist labor bureaucracy.

According to well-informed business publications, this is the course now being advocated by "moderates" around General Jorge Videla who wish to combine "rebuilding the institutional life of the country" with "extermination" of the guerrillas. Thus the most right-wing former Peronists, who dream of a *verticalista* (corporatist) system on the order of Franco's Spain, have assembled themselves in a "Professional Grouping" to support the junta. In addition, in mid-July a number of former top Peronists were released from a prison ship in the Buenos Aires harbor, presumably on the promise of good behavior and cooperation with the new regime.

However, 1976 is not 1956 and the ability of the aging Peronist labor bureaucracy to control the beleaguered union ranks is open to serious question. As the 23 July *Latin America* pointed out:

"The system of heaping privileges on the heads of the bureaucrats, and leaving them to keep the rank and file in line, did not work particularly well under the last military government. It was the source of the discontent which led to the popular uprisings in 1969, 1970 and 1971, which effectively destroyed the military governments of Onganía and Levingston. The system was continued under President Isabel Peron and remains utterly discredited today."

Simply to hand back CGT buildings and funds to the venal bureaucrats will not satisfy the hard-pressed ranks who are increasingly unable to obtain even the bare necessities of life with their greatly diminished purchasing power.

Pinochetistas Call the Tune

General Videla has made some cautious organizational moves in the attempt to gain the upper hand over the most extreme rightist elements in the armed forces. He has delegated his duties as army commander to a like-minded ally, General Roberto Viola, and removed notorious hardline gener-



WV Photo

als from operational commands in Rosario (General Ramón Díaz Bessone) and Córdoba (General Luciano Benjamín Menéndez, head of the third army corps and reputed chief of the "Comandos Libertadores de América" anti-communist death squads). But still the reactionary "excesses" continue.

By now the butchery of the paramilitary "Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance" is notorious internationally and the plight of left-wing political refugees from other Latin American countries has produced protests from left groups, the labor movement, social-democratic governments, the United Nations and even the Vatican. But the depth of reaction present in the military dictatorship goes far beyond this. The junta recently outlawed the Jehovah's Witnesses because of their international ties, and arrested several Israeli citizens working

for the World Zionist Organization. (Anti-Semitic and other Nazi literature is proliferating in the country, with several large Spanish editions of such items as *Mein Kampf*, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and "The Ritual Crimes of the Jews.") In fact, the pope was forced to protest the murder of five priests and two seminarians in June as "execrable crimes."

The lengths to which the most irrational right-wingers in the military will go in their defense of "Christian and national virtue" was indicated by the arrest in August of General Alejandro Lanusse, a former Argentine president who was held for five days for publicly



F. Cerecedo/Cambio 16

Ana María González at Montonero news conference. She placed the bomb that killed police chief Cesáreo Cardozo in bed.

criticizing General Abdel Edgardo Vilas, who has been systematically purging the universities of "ideological infiltration" by Marxists, liberals and other "conspirators." Lanusse, who was a hated dictator in the last months before Perón returned to office in 1973, is now considered a flaming liberal within the present political spectrum in the military.

Although the officers gloat at their success in scoring some spectacular blows against the guerrilla groups in recent weeks, their own nerves are raw. For one thing, they have reason to fear that the guerrillas may have infiltrated their own ranks. Many hardliners reportedly consider their less rabid peers to be "practically Montoneros" (the left-Peronist guerrillas). One source (*Latin America*, 6 August) reported that some sectors in the intelligence division of the federal police felt that the bomb that exploded in their dining hall had been placed by dissident policemen.

Guerrillas on the Defensive

As we have pointed out before, in a straight military contest between the regular armed forces and guerrillas, the latter are at a tremendous disadvantage, and this has been proven once again in the first months after the Argentine coup. The most important "coup" by the military was the murder of Mario Roberto Santucho, head of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army), and the dismantling of what appears to be the central ERP apparatus in mid-July.

On July 11, government forces raided a house where the ERP was holding a senior air force officer kidnapped in April. There documents were found directing the hunters to a house in Córdoba where they discovered an underground printing press and a shooting range. Following this another printing press was found near Buenos Aires along with a major archive of the ERP, and this led to a raid on a house in the capital region where Santucho and another leader were found and killed. Information there subsequently led the military to La Plata where five other ERP leaders were assassinated.

So far, the left-Peronist Montoneros have not been so severely hit, although they too have taken losses. But incapable of any serious resistance to the

junta (something neither they nor the ERP undertook on March 23), they have concentrated on brazenly sensational (and militarily irrelevant) publicity stunts. A Montonero press conference at the end of August in Buenos Aires featured not only the organization's military chief, Horacio Mendi-zábal, but Ana María González, the teenager who placed a bomb under the bed of federal police chief Cesáreo Cardozo last June and became the "most wanted person" in Argentina after the explosion.

On July 9 the Montoneros staged military parades in several neighborhoods of the capital commemorating the 170th anniversary of Argentine independence. Days before, a number of Montonero youths had marched through the Belgrano sector in uniform and military formation. Their faces were covered and a leader announced over a megaphone that government forces should take note that the guerrillas had superior firepower in the area, occupying all the rooftops along the march route. According to an account in the Spanish liberal news magazine *Cambio 16* (26 July-1 August):

"Two policemen who were in the door of the Bank of the Nation handed over their arms. A few seconds later, after running 150 meters in formation, the 60 Montoneros disappeared as though they had been swallowed up by the earth. They left a 'remembrance' for the baffled crowd: a man in peasant clothing, with his eyes blindfolded, dead. A card attached to his clothing said: 'Police Informer.'"

Not Impotent Guerrillaism But Workers Revolution

With the bloodless coup that overthrew the almost universally despised regime of Isabel Perón, the traditional leadership of the Argentine unions was swept aside in a single blow by the mailed fist of military bonapartism. Virtually the entire left was outlawed,



Rouge

except for the shameless Communist Party which actually supported the junta. The leftist guerrillas reckoned that their hour had come, that the masses, under the pressure of economic attacks and repression by the armed forces, would be driven to "pick up the gun" and join the guerrilla ranks.

In fact, the ERP had practically called for a coup in order to create just such a vacuum of leadership. They preached a blind "After Videla, us!" triumphalism reminiscent of Stalin's boasts that he could effortlessly push over Hitler after the Brownshirts had eliminated the social democrats. In both cases the reality turned out to be quite different. Despite bitter hatred for the junta among the Argentina workers and

unabated clique fights in the military, the generals are still firmly in the saddle and the guerrillas have been severely hit.

While the guerrillaist organizations have proved just as incapable of exercising revolutionary leadership after the coup as before (when left-wingers and militant unionists were arrested by the hundreds and the AAA ran wild), the working class has shown that it has not lost its will and capacity to struggle. And out of concern for its reputation among international financiers (who consider Pinochet's rule in Chile an economic fiasco and a political embarrassment), the Videla regime has moved more slowly (though relentlessly) to root out the vestiges of an organized workers movement. Thus opportunities for resistance have not been absent, as shown by the militant and determined auto strikers.

While continuing to criticize the bourgeois-populist Peronist, petty-bourgeois guerrillaist and Stalinist misleaders who paved the way for the coup in Argentina, revolutionaries internationally have a particular obligation to mount militant protest against the bloody repression in Argentina. While warning the workers and radical youth that the guerrilla road of the ERP and the Montoneros is the road of defeat, we denounce the assassination of leftist leaders such as Roberto Santucho.

Socialists and the labor movement must also demand that leaders of the workers movement presently in the junta's jails be immediately freed. This is the case, in particular with José Páez and Arturo Apaza, two worker militants and leaders of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party, Argentine sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat) now imprisoned in Córdoba. Páez is a former union leader at the militant Fiat

Concord factory in that city and the PST's vice-presidential candidate in the 1973 Argentine elections.

Fighting to save the future cadres of an authentic Trotskyist vanguard in Argentina from the bloody grip of the military butchers, a revolutionary internationalist tendency must point out the bankruptcy of these self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the PST who offered political support to the Peronist regime and equated the left-wing guerrillas with the ultra-rightist commandos while pledging submission to bourgeois law and order. This is the heritage of the United Secretariat in Argentina, but it is not the heritage of Marxism. For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Argentina! ■

Militant L.A. Transit Strikers Demonstrate

LOS ANGELES—Over 500 striking bus drivers of the Southern California Rapid Transit System (RTD) held a militant demonstration in front of the RTD main offices September 8. Called by the United Transportation Union (UTU), the demonstration was little publicized, many drivers hearing about it only via a two-line announcement in the Sunday *Los Angeles Times*.

The union bureaucrats had planned merely to allow the strikers to blow off steam from the frustration of a three-week-old strike which if limited to the bureaucrats' demands will result in a mere 1.5 percent more in wages and fringe benefits than the Transit Board is currently offering. But the most militant workers, many carrying hand-lettered signs, showed up en masse to lead a spirited picket line.

In the middle of the demonstration, the protesters took off spontaneously to demand that L.A. mayor Tom Bradley meet with them immediately at City Hall. While the demonstrators—of whom two-thirds were younger black workers and a fair number were women drivers hired after the 1974 strike—marched on City Hall, the union bureaucrats stood across the street, drinking coffee and joking with RTD and L.A. Police Department security officials.

At the mayor's offices, the demonstrators were first told he wasn't there. A spontaneous semi-sit-in developed, but the mayor's aides eventually managed to get the drivers to accept a meeting room off to one side. After an hour and a half the mayor showed up, arranging his entrance with

the TV crews which had appeared. Some of the drivers applauded his appearance—forgetting the mayor's threat to call out the National Guard in the 1974 strike—while a few of the more conscious workers looked on grimly.

Bradley's statement was directed at the TV cameras, not the angry strikers, saying that he supported the agreement reached by the mechanics union and RTD negotiators (subsequently rejected by the Transit Board). Although it was higher than what the city had intended to pay, the mayor said he had "attempted to persuade" his two appointees on the RTD board to vote for the settlement.

UTU Local president David Robinson then made a speech, asking Bradley to bring his flunkies into line or replace them, and to pressure L.A. County Supervisor James Hayes to do the same with his appointees. The union is also asking that Byron Cook, RTD president and Burbank city councilman, be fired. Cook had stated that he would

not budge from the Board's 19.5-percent "final" offer, even if the strike were to "go on until Christmas."

Upon finishing his statement, Robinson stated "basically that is all we have to say," whereupon Bradley bolted from his chair and was out of the room before the frustrated drivers could ask him what he intended to do. But as the September 8 demonstration showed, relying on the UTU bureaucracy and simply trying to pressure Bradley will lead nowhere. Although currently boxed-in by the RTD Board's hard-line stance, Robinson and the rest of the leadership will eventually find it "necessary" to sell out the drivers rather than expose their Democratic Party "friends" in office.

Only a mass mobilization by L.A. labor on behalf of the transit strikers can bring the RTD to terms! Yet although UTU officials made a show of conferring with officials of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, it is clear that they have no intention of spearheading such a militant offensive. Already the union tops have reduced their demands several times during the negotiations, and are now down to only 1.5 percent more than the Board's offer.

RTD executives are clearly determined to force a demoralizing defeat down the drivers' throats, taking their cue from the success of San Francisco city officials who broke a near-general strike last spring. However, unlike in San Francisco, public opinion here has not been unfavorable to the strikers. The announcement last week by the L.A. County Board of Supervisors of plans to lay off 1,750 county workers next year (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 September) certainly has not increased the popularity of intransigent union busters such as Cook.

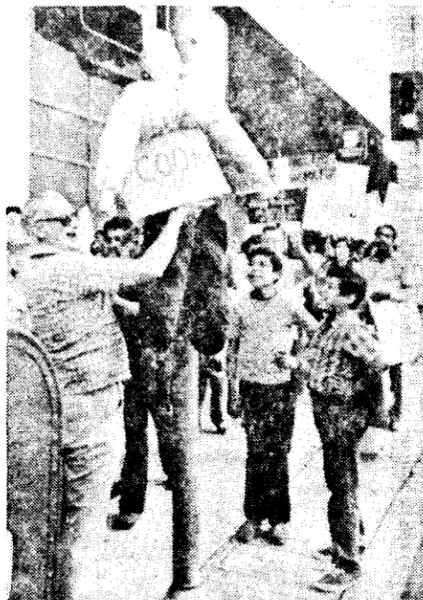
RTD militants must take the initiative in pushing for a mobilization of Los Angeles labor behind their strike and against the attempts by city, county and transit officials to push the cost of the capitalist depression and governmental "fiscal crisis" onto the workers' backs. Fighting for demands such as free public transit and jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, can aid in gaining active support from working people throughout the area. No confidence in Mayor Bradley! For militant labor action to win the strike! ■

Croatian Hijack

(continued from page 12)

right-wingers certainly have drawn fresh encouragement and possibly even recruits as a consequence of the sharp recrudescence of national antagonisms in Yugoslavia in recent years. The Tito bureaucracy—particularly through its encouragement of free market competition and by opening up the economy to native capitalist enterprise and large-scale international corporate involvement—bears a major responsibility for this resurgence of national antagonisms (see "Yugoslavia and the National Question," *WV* Nos. 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976).

The overcoming of a recent history of mutual slaughter among the south Slav peoples, in large measure through exterminating the Ustashi and its Serbian counterpart, the Chetniks, is one of the most progressive aspects of the Yugoslav revolution. The right-wing Croatian terror groups are not only the mortal enemies of the peoples of Yugoslavia—threatening the tremendous advance represented by collective property forms—but also of the workers movement in the capitalist countries where they operate. ■



Art Rogers/L. A. Times

Striking transit workers hang RTD president Byron Cook in effigy.

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Mao...

(continued from page 1)

funeral may be former U.S. "defense" secretary James R. Schlesinger, who was sacked because he considered Kissinger too soft toward Brezhnev.

So today imperialist public opinion which a few years ago presented Mao as a fanatical, totalitarian dictator now praises him as a great statesman. And the condolences issued by Washington, Bonn and Tokyo are by no means diplomatic hypocrisy. The imperialist rulers are genuinely apprehensive that Mao's successors might change course and seek a détente with the USSR. This is Mao's legacy to the Chinese masses and international proletariat: he committed the resources of the Chinese deformed workers state to a counterrevolutionary alliance with the most powerful reactionary force of this epoch, U.S. imperialism.

Mao's Stalinist Nationalism

If the imperialist bourgeoisie is paying homage to the "great revolutionary," various revisionist "Trotskyists" are also seeking to exploit his prestige. The French section of the United Secretariat lauded Mao as "one of the greatest political figures of the proletarian revolution of this century...this historic figure who contributed to opening the paths of hope for all oppressed peoples" (communiqué in *Le Monde*, 10 September). The English Healyites hailed "Mao's great revolutionary past" (*News Line*, 10 September).

Those who claim that Mao was not a Stalinist bureaucrat but a genuine, if flawed, revolutionary usually appeal to three arguments: Mao in 1949 led a popular revolution which resulted in the overthrow of capitalism; around 1960 he broke with the Kremlin and denounced its leaders as "revisionists"; in 1967 he mobilized the students and youth under the banner of combating bureaucracy.

The overthrow of capitalism by Mao's peasant armies was indeed a progressive event of great historic import which wrenched the Chinese masses free from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. We therefore give unconditional military support to the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, despite the absence of soviet democracy, the suppression of any independent workers organization and the Mao regime's counterrevolutionary foreign policy.

But the progressive nature of the Chinese revolution and the class character of the Chinese state do not make Mao a revolutionary. He was a treacherous Stalinist bureaucrat balancing between the Chinese masses and imperialism. His narrow nationalistic policies were an obstacle to the consolidation of the Chinese revolution and its international extension.

Throughout his political life, both before and after the taking of state power, Mao was a practitioner of Stalinist class collaboration. In January 1946 the Maoists concluded an agreement with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang which guaranteed the Kuomintang control of a coalition government and absolute military superiority over the Communist forces. Only Chiang's intransigent hostility to any collaboration with the Communists and his commitment to their total annihilation compelled the Chinese Stalinists to take power in 1949 in order to accomplish their simple physical survival.

In assessing Mao's role in the world Stalinist movement, it is useful to compare him with Yugoslavia's patriarch, Tito. Like Mao, under the conditions created by the second imperialist world war, Tito led a guerrilla army to power, defeating not only Hitler's occupying army but the equally bloodthirsty nationalists of the Serbian

Chetniks and Croatian Ustashi. Like Mao's China, Tito's Yugoslavia broke with Kremlin domination and aligned itself diplomatically with U.S. imperialism. For nearly 30 years, Tito has governed Yugoslavia in the spirit of narrow nationalist parochialism, carefully maneuvering between Washington and Moscow. But Mao's own break with Moscow, motivated by essentially similar considerations of nationalist Stalinist policy, was masked by rhetorical appeals to the authority of Lenin and bombastic denunciations of Khrushchevite "revisionism."

If China's pre-1972 foreign policy appeared more left, more "anti-

movement. Had Mao died around 1970, the myth that he had ever been a revolutionary communist would have been far harder to debunk.

For Workers Democracy in China!

Mao's "anti-bureaucratic" stance is equally spurious. The Maoist regime, which fully displayed the personality cultism and totalitarian suppression of criticism from below which are hallmarks of Stalinism, is the antithesis of soviet democracy, which means the determination of government policy and leadership by the organized workers and poor peasants.



People's Liberation Army soldiers during the "Cultural Revolution."

imperialist" than that of the USSR, this simply reflected U.S. imperialism's intransigent hostility to the Maoist regime. The U.S. commitment to overthrow Mao was seen in its maintenance of Chiang's Taiwan as the "legitimate" government of China. For American imperialism, both the Korean War and the early phase of the Vietnam War were aimed at containing "Red China" and creating more favorable conditions for directly confronting and overturning the Mao regime.

The pre-1972 "anti-imperialist" Maoism, as we said at the time, was simply Khrushchevism under the gun. Mao's unvarying commitment to "peaceful coexistence" was asserted at the 1955 Bandung Conference and put into practice with *zaibatsu*-dominated Japan and Gaullist France long before imperialist butcher Nixon was welcomed in Peking.

In one sense, Mao's longevity is of service to the revolutionary (Trotskyist)

The "Cultural Revolution" of 1967 was an intra-bureaucratic struggle, in which the decisive pro-Maoist force was the People's Liberation Army of the late Lin Biao. The Red Guard youth were cynically exploited through the demagoguery of Mao's circle. When in 1968 the Red Guards were no longer useful to the Mao clique, and some were getting out of hand, Mao had them violently suppressed. At the same time, conservative officeholders, under attack by the Red Guards, were often able to mobilize workers who feared the Maoist austerity program (for example, in the Shanghai general strike of January 1967).

The perpetual and frequently violent inner-party strife which has wracked China since the "Hundred Flowers" campaign of 20 years ago testifies to the brittleness of the Maoist regime. Mao's personal bonapartism, bolstered by a quasi-religious personality cult, has been key to maintaining the shaky unity of the clique- and faction-ridden party, army and government hierarchies.

Everyone now anticipates tremendous political turmoil. It is reported that—after the successive deaths of Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, the riot in central Peking by supporters of the beleaguered officeholder Teng Hsiao-p'ing, followed by cataclysmic earthquakes—people in China are now saying that the "mandate of heaven" has been withdrawn from the Maoist dynasty.

In the political convulsions which lie ahead, the working class must not simply act as cat's-paws for one or another bureaucratic faction or clique. The mission of the Chinese proletariat is to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who are the obstacle to working-class political power, exercised through the democratic rule of soviets. It is with the aim of leading this anti-bureaucratic political revolution that a Chinese Trotskyist party must be forged. ■

Ford Strike...

(continued from page 1)

want a walkout, since he has already signed the unit agreement with Ford. (While Rouge UAW leaders sign local agreements, over 1,400 workers in the complex recently lost their jobs when half the engine plant was shut down. When layoffs were initially announced, the union bureaucrats stalled, claiming they would deal with the layoffs at contract time. Now, at contract time, the union has dropped the issue.) He also announced that union members would be allowed to cross picket lines to maintain Ford's machinery. It is this kind of defeatist misleadership which saps the ranks' enthusiasm for a strike.

Taking their cue from the bureaucrats' passivity, the Ford bargainers arrogantly raised "take-away" demands throughout the negotiations. This is partly a probe and partly an attempt to allow the UAW leaders to rant and rave and then claim a victory when such demands are withdrawn. Even if Ford withdrew all such take-aways and granted all of Woodcock's piddling demands, the resulting contract—far less than recent wage settlements of 32 percent and 36 percent won by the Teamsters and Rubber Workers respectively—would represent a defeat for the UAW.

Any victory, even a partial one, gained by auto workers in the contract struggle will be *despite* the Woodcock leadership of the UAW. It is urgent that conduct of the strike be placed in the hands of the membership. Militants must demand that strike committees be elected in the plants and coordinated throughout the U.S. and Canada. Such committees must hammer out a militant, class-struggle program which meets the needs of auto workers.

Lessons of the Rubber Strike

Militants in the UAW should learn from the recent United Rubber Workers (URW) strike. Despite a small membership and an almost non-existent strike fund, the rubber workers won a substantial wage increase and the first cost-of-living escalator in the industry by striking all four major tire companies. This is precisely what Woodcock opposes in auto. While Ford is on strike, Chrysler, GM and American Motors will continue to make cars and pile up profits.

Furthermore, no contract negotiated at Ford means anything unless it is accepted at GM, the powerhouse in the industry. With additional time to stockpile 1977 models during a Ford strike, GM will be in a much stronger position to precipitate a strike if it finds the Ford settlement unacceptable. Instead of such weak-kneed "pattern-bargaining," a militant UAW leadership would strike all the auto companies, parts plants and agricultural implements companies in the U.S. and Canada simultaneously.

The fact that rubber workers were forced to strike for over four months was due in large measure to the failure of both UAW and URW bureaucracies to organize sympathy strikes and labor boycotts (hot-cargoing) of scab rubber products. Such militant tactics would have won a better contract with less hardship for the strikers. In turn, this would have strengthened auto workers

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for their own strike, which if successful could have a galvanizing effect on the entire labor movement.

The UAW tops are not even taking advantage of the partial victory the rubber workers achieved. One UAW International spokesman told *WV* that the rubber settlement had nothing to do with the Auto Workers and has not been mentioned at the bargaining table. He boasted that Solidarity House is a leader of other unions, not a follower. Nevertheless, the lesson of the rubber strike is that the entire auto industry must be shut down. No extensions! No contract, no work!

For a Class-Struggle Program!

It is not simple militancy which the union needs. Auto workers need a class-struggle program to place demands for wages, working conditions and benefits in the framework of the struggle against capitalism. *WV* asked Jerry Dale, a spokesman for Solidarity House, why the negotiators didn't raise the union's traditional demand, "30 hours work for 40 hours pay," to end unemployment instead of the various absentee control schemes of extra holidays which Woodcock is hoping to palm off as a shorter work year. Dale's cynical "answer" was that this demand would result in fewer cars, smaller profits for the bosses and thus fewer jobs for the workers!

In contrast to the pro-company UAW bureaucracy, which gauges its woefully inadequate "demands" on how much the bosses are willing to give, the demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay aims at defending jobs by attacking the employers' profits and mobilizing the working class against the capitalist system which causes mass unemployment. Though Woodcock claims that he wants to create new jobs with his "time bank" program, he admitted to a *WV* reporter that what he really wanted was one new day off per month. The sellout perspective of the bureaucracy was succinctly summed up by one top UAW official who told a reporter, "There's a point beyond which they [the companies] won't go. We've got to find that point."

A class-struggle leadership would demand, in addition to an industry-wide shutdown, a struggle for full employment through a shorter workweek with full COLA and a substantial pay boost, union control of working conditions and unlimited right to strike. These demands must be coupled to a call for union control of hiring and upgrading to smash racial and sexual discrimination. A militant opposition in the UAW would also fight to shatter the alliance between the union tops and the Democratic Party. A national auto strike could raise a mighty voice for a class-struggle party of the workers. Instead, Woodcock & Co. seek to deliver the UAW to racist, anti-labor Jimmy Carter.

It is the failure of most existing opposition groups within the UAW to raise an all-sided class-struggle political program which accounts for the disorientation and relative passivity of the ranks. In general, auto workers see no way out of the bureaucratic straitjacket imposed by the Woodcock regime. The combativity of auto workers is well-known they lack only a leadership committed to the principle of class struggle, not only on the shop floor, but throughout society.

Inside Ford's glass house in Dearborn, a UAW International spokesman told *WV* that a 30-hour week could not be won "without a year-long strike or a revolution." In a sense this is correct. Not only unemployment, but racism, poverty and war are necessary components of capitalism. To the sellouts of Solidarity House and their reformist imitators, militant tactics and revolutionary politics are indeed anathema, and so the bureaucracy settles for crumbs. It remains the task of class-conscious militants in the UAW to bring these politics to the ranks and thereby point the way to victory. ■

Chile Demos...

(continued from page 3)

on the slogan, "Down with the junta, workers to power."

At the rally the same goons tried, again unsuccessfully, to dissuade the chairman from allowing the Trotskyist League any speaking time, arguing that the TL had no right to speak since it refused to endorse the sponsoring coalition's popular-front politics. As a "compromise," the TL was placed last, following announcements, and the chairman "introduced" the speaker by remarking, "if you want to stay to hear the TL, you can." But despite these attempts to disperse the crowd, most stayed to listen.

The TL spokesman expressed solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants and drew the lesson of the tragic bloodbath in 1973: a bloc with the bourgeoisie means defeat for the oppressed. He also spoke of the declaration of fraternal relations between the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile and the international Spartacist tendency. The speaker concluded with a chant, taken up by many in the audience: "Smash the bloody junta, for workers revolution."

The TL representative also shamed and greatly embarrassed the coalition by pointing out to the audience that the latter had planned an event for September 13 at strikebound Simon Fraser University, where maintenance workers are striking for wage and hours parity with other university employees. The coalition was not ignorant of the strike. Not only had it been mentioned by the TL at an earlier planning meeting, but on the second day of the strike an RMG member and another coalition supporter visited the picket lines to ask the union for permission to cross the lines in order to hold the Chile meeting on campus!

They even had the gall to ask the union to send someone to address the meeting, hoping to cover their scabbing with a phony veneer of "strike support." The union, however, refused and suggested the coalition hold the meeting off campus. So embarrassed was the coalition by the TL's exposure of its plans to scab that an emergency meeting was called immediately after the rally to discuss a change of plans, and they finally ended up canceling the meeting altogether. ■

European Summer Camp...

(continued from page 7)

characteristic weakness of cadres who have been schooled in only one historic period, he noted, is precisely the impressionism epitomized by Pablo.

The educational sessions, conferences and numerous smaller commissions held at the European summer camp reflected the continuing development of the iSt in Europe from "outposts of Spartacism" into living sections. This process has involved an increasing assimilation of the need to professionalize the technical skills of the sections. One speaker underlined the importance of developing an adequate technical apparatus and financial base, noting that the iSt, as a small international propaganda organization, preserves its cohesiveness and collectivity in part through judicious use of "the jet aircraft, the long-distance telephone and the xerox machine."

As the USec and its revisionist similars tirelessly replay the maneuverist scenario of unclear splits and scotch-tape fusions, the international Spartacist tendency goes forward in its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International through the construction of a disciplined international tendency based on the firm programmatic foundations of authentic Trotskyism. ■

National Question...

(continued from page 7)

Russian empire that was analogous to Marx's attitude toward the German nation on the eve of 1848: for her the Russian empire became progressive as a powerful material basis for the coming proletarian revolution.

Luxemburg did not recognize what Lenin did: that the antagonisms between the Polish, Ukrainian and Great Russian working classes were an *obstacle* to a successful revolution in the tsarist empire. Her method of countering nationalist attitudes exclusively through internationalist propaganda was not enough. A positive programmatic opposition to tsarist Russia as "the prison house of nations" was necessary.

Lenin: Self-Determination and Workers Unity

The Leninist position on the national question was only developed in its final form during World War I, around 1917, but I believe it is basically relevant to the pre-1914 period.

Superficially, the Bolshevik position appears to be orthodox Kautskyan. However, I believe that the formal similarities obscure significant differences. Kautsky advocated self-determination because he was really in favor of independence as a means of pushing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in East Europe forward. Insofar as Lenin recognized that national emancipation for Poland, for the Ukraine, for the Czechs was an uncompleted bourgeois-democratic task there was a similarity of position.

But Lenin's position was not essentially a two-stage revolution which looked forward to a relatively lengthy period of development of a bourgeois-democratic Polish, Ukrainian or Czech state. Rather, what Lenin emphasized—and he was the first Marxist to do so—was *advocacy* of the right of self-determination as a necessary means of unifying the working class in a multinational state.

Lenin maintained that Luxemburg's abstract propaganda in favor of internationalism was not adequate to convince the Poles and the Ukrainians that the Great Russian socialists were not chauvinist. The workers movement in the oppressor nation must demonstrate in practice and in immediate programmatic form that it supports the right to independence of the oppressed nation. For Lenin, the question of whether independence would be realized or not was not a fundamental question, it was secondary. Before the 1917 revolution, the Bolsheviks did not take a position for or against independence for Poland, the Ukraine or Finland. The core of Lenin's position comes through in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914):

"Whether the Ukraine, for example, is destined to form an independent state is a matter that will be determined by a thousand unpredictable factors. Without attempting idle 'guesses', we firmly uphold something that is beyond doubt: the right of the Ukraine to form such a state. We respect this right; we do not uphold the privileges of Great Russians with regard to Ukrainians; we educate the masses in the spirit of recognition of that right, in the spirit of rejecting *state* privileges for any nation." [emphasis in original]

In New Left and "Third World" Stalinist circles, Lenin's position is systematically misinterpreted so that he appears as a supporter of any demand put forward by an oppressed national minority. The anti-Luxemburgist Lenin wrongly overshadows the anti-nationalist Lenin. Lenin was violently hostile to "cultural-national autonomy" because it directly and immediately furthered nationalist ideology. He was opposed to federalism, and favored limited regional autonomy for minority

nations in a unitary state. On this latter point, he was in basic agreement with Luxemburg. Some bourgeois commentators have noted that Lenin seems to have an all-or-nothing position on the national question. This is in contrast to the Austrian social democrats who offered the population an infinite gradation of steps between independence and assimilation. Richard Pipes in his *The Formation of the Soviet Union* writes:

"Lenin's theory of national self-determination, viewed as a solution of the national problem in Russia, was entirely inadequate. By offering the minorities virtually no choice between assimilation and complete independence, it ignored the fact that they desired neither."

However, Lenin's program was not designed to be popular with Russia's minorities at any given time. It was designed to foster the fighting unity of the working class within the Russian state. If the working masses of the various nations are so hostile to one another that it makes unified class struggle virtually impossible, then separation into independent states is called for. Where national minorities choose to co-exist within the same state framework, the task of Leninists is to break down all the barriers separating the working masses of the different nationalities. While championing the equality of languages and related democratic rights, we work for the gradual, organic assimilation of the various nationalities making up the working class. ■

Abzug / Moynihan...

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maintained that in order to aid the ghetto poor it was necessary to take away so-called "privileges" (union job protection) of white-collar workers.

The racial insensitivity and conservative business unionism of the UFT bureaucracy crippled the 1968 teachers strike just as today it means leading workers to vote for imperialist bigots such as Moynihan. At that time the Spartacist League stood almost alone on the left in supporting the strike. We pointed out then that it was not surprising that such liberals as Jimmy Breslin and Murray Kempton were screaming to break the union, since liberals consider the capitalist government—the ultimate strikebreaker—the main source of "progress." We called for ousting the union leadership, however, since:

"Shanker...played into Lindsay's hands by taking a purely 'business union' approach to defend itself, remaining indifferent to the general needs of the oppressed and exploited black population. Much of the union's propaganda has catered to conservatism and racial fears, with talk of 'mob rule' and 'extremism.' This has exacerbated the racial division between the union and black working people, thereby preventing a real solution to the crisis."
—"Beware Liberal Union-Busters"

The SL called for an alliance of teachers with the doubly oppressed black and Puerto Rican workers and poor, and for the building of a labor party, to lead a united, militant struggle against the liberal union busters.

While in 1968 there was at least a trickle of poverty program money to squabble over, today the union bureaucrats compete in giving up jobs, wages and benefits and the capitalist politicians call for dismantling social services. The dead-end polarization between scab Abzug and racist Moynihan puts in stark relief the inability of the bourgeoisie to meet the needs of the exploited and the oppressed. We repeat our call in 1968: "No confidence in liberal union-busters!" Break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats and build a workers party, to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Argentine Auto Workers Defy Military Dictatorship

Last week 20,000 Argentine auto workers defied the military government's threats in a strike against wage restraints at Buenos Aires assembly plants of Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz and Fiat. They returned to work in an orderly retreat September 10 in the face of a government decree threatening the strike's organizers with prison terms of up to 10 years and an ultimatum from the auto companies promising dismissal of all strikers.

The magnitude of this courageous strike made it the most serious organized challenge to the viciously anti-working-class junta since the March 23 coup. The strike came in response to the miserable 12-percent wage increase the government and its economy minister Martínez de Hoz recently offered workers whose real wages have declined by more than 67 percent in the last year. Numerous strikers were arrested at Ford, which was guarded by troops after workers refusing to carry out a job order were expelled from the plant. Arrests also took place at Chrysler.

Auto workers have traditionally been one of the most militant and best-paid sectors of the Argentine working class. Now the economic "shock treatments" designed to restore profitability by reducing real wages has led to an escalating recession severely straining every sector except agriculture. In fact, many businessmen are urgently demanding a wage increase to restore buying power. The domestic market is virtually paralyzed, as reflected in an overall 80-percent decline in retail sales of consumer durables and a 41-percent drop in car sales since the military took over. In July, Ford, Renault and Fiat were forced to temporarily shut down their Argentine factories. Most plants have been operating half-time and the average auto worker now earns only \$100 a month due to reduced hours.

As could be expected, the junta attributed the strike action to guerrilla subversion. As the 10 September *New York Times* described it:

"The government viewed the continuation of the strike movement as a challenge to the authority of the armed forces by clandestine union leaders, linked to left-wing guerrilla movements, that are said to have penetrated key industrial plants."

And indeed, a Chrysler supervisor was machine-gunned as he returned from work September 9 and sabotage is said to be widespread in the auto plants. The press also reported explosions in large electrical stations, attributed to skilled saboteurs, blacking out sections of La Plata and San Fernando.

What the junta fears is a repeat of the wave of terrorist actions unleashed by the underground CGT (General Confederation of Labor) after the overthrow of President Juan Perón by the military in 1955. This, the most massive "urban guerrillaism" ever seen in Latin America, combined with constant industrial unrest in the plants made life so uncomfortable for the generals that they finally permitted a limited renewal of

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Striking auto workers in Argentina earlier this year.

Goldberg/Sygm

Threaten Mass Murder

Counterrevolutionary Croatian Hijack/Terror Stunt

The dramatic trans-Atlantic skyjacking of a TWA jetliner by five Croatian nationalists last week is simply the latest episode in an ongoing counterrevolutionary crusade by right-wing Croatian emigrés against the Yugoslav deformed workers state led by Josip Broz Tito. Bombs have been set off outside Yugoslav embassies and consulates. Yugoslav officials abroad have been assassinated (the latest murder being that of the Yugoslav consul-general in Frankfurt on March 7).

In 1972 Croatian nationalists exploded a bomb on a Tanjug (Yugoslav) airliner bound for Sweden, killing everyone on board. In the same year a Swedish airliner was skyjacked to obtain the release of Croatian nationalists being held for the murder of the Yugoslav ambassador to Sweden. In Australia Croatian rightists have played the same role as Cuban gusanos in the U.S., launching terror attacks on the left and even the mass reformist Labor Party.

While the origins of the "Fighters for a Free Croatia," as the TWA skyjackers call themselves, is not known, it is clear that they fall politically within the

spectrum of the extreme right-wing, anti-communist fascistic groups that look for political inspiration to the Ustashi, the Croatian fascist movement founded by Ante Pavelić, who presided over the German puppet state of Croatia during World War II. It is no accident that the text of the declaration issued by the "Headquarters of Croatian National Liberation Forces" (*New York Times*, 12 September 1976) delicately failed to mention this period in Croatian history. The indiscriminate mass terror the right-wing Croatian nationalists engage in today is simply a repetition on a small scale of the activities of the Ustashi when it held power. The history of Croatian nationalism is living proof that the nationalism of an oppressed people can easily take on an openly reactionary character.

Following their surrender in Paris the five skyjackers were quickly returned to New York where they are being held on \$1 million bail for the skyjacking and the death of a New York City bomb squad cop killed attempting to detonate a bomb the group had placed in a locker in the crowded Grand Central Station subway arcade. Had the bomb exploded

in the locker as the "Fighters for a Free Croatia" threatened, scores of innocent passers-by would have been killed and injured.

Because a New York City cop has been killed, this particular group may receive stiff sentences. But even in their case the bourgeois press is running favorable stories about the leaders of this reactionary band, painting what a "nice couple" and "regular church-goers" they are. The bourgeoisie has found it convenient to use Ustashi groups as counterrevolutionary tools against Yugoslavia and, in fact, has probably bankrolled and armed various of the groups to help them better carry out their anti-communist missions. Indicative of the U.S. government's attitude toward the war criminal Andrija Artuković (see *WT* No. 105, 16 April 1976).

While the various Ustashi groups have little support in Yugoslavia (an Ustashi band which had attempted to infiltrate from Austria in 1972 was wiped out almost immediately upon crossing the border), these die-hard

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