

# Cyprus Fiasco Topples Greek Junta



Greek Cypriot demonstrators greet Makarios in N.Y.

UPI

**All Outside Troops Out of Cyprus!  
Down with Caramanlis!  
For Immediate Elections!  
Toward a Workers Government!**

JULY 29—Though the final resolution of the current Cyprus crisis is still in doubt, it is clear that its origins lie in the declining political fortunes of the rightist military junta in Athens and an unstable stand-off between ethnic Greek and Turkish elements on the island. Acting through the 650 Greek officers who command the Cyprus National Guard, General Ioannidis hoped for a dramatic success with the coup July 15 in Nicosia, one which would drape the junta in the mantle of Hellenic nationalism and rally all true Greeks to its side.

However, unluckily for him and for the short-lived Greek Cypriot junta headed by one-time terrorist Nikos Sampson, subsequent events demonstrated the direct dependence of all of the principals in the Cyprus drama on the imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. It is true that Henry Kissinger's room to maneuver in the Near East is being daily reduced as the various interested parties demand concrete results instead of diplomatic razzle-dazzle. But it has certainly not escaped the notice of Kremlin bureaucrats that out of the confusion have emerged governments in Greece and Cyprus which are precisely what Washington ordered.

The ousting of the "red bishop" Makarios on Cyprus, now replaced by the respectable conservative Clerides, and the painless elimination of the bungling Greek junta (long an international embarrassment to the U.S.) in favor of a civilian cabinet headed by the reactionary Caramanlis and responsible to the military, in the person of President/General Gizikis, did not simply fall from the skies. The Manchester



Archbishop Makarios

DESTINO

Guardian Weekly (27 July) reports that Kissinger engineered the installation of Clerides as one of the secret conditions for Turkey's signature of a ceasefire; and the Economist (27 July) notes that it was the U.S.' halt on delivery of military supplies (some aircraft were held up in Spain) which convinced the Greek army to back off from a direct confrontation with Turkey in Thrace and toss the ball back to the politicians.

Cyprus, as the international diplomatic and military activity during the current crisis has demonstrated, is not just another island. Strategically situated in the eastern Mediterranean, it lies at the juncture of the interests

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## Impeachment Hearings Drag On

# Nixon's the One!

The original draft Articles of Impeachment produced by the legal staff of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives proposed to impeach Richard Nixon on five distinctly separate wide-ranging, although related, grounds. As we go to press, only one Article, on the Watergate "cover-up" itself, has been adopted for consideration by the full House. The Committee sought to avoid acting on all five because this would reveal far too much about the nature of contemporary American politics. But the momentum of hypocritical bourgeois disavowal of Nixon may get out of hand.

Mary McCarthy is quite right of course, and everybody knows it, when she argues concerning "Nixon's role in the Watergate cover-up" that Nixon was the central instigating conspirator and director of the Watergate caper and every other thing that his boys got into.

The politicians seem to be waiting for an ultimate Watergate tape to disclose a comprehensive confession of guilt by Richard Nixon. But Nixon taped himself in order to prove for the benefit of history that he smelled like a lily. Unfortunately for him, of course, the comprehensiveness of his self-bugging does disclose willy-nilly a mass of workaday detail concerning his chicanery. But to expect his own confession as such would be to assume that he's a lot more clinically crazy than he lets on.

The problem for the entire bourgeois establishment is still just an expanded version of Nixon's problem: how to "contain" the repercussions of having a paranoid crook as American President. Bits and pieces of Nixon's practices have of course been undertaken by every "strong" president since Franklin Roosevelt. So long as the victims were reds, Mafiosi, blacks or truculent labor leaders, this was fine. Nixon's sin is to have turned these tactics against "respectable" enemies, and to have accompanied it with pervasive financial shamelessness that would have made the worthies in the Grant and Harding administrations uneasy (besides, Grant and Harding themselves were not the prime movers, just dullards).

But the biggest cat of all got let

out of the bag when one of Nixon's Republican supporters in the Judiciary Committee said that the one charge that could lead him to vote to impeach was the illegal bombing of Cambodia. However, the Committee has dropped reference to that or any of Nixon's other real crimes against working people.

Since the beginning of the "American century" (opened, as you prefer, either by Roosevelt's pushing the Japanese into Pearl Harbor or Truman's atom bombing of a couple of Japanese cities, in good part as a foretaste of the way the world was going to be run in the new postwar "democratic" era) American imperialism has been hegemonic, until 15 August 1971 that is. It has pillaged and plundered, virtually unimpeded by those snivelling Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin, Peking and lesser capitals.

The executive branch of the American government has been the principal arm of American imperialism in the continuous exercise of every kind of mass arson, rapine, butchery. There has been nothing special in this role for American imperialism. It is a characteristic feature of every predominant ruling class in its time. Nixon is the current personified arch-criminal of American imperialism. His chief victims have been the Indochinese peoples. Again we say: Impeachment is not enough! Extradite Nixon to Hanoi.

As we print these words we can hear our "leftist" critics saying, "That's all very well, but in today's America such a proposal can only be an empty, though moral, stance. Why, it would take a socialist revolution to do that." Yes, indeed, simple justice does require a socialist revolution. Therefore, let us get moving down that road. We call upon all you "practical" radicals and laborites: now is the time to demand that a Nixon not be replaced with a Gerald Ford, but that two inextricable demands be raised, mobilized for, fought for: new, early presidential elections and the fielding of a slate of labor and socialist candidates pledged to social justice for the working people of America and the world; to the expropriation of the capitalist class of exploitation, racism and mass murder.



# Democracy in the USec?

## Letter from a Former Member of the SWP

July 20, 1974  
Oakland, California

Dear Editor,

I just read your latest issue (WV No. 49, July 19, 1974) on the IT purge. As an individual with first-hand experience of the SWP's "democracy," I can only say that the IT expulsion will go down in history as one of the worst examples of bureaucratic violation of minority rights in the Trotskyist movement. Not even my own frame-up and expulsion can compare to this atrocity; at least I got a trial! In keeping with the Stalinist school of fabrication, the present leadership of the SWP has written another "dark" page in the history of the Trotskyist movement which will certainly bring shame to the Cannonist heritage of that party. Let them rejoice at their "coup," but let them also suffer complete isolation from the workers movement. Cannon once wrote that the SWP has no place and no room for strikebreakers; that was 20 years ago. Today, it can be said that the SWP has no place and no room for revolutionists!

When comrade Greengold and myself were still in the SWP, we wrote a document entitled "For Democracy? Yes, Comrade Massey! But Just Who Is For Democracy?". In this document we criticized both the SWP and IMT for suppressing the documents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency with regards to the international discussion. We also criticized the IT for not protesting against the violation of our rights. We also added this sentence: "...We can safely, but sadly predict based on our experiences in the SWP that there will be more undemocratic procedures by those who in the leaderships of the two tendencies preach piously of 'democracy'." The date on the article is July 20, 1973—one year ago! The fact that the ax took one year to come down on the heads of the IT comrades takes little away from our correct Marxist analysis of the deep-going opportunist nature of the IT leadership and its refusal to break with the politics of the USec majority which helped prepare its expulsion at the hands of the reformist SWP!

One more point on your article. You state on page 4 that "...it [the IT] stood by while the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, led by Gerald Clark, was suppressed, framed up and expelled, and all [its?] appeal not only denied but ignored through the common action of both the SWP and the IMT...." This is true in general, but a few facts should be pointed out. The IT, and Massey in particular, did protest my expulsion from the SWP in the Berkeley branch, and Massey did send a letter to Jack Barnes (a copy is enclosed) to this effect. But it did nothing about the suppression of the RIT documents and appeal to the World Congress, nor did it make a squeak about our expulsion at the special SWP convention which followed or at the YSA convention. The letter of protest sent by Massey must be seen then as a formality, a gesture on his part to cover his ass. As soon as I was outside the SWP all "protests" were dropped.

Comradely yours,  
Gerald Clark

RIT supporters from the SWP last August (see "SWP Uses Watergate Methods Against Trotskyists," WV No. 29, 28 September 1973). IT leader Bill Massey did indeed protest against Clark's expulsion in a letter dated September 6 to the SWP's National Secretary, Jack Barnes. Massey sharply condemned the expulsion as "groundless": "In short the procedures were set up to make a complete mockery of the trial procedures.... the evidence if that is what it can be called was even worse." He charged that "It seems that this was a coordinated effort to remove the RIT from our ranks.... the case does not hold water as it has been presented. Instead it is the basis for a scandal against the Party for which the leadership is responsible in large part if not solely."

Massey's principled action in defending Gerald Clark intersected both the IT's desire to make factional capital at the expense of the SWP majority and its (understandable!) fear that the SWP would at some future date initiate a similar politically motivated purge against the IT itself.

However, when an RIT supporter was expelled from the Communist League of Australia (an organization which is aligned with the United Secretariat Majority faction, which the IT supports) the IT was not quite so quick to protest—in fact, the IT has blandly ignored this expulsion by its factional allies, just as it has ignored the RIT's appeal to the USec leadership. For the IT, apparently proletarian democracy is merely a convenience, to be invoked against one's opponents but to be quickly shelved for petty factional advantage.

## Resignation from the Canadian RMG

*In our last issue we reported on the expulsion of supporters of the Internationalist Tendency from the SWP (see "SWP Stages Mass Purge," WV No. 49, 19 July). The SWP, prime mover of the minority "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of the United Secretariat, further undermined the stability of the USec rotten bloc with its ruthless action against the IT, which is aligned with the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec.*

*Now the USec Majority's Canadian supporter, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, has provided a strikingly parallel example of the fate of left oppositionists when the IMT has the upper hand. It has suspended Mark London, an RMG political committee member, on vague charges of alleged indiscipline and disloyalty. The suspension followed a Control Commission investigation, subsequent to which a member of that Control Commission resigned from the RMG!*

*This suppression of the democratic rights of oppositional RMG members helped to precipitate the resignation from the RMG of Comrade Williams (printed below), in solidarity with the Spartacist international tendency.*

To the Revolutionary Marxist Group:

Having reached basic agreement with the political positions of the International Spartacist Tendency, in contradistinction to the politics of the federated conglomeration known as the

United Secretariat (USec), I am resigning from the RMG.

My decision to resign is prompted by the understanding of the need to reforge the democratic centralist Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. My political history has provided me with a number of years of experience in both wings of the warring USec. I have been a member of the RMG from its inception, having been first won to the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, its predecessor inside the League for Socialist Action. Previous to this, I was a member of the youth group of the LSA, the Young Socialists. As a member of the YSI I served as a regional organizer in a number of areas and was also a member of the Central Committee of that group. Given this experience, the political bankruptcy of both the official USec section in Canada [LSA] and its Canadian sympathizing group [RMG] is clear to me. The only thing which prevents these reformist and centrist elements from betraying the working class in the manner of the Ceylonese LSSP or the Argentine PST is their relative weakness.

From the time of its reunification in 1963, the USec has been constructed on the same Pabloist basis which was the motive force behind the original split in the Fourth International in 1953. Pabloism continues to this day, disclaimers of both USec wings notwithstanding. Pabloism is a revisionist current which betrays Trotskyist revolutionary internationalism by liquidating the task of building revolutionary parties, in favor of adaptation to existing petty-bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist forces. Nothing makes this clearer than the following quote from the 1963 [USec] document, "Dynamics of World Revolution Today":

"The victory of the Cuban revolution has led some tendencies in the international labor movement to put a question mark on the necessity of building revolutionary Marxist parties. Such a conclusion is all the more unfounded in view of the fact that Fidel Castro, as a result of his own experience in a living revolution, today stresses the decisive importance of building Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries."

You have never corrected this liquidationist orientation, as it is intrinsic to your politics. Recent examples of this non-Trotskyist method can be found in the capitulation to forces such as the Tupamaros, the NLF, the PRT and countless other petty-bourgeois and Stalinist misleaderships. Time and again, as situations arise in which tasks of the working class are posed in an immediate way, the USec centrists refuse to raise the call for a Trotskyist vanguard party, the necessary prerequisite for a proletarian revolution which can open the road to socialism. In Chile and in France, to use only two examples, the USec has conveniently shirked responsibility to point out to the working class the perilous road of the popular front.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist social-democratic and Stalinist misleaders consistently serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and blunt the full revolutionary force of the working class. Ultimately, they have been responsible for betraying the workers revolution to bourgeois victory, attempting either to lull the workers to sleep with pious pacifism and calls for "democracy" or to simply deliver the workers to the class enemy through blatant collaboration which can only end in slaughter and repression of the class. Time and again, as these forces block the road to proletarian revolution, the centrist United Secretariat drags the banner of Trotskyism through the mud by its craven capitulation to these forces! Comrades—there are no short cuts to the world socialist revolution. Implacable political struggle must be waged against all misleaders of the

international working class!

For some time now, I have attempted to fight within the RMG for political clarification, raising at every opportunity my objections to the revisionism of the IMT (as well as the outright reformism of the LTF), as it manifests itself both internationally and within the RMG. Particularly, my document "Out of the Impasse," written in opposition to the adaptation to clandestine organizational forms (cell structure), fighting for a working-class orientation based on the full Transitional Program, was written to this end. This document also contains the beginning of clarification on the issues of the recent election, calling into question the hidden coalition between the NDP and the Liberals, which the RMG and the LSA conveniently overlooked in their rush to give unconditional support to the NDP. A later document, "The Tasks Before Us," and an oral presentation in the branch meeting show clearly my evolution to the revolutionary politics of the International Spartacist Tendency. The latter document is written not only in counterposition to the centrism of the RMG and the IMT, but also against the workerist opposition presented by Mark London. The consistent Pabloist revisionism of the RMG leadership and their unwillingness to engage in principled political struggle, as demonstrated by their witchhunt tactics, bureaucratic suspension and attempted expulsion of London, lead me to conclude that the RMG is a moribund, non-revolutionary organization. I am therefore resigning in order to direct all my efforts to the building of the only principled communist tendency, the International Spartacist Tendency.

The Spartacist Tendency represents the continuity of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. It is to my knowledge the only international grouping which has maintained consistent independence from all the betrayers of the workers revolution (social democrats, Stalinists and Pabloists). I declare my solidarity with the 1966 Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League and urge all members of the RMG to study this document seriously.

I leave you with a short quote, taken from Leon Trotsky, which reads as if it were written about the RMG today: "A small organization which has no unified program and no really revolutionary will is less than nothing, is a negative quantity."

Williams

July 25, 1974

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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WV replies: We are indebted to Comrade Clark for clarifying the conduct of the Internationalist Tendency toward the frame-up political expulsion of



# Cop Terror, Legal Executions on the Rise

During recent months instances of vicious slayings by police of unarmed, defenseless victims—usually for the most petty crimes or none at all—have been so numerous that they cannot be dismissed as isolated incidents. They denote an accelerating trend toward "cop justice" in which the functions of judge, jury and executioner are carried out on the spot according to the passing fancy of trigger-happy "law enforcers." Most of the victims have been black or Latin and, needless to say, their killers have gone scot-free.

In Atlanta 22 persons have been killed by the cops over the last year and a half. All but one were black. This spring 19-year-old David Jack was shot in the back after taking a fake roll of bills from decoy cop R. L. Durham, who was posing as a wino. Jack was completely unarmed. When asked at a hearing why no warning shot was fired, Detective F. H. Sutton testified:

"It is department policy. Officers are suspended for one to five days if they fire a warning shot. We're told to shoot to kill or wound."

—Militant, 7 June

More recently, 17-year-old Brandon Gibson, unarmed and held by two cops, was shot point-blank in the head by a third. A few days later a memorial procession for young Gibson of 500 persons was brutally attacked by his butchers! A unit from the elite Special Weapons and Tactical Squad, later reinforced by mounted policemen, swooped down on the marchers with clubs swinging. Fourteen known arrests were made and at least seven of the injured required hospitalization.

Atlanta's black Democratic mayor, Maynard Jackson, has refused to abolish the hated stakeout squad or other terror units of Atlanta's police force. He attempted to fire the blatantly racist police chief only after it became evident that potentially explosive outrage was growing over police slayings of blacks. Chief Inman refused to step down, obtained a court injunction against the dismissal and now feels that he has a free hand as a result of court rulings that city officials have no power to curb him.

In California, Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth, was brutally murdered in cold blood by an Emeryville policeman last fall as he was fleeing from a stolen car. And across the bay in San Francisco, Mayor Joseph Alioto unleashed a vicious racist "stop-and-search" campaign against the entire population of young black males in the city under the pretext of netting the so-called "Zebra killer."

One of the grossest and most outrageous examples of "cop justice" took place in New York City. Policeman Thomas Shea, who last year shot an unarmed 10-year-old, Clifford Glover, in the back, was acquitted on June 12 by a Queens court. The jury held that the cop, who was in plain clothes and had been riding in an unmarked car, shot the unarmed child "in self-defense."

Two incidents in Boston recently have also raised the issue of arbitrary cop violence. In one of them an unarmed

youth, James Wilds, was shot and killed by two white policemen July 11 as he was fleeing from a car which the authorities claimed had been used in a prison escape in New Hampshire. In the second, Walter Robey was shot during a scuffle with tactical police over a cop's gun. A bullet passed through Robey's stomach and into a cop's leg. The cop was immediately rushed to the hospital while Robey was hauled off to jail and left to die in his cell of gunshot wounds and internal bleeding. Both



Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson

Wilds and Robey were black. The only "punishment" meted out to the killers was being taken off the beat and given desk jobs.

## Supreme Court Upholds Illegal Police Actions

The recent rash of killings by the cops has been accompanied by a codification into law of increasing arbitrary powers for the police. Last December the Supreme Court gave policemen the authority to search persons without a warrant. As long as a police officer has made a valid "custodial arrest" he needs no other excuse to search thoroughly for any other sort of incriminating evidence. In other words, a cop can use a traffic violation as a pretext for conducting a search!

In January the Supreme Court followed this up by ruling that grand juries may use illegally obtained evidence as a basis for questioning witnesses. Moreover, Section 1001 of Title 18 of the U.S. Criminal Code now makes it a crime for a person to lie to any federal official. The liberal *New York Times* (11 July) commented that "Any citizen—not under oath and not informed of the danger—who so much as looks cross-eyed at any petty federal bureaucrat or investigator can be hauled before a grand jury and indicted for an offense that carries a jail term of five years."

The class character of bourgeois "justice" was clearly pointed out in New York state last May when Governor Wilson signed a bill to restore the death penalty. This statute was enacted precisely to give the cops greater rein to carry out their butchery in the streets. The law requires the death penalty for those who kill policemen and prison workers. But cops who murder innocent victims are repeatedly held by the



Cops attack Atlanto march against police terror, June 1974.

MILITANT

courts merely to have committed "justifiable homicide" and released.

## Senate Passes Police-State Measure

Amid all the Watergate hullabaloo the impression has been created that Congress and the Democratic Party are seeking to protect constitutional legality against transgressions by the power-crazed Richard Nixon. In fact, however, recent Congressional actions show a pronounced rightward shift among bourgeois politicians. Senate votes on arms (authorizing the administration's decision to attempt to achieve nuclear "first-strike capability"), against school integration by busing, and restricting trade with the Soviet Union are completely in line with the reactionary Nixon majority on the Supreme Court.

The Senate passed a bill last March restoring the death penalty in order to protect some of the highest-placed criminals in the land—those responsible for daily oppression and violence against the working class and poor, the butchers of thousands of Vietnamese workers and peasants, those now being exposed as having engaged in wholesale extortion, blackmail and theft, i.e., leading capitalist politicians and other government officials. This bill mandates the death penalty for killing of the President, Vice President, President-elect, Supreme Court justices and federal "law enforcement" and "corrections" officers.

This omnibus bill also calls for the death sentence for treason, espionage, sabotage, murder for hire, murders committed "in an especially heinous, cruel or depraved manner," and when death results from kidnapping, hijacking, escape from custody or blowing up of government buildings.

The bill completely redefines "treason," eliminating the requirement that a state of war must exist before the charge can apply. "Treason" will henceforth encompass "insurrection against the authority of the U.S." with intent to "overthrow, destroy, supplement or change the form of government of the U.S." "Insurrection" is not defined, but many judges have ruled in the past that strikes by organized labor and mass, peaceful demonstrations are "insurrection."

The restoration of the death penalty, already approved by the Senate and so far encountering no significant opposition in the House, is only one section of S-1400, a bill so repressive that its sponsors are trying to shove it through Congress on a piecemeal basis. This notorious "law and order" bill was written by Watergate defendant and former Attorney General John Mitchell under the direction of soon-to-be indicted Richard Nixon. And what does "law and order" mean to these arch-crooks who have committed heinous

crimes not only against the American working people, but against the international working class? It means the preservation of their own class rule, not only in terms of protecting their gun-toting thugs (the cops), but even prohibiting peaceful criticism of the government and its policies.

The bill forbids "demonstrations outside courthouses" or attempts "to influence the judicial process" through mass protest actions. Stiff penalties are provided for those who conceal or otherwise assist a person sought on charges of "treason." Another section resurrects the Smith Act, overturned by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional, and provides a 15-year jail term and \$100,000 fine for any person who "incites others to engage in conduct which then or at some future time would facilitate the overthrow or destruction by force of that government or... organizes, leads, recruits members for, joins, or remains an active member of an organization which has as a purpose the incitement."

Furthermore, under the proposed legislation a three-year prison sentence and fine of \$25,000 are provided for "movement of a person across a state line" or use of the mail or telephone "in the course of the planning, promotion" of a riot. A "riot" is defined as an "assemblage of five" (!) which creates a "grave danger" to "property." S-1400 also reaffirms a 1968 statute granting the president virtually unlimited authority to wiretap domestic activities which he believes constitute a "danger to the structure" of the government.

The all-purpose anti-everything bill would curtail rights of free assembly and provide for severe penalties for a number of peaceful protest activities. It encourages the use of undercover spies and agents provocateurs, would virtually eliminate insanity as a legal defense and contains penalties for the use of marijuana or dissemination of any material "depicting nudity." In addition, stiff fines and prison terms would be imposed for those who disclose "classified" or other embarrassing inside information on administration abuses. The prosecution would no longer be required to prove that those accused of "leaking" news did so with "intent to injure the United States or bring advantage to a foreign power."

## Class Offensive Against Cop Terror and McCarthyite Legislation

The current wave of cop terror and this vicious anti-communist "law and order" bill are but few among many manifestations of the lengths to which even the "liberal" and "democratic" bourgeoisie will go to preserve its class rule. Such attacks can effectively be fought only by a working-class counter-

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Boy Area SL/RCY demonstrators protesting murder of Tyrone Guyton.

WV PHOTO





Left: Montreal language demonstration in October 1971 protests "anglicization." Right: Demonstrators demand French be language of instruction in schools.

# Language Controversy in Quebec

One of the controversial issues in the recent Canadian elections was a bill introduced by Quebec's Liberal Premier Bourassa which proposes to make French the official language of that province. Reaction to Bill 22 has been almost unanimously negative. Opposition ranges from pro-English elements on the one hand, to the bourgeois separatist Parti Québécois (PQ) and even ostensibly Marxist organizations on the pro-French side. Yet no political group in Quebec, either bourgeois or "socialist," has called for a solution to the language question based on principles of democracy and non-discrimination.

An understanding of the current dispute must begin with the recognition that Quebec has the essential social and economic prerequisites to constitute a nation separate from the rest of (predominantly English-speaking) Canada. It is composed in the large (80 percent of its population) of a distinct people who share a common culture and language, live in a common territory and have a common, at least potentially separate, political economy.

On the other hand, Quebec is well integrated into the wider Canadian and North American economy. In the absence of a substantial Québécois bourgeoisie (only 6 percent of industrial capital in the province is owned by French Canadians), local industry is dominated by English Canadian (46 percent) and U.S. (40 percent) companies. Today, most Québécois are workers, employed by the same corporations as their class brothers and sisters in the rest of Canada.

Moreover, French Canadian workers have in recent years been the most militant section of the North American working class, frequently sparking cross-Canada strikes (e.g., the 1973 rail strike and the nationwide postal walkout this spring). Thus, under present circumstances, a separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada would be seriously detrimental to working-class unity.

## Economic Development Weakens French Language in Quebec

One result of Quebec industrialization in the last two decades has been a shift of the political center of gravity in the province to the cities and the 1960 ouster of the clerical-reactionary Duplessis government which had ruled (except for the World War II years) continuously since 1936. The incoming Liberal regime under Jean Lesage launched what it called a "quiet revolution"—a series of social reforms including universal education, liberalization of social welfare provisions, nationalization of the electrical power industry and modernization of the Labour Code (e.g., recognition of the right to collective bargaining).

At the same time there was a parallel growth of pressures toward assimilation of Québécois into the dominant English Canadian culture. This is

seen in the increasing use of English, particularly in the province's financial-industrial center Montreal. The situation has been exacerbated by a declining birth rate in the French Canadian population and a spate of non-French-speaking immigrants. The immigrants (Italians, Greeks, etc.) see English as the language of economic opportunity, as do many French-speaking Québécois who do not wish to see their opportunities limited to low-wage Quebec. Consequently, from 1961 to 1971 the English-speaking population gained about 100,000 in the province while French speakers increased by only 4,000.

## Chauvinist Discrimination and Nationalist Reaction

Québécois and French-speaking populations throughout Canada are subject to real social and economic discrimination. Incomes of French-speaking workers within Canada as a whole are only 80 percent of those received by their English-speaking counterparts, while the wages of French Canadian workers in Quebec are only 60 percent as high. This is largely due to the clustering of French workers into the lower occupational categories as a result of discriminatory promotion policies. Systematic educational discrimination is evidenced by the fact that twice as high a percentage of English-speaking as French-speaking students goes on to college. Language discrimination (against those who speak only French) is practiced at all levels of the occupational scale above the most unskilled.

Reaction against this chauvinist discrimination has extended to wide sections of the Québécois population. In the Joliette Firestone strike last year, for instance, a major demand was that French, not English, be the "language of work." But beyond such obvious democratic demands—in an overwhelmingly French-speaking plant—much of the agitation has centered on nationalist demands that instruction in the schools be solely in French. This focus is a direct result of the rapidly increasing number of French speakers with post-secondary education during recent years and of the lack of a corresponding increase in the number of professional positions (teachers, lawyers, journalists) available to them.

As part of the "quiet revolution," a network of public community colleges (the CEGEPs) was set up beginning in 1967, to provide modern technical and pre-university education. By the next year there were nearly two dozen of them, housed in makeshift facilities and with no prospects for their graduates. So in October 1968 some 10,000 angry CEGEP students occupied their buildings and took to the streets demanding a new French-language university and jobs.

The same year a League for Educational Integration (LIS) was formed to contest school board elections in a

Montreal suburb, on a program calling for French-only instruction. When the nationalist slate won and attempted to implement its program two years of turmoil resulted, one demonstration (in September 1969) leading to fights between French- and Italian-speaking youths. Also in 1969 a campaign was launched by CEGEP students, the LIS and the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) to turn English-language McGill University into a French-language institution.

The conservative provincial government's answer to this nationalist agitation was a wave of repression and Bill 63, which set up separate English- and French-language school systems. Instruction in English was to be made available where there was a demand for it. Despite a mass march of 30,000 protesting the bill and bilingualism, it was passed by a legislature oriented to attracting outside investment.

## The Liberals' Non-Answer

Having come to power in the wake of the 1968-69 language demonstrations, Bourassa's Liberal government has been trying to come up with a solution which would win nationalist support yet at the same time not drive away English Canadian and U.S. capital from Quebec. Its answer (Bill 22) would freeze English-speaking and French-speaking elements in their respective schools by basing admissions on demonstrated competence in the language of education. This would permit the children of English-speaking middle-class elements to continue in their exclusive schools. However, for non-English-speaking immigrants access to fluency in the dominant language of Canada would be cut off: lack of prior competence in English means automatic funneling into the French-language system.

Consequently, one of the most immediate responses to the government bill was protest from immigrant groups. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 June) quoted a Greek-language newspaper editor in Montreal as saying: "We came to North America for security. But if our children learn only French, they will have no qualifications if they want to move outside of Quebec. People are very scared." The Federation of Italian Associations of Quebec has also protested against the bill.

The bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois has opposed the Bourassa bill on the grounds that it does not go far enough toward establishing French as the sole official language of Quebec:

"A language act can have only one objective, and that is to make Quebec French. From reading this bill it becomes obvious that this is not the objective that will be achieved."

"In certain areas where it institutionalizes bilingualism it takes us even further away from the objective than we were a day ago. This bill is unacceptable... (because) it allows as-

similation to continue both at work and in the schools."

—quoted in *Labor Challenge*, 10 June

The PQ is pushing instead for a bill which would rule out any chance for immigrants to receive English-language instruction. But, unwilling to confront the economic consequences, it would maintain the present separate school systems for the English-speaking minority. Thus the PQ-sponsored bill would if anything increase the extent of social/economic discrimination according to language. Not concern for democratic rights but the bourgeois ideology of nationalism stands behind its position.

## Fake Trotskyists Call for "Consistent" Nationalism

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO—Canadian section of the "United Secretariat") stands to the right even of the PQ on the language question. For the LSA/LSO the problem with the PQ is that it is not nationalist enough. As part of a struggle against assimilation these fake Trotskyists advocate "strong protection in law against encroachment and degeneration [...] by English" (*Labor Challenge*, 24 April 1972). Although somewhat discomfited by immigrant opposition to Bill 22, the LSA/LSO assures its supporters that immigrants "would not object to sending their children to French schools immediately, if the law were such that it applied equally to all, including the English" (*Labor Challenge*, 10 June 1974). In other words: equal oppression for all non-French speakers.

As against the PQ's "timid" attempt to impose French on immigrants, the LSA/LSO replies:

"Revolutionary socialists counterpose to this a policy of French unilingualism—full legislative protection for French as the sole language of education, work and government. Only in this way can the rights of the majority, which are under attack, be defended."

—ibid.

The shamelessness of these opportunists knows no bounds. The logical consequence of their position is that the 200,000 French speakers in New Brunswick (40 percent of the population of that province) must be forced to use English! French-speaking children must attend classes taught in English, court proceedings would be unintelligible to a monolingual French Canadian, minority workers would be unable to read the union contract—all in order to defend the "rights of the majority!"

No doubt LSA/LSOers would reply that French speakers are the oppressed; they would not even think of supporting English unilingualism, since English speakers are part of the oppressor nation. But just who in Quebec would be most affected by the language bill? Above all it is the immigrants, who earn less, have less

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WORKERS VANGUARD





Seamen protest repression in Chile.

# International Labor Boycotts: When and How

As a result of the global intensification of class struggle during the past few years, the tactic of labor boycotts against reactionary regimes has become increasingly widely employed. The most prominent recent example is the refusal of British Rolls Royce workers to handle aircraft engines owned by the Chilean Air Force.

As statements of working-class solidarity reflecting internationalist consciousness labor boycotts against right-wing regimes should be encouraged and supported by revolutionaries. However, the "hot-carguing" or "black-ing" (refusal to handle) of goods is not a cure-all capable of overthrowing anti-labor regimes. Unlimited, generalized trade bans are ineffective except in special circumstances, and in some cases can actually have a negative impact on the workers' struggles.

Boycotts should be used to force concrete concessions and not as a permanent act of moral protest. Thus, for instance, it is not in the interests of the workers' democratic rights or of socialist revolution to cripple the economy of states like South Africa, Spain or Chile by boycotting their exports. A forced contraction of foreign trade will not only not succeed in eliminating bonapartist or racist regimes, but can actually weaken the working class and its capacity to struggle, because of unemployment.

A labor boycott of exports, such as Chilean copper or Rhodesian chrome, should be used only when it can force important concessions such as the freeing of political prisoners or the enforcement of strike demands in those industries. During intense social conflict (civil war, revolutionary upsurge) a boycott might be called for to deprive the ruling class of its export earnings. But a permanent, open-ended boycott "on principle" of states like Iran or South Africa would actually be harmful to the interests of the workers movement.

What is in the interests of the workers movement is a standing boycott of arms to such countries (indeed to all, even "democratic," capitalist countries, except in particular cases where a colonial nation is under imperialist attack). In virtually every existing situation military equipment uniquely and solely serves the interests of the ruling class as a means of domestic repression or nationalist/colonialist expansion. The action of the Rolls Royce workers, in refusing to service Chilean military aircraft engines, is preferable in every

respect to a general boycott of Chilean exports.

## Moralistic Consumer Boycotts

During the 1960's various consumer boycott campaigns arose out of the petty-bourgeois/liberal/radical milieu, notably against South African oranges in Britain and against tourist travel to Spain in Scandinavia. The Swedish movie *I Am Curious (Yellow)*, in which the heroine is endlessly picketing travel agencies, well depicts the futile nature of these consumer boycotts. Equally ineffective were the campaigns by groups such as SDS and Progressive Labor in this country to force churches and universities to sell their stock in Gulf Oil (because it had investments in Angola) or the Chase Manhattan Bank (which helps finance the South African economy).

Such consumer boycott campaigns made no demands on the target governments and were unrelated to social struggle in the boycotted countries. In short, they constituted and were conceived of as a gesture of moral protest pure and simple. The logical conclusion of such policies would be the demand raised by the Czech "left-communist" Neurath at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922, for the "boycott of all capitalist products"! (Bukharin's response that this demand had nothing to do with Marxism seems overly generous. More accurate would be to note that such moral protests have nothing to do with material reality.)

These boycotts were an expression of liberal ideology, drawing a fundamental line between "democratic" capitalist countries and dictatorships. During the post-war period the U.S. government (operating within the framework of bourgeois democracy) has played an infinitely more reactionary role than third-rate despotisms like South Africa or Spain. Yet no left-liberal group advocated a general boycott of U.S. goods, such a project being obviously fantastical. Because the consumer boycotts organized by petty-bourgeois radicals against right-wing police states are ineffectual, potentially damaging to the workers in the target countries and an expression of liberal ideology, communists not only oppose them politically (i.e., argue against them), but do not honor such boycotts in practice.

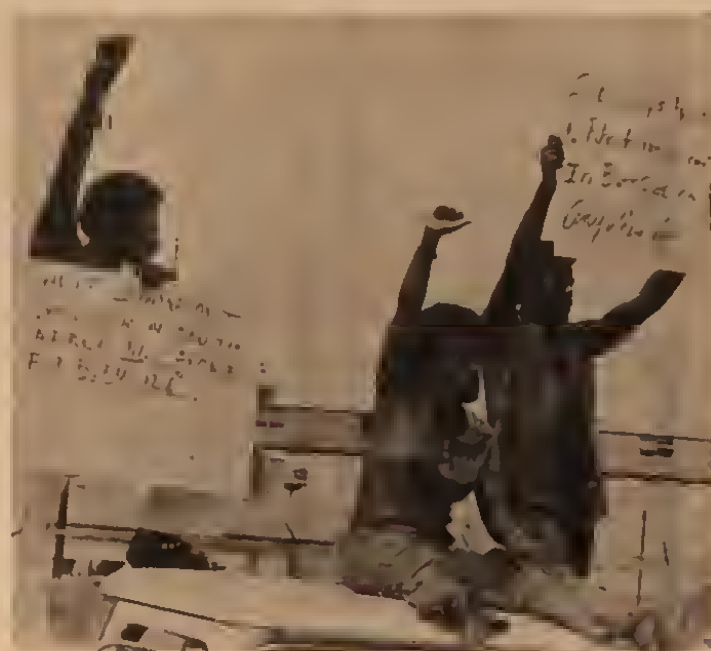
Standing boycotts "on principle" of reactionary states are uncommon for trade unions. To begin with, moral

idealism is a characteristic of petty-bourgeois radicalism, often reflecting a sense of class or race guilt on the part of the socially privileged. The organized labor movement generally avoids purely moralistic protest. The pressures of the class struggle militate toward that action which can win real gains. Consumer boycotts are so ineffectual that capitalist governments as well rarely bother about them. In contrast, international labor boycotts are directly effective and consequently are political dynamite. They either

accomplish a good part of their aims or are met with hard government opposition, including legal and/or military suppression. The trade unions, particularly with the present reformist leaderships, defy their governments only when there is an immediate, clear and pressing purpose, and not as a gesture of moral repugnance.

Conflicts between the imperialist powers may again produce a League-of-Nations, anti-Mussolini-type boycott justified on the basis of demo-

Louisiana students demand boycott of Rhodesian chrome in 1972. ILA dockers refused to unload ship.



JAMES W. TERRY, III

accomplish a good part of their aims or are met with hard government opposition, including legal and/or military suppression. The trade unions, particularly with the present reformist leaderships, defy their governments only when there is an immediate, clear and pressing purpose, and not as a gesture of moral repugnance.

## Boycotts in Inter-Imperialist Conflicts

An important qualification must be made to the generalization that bourgeois democratic governments always oppose labor boycotts against right-wing police states. At times, inter-imperialist conflict becomes sufficiently intense that capitalist governments seek to mobilize their own masses against "the enemy power" by appealing to democratic principles or even labor solidarity.

For example, during the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in 1935-36, the British Tory government organized an eco-

cratic or pacifist rhetoric. However, the current labor boycotts do not have that character; they derive solely from within the workers movement, gaining the reluctant support of certain reformist leaders, and are strongly opposed by their governments. Since the U.S. government, in particular, is the shameless supporter of every murderous military clique from Santiago to Saigon, this question is of particular relevance to the U.S.

## ILA Action Against Rhodesia

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has long been a corrupt gangster-ridden union, traditionally in the far right wing of the American labor movement. However, in the past decade the ILA has become increasingly black in composition. In addition, as a holdover from the openly Jim Crow practices of earlier decades, in the South the ILA maintains de facto segregated all-black and all-white locals. Under present conditions this has the effect of concentrating the more militant black workers together in a single unit. The increasingly unstable situation poses an obvious threat to the right-wing white leadership of Gleason & Co. So in the past few years the ILA bureaucracy—and notably Tony Scotto, head of the Brooklyn local (largest in the union)—has supported certain "progressive" policies in order to accommodate to its radically changed social base. For example, Scotto associated himself with John Lindsay's anti-war activities during the late 1960's.

During the past year groups of black dockers centered in Norfolk, Baltimore and Philadelphia (and with the support of various "third-worldist" organizations) have pushed for a boycott of chrome and other mineral exports from Rhodesia. Surprisingly, last February the Executive Council of the ILA passed a resolution supporting the anti-Rhodesian boycott. To quote Tony



WV PHOTO

SL/RCY demands labor action against Chile Junta in Bay Area demonstration, June 1974



# Bitter Coal Strike Drags On

# Bloody Harlan Once Again

HARLAN COUNTY, Kentucky—A mid scenes of picket-line violence reminiscent of the bloody battles fought here during the 1930's, the bitter Brookside miners' strike passed the one-year mark on July 26. Since picketing began at the neighboring Highsplint mine three weeks ago, two strikers have been shot by company thugs, a machine gun has reportedly been set up in the mine of-

ably certain" he will call a national miners' "memorial period" focusing on mine safety and, in particular, on enforcement of the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. (Under the present contract the union has the right to call such "memorials" for a period of up to ten days.) However, Miller refused to set a deadline for such a work stoppage, hinting only that it would

chased the nearby Highsplint mine and the Arjay mine in Bell County.)

Only five days later, while the UMW was in the process of an election card drive, the new management abruptly signed a sweetheart contract with the bogus "Southern Labor Union," a company scab-herding outfit. Naturally the contract was never voted on by the "membership." The wages provided by the "SLU" contract were as low as \$1.89 per hour for some workers, and there were no health and safety provisions whatsoever.

Not until 1970 were Brookside miners able to vote in a secret-ballot election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, for their union representation. When they finally got a chance they voted down the "SLU" and selected the United Mine Workers as their bargaining agent by a 113-55 margin.

The key issue in the Brookside strike is the miners' right to be represented by a legitimate union, not the company-front "SLU." Also in dispute is the need for a safety committee elected by the workers and adequate hospital insurance to cover sickness and injuries. (Both are routine provisions of the contract in 1,300 UMW-organized mines.) In the standard Mine Workers' contract, a union safety committee has the power to close down the mine, any part of the mine, or any particular

Despite NLRB decision ruling pickets legal, police escort scabs into mine.

piece of machinery it determines to be immediately dangerous to life or limb.

However, if this occurs, miners are laid off without pay until the danger is fixed. Also, the UMW contract permits mine operators to remove members from the elected safety committees if an outside arbitrator decides that their actions are "arbitrary or capricious." In actual fact, the safety provisions of the contract are almost never used. Miller prefers to rely on the Nixon-appointed, coal operator-dominated Interior Department instead.

The second major issue is the necessity of real hospitalization coverage. Under the SLU "contract," Brookside miners paid one dollar a week into the union welfare fund. This fund totaled only \$10,000 per year, a pitiful sum inadequate to cover major illness or injury among the miners. Thus most hospitals did not accept the SLU card. In comparison, the UMW contract requires coal operators to pay a "roy-



State troopers arresting pickets at Highsplint mine in July.

fice and dozens of Kentucky State Police have been mobilized to herd out-of-state scabs into the pits.

The presence of one state trooper for every three strikers and the repeated arrests, despite a previous court decision ruling the picketing legal, led to widespread rumors last month that United Mine Workers (UMW) president Arnold Miller would call a nationwide coal strike in support of the Brookside miners. However, on July 16 Miller abruptly canceled a press conference which had presumably been called to deal with the possibility of a national work stoppage. Later in the week miners were led to believe Miller would announce the industry shutdown at a rally here on July 21.

At that rally, attended by more than 4,000 people (mostly miners and their families), Miller was introduced by UMW vice president Mike Trbovich as "the man who will tell you what to do." Yet the possibility of a national strike was not once mentioned from the speakers' platform during the meeting. Instead the union chief announced that he would meet the following day with Kentucky governor Wendell Ford "to see his response before giving you an alternative."

To date the response of the bosses' government has been typified by the fact that, while dozens of miners have been arrested on trumped-up charges, nothing at all has been done in response to reports of a machine gun in the mine office. Strikers say they were fired at by this gun on July 8; moreover, state police admit that a company employee has applied for a license for an automatic weapon! As for the miners' "constitutional rights," one Brookside striker expressed the situation well: "What good is the right to picket if the state police can come in here and break the picket line?" (quoted in the *Mountain Eagle* [Whitesburg, Kentucky], 18 July).

At a brief press conference after the rally, Miller said he was "reason-

ably certain" he will call a national miners' "memorial period" focusing on mine safety and, in particular, on enforcement of the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. (Under the present contract the union has the right to call such "memorials" for a period of up to ten days.) However, Miller refused to set a deadline for such a work stoppage, hinting only that it would

be called "when it is most appropriate." He also said the memorial period would "not hinge on what happens here." Miller's purposely vague speech was a disappointment to many of the union members present. Clearly the UMW bureaucracy intends to continue its "strategy" of refusing to broaden labor support for the crucial Harlan struggle. So far, in more than a year of bitter struggle, Miller's defeatist tactics have proven completely impotent.

Miller is trying to use his currently strong bargaining power vis-à-vis the major coal producers to put pressure on the union's adversary in Harlan, the Duke Power Company. As a result of the "energy crisis" steel companies are now down to a four- to nine-day supply of coal. Consequently even a short coal work stoppage could have powerful consequences. But Miller is not seeking to mobilize the union's strength to win the Brookside strike and immediately extend the victory through a massive organizing drive in Kentucky and Tennessee. Rather he wants to induce Duke Power to negotiate through a "judicious" display of power, emphasize to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association the UMW's favorable bargaining position and perhaps allow mutinous miners to blow off steam in a limited, legal walkout.

## A History of Successful Union-Busting

The struggle at Brookside began in 1965 when Harlan Collieries, owner of the mine, decided not to renew the UMW contract. A long strike ensued, marked by considerable violence, with the company eventually succeeding in driving out the union due to the treacherous misleadership of the UMW's gangster president, Tony Boyle. In July 1970 the Duke Power Company, through its subsidiary Eastover Mining Company, bought the Brookside mine. (Around the same time Duke also pur-



UMW strikers at Brookside mine.





WV PHOTO

alty" of 75 cents per ton to finance the health, hospitalization and retirement benefits of the miners. At Brookside this would amount to approximately \$400,000 per year for the 180 miners and their families.

Wages have not been a main factor in the strike, as SLU members are now paid at rates similar to those of the UMW. However, portal-to-portal pay, standard in the UMW contract, is a major demand. At present, Brookside miners are forced to travel more than one hour from the time they enter the mine until they reach the coal face—all without pay. During this route they are forced to crawl over one third of a mile on their hands and knees. The same applies at the end of the shift.

Until recently picketing has continued at Brookside around the clock, with Eastover Mining making several attempts to recruit strikebreakers and resume production. However, the strikers, greatly aided by women from the Brookside Women's Club, have successfully prevented scabs from entering the mine. On the other hand, the strike has been unable to prevent Duke Power from obtaining the coal it needs for its generating stations in North Carolina. Duke, with total assets of \$2.5 billion, is one of the nation's largest purchasers of coal. While its reserves have reportedly been cut from a normal 70-day supply to a 40-day level as the result of the strike and defaulting by commercial suppliers, Duke still claims to have available coal stocks in excess of those held by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the nation's largest utility.

### Nineteenth-Century Conditions

Conditions in the mines and the dilapidated housing of many of the workers reflect the incredibly depressed conditions of Appalachia. Brookside miners live in the company-owned miners' camp only because they are unable to afford or find anything better. Only three of the 30 houses in the camp even have indoor plumbing. Moreover, a report from the Harlan County Health Department in October of last year revealed that the drinking water at the Brookside coal camp is "highly contaminated" with fecal bacteria. The coliform count is 24, almost five times the highest permissible "safe" level.

Conditions in the mines are no better. Federal mine inspectors report numerous safety violations. In Brookside No. 3 mine proper weekly examinations for hazardous conditions can not even be carried out because of water accumulations of 18 inches or more in four different parts of the mine. Federal statistics show that the Brookside operation had a "disabling injury rate" three times the national average in 1971.

There has been a determined com-

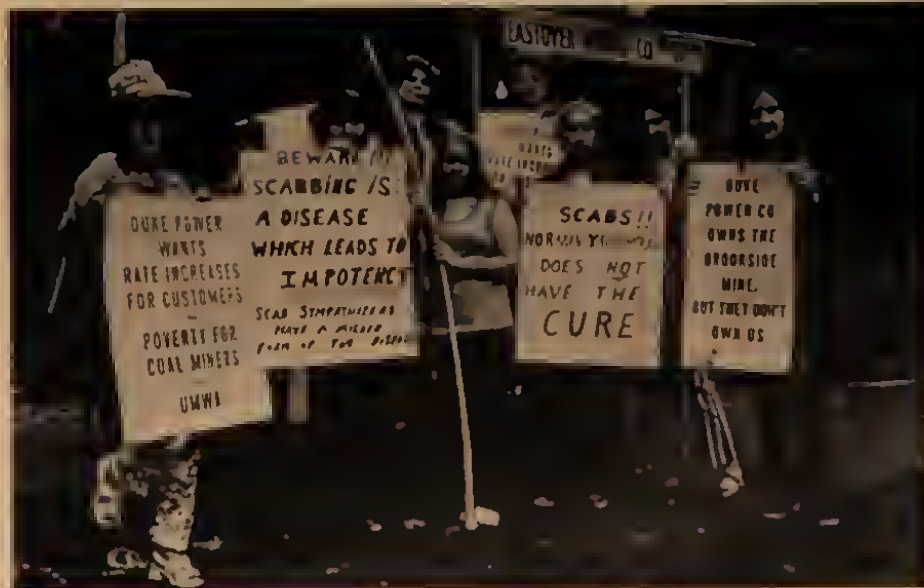
pany campaign to crush the strike and the union from the very beginning, although the bosses' violence has been stepped up lately. Early in July a 66-year-old retired miner was shot twice by a Duke security guard while walking a legal picket line. The company openly paid the bail for the gunman's release. A week later another miner was shot in the leg while picketing. On one occasion last October, three Brookside miners riding in a pickup truck, including some of the leading union militants, were shot at by a Duke-employed strikebreaker using a high-powered rifle. The bullet missed one of the strikers by two or three inches. The man who did the shooting was later promoted to foreman at another of Duke's mines.

The union's exposé of attempts to bribe leading union militants has been effectively used to discredit the company before public opinion. The UMW has obtained documented proof of an attempt to break the strike by buying off two strike leaders, who in turn were supposed to convince other men to go back to work. The strikers, armed with tape recorders concealed in their clothing, recorded the conversations of the bribery attempt. In addition, photographs of the meeting were taken with telephoto lens showing money being handed over to the strikers.

Local courts are naturally rigged in favor of the company. An initial restraining order limited pickets at Brookside to two. However, rather than have union picketers arrested, women from the Brookside Women's Club marched on the picket line, placing themselves in front of entering vehicles and successfully preventing scabs from entering. When a jury was convened in October to hear charges that these union supporters had violated the anti-picketing injunction, it appeared that the accused would be acquitted. Instead, Judge Byrd Hogg, a mine owner himself, summarily dismissed the jury! Hogg proceeded to fine the women, retired miners and strikers \$500 each, plus imposing a six-month suspended sentence. When they refused to pay the fine, the women were jailed. They brought their children to jail with them rather than leave them at home alone.

### Intervention of the Bourgeois State

The first principle of class-struggle trade-union policies is independence of the workers from the bosses and their state. Thus the Spartacist League, unlike most of the ostensibly socialist left, gave no support to Arnold Miller in his campaign for the UMW presidency. Hiding behind the facade of the "Miners for Democracy," an opposition caucus that was disbanded as soon as Miller, Trbovich and their buddies



UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

Brookside women led picketing in Harlan County last October.



UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

Pickers thrown into jail by mine-owning Judge Byrd Hogg.

gained control of union patronage, the basic thrust of Miller's campaign was to rely on the supposedly "neutral" Labor Department and bourgeois courts (see "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," WV No. 17, March 1973).

The 1972 elections were brought about because of a successful court suit against the union mounted by liberal lawyer Joseph Rauh. With Boyle thoroughly discredited and widely despised, the Nixon government was glad to step in to ensure that "reformers" like Miller would take over, thereby forestalling the possible emergence of a militant left-wing opposition in the union. From the Taft-Hartley Act in the late 1940's, to the Landrum-Griffin Act and Robert Kennedy's union-busting "investigation" of the Teamsters in the 1950's, to Labor Department intervention in UMW elections and the current spate of government "equal opportunities" court suits against the unions, intervention by the capitalist state into the internal affairs of the unions always serves to weaken the labor movement.

### A Class-Struggle Program for Miners' Victory

After winning the 1972 UMW election with the aid of the Nixon government, Miller spent the next months sending his lieutenants through the coal fields to put down a wave of wildcats over dangerous working conditions. Rely on government safety inspectors, the miners were told, and abide by the Boyle contract until we can negotiate a new one. When gasoline-starved West Virginia mine workers walked out this spring to protest an arbitrary state rationing law, UMW leaders at first ignored this "illegal" strike, then told the men to go back to work.

The reform UMW leadership is so subservient to bourgeois public opinion, trying desperately to appear as "responsible labor statesmen," that it has not even made use of weapons which were legally available to it. Thus the Mine Workers is one of the few U.S. trade unions to have negotiated contractual provisions for union safety committees able to shut down production in the face of dangerous working conditions. But when does the UMW ever utilize this power? Another example: even though the NLRB ruled

last fall that picketing at Highsplint mine was legal, not until July did the union attempt to carry out such picketing. In the meantime, Highsplint mine was delivering 3,500 tons of coal daily to Duke Power!

In addition to subservience to bourgeois legality and bourgeois public opinion, Miller has consistently preached a Chavez-like pacifism in the face of blatant company and police violence. And, rather than industrial action to achieve victory for the Brookside miners, the UMW strategy has been to talk with the governor and organize an impotent consumer protest campaign against Duke Power's request for an electricity rate increase in North Carolina as a substitute for such action.

What is needed is a militant policy to unite the tremendous potential power of the labor movement in support of the Harlan strikers. The way to prepare for bituminous coal negotiations in the fall is not to demonstrate "reasonableness" (i.e., capitulation) now, but rather to call an immediate nationwide coal strike to achieve victory for the Brookside strikers and launch a massive organizing drive in non-union Southern coal fields. To answer the unrestrained police and company violence against the strikers, a class-struggle union leadership would organize systematic armed defense of the picket lines and occupation of the mines. (If they were concerned lest their mines and expensive equipment be harmed, coal operators would certainly be more inclined to negotiate.) Instead of reliance on pro-company government bureaucrats to correct safety violations, militants must demand that the UMW shut down production in dangerous mines.

Miners' problems are no different than those facing the rest of U.S. workers and, moreover, even with a militant UMW leadership they could not hope to achieve lasting gains without a generalized working-class upsurge against capitalism. Thus in the face of runaway inflation and mounting unemployment it is necessary to call for a full cost-of-living escalator (sliding scale of wages) and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—make the bosses pay for the economic crisis. And against the union leaders' support for the twin parties of capital and impeachment of Nixon (i.e., put Ford in

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## Cyprus...

of several great and not-so-great powers. (The island has been referred to as the largest unsinkable aircraft carrier in the region.) NATO naval presence in the Israel-Egypt arena, Russian access to its Syrian naval resupply facilities and the ability to supervise the flow of oil from the Arabian peninsula were all directly affected by the Greek coup on the island. Even the now toothless British lion, usually grovelingly servile before U.S. foreign policy, managed a growl in its own behalf in the face of an initial Washington "tilt" toward Sampson and the junta.

### The National Question In Cyprus

To this complex international situation must be added the difficult ethnic composition of the Cypriot population. Although temporary ceasefires have been prettified in the 1960 constitution and other imposing-sounding documents, in reality Greek and Turkish communities on the island remain deeply hostile and far more integrated into the social life of their respective mother countries than into any kind of binational Cyprus. None of the solutions available under present social-economic conditions can possibly satisfy the aspirations of both majority and minority. *Enosis* (union with Greece), "double *enosis*" (partition between Greece and Turkey), ceding sections of Thrace to Turkey in exchange for incorporating Cyprus into Greece and even the continuation of some sort of federated independent Cyprus would involve destructive forced mass population transfers and would contain within them the seeds of further bloody communal and national wars.

"The Cyprus Problem" cannot be solved under capitalism, that is under social and economic conditions which necessarily set one nationality against another; only through the establishment of a proletarian state power and laying the basis for a socialist economy, in which the fruits of labor would be used for the benefit of all, is there any hope of social justice for such interpenetrated peoples.

In modern times Cyprus has always had a Greek majority, although when it was under the sway of the Ottoman Empire this majority was occasionally subjected to bloody purges by the Turk-

ish acts were subject to veto by either ethnic grouping. Positions in the administrative apparatus, National Guard, constabulary and public services were to be distributed to each ethnic group by prearranged and arbitrary percentages, as were ministerial posts in the government. These arrangements granted the Turkish minority a substantially greater proportional representation in the government (30-40 percent) than its share of the island population.

The whole house of cards, which in any case was operative only on the condition that both Greece and Turkey ac-



Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis

cepted the stand-off, fell apart at the first test. Makarios, the first and (to date) only president of Cyprus, attempted almost immediately to "amend" the constitution by abrogating all veto rights, reneging on the required percentages in public employment and in particular on the specified 40 percent Turkish makeup of the armed forces. The Greek majority was naturally outraged at the "preferential hiring" provisions of the constitution. The Turkish minority, on the other hand, opposed any amendments since it rightly suspected that this would only be a first step toward *enosis*.

The squabbling soon degenerated into the civil war of 1963-64 which led to the reintroduction of British troops as mediators of Cypriot affairs and to a period of several years of terror and counter-terror against the populations of both communities. The fruits of this period (ending in 1967) were the creation of rigid Turkish enclaves and the addition of yet another military contingent, the UN "peace-keeping" force.

tionally a conservative, Makarios was willing to cooperate with the "reds" provided they did not contest his fragile hegemony over the island's political structure.

The affair between AKEL and the Archbishop was transformed into a marriage as a result of the 1967 colonels' coup in Athens. From that time until last week, union with Greece would have meant, in practical terms, sending AKEL and labor leaders straight into the jails of the junta's torturers. The Stalinists were understandably less than enthusiastic about this prospect. Sensing a similar mood in the Greek Cypriot community, Makarios switched from support for *enosis* to tacitly advocating independence for Cyprus. Apparently his political sense was accurate, for 97.5 percent of the ethnic Greek voters cast their ballots for him in the last presidential elections.

It is ironical that Makarios' more recent difficulties stem from his earlier pro-*enosis* position. It was he who in 1964 invited Grivas to return to the island along with the 650 Greek officers who took over control of the National Guard in contravention of the 1960 constitution. The "unspeakable Nikos Sampson" (*New York Times*, 20 July) was actually a staunch supporter of the Archbishop until 1971. Thus the basis of the coup was laid by the Archbishop, and by its consistent support for him the AKEL also bears responsibility for it.

### Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration

True to their traditions the Stalinists responded to the officers' coup by once again swearing undying loyalty to the head of the Greek Orthodox Church on Cyprus: "AKEL strongly and angrily condemns the fascist coup staged in Cyprus from outside and urges the people to offer resistance and to rally around the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, who was elected by the people," read a report in the American CP's *Daily World* (17 July). The report "forgot" to mention that only Greek Cypriots voted for the president (ethnic Turks elect the vice president). The Stalinists also neglected to call for a policy of revolutionary defeatism upon the invasion of the Turkish troops (which turned the Cyprus fighting into a Greek-Turkish war in which the working class must oppose both sides). But most of all they "forgot" to mention the need for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie.

As against the Stalinist program of collaboration with "progressive," "left," "anti-imperialist" or even, as in Cyprus, with quite conservative bourgeois forces, Marxists must put forward the program of proletarian struggle against all sections of the class enemy. This does not mean we rule out specific, purely tactical agreements for united action against a common enemy. Thus in the first days following the Cyprus coup, up to the point of the Turkish invasion, there was a basis for united action—namely calling for the overthrow of the junta—which could have embraced the majority of the island's population, both Turkish and Greek. But not for a minute would this have meant abandoning a policy of political opposition to Makarios and to the Greek and Turkish bourgeois nationalists.

For a historical moment the interests of democracy were flatly counterposed to nationalism among the dominant people on the island. This was seen in the reported instances of pro-Makarios Greeks who were saved by ethnic Turks from the initial National Guard onslaught, and notably in a first-ever united Greek and Turkish Cypriot demonstration against the junta, in London on July 16. At that time the basis existed for a vast popular uprising which would very quickly have become transformed into a battle on class lines within the Greek community. But the condition for successfully preparing this struggle is that the Marxist party not sacrifice its independent proletarian perspective. The absence of revolutionary leadership—to seize and lead forward this exceptional

chance for class struggle across national lines against the reactionary coup—led straight to the renewed national antagonism and communal violence. By shamelessly aligning itself with Makarios, personification of the ethnically polarized status quo, the Stalinists bear direct responsibility for the degeneration of a historic opportunity for class unity into a resurgence of bloody national hatreds among the masses.

A Trotskyist party in Cyprus would have called for the formation of an ethnically united workers militia based on the unions, and for democratic and transitional demands which could have transcended communal conflicts by uniting the working people in struggle against capitalism. Important among these demands would have been a call for expropriation of the large landowners (including, notably, the Greek Orthodox Church). It would have put forward the perspective of a workers government based on soviets. In contrast, by giving political support to Makarios, AKEL was simply paving the way for a return to the ethnic politics which have polarized Cyprus on national lines for centuries.

Following the Turkish invasion it was necessary to take a revolutionary defeatist position in Cyprus, against both armies in the field. Certainly no support could be given to the Cyprus National Guard and Greek troops who, if victorious, would have rounded up several thousand leftists and butchered them. But while the Turkish invasion opened up the situation and led to the downfall of the Greek junta, proletarian revolutionists could give no support to it as well. Otherwise they would have been endorsing the nationalist atrocities committed by the Turkish forces and giving support to Ankara's goal of, at a minimum, establishing a military foothold and at best forcing a partition of the island. The correct call was to demand the immediate withdrawal of all outside armed forces from Cyprus.

### The Foll of the Greek Junta

Although the recent events may have strengthened the moderately liberal government in Turkey vis-à-vis the military, the fundamental impact of the Cyprus crisis will be felt in Greece. In Athens it has already led to the stepping down of the reactionary junta that has ruled the country with an iron fist for the last seven years. The military has, however, not disappeared from the political scene, as witness the fact that the junta's "President," General Gizikis, continued in office.

We can now expect to witness a period of increasing class struggle and leftist militancy in Greece. The bourgeoisie is clearly worried about this, which is one reason why they have kept a tight lid on Athens both during and after the first night of the new regime. As the 27 July *Economist* commented apprehensively, "Nobody knows, when the repression of a dictatorship is lifted, what forces have been growing unseen below it: who has secretly prepared the best organization, who commands the biggest army of the streets, whose slogans will appeal most to unpractised ears."

There are several similarities to Portugal in the Greek situation follow-



Ethnic Turkish minority scattered in enclaves throughout Cyprus. In cases of intermingled peoples democratic solution to national question is possible only under proletarian rule.

ish overlords. Falling under British rule in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it provided fertile grounds for the classical colonial policy of divide and rule. Turks thus tended to favor British rule, while pro-*enosis* forces dominated among the Greeks.

This situation ended in 1959 when the pro-*enosis* Greek guerrilla forces (EOKA) led by the former World War II fascist collaborator Colonel Grivas and Archbishop Makarios managed to exert sufficient pressure by their terrorist actions to force Greece, Turkey and Britain to look for a new arrangement. The result was the independence of Cyprus, guaranteed by these three powers, under the patchwork constitution of 1960, which simply codified the existing stalemate.

The constitution elaborated a complex dual government structure according to which all important legisla-

At present there are six different armies on the island!

### The Archbishop Leans Left

Since independence the largest political force on the island has been the Communist Party (AKEL—Progressive Party of the Working People), which controls a labor federation enrolling half the organized workforce. AKEL received 40 percent of the vote in the last elections and routinely wins all the seats it contests (only 9 out of a total of 35 last time); it could undoubtedly win double as many. In general the Stalinists have given backhanded support to *enosis* and sought a deal with Makarios.

The Archbishop, in turn, has always been more pragmatic than the now-deceased Grivas, who was a committed anti-communist ideologue. While per-

## Two Views on: Which Way for the Portuguese Revolution?

Co-sponsors:

Spartacist League/RCY  
Portuguese Committee for  
Democratic Action

Speaker for the Spartacist League:  
NANCY ROSSI: *Workers Vanguard*  
special correspondent recently  
returned from Lisbon

BOSTON August 1, 7:30 p.m.  
Boylston Hall, Harvard University



ing the installation of the Caramanlis government. But there are also important differences. For one thing, there is no apparent leftist sector of the armed forces, and the Communist Party (the KKE) is badly split, with the stronger group, the "internal party," being estranged from Moscow and social-democratic in orientation (similar to the Carrillo CP in Spain or the Australian CP, both of which have experienced splits by pro-Moscow loyalists.) Another important factor is the long history of Greek Trotskyism, which after World War II was quite strong. Today both the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel and the "International Committee" of Gerry Healy have Greek sections.

The struggle for political independence of the working class is certainly as crucial in Greece as it is in Cyprus. The absence of a Makarios-like figure and leftist officers in the army may in fact make it difficult for the Stalinists to find someone to sell out to; Caramanlis seems determined to include no one to the left of timid liberals in his cabinet. This will not, however, prevent the reformists from trying. And judging from press accounts of Athens crowds cheering a general's car following the junta's appointment of the civilian cabinet, there are still widespread democratic illusions among the masses which must be dispelled.

The key weapon for confronting these illusions and polarizing the masses along class lines is the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. In the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in Greece, the key to taking the struggle forward, it will be necessary to raise demands which demonstrate clearly that the *demokratia* expected of Caramanlis and Gizikis is a sham. We call therefore for immediate elections to a constituent assembly; no amnesty for Ioannidis and the criminals of the military junta—try them by elected people's tribunals; immediate withdrawal of all outside (including Greek) troops from Cyprus; Greece out of NATO, U.S. bases out of Greece; restore all democratic rights, including the right to strike and for the labor/socialist press to be published and distributed—annul the ban on the KKE; expropriate the bourgeoisie, down with Caramanlis—toward a workers government.

If a revolutionary Trotskyist organization is not crystallized to struggle for such a program, and if ostensible Marxists content themselves with tailing after the masses, not only will great opportunities be lost and the way be opened for the Stalinists to reconsolidate their former hold on Greek workers. In addition, with a popular civilian government in power and much of the population in uniform as the result of the mobilization of reserves, the generals and reactionary politicians could well attempt a confrontation with Turkey over Cyprus. With nationalist passions on the island already inflamed by the recent days of communal fighting, this could lead to mass murder on both sides. Thus as long as bourgeois law-and-order is not threatened by a united mobilization of the workers against capital, the fall of the Greek junta can actually lead to an intensification of nationalist conflicts on Cyprus. ■

Continued from page 3

## Cop Terror...

attack. As a July 19 Boston Spartacist League leaflet in response to the murders of Wilds and Robey stated:

"It is only racially united labor action that can put an end to police terror because it is only the labor movement that can uncompromisingly defend the democratic rights of working people and all the oppressed, including the right to bear arms. We must seek to weld this struggle to defend our democratic rights to the massive power of the labor movement—only beginning to reveal itself again in the growing strike wave in this country. For the trade-union movement to stand idle in the face of these vicious attacks is to force the discontent of blacks to find expression in self-defeating acts of individual terror or ghetto explosions, as opposed to organized effective struggle against their oppression."

Both in Oakland and Boston local committees were formed by predominantly or exclusively black forces to protest the arbitrary police terror. While the orientation of these coalitions has been reliance on liberals and "community control of the police," SL supporters have intervened to raise the demands of "Disarm the Cops" and "Dissolve the Police—For Racially United Workers Militias Based on the Trade Unions."

An SL proposal to the People's Coalition Against Police Brutality in Roxbury (Boston) called for the formation of a principled united front rather than a class-collaborationist political bloc with bourgeois liberals:

"That we start an action committee open to all those groups and individuals who demand that 'THE MURDERERS OF WILDS AND ROBEY BE ARRESTED AND TRIED' and 'DISARM THE COPS.' Participation in the committee should not be based on agreement with any particular program or set of ideas; each participant should be free to raise their own program and ideas in addition to the slogans of the committee. "That the main active orientation of the committee be toward the mobilizing of active union support around these two demands."

Spartacist supporters also fought against the exclusion of whites by the Roxbury Coalition, pointing out that only *racially* united labor action can effectively deal with cop brutality.

### The CP's Roleigh Rally: "Write Your Congressman"

In contrast to this *class* program, various fake lefts choose to petition the liberals or put forth the classless demand of "community control of the police." The reformist, Stalinist Communist Party's answer to S-1400 is to "write your congressman." In other words, beg the bourgeoisie to betray its own class! To fight political repression the CP has formed yet one more class-collaborationist paper coalition, this one going under the name of National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. The NAARPR's main component, aside from the CP, is a motley collection of priests and ministers.

At a July 4 demonstration in Raleigh,

North Carolina, called by the NAARPR to protest the death penalty, Angela Davis said: "They must be trembling in Washington to see us holding hands today. Black, brown, red, yellow and white. Trade unionists, nationalists and progressive independents. And, yes, ministers and communists. Because," she said, putting her arm around Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, "here is a minister, and here," tapping her chest with her forefinger, "is a communist" (*New York Times*, 5 July 1974). Abernathy pointed out that it wasn't only



Angela Davis in Raleigh

GUARDIAN

Nixon who could collaborate with Communists: "If that trickster in Washington can go to Russia and sit down with the head of the Communist Party, it is with pride and honor that I march with Angela Davis."

### SWP's Community Control of the Police

The reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party poses community control of the cops as the solution to police brutality. In response to killings by cops in Atlanta, Vince Eagan, SWP black candidate for governor of Georgia, stated:

"The present police, who have no interest in stopping crimes against Black people, must be replaced by a force drawn from and responsible to the Black community."

—*Militant*, 14 June

Instead of trying to mobilize working-class defense of protests against police terror in Atlanta, Eagan said it would be better for Mayor Jackson "to be out there today demonstrating with us, because they [the cops] wouldn't touch him" (*Militant*, 12 July). In other words, if the cops are willing to attack a demonstration led by Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the answer is not to call for

united action by the labor movement together with black organizations, but instead to appeal to the mayor!

The "community" contains elements from all classes, including the bourgeoisie. A police force, whether "drawn from and responsible to the community" or not, is necessarily responsible for protecting the interests of the dominant class, namely the bourgeoisie. Cops are the hired guns of the capitalist class, and "community control of the police" is simply a formula for complicity in the repression of the masses. Whoever fails to recognize this basic fact is rejecting the entire Marxist theory of the state and preparing the way for bloody betrayals. Given its view of cops it is no wonder the SWP has been running candidates for sheriff in Houston, Atlanta and elsewhere in recent years. No doubt they will administer capitalist law and order in a manner "responsible to the community" if elected.

Effective defense of the interests of the working people and poor must come from the working class itself. For example, recently in Detroit, a black family which moved into an all-white neighborhood suffered attacks from its white neighbors who threw rocks through the windows, etc. A UAW local sent rotating patrols to defend the house and repulsed the attackers. This family certainly could not have been protected by its own "community"!

It is necessary to bring about united working-class action against such atrocities as the cold-blooded murder of defenseless victims in the streets, the reinstitution of the death penalty in the hands of the capitalist butchers and Nixon's frenzied attempt to reinstate the witchhunt atmosphere of the 1950's. However, ultimately only a workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie and crushes the inevitable armed resistance of the ruling class can do away with cop terror. Police brutality will continue as long as does the capitalist class which relies on such methods to preserve its own privileges.

—Convict the killers of Glover, Jack, Gibson, Guyton, Wilds and Robey!

—Disarm the cops! Only racially united workers militias can protect the working people!

—Dump the bureaucrats—For a workers party based on the trade unions! —Toward a workers government—Smash racial oppression through proletarian revolution! ■

## Spartacist Local Directory

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## Continued from page 5

# Labor Boycotts...

Scotto, "We believe in human dignity. The only support that we as longshoremen can give the African majority in Rhodesia is to boycott it" (*Guardian*, 20 March).

The action of the Gleason/Scotto bureaucracy becomes considerably less surprising in light of the fact that Rhodesian exporters use South African shipping documents so that it is virtually impossible to identify Rhodesian products. One of the leading groups behind the boycott, the Militant Action Dockers in Baltimore, recently pointed out that Rhodesian ore is slipping through under false documents and demanded that all cargo even suspected of being Rhodesian be boycotted.

The intention of U.S. dockers to use their economic power against the white supremacist government of Rhodesia is highly praiseworthy. The tactic chosen, however, is unwise. If effective it would weaken the proletariat in Rhodesia, particularly such a key group as the miners, who are likely to play a vanguard role in any social revolution. In this particular case, the boycott also has limited effectiveness due to the difficulty of identifying Rhodesian exports.

While we disagree with the general policy behind the ILA boycott, we do not simply call for the boycott to be dropped and no action taken against Ian Smith's Rhodesia. Even if poorly conceived, the boycott is an anti-racist action. To simply call for an end to the boycott would mean a bloc with racist and reactionary elements in the ILA, probably including actual agents of the State Department. Therefore, we give critical support to the ILA's anti-Rhodesia boycott, while calling for its replacement by a far more effective measure against Ian Smith's regime—namely, a labor boycott of all arms shipments to Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal.

## Campaign to Free Chilean Prisoners

The military overthrow of the Allende government last September produced the strongest reaction by the world labor movement to any right-wing takeover in the post-war period. The murder, torture and imprisonment of all leftist or union militants the junta could get its hands on have infuriated virtually every class-conscious worker throughout the world. Moreover, the military overthrow of a constitutionally elected government in a supposedly stable "democratic" country has made even right-wing social democrats and sections of the labor bureaucracy nervous. Allende's assassination casts a shadow over the political future of a Giuseppe Saragat, a François Mitterrand or a Tony Benn. Thus the Chilean coup has had an effect on the world labor movement similar to, though on a lesser scale than, the victory of Nazism in Germany and of clerical fascism in Austria in 1933-34.

Influential social-democratic politicians, like Willy Brandt in Germany or Saragat in Italy, do not lift a finger for political prisoners in Iran, Greece or South Africa, but are compelled to do something about the victims of the Chilean junta. For that reason capitalist governments where the social democrats have weight (e.g., Italy, West Germany, Britain, Sweden, Aus-

tralia) have taken certain diplomatic actions against the Chilean government. This diplomatic semi-isolation contributes to the instability of the Pinochet regime and is upsetting to its main international guardian, U.S. imperialism. There is, therefore, strong pressure on the junta to buy diplomatic respectability by making concessions on the prisoner question.

The existence of widespread international protests over Chilean prisoners involving diplomatic pressure by certain capitalist governments allows the tactic of selective labor boycotts to be used in a way that would be totally ineffective and even counterproductive if used against long-established rightist regimes like Iran or Spain. For example, if following the announcement of the execution of a Chilean leftist, German or British dockers dumped several tons of Chilean copper into the Elbe or Thames, the junta might be less inclined to carry out its bloodthirsty plans in the future.

The international Spartacist tendency has played a leading role in defending Chilean "far-left" prisoners being held by the junta. Spartacist agitation has concentrated on preventing the threatened execution of two leaders of the Castroist MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero. The SL/US not only organized militant demonstrations in defense of Chilean prisoners, but has also initiated selective picketing of Chile-bound ships (see "Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile! Labor Out of the AFLD!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 47, 21 June 1974).

One such SL-initiated action was in San Francisco last February, where dockers halted work until a union business agent arrived to order them back. The reason for the initial positive result of the picketing was that the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 had previously passed a resolution to boycott trade with Chile. While this represents an exemplary act of international labor solidarity, which the Bridges leadership of the ILWU has so far done nothing to implement, it was marred by a rather fantastic demand. The Local 10 resolution calls for a boycott "until such time that the junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions." This is equivalent to calling upon Vorster's white-supremacist regime in South Africa to abolish apartheid and give blacks the vote!

Restoration of trade-union rights cannot be achieved through outside economic pressure, but only through violent social struggle within Chile itself. Internationalist longshoremen would have done better to link the boycott to a demand the junta could actually be forced to grant, such as freeing political prisoners. And while a total boycott of Chilean trade was a necessary demand in the immediate aftermath of the coup, today a call for a labor boycott of military shipments to the junta would be more appropriate. But despite the somewhat utopian character of its demands, the ILWU Chilean boycott resolution does represent an effort to turn the economic power of the American working class against the murderous Chilean junta; class-conscious workers should therefore give it critical support and demand of the ILWU leadership that this resolution be implemented. Correctly used, international labor boycotts can be invaluable in the campaign to free left-wing prisoners, a necessary step in organizing the Chilean socialist revolution. ■

## Continued from page 12

# ...Transit Strike

lic transit taxes on wage earners again after this strike is over. Instead, mass transportation should be free and under workers control. The striking ATU local has gone on record for free public transportation. But a struggle for this demand, like a struggle to extend real cost-of-living protection throughout the entire economy, to all the workers (through a universal and unlimited sliding scale of wages), would require mobilization of the whole working class in a political struggle against the capitalist system. This is something the present union

## Continued from page 7

# Bloody Harlan...

the White House), militants must call for immediate elections and a labor candidate opposed to both Democrats and Republicans.

How can the ranks of labor be won to a program of working-class independence? About this there are wide divergences among ostensibly socialist groups. The vast majority of the U.S.



UMW President Miller at Harlan.

left has repeatedly demonstrated its instinct for tailing after whatever is popular. In the case of the UMW, this means giving "critical support" to Miller, despite his use of the capitalist courts and Labor Department against the union. What these tailists got was Miller's subsequent campaign to suppress wildcats and enforce the Boyle contract.

As opposed to these various reformist and centrist tailists, the Spartacist League calls for the construction of national class-struggle opposition caucuses in the unions, based on a full program of transitional demands, which seek to defeat (and not merely pressure) the pro-company bureaucracy. Similarly, while many left groups seek to avoid any demands which are even remotely political, the SL emphasizes that the struggle for a new militant leadership in the unions is fundamentally political and cannot be separated from building the Trotskyist vanguard party, which must centralize and lead forward the entire working class to a lasting victory over the capitalist system of exploitation. ■

leaders are unwilling even to contemplate.

## Bureaucrats Prevent Spreading of Strike

Indeed, Local 192 president Ed Cordeiro has proven all too willing to bargain away the "unreasonable" escalator clause. Ominously, the official AFL-CIO paper now reports that "the much-discussed cost-of-living escalator clause is no longer the hang-up" (*East Bay Labor Journal*, 19 July). Faced with an intransigent employer and an angry membership, Cordeiro has resorted to flashy demonstrations designed to blow off steam harmlessly while a deal is worked out.

First there were bombastic threats to close the BART subway system with picketing. These were immediately countered by threats from other ATU officials—notably Mel Schoppert, a district vice president—to order ATU members working for BART to cross Local 192's picket lines! Some picketing was held until the inevitable court injunction was issued and line-crossing began. Predictably, Cordeiro had never officially called on any of the other transit unions to strike together with the AC Transit workers, nor does he have a class-struggle program to deal with such intra-bureaucratic scabbing, even within his own union!

Cordeiro called a mass union meeting followed by a march to AC Transit headquarters, and was quoted as threatening to lead a sit-in of the offices. The demand was that Bingham personally take part in the negotiations to lend them more authority. When the militant march reached Bingham's office, no sit-in was held but glass doors to the office were broken and police called. After 45 minutes Bingham agreed to enter the negotiations, whereupon Cordeiro boasted, "We won our objective by sticking together!"

The Spartacist League was the only left organization to join the strikers in the march on AC Transit headquarters with signs and a banner. The banner called for a strike on the part of all Bay Area transit workers. An SL leaflet pointed to collusion between the union bureaucracy and the capitalist politicians and government, which fake militants like Cordeiro fully endorse. It called for no reliance on state mediators or bourgeois politicians like "friend of labor" San Francisco Mayor Alloto, and for a workers party and a workers government. Several of these slogans were also raised by militants in the union, who distributed a leaflet to strikers, "For a Bay Area-Wide Transit Strike." The leaflet denounced the strike-breaking intentions of the AC Transit bosses, courts and government, called for unity among all transit workers in the area and for a labor party.

What is needed is a network of caucuses throughout the transit unions, and all unions, to raise a class-struggle program, including the extension of real "escalator" protection to all workers, workers control over "public" industries and free public transportation at the expense of the giant corporations. Such caucuses would also call for expropriation of the corporations under workers control and would work for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for such a program. Only such a course of consistent political struggle against the class-collaborationism of the bureaucracy is capable of carrying the struggle beyond the few militant gestures of the Cordeiros. ■

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# Iowa AFSCME Local Calls for New Elections, Workers Party

While AFSCME sanitation and other city workers were embroiled in a two-week-old showdown strike against the city of Baltimore, an AFSCME local in Iowa, Local 12 (University of Iowa Employees), has raised important demands pointing to the urgent need for revolutionizing the program of the labor movement. The Local recently passed five resolutions addressed to the August meeting of the State Federation of Labor. One of these correctly characterized the governor of Iowa as "a representative of business" and "our enemy," demanding that he not be invited to speak at the convention. Another resolution cited the phony energy crisis and the bloated profits of oil companies, calling for the latter's nationalization without compensation under workers control.

One of the resolutions concerned the impeachment of Nixon. It pointed out that Nixon's worst crimes were those "directed against the working people of the U.S. and the world." It called on the Federation to repeat its demand of one year ago that Nixon be impeached, and demanded "that the Federation call not for the assumption of the presidency by Gerald Ford, but for new presidential elections... enforced by a nationwide general strike if necessary." The resolution concluded with a call for a workers party based on the trade unions, "militantly opposed to the parties of big business," and to the "current union leaders" who are "dedicated" to the parties of big business.

The Local also elected Loren Schutt, one of the authors of the resolutions and a long-time activist in Local 12, to represent it at the state convention. While the resolutions did not touch all the important questions facing labor (and did not mention the need, particularly relevant in AFSCME, to get the cops out of the unions), they did raise a major challenge to the complacent pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy on a number of central points. It is the extension and development of a class-struggle program—and a caucus based on such a program—throughout the union which can give real meaning to these resolutions and at the same time open the road to victory for workers such as those in Baltimore, who are locked in conflict with the capitalists and their state.

## Continued from page 4 Quebec Language Controversy...

mobility and suffer more discrimination than even the French-speaking majority. Perhaps, though, according to the LSA/LSO "logic," these are merely "apprentice oppressors" who must at all costs be stopped from breaking out of their Montreal ghettos!

### Leninism and the Language Question

Far from protecting the democratic rights of oppressed minorities, the LSA/LSO seeks to curry favor with Québécois nationalists by supporting the latter's bourgeois aspirations to be-

come a new ruling class—in this case through oppressing minorities within their "own" nation. Just how much these supposed socialists' paeans to "consistent" nationalism, protests against assimilation and calls for legally enforced unilingualism have to do with Leninism can be seen by examining Lenin's own writings on the language question:

"The development of nationality in general is the principle of bourgeois nationalism; hence the exclusiveness of bourgeois nationalism, hence the endless national bickering. The proletariat, however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation, on the contrary warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege....

"The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers: it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations. To act differently means siding with reactionary nationalist philistinism."

—"Critical Remarks on the National Question," 1913

Did Lenin make an exception here for oppressed nations, in the sense of implying that their nationalism was progressive, that *their* languages (but not those of oppressor nations) should have privileges, etc.? Not at all. In fact, he was arguing precisely against Ukrainian "nationalist-socialists" and Jewish Bundists who were fighting assimilation in the Russian empire. Summarizing, he stated:

"The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language; the solution of the problem of the political self-determination of nations, that is, their separation as states by completely free, democratic methods;... Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities in all working-class organisations...."

—ibid.

### No Privileges for Any Language!

A policy of unilingualism would be a step backward not only for the immigrant populations but also for the French-speaking working class. Quebec is sandwiched between the much larger English-speaking domains of the U.S. and the rest of Canada and is thoroughly integrated in the North American economy. This does not negate the right to self-determination, but it does make bilingualism a tremendous benefit for Québécois workers. On the one hand, full mobility of labor is necessary to eliminate Quebec's status as a haven for low-wage industry. More importantly, the revolutionary fate of French Canadian workers depends on their ability to forge the closest links with their class brothers and sisters in English-speaking Canada and the U.S. Self-imposed national and linguistic isolation would be most harmful to this goal.

On the other hand, Trotskyists oppose all national oppression, such as attempts to force the use of English on French-speaking Québécois, or to require the use of French by native English speakers and immigrants. As opposed to nationalist calls for unilingualism, communists must demand a unitary state school system, under teacher-student-worker control, with bilingual instruction.

It is logical that the majority of the population will desire French as the language of instruction, just as it is logical that internally there will be a single language of the state bureaucracy. But it is something quite different to make this mandatory by law. On the contrary, English-language instruction should be provided in areas where there is a substantial demand for it—not, however, as presently occurs in a separate school system.

Likewise, official documents for public information, court proceedings and the like must be available in English in places where there is a substantial English-speaking population (in Montreal it is 40 percent). Only in this way is it possible to ensure that French-speaking minorities elsewhere in Canada (parts of Ontario and the Maritime provinces in particular) enjoy similar rights.

To encourage greater integration of the workers of all nationalities it is also important to provide language instruction in the other major language(s) thereby encouraging multilingualism. Demands must also be raised for special free language courses in French or English for immigrants, an end to all national and language discrimination in hiring and the provision of translators for and official union materials in all major languages spoken in a workplace.

As against the nationalism of the LSA/LSO and PQ, and against the Liberals' discriminatory Bill 22 and the Bill 63 now in force, Marxists must demand: no special privileges for any language! In Canada, with a long history of discrimination against French speakers by the English-speaking majority, it is particularly important that this fight against the forcible suppression of minority languages be waged by communists in the English-speaking regions. Only by fighting for the democratic rights of minorities can the chauvinism and nationalism which now divide the workers be undercut and a basis of mutual trust and proletarian solidarity be laid as the foundation for a united socialist revolution. ■

Continued from page 12

## Detroit Phone Workers...

membership of such nonsense, he simply maneuvered to make it increasingly difficult for the workers to hold a militant strike against his wishes.

Continuing this tradition of class collaboration, one of the first steps of the Watts administration has been to employ the strike authorization vote itself as a direct obstacle to a strike. Disregarding militant membership meetings that had been held in several areas right before the deadline, Watts declared that a strike vote would be taken by mail ballot over a period of two weeks!

In the past, strike authorization has been obtained at the convention a few weeks prior to the strike. However, the watchwords of this year's meeting were, more than ever, complacency and betrayal. In fact, the most significant event of the Kansas City convention was the physical exclusion of the only phone workers' opposition group with a militant program of class struggle—the Militant Action Caucus (see WV No. 48, 5 July).

The Company's offers during this year's bargaining were an insult. Predictably, its real offer was saved for the last minute. Even the CWA's bargaining committee, hand-picked by the top leadership, was forced to admit that the offer was totally inadequate. With

inflation raging at a 12 percent annual rate the offer called for a mere 6.5 percent increase for the lowest paid workers, ranging up to 10 percent for the highest. As in the last three-year CWA contract, the offer called for no cost-of-living protection in the third year and only minimal annual adjustments in the first two!

Though Watts indicated that the total value of the settlement had to be more on the order of a 14 percent hike rather than the Company's offer of under 10, the CWA recently signed an agreement with General Telephone for a mere 6 percent wage increase, with token cost-of-living adjustments which are to be subtracted from the general increase of 36 cents in 1975! These are the real "historic" fruits of the agreement with the Bell System to "bargain nationally," i.e., to eliminate local contract ratification, which outgoing President Beirne trumpeted so loudly as a great victory. Because of this agreement there will be no "legitimate" local strikes, such as the six months' 1971 New York strike, to slow down the onrushing tide of betrayal. ■

Watts hastened to reassure the Company that even if the union did call a strike there was no hope of making it effective, due to the company's increased use of highly automated equipment and its multitude of "supervisors," who will be allowed to cross picket lines by Watts and Co. (*New York Times*, 19 July). It would never occur to Watts and his toadies, just as it never occurred to Beirne, to use militant action to make a strike effective. Scabbing by supervisors can be effectively dealt with by occupying phone company installations (the sit-down strike).

"No contract, no work," a fundamental trade-union principle, is apparently a primitive relic of the past as far as the present bureaucrats of the CWA are concerned. Moreover, phone workers need a large wage increase, a uniform nationwide pay scale and a full and unlimited cost-of-living escalator. They need protection against layoffs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—they, not the company, should benefit from automation. They need an end to "absence control," full sick pay and a one-year contract with the right to strike. All these points were raised in the contract program of MAC, which was distributed at the CWA convention.

Watts, however, is basically interested only in securing the agency shop, and will probably settle for an "offer" not substantially different from the one he already has. While the bureaucracy simply wants to expand its dues base, which has shrunk due to automation, what phone workers need is a closed shop and union hiring hall to take control of hiring out of the hands of AT&T. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## CWA Ranks Restive Before Contract

# Detroit Phone Workers Wildcat

JULY 23—Following the expiration last week of their contracts with the giant AT&T monopoly, top officials of the Communications Workers of America ordered the membership to continue working without a contract. However, their anger heightened by management harassment and the current miserable contract (which provided no cost-of-living protection at all during the last year), the half million CWA phone workers did not see things the same way as their do-nothing leaders. In traditionally militant Michigan frustrations exploded in a wave of wildcat walkouts beginning last Thursday.

At a meeting of Detroit Local 4001 (plant) on the night of the deadline, 600 angry workers insisting on the necessity for strike action completely overwhelmed the local leadership. They demanded to know what the union was for, and at one point a motion was put forward "that the president and the exec board be thrown out the door." Backed into a corner, the Local's president was inspired to agree that, since there was as yet no word on the results of last-minute bargaining, there would be a strike the next day. He thereby managed to clear the hall. Of course, the "word" from the International came later, and no strike was organized by the local officialdom.

Some departments walked out anyway. The Detroit Long Lines local (4050) also struck, and in Lansing phone workers picketed union headquarters to protest the anti-strike policy. While International pressure succeeded in forcing the Long Lines local back to work the following day, the

Traffic (operators) local (4000) went out over the weekend. By Sunday and Monday generalized wildcatting had been sparked throughout the Detroit area.

Detroit phone workers were organized into one strong consolidated local until 1968. Then, following a militant wildcat against the sellout contract negotiated by the International, CWA President Joseph Beirne (head of the union for the last 31 years until he stepped down last month because of poor health) split up the bargaining unit into a number of separate departmental locals. There are at present six different locals in Detroit's main phone building.

While this division generally plays into the hands of the company, in this case due to widespread anger in the union ranks the operators' militancy spread rapidly. Picket lines were dispatched to a number of garages and other installations throughout the city and in five surrounding towns. Though their Local president implored and beseeched them to take down the lines, the operators stood their ground and were able to keep out a large number of workers.

Operators, who are mostly women, are poorly organized throughout the country, mainly due to the CWA's failure to fight for their needs (and in many cases even to include them in the union). The role played by the Detroit Traffic local in the recent wildcats is one more example of the untapped militancy which is ignored by the chauvinist pro-company labor bureaucracy.

In the San Francisco Bay Area mil-



WV PHOTO

Detroit operators wildcat last month.

itant strike meetings were also held. Supporters of an opposition group, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), presented motions in the Oakland and San Francisco locals condemning in advance any extension of the contract and demanding a strike on the deadline. In Oakland Local 9415 the motion was ruled out of order by Local president Ibsen on the grounds that the outcome of the vote was irrelevant since such a strike would be illegal.

When his decision was overruled by the membership, Ibsen's flunkies filibustered to keep the MAC motion from coming to a vote, driving scores of

disgusted members from the room. A "straw poll" conducted earlier in the meeting by the International rep had revealed overwhelming sentiment for a strike. The strike motion was narrowly defeated, however, due to the filibuster's successful decimation of the attendance.

Following in his master's footsteps, the new CWA president Glenn Watts sought to avert a strike at all costs. Beirne had repeatedly proclaimed his conception that strikes ought to be replaced by more "harmonious" methods. But rather than try to convince the

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# Extend Bay Area Transit Strike!

OAKLAND, July 20—Over 1,600 bus drivers, mechanics and clerical workers in Division 192 of the Amalgamated Transit Union have been on strike since the beginning of July in a dispute of great interest to all workers, in view of present intolerable rates of inflation. The strike, against the East Bay's AC Transit (public bus system), involves a unique cost-of-living escalator clause negotiated in the last contract two years ago.

The clause contains a compounding factor under which workers get an increase every quarter based on the full increase in the consumer price index since June 1972—not merely since the previous quarter. Because of the unanticipated (by management) massive acceleration of inflation, the workers' increases escalated at a dramatic rate—much too dramatic for management, which declared the whole thing a "mistake" and refused to pay the increases!

### An "Escalator" Clause as it Should Be!

Bus drivers were to have gotten successive quarterly increases of 2, 4, 9, 14, 21, 27, and lastly 36 cents, totalling \$1.13 for the life of the contract. The clause aided lower paid workers the most, as it should, with

a total increase of 36 percent for beginning typist-clerks (from \$4.17 to \$5.69 per hour), compared to a 32 percent increase for top mechanics (from \$5.91 to \$7.80). The consumer price index rose (only!) 18 percent in the same period. (Figures are from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 July.) Consider the effects such an escalator clause would have if extended throughout the economy: the giant corporations would think more than twice about jacking up prices if they knew they would be punished not only by an immediate wage increase for all their workers, but also by a rising rate of increase for each price hike!

The Transit bosses must have been dumbfounded when they discovered this "error," which had been duly signed by their bleary-eyed official negotiator (who is still on the job!) at the 3 a.m. end of a long bargaining session. But being management, it was easy enough for them to simply unilaterally abrogate the contract. Such simple solutions are denied to the workers: the contracts and laws that protect them are designed to serve only the interests of management. But in this case, even the capitalist courts could find no excuse to overturn the legally signed contract, and in an unusual event, rather than challenge "sacred" legality itself, a court upheld an arbitrator's ruling in



WV PHOTO

RCY-organized contingent at July 19 AC Transit strikers' demonstration.

the union's favor. The accumulated increases were finally paid in June, just before the contract ended, in a \$2.3 million total settlement.

The strike was sparked when management refused to keep paying wage increases due under the old agreement while a new one was negotiated. (The union leadership was quite willing to keep its members working during negotiations, thus avoiding a militant strike.) As could be expected, management spokesmen denounced the cost-of-living clause as "horrendously expensive" and demanded that it be ended at once. The next hourly increase to bus drivers under the clause, due this month, would have been 41 cents.

As the strike began, there were

rumors that management wanted to *take back* some of the increase under the old agreement, resulting in an actual wage cut. In an attempt to dispel these rumors and start a back-to-work movement, Transit Director Bingham sent a letter to all the workers inviting them to return at their full wages as of when the strike began, including the increase, and boasting that these were the highest wages paid to bus drivers in the country (no thanks to management)! Bingham also blasted the strike as "anti-public."

Working people are already taxed heavily enough to support the "public" transit system. Management will no doubt raise the fares or increase pub-

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