

## 5.5 Million Unemployed—Most Since '48

# Mass Layoffs Hit Auto

DETROIT, November 2—Despite earlier confident predictions that the auto industry would "bounce back" after its downturn during the 1974 model year, sales and profits have plummeted sharply in the last two months. This has led the "Big Three" (Ford, Chrysler and General Motors) to undertake major new permanent layoffs, production cutbacks and threatened plant closures.

The gloomy announcements last week followed disastrous sales reports for the third quarter, which were brought on in part by drastic price increases. The cost of an average car has gone up by \$1,000 during the past year and additional \$250 increases are already contemplated.

Mid-October sales, which would normally be a peak period with the introduction of new models, were down by more than 29 percent while profits dipped as much as 94 percent (at GM) during the quarter. Indications are that sales will stay low, as "consumer confidence" sags and the economy continues in a sharp decline.

Already some 51,000 auto workers were on indefinite layoffs stemming from last year's "energy crisis" cutbacks. Then on October 17 and 18 Ford and Chrysler announced plans to lay off white collar employees. GM followed suit a few days later.

Production workers were the next to receive the bad news. On October 25, Ford announced plans to cut almost 1,000 skilled tool-and-die workers and GM posted indefinite layoff notices for 6,000 workers around the country. Second shifts were cancelled entirely at Leeds, Missouri; Tarrytown, New York; and Van Nuys, California. At Tarrytown the layoffs will eliminate everyone hired since 1963.

Meanwhile, temporary layoffs spread through the industry as plants are put on every-other-week schedules, extended Thanksgiving and Christmas shutdowns and short time. Chrysler announced a "feasibility study" on closing the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant, its second largest, in east Detroit.

Initially many workers reacted to rumors of down time with a sigh of relief. Bolstered by unemployment compensation and SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) pay, some welcomed the break from 54- to 60-hour weeks common in the industry. But as the panic spread through corporate headquarters and permanent layoffs were announced, today's temporary layoff began to look more like tomorrow's lost job.

The SUB fund was designed to protect workers against temporary seasonal layoffs and cannot withstand massive, prolonged drainage. Already the GM fund is seriously depleted. In addition, thousands of laid-off workers with less than one year's seniority do not qualify for SUB benefits at all. And workers who were sacked last winter now face a prolonged period with no benefits and little prospect of getting another job.

The situation in auto is only the forerunner of what is in store for workers in other industries as well. Unemployment has climbed steadily in recent weeks, reaching 6 percent last month. This means an official total of 5.5 million unemployed (ignoring those partially employed and many who have simply given up looking for a job), the highest figure since 1948. This figure may reach 7 percent in a matter of a few months.

Lacking any program to fight the economic crisis and threatening mass-



Unemployed line up in Detroit last winter during "energy crisis" layoffs.

ive layoffs, the union leaders are reduced to begging the companies for crumbs and now electing a "veto-proof" Congress. The irony is that, in the wake of Watergate, they may get it, but it will not aid working people. In the past Democrats, like the Republicans, have only brought wage controls, anti-labor laws, chauvinist protectionism and imperialist wars.

The urgent need is to bring forward a program to fight economic crisis with the power and militancy of the labor movement instead of relying on the capitalist politicians. With Detroit and the rest of auto on the brink of mammoth layoffs in the nation's key industry, a campaign to fight unemployment through independent labor action is on the agenda.

*Auto workers must take up the demands for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to provide employment for all available workers, and nation-*

*alization of the auto industry without compensation. As long as labor accepts "the powers that be," the burden of capitalist economic crisis will fall on the workers.*

The key is a class-struggle program for the workers movement. Gimmicks like the Communist Party's call for "People's Summits," to counter Ford's meetings with the "labor statesmen" and captains of industry, are merely a cover for electoral policies of pressuring the bourgeois politicians.

The struggle must be explicitly directed against capitalist property relations. Reformists like Progressive Labor and various out-bureaucrats in the unions have taken up the demand for "30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay" as if it were a sure-fire "solution" to unemployment. There is no answer to

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## Chrysler Threatens to Close Jefferson Assembly

DETROIT, November 2—As rumors mount of large-scale layoffs among the several hundred thousand auto workers in the motor capital of the world, attention focused last week on the threatened closing of Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant. Employing 5,000, already down sharply from 8,000 two years ago, the sprawling plant was the second largest of the Chrysler empire, producing 10 percent of the company's total output last year.

The current difficulties stem from poor sales of the Chryslers and Imperials which are built at Jefferson Assembly. But the plant is also dilapidated (it dates from 1907), with antiquated machinery and the lowest productivity rate of any Chrysler plant. Moreover, the area around the plant is extremely dilapidated and impoverished, with many boarded-up stores, closed bars and one of the worst crime rates in the city.

In late October, Chrysler head Lynn

Townsend warned that if any plant goes under it will be Jefferson. At first speaking vaguely of "feasibility studies," management suggested an option for laid-off Jefferson workers of transferring to another Chrysler plant—in Delaware. But the Delaware plant is already experiencing short time and will be down for three weeks in the next two months.

UAW Chrysler Division head Doug Fraser now says that closing of Jefferson is certain and that job guarantees have been refused. This completely exhausts the ability of the UAW tops to act, since the bureaucracy's whole approach was to "persuade" the company to keep the plant open. President Flowers of Local 7 at Jefferson Assembly made the brilliant suggestion of keeping the plant open by cutting back to one shift—i.e., laying off more than 2,000 UAW members!

However, several ostensibly left and revolutionary groups were as helpless

as the union bureaucracy in their lack of a program with which to fight the auto layoffs and plant closing threats. The only concrete programmatic demand raised by the Jefferson Assembly Revolutionary Union Movement (JARUM), a group which is uncritically supported in the press of the Communist Labor Party (formerly Communist League), is for forming unemployed committees. JARUM is also sponsoring a petition calling on the Detroit Common Council to demand aid from Washington!

The reformist International Socialists, like Flowers, called in a leaflet for keeping the plant running through partial operation—only its idea was one week on, one week off for everyone. The IS also called for unemployed committees and "mass action and organized resistance." It didn't bother to spell out what the committees were supposed

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Jefferson Assembly Plant, Detroit.

## What Is the Communist Labor Party?...page 7



# Zionist Demonstration...

# Labor Fakers Fan Anti-Arab Hysteria

Recent sabre-rattling by the U.S., notably President Ford's threats at the UN in September, are designed to gear up public opinion for possible direct military intervention against the Arab oil exporters. Now this theme has been taken up by important American union leaders, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

An advertisement signed by various bureaucrats in the 1 November *New York Times* and *Daily News* carried the headline, "American Labor Protests Making the United Nations A Forum for Terror." Among the endorsers were prominent "progressives" (Livingston of the RWDSU, Gotbaum and Wurf of AFSCME), "State Department socialists" (Shanker of the AFT, Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers) and outright reactionaries (Hall of the Seafarers, Van Arsdale of the NYC AFL-CIO council).

The ad endorses a Zionist demonstration at the UN on November 4 protesting the invitation of a delegation from the Palestine Liberation Organization to speak before the General Assembly. The PLO is an umbrella group including various Palestinian trade unions, student federations and the more publicized commando organizations, like Al Fatah.

These "labor statesmen," many of whom have rather unsavory reputations in the U.S. union movement, put on their sanctimonious Sunday-best for the protest against "terror." The PLO will make the UN a "forum for terror"? Where were these gentlemen in 1947 when the United Nations was not only the forum but the instrument for dismembering Palestine, subjugating the Arabs' right to self-determination? Did they object when the UN was the

instrument for mass terror and imperialist intervention in Korea in 1950, or in the Congo during the 1960's?

Did these chauvinists mobilize labor protest against the U.S. mass terror in Vietnam? They did not. What about labor action against the butchers in Chile who have crushed the unions there? Instead they are acting as recruiters and drummers for the next proposed imperialist adventure. The blood of the soldiers, both Arab and American, who would die in a war to ensure the monopolies' control of Near East oil is already on their hands.

The ad rails against the "new oil billionaires" who "use their natural

resources and the wealth that flows from it to disrupt world economies and to infiltrate legitimate industry in this country..."! But where have these piecarks ever protested or demanded the expropriation of the old oil billionaires, the Rockefellers for example, who have been disrupting economies and infiltrating the industry of other countries for decades? No, these traitors are the agents of the Rockefellers in the workers movement.

The chauvinist hysteria is linked with a current wave of protectionist ("Buy American") propaganda promoted by these same misleaders. It is also a threat to Arab workers living in this country. The labor movement must

demand full citizenship rights for all Arab and other foreign workers in the U.S. While having no confidence in the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO leaders, we defend their democratic right to enter the U.S. and speak where they please.

The recent anti-Arab furor has set an atmosphere in which the Jewish Defense League, under the name "Jewish Armed Resistance," carried out a vicious, fascist-like attack upon PLO offices in New York on October 29. A class-conscious labor movement would not only protest this thug violence but let the JDL know in no uncertain terms that actions of this kind will not be tolerated.

The individual and often indiscriminate terrorism launched by various Palestinian commando groups is an act of despair, wholly ineffectual in righting the many wrongs which Palestinian Arabs have been made to suffer. But it can in no way be compared in scale or kind to the truly massive terror of the U.S. in Vietnam or even the Israeli attacks on Arab refugee camps. The U.S. killed more innocent civilians in one bombing raid over Hanoi than grenade-throwing Palestinians will kill in an epoch.

Moreover, the U.S. terror serves to maintain a world system of exploitation and oppression while the nationalist commandos are motivated by a desire for the emancipation of their people. We in no way defend mass terror against innocent working people. As communists we point out that the only way to a truly democratic resolution of the Palestinian question is through forging a mass Arab-Hebrew revolutionary workers party in a struggle for the Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■



Yasir Arafat, head of Palestine Liberation Organization.

## Continued from page 1 Mass Layoffs...

unemployment so long as capitalism remains.

Trotsky raised the demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours, as a weapon to fight inflation and unemployment, in the Transitional Program written in 1938. U.S. Trotskyists broadly popularized the slogan of "30 for 40" in the 1930's and 1940's. But they did so as part of a broader program of working-class assault on capitalist rule.

As we point out in the accompanying article on Jefferson Assembly, the call for a sliding scale of wages and hours must be coupled with the demands of occupation, expropriation and workers control of plants which are closed by their capitalist owners. Since the bosses would undoubtedly claim they are too poor to pay for "30 for 40," it is also necessary to demand that the companies' books be opened to workers' inspection.

The Flint sitdown strike of 1937 and the Minneapolis general strike of 1934 make clear that any massive strike upsurge and plant occupations pose the need for workers' self-defense of the picket lines and occupied factories. The impossibility of achieving victory in an isolated factory or single industry points to the necessity for extending workers control throughout the economy and introducing social planning of production. This is also the condition for a rational program of

massive public works, the need for which is obvious in the deteriorating urban centers.

Groups which draw their heritage from the Stalinized Communist Party of the 1930's frequently pose the organization of unemployed committees as the means to fight joblessness. But they have no strategy for these committees to win real victory.

Trotskyists counterpose to this the union of the employed and unemployed through forming unemployed committees as part of or tied to the unions. Auto workers must demand full union rights for their laid-off brothers and sisters. By linking both sections of the working class, competition for scarce jobs can be overcome and the economic

power of the employed is added to the militancy of those expelled from the work place.

A sliding scale of wages and hours, factory occupations, workers control, expropriation of industry, opening of the books, workers' self-defense, social planning—all this requires a political offensive and the formation of an independent workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. In this way class-struggle forces can generalize their fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, which is the biggest stumbling block standing in the way of a militant struggle against the economic crisis and the capitalist system which produces it. ■

## Class-Struggle Program Against Layoffs

- **NO LAYOFFS AND NO PLANT CLOSURES**—For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours! Rescind the Closing Jefferson Avenue Plant by an Occupation Supported by the Entire Labor Movement!
- **FOR WORKERS CONTROL**—Open the Books of the Corporations—Form Factory Committees!
- **NATIONALIZE THE AUTO INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION**—Workers Control at All Levels—Plan Production According to Social Need!
- **NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS**—Oust the Bureaucrats, For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions—Forward to a Workers Government!

## Spartacist Local Directory

BAY AREA . . . . . (415) 653-4698  
Box 852, Main P.O.,  
Berkeley, CA 94701  
BOSTON . . . . . (617) 282-7587  
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 834-7610  
c/o SYL, Box 6, Norton Union,  
SUNYAB, Buffalo, NY 14214  
CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003  
Box 6471, Main P.O.,  
Chicago, IL 60680  
CLEVELAND . . . . . (216) 687-1413  
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101  
DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626  
Box 663A, General P.O.,  
Detroit, MI 48232  
HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944  
Box 9054  
Houston, TX 77011  
LOS ANGELES . . . . . (213) 485-1838  
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,  
Los Angeles, CA 90026  
MADISON  
c/o SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704  
MILWAUKEE  
Box 6061, Milwaukee, WI 53209  
NEW ORLEANS . . . . . (504) 866-8384  
Box 51634, Main P.O.,  
New Orleans, LA 70151  
NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426  
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001  
PHILADELPHIA . . . . . (215) 667-5695  
Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144  
SAN DIEGO  
P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012  
TORONTO  
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency  
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada





ILWU head Harry Bridges



S.F. Mayor Joe ("Zebra") Alioto

## For Independent Labor Action to Smash Proposition "L"!

# Open Letter to S.F. City Workers

This leaflet was distributed as a "Bay Area Supplement" to WV, dated 27 October 1974, in preparation for a November 4 rally.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

"Q: Do you think it [Prop. L] is going to pass?"

"A: Yes, I do. There is no organization to tie us together. Two weeks ago we went to pick up our paychecks and they wanted 20 bucks to fight this thing. Most of the drivers I saw tried to get out of the barn as fast as they could. They and I have no more respect as to how the 20 bucks would be spent by our union leadership than if they gave it to Dianne Feinstein. I

to stop Prop. L? The answer is: Worse than nothing.

They have set up a coalition called Citizens United Against Prop. L, headed up by Alioto, Sheriff Hongisto, Moscone and Brown, that has collected money from trade unionists to print bumper stickers, buttons and leaflets with the slogan "I' NO." It is an outrage that collective bargaining and union contracts be put up to public referendum in the first place, and labor's strike power should be mobilized to get "L" off the ballot.

Still we would support a union mobilization to effect a No Vote on November 5th. But the "L' NO" campaign isn't even that! "Citizens United" is a Democratic Party front whose main

feating "L," as far as it goes, is a court case, *after the fact*.

But behind all the speechmaking and bluster, is their understanding that Prop. L is to a certain extent useful for the labor bureaucracy. If Prop. L passes, they can give over the job of keeping the ranks in line to their *good friends in City Hall*, claiming it will be "out of their hands." As far as collective bargaining is concerned, the bureaucrats would *prefer* to have it, but if they don't, they can *always* blame poor wages and conditions on the Board of Supervisors *rather than on their own defective leadership*.

That is why the dirtiest word around town these days is STRIKE. Just suggest to your local bureaucrat that the unions should strike to demand Prop. L be dropped from the ballot. Watch him/her turn purple. The strike is the most powerful weapon in the labor movement's arsenal. It also would be *VERY* unpopular with those same honorary chairmen: Alioto, Moscone and Brown.

That's why the "Citizens United" literature includes *no demand* for the *unrestricted* right to strike or an end to *compulsory* arbitration. That's because Gerry Brown, Democratic Party candidate for governor, *endorses compulsory* arbitration. "Citizens United" wouldn't want to upset the apple cart or alienate the likes of "Operation Zebra" Alioto.

One of the more sickening displays of this electoral alliance was the October 19th rally where Brother Martin, president of TWU Local 250A, introduced Alioto as a "friend." This "friend" was responsible for mass round-ups of innocent black men during "Operation Zebra" in a calculated move to demonstrate to the capitalists that his campaign for governor was all the way with "law and order."

Whose law and whose order? Certainly not working people's. Remember, Brother Martin, if Prop. L passes, it will become *LAW* and Alioto, your "friend," will have the *ORDER* required to enforce it (S.F. Police Department)! The only difference between "L" and the compulsory arbitration proposed by Brown as part of his so-called "right to strike" platform is that "L" limits wage gains *before* workers strike, while compulsory ar-

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## Proposition "L" Means:

On election day, November 5, the Feinstein Amendment, known as Prop. L, will appear on the ballot. In brief, this amendment to the city charter would:

- Freeze wages for over 65 percent of San Francisco workers;
- Mean an immediate cut of \$2,000, on the average, in fringe benefits for Muni drivers;
- Undermine the fight for full collective bargaining rights as well as the right to strike for public employees, effectively repealing the "meet and confer" clause of the Brown Act;
- Direct the most vicious attacks specifically against organized black, women and minority workers. To fuel their union-busting campaign, the Chamber of Commerce has resorted to outright manipulation, distortion and lies regarding workers' salaries and benefits. Thus, for example, the *Chronicle* and other newspapers have reported that street sweepers make \$17,000 a year, and that Muni drivers average approximately \$21,000. The truth is that *even* street sweepers who are permanent employees (and only one permanent position has been filled in three years) can receive top pay of only \$11,400. Muni drivers average approximately \$12,000 a year.

• Set wages based on an average of wages in the *previous* year for comparable work in other cities in California with populations of over 500,000. The Board of Supervisors would have the power to raise or lower that figure by 3 percent as a basis for wages in the *coming* year. This will have the effect of lowering wages of S.F. workers to the scale of notorious open-shop towns such as Los Angeles.

• Limit all wage increases to 7.5 percent regardless of rises in the cost of living;

• Require a 3/4 majority of the Board of Supervisors for approval of new fringe benefits, making it virtually impossible for city workers to win any improvements.

There are only three categories of city employees who will not be affected by Proposition L. They are:

- Policemen
- Firemen
- Board of Supervisors.



Demonstrators at October 19 rally against Proposition L.

think that is the gist of why we are going to get defeated...."

—From an interview of Muni drivers printed in *Common Sense*, October 1974

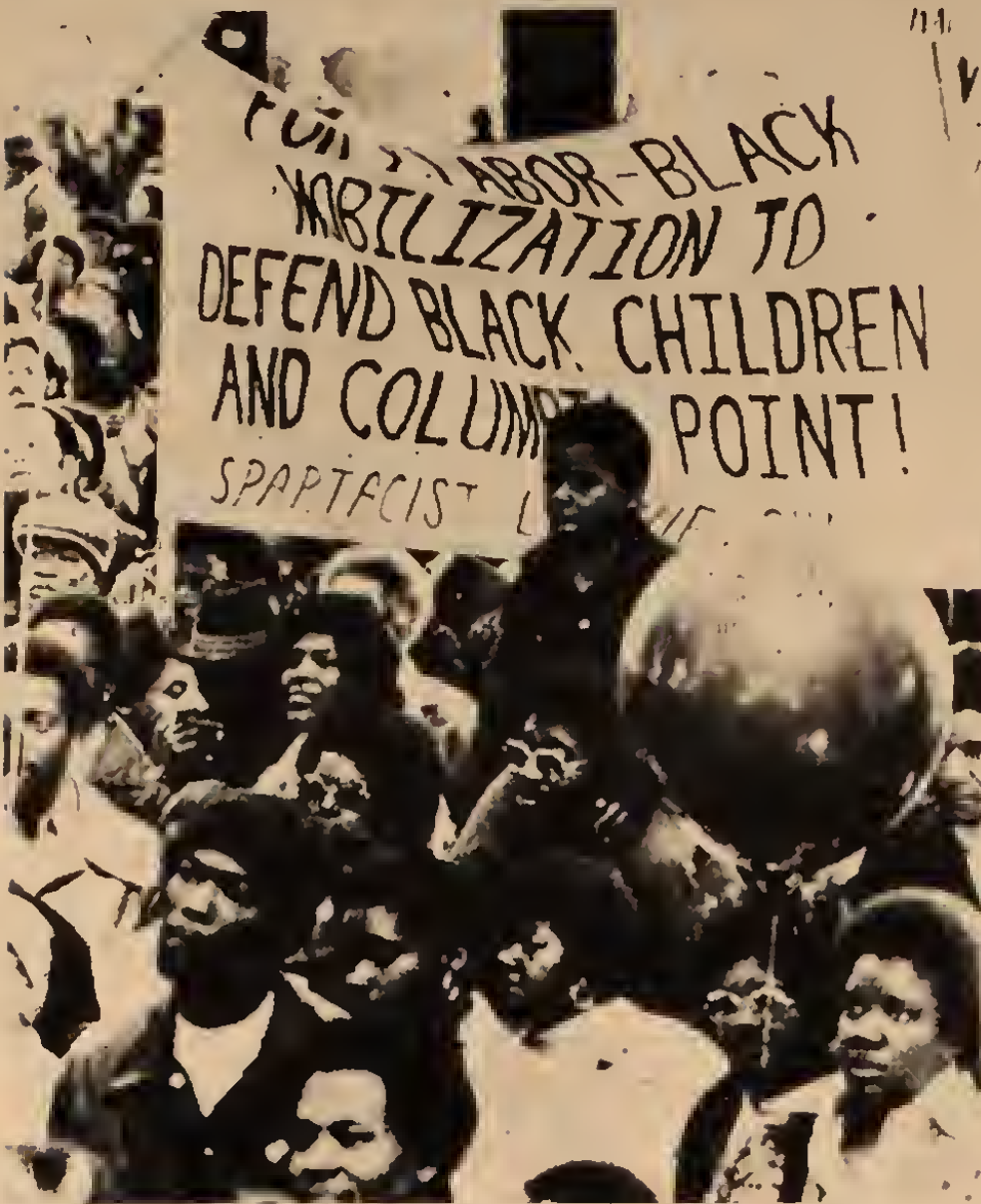
We have reprinted this quote because it expresses quite accurately the growing sentiment of militants in the Bay Area trade-union movement regarding their present leadership. Prop. L threatens the very foundations of the union movement. The Chamber of Commerce, representing the Bank of America on down, is mobilizing *right now* to smash the public employees unions. So what has the present leadership done

*purpose* is to channel support into the Alioto/Brown machine in an election period. "Citizens United" has systematically and consciously prevented a mass mobilization of the rank and file. The October 19th rally, sponsored by TWU Local 250A, but controlled by the "Citizens United" grouping, *PROVED* that.

The union leaders cynically sabotaged what could have been a massive labor protest against Prop. L and transformed it into a rally for the Democratic Party. They were afraid that a massive turnout of workers would prove explosive. Their real strategy for de-



# Racist Terror in Boston:



Demonstrators at October 13 pro-integration demonstration on Boston Common.

## Trotskyists Demand Labor/Black Defense But...

# SWP Says "Bring in Bosses' Troops"

The past six weeks have witnessed a reactionary mobilization against racial integration of Boston schools the likes of which has not been seen in the North since the Detroit riots of 1943. The city has teetered on the brink of race war for days. Only the fact that, remarkably, there have been no deaths so far has kept the tense situation from blowing sky-high.

The crying need in Boston is for revolutionary working-class leadership. Black students and their parents, supporters of racial integration, trade unionists who have experienced the reactionary mob violence, even those whose only concern is to prevent attacks on the children—all these could be rallied by a militant campaign of independent labor/black mobilization against the racists.

But to date leaders of black organizations and the unions have not made a single serious attempt to organize mass opposition to the anti-busing offensive. Rely on the federal government—this is their program. IT IS A STRATEGY FOR DEFEAT!

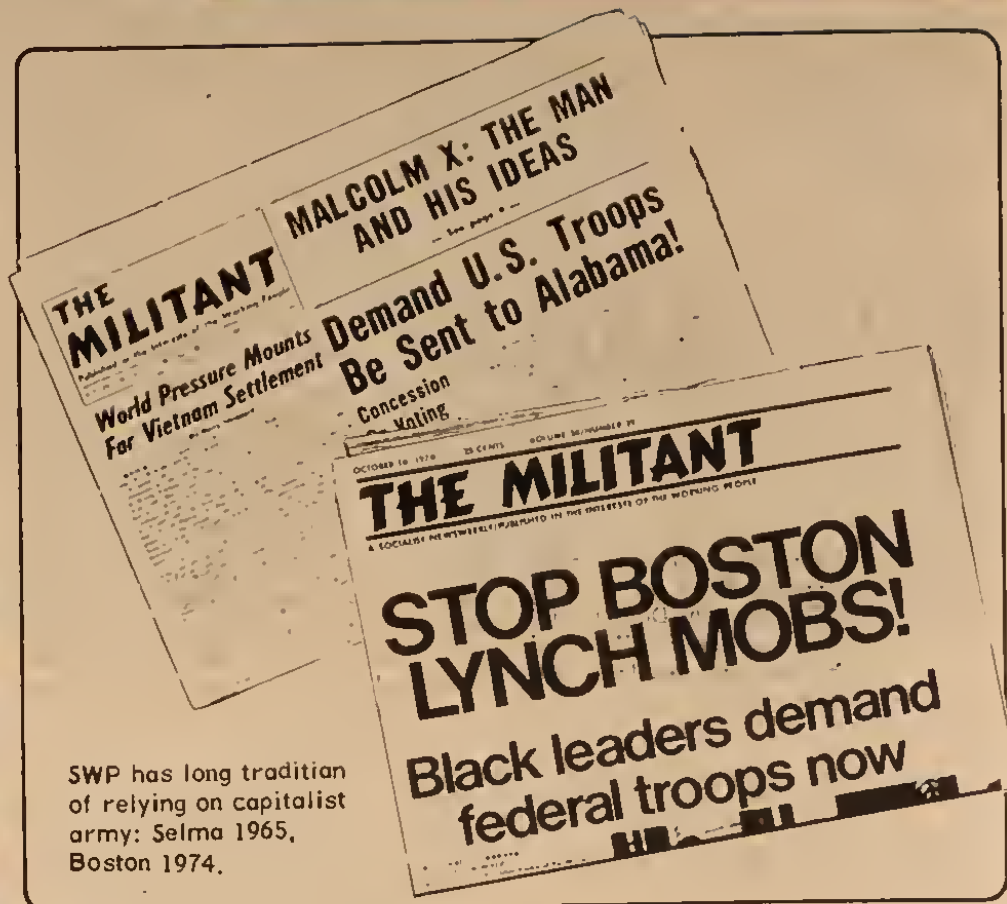
It is only to be expected that these fakery would depend on the class enemy—this is the essence of their treacherous role, to tie the hands of the masses and deliver them like sheep for the slaughter. Equally significant have

been the despicable actions of ostensibly socialist organizations including in particular the alleged Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, which systematically tailed after the "leaders of the black community" in an effort to win cheap popularity. They, too, bear responsibility for the fact that today the black masses and labor militants stand unarmed before the racist onslaught.

The most pathetic example is without doubt the spineless Maoist Revolutionary Union. In its efforts to "serve the people," the RU lines up with racist Boston politicians like Louise Day Hicks and the Ku Klux Klan. "The People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan," announces the front-page headline of the October issue of *Revolution*. That is what Hicks is all about: "community control" (another of the Maoists' favored demands) for the whites. Yet if the RU tried to sell this disgusting trash in South Boston its salesmen would be run out or beaten up by the same forces it is trying to capitulate to today. The racists hate communists as much as they hate blacks.

### Vanguard or Rearguard?

The Socialist Workers Party has developed its opportunism to a fine art. The SWP contends that "The question



of how to achieve quality education for Black children is one that must be decided on by the Black community...." Some "Trotskyists" these are! Community control, busing, federal troops—first they must take an opinion poll to find out what the "leaders of the black community" support, then they advocate the same to working people. Of course, the "leaders of the black community" turn out to be the black Democrats and Republicans.

In contrast the Spartacist League has a consistent record of supporting racial integration and independent working-class action. The SL has opposed community control of the schools, pointing out that this nationalist trap would only lead to demands for white control of white schools and lynch mobs. We were right.

The Spartacist League has opposed community control of the police, explaining that the working masses must destroy the armed forces of the capitalist state—not seek to take them over. The SWP, in contrast, supports community control of the police, preferential hiring of black cops and even runs candidates for sheriff when possible.

The SWP's latest betrayal has been a call for federal troops to Boston. This is done in its typical weaselly fashion: "We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston..." declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. Actually, the SWP has for years called on the armed forces of the capitalist state to come to the aid of embattled blacks.

### Relying on the Capitalist State

For the SWP there are the "bad" cops and National Guard vs. the "good" U.S. Army. That is why during the mid-1960's it called for bringing the troops home from Vietnam to send them to Selma! Somehow the armed forces of imperialism are an instrument of oppression in Asia but not in Alabama?

In contrast to the class-collaborationist illusions spewed out by these professional tailists the Spartacist League warned:

"Federal marshals and troops do not serve the interests of oppressed minorities or the working class any more than the TPF (Tactical Police Force), state troopers or National Guard! They are the armed fist of the bourgeois class. At best the presence of federal troops in Boston might mean the maintenance of 'social peace' based on continued segregation of the black minority in inferior ghetto schools. As everyone from the liberal White to the conservative Ford has made clear, they will not enforce school integration.

"But, in fact, given the rightward-moving political climate in recent

months, particularly with regard to the rights of black people, it is likely that any large deployment of troops or police would be concentrated in the black areas and could result in small-scale genocide."

We pointed out what the consequences of relying on the bosses' state were recently at Columbia Point housing project near South Boston: when the residents demanded police protection against night riders, racists in uniform occupied the project, arresting and brutalizing blacks and vandalizing the community center. We also noted the interesting fact that not until black youths began to react to the racist mob violence, weeks after the anti-busing offensive began, was there serious talk of bringing in federal troops!

The alternative proposed by the SL was for a massive labor and black mobilization of all those opposed to racist attacks on the black school children. On September 27, the Spartacist League sent a letter to Boston labor, socialist and black organizations proposing such a mass demonstration. The SWP, which had not yet discovered what "the leaders of the black community" supported, did not respond and boycotted the planning meeting. Toni Atkins, head of the NAACP, said that a representative would be sent to a planning meeting, but none ever arrived. Later it turned out that the NAACP "strategy" was to take Mayor White to court.

### "Everybody That Supports the Black Community, Raise Your Hands"

During the weeks that followed the SWP reformists consistently sabotaged the struggle for independent labor/black defense. At an October 11 meeting called by the YSA and black, Latin and Asian student groups at the University of Massachusetts (Boston) to discuss the busing issue a speaker from the SL proposed building a demonstration against the reactionary anti-busing campaign. Peter Camejo of the SWP countered with... a teach-in!

Out of the student meeting came an Ad-Hoc Committee to Defend Human Rights. At a meeting of this Ad-Hoc Committee later the same day, the SL pointed out that most people in Boston knew exactly what was going on and that what was needed was independent mass action. To this Camejo replied that a teach-in and mass mobilization are not counterposed (his favorite argument lately, as we shall see). The YSA chairman of the meeting soon announced there was "mass sentiment" for a teach-in. But when an SL member objected and proposed instead a letter calling for a mass demonstration, to be drafted by a committee, this proposal



was accepted. SWP/YSAers were on the letter committee.

The next week a leaflet mysteriously appeared, obviously produced by the SWP/YSA but bearing the name of the Ad-Hoc Committee and calling for a meeting on October 16 to plan a teach-in. No such teach-in had been decided upon at the earlier meeting! Moreover, the leaflet was "signed" by Ujima and the Puerto Rican Student Union, neither of which knew anything about the teach-in and protested the use of their names.

At the October 16 meeting, an SL spokesman presented a motion that all groups participating in the Ad-Hoc Committee be given equal speaking rights, with an open mike for independents, at any teach-in. Tony Thomas of the SWP opposed this on the grounds that "the people" wanted to hear from the "leaders of the black community," not the radicals.

The SL pointed out that these so-called leaders were calling for federal troops. Since the viewpoint of the SWP was being represented by the NAACP and the Black Caucus of the Democratic Party, we supported the SWP's right not to speak. But different points of view should be permitted since everyone did not agree with the troops slogan. The SL motion again passed.

Later in the meeting the SL moved that the committee-drafted letter be accepted. Tony Thomas presented an amendment "in the spirit of the letter," adding the phrase "and support the demands of the Black community." SLers pointed out that this was a veiled call for federal troops and sabotage of building a mobilization to defend the black school children.

At this point Peter Camejo demagogically announced that "Spartacist doesn't support the Black community. Everybody that supports the Black community raise your hands." Using such unprincipled sleight-of-hand, the SWP "amendment" was passed.

#### What Is A "Meaningful Solution"?

The 1 November issue of the *Militant* reprints excerpts from a speech by Camejo in which he "justifies" the slogan of federal troops to Boston. In the first place this "reply" to criticism is ostensibly aimed at the Workers League, although the WL has not taken its opposition to federal troops any farther than the pages of the *Bulletin*. The only group in Boston which in mass leaflets, public meetings, demonstrations, etc., has consistently put forward the perspective of labor/black defense and opposed relying on the capitalist armed forces is the Spartacist League.

The heart of Camejo's "argument" is that:

"The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now. There are no trade unions that even have defense guards, much less any that have offered them to defend the Black students....

"You sectarians live in a make-believe world of sloganeering. In your world,

trade-union defense guards are counterposed to federal troops. But in the real world, they're not counterposed, because the trade-union defense guards do not exist. The Black community lives in the real world, and it demands real, meaningful solutions, not unrealistic slogans."

It is true that there are no trade-union defense guards today. There is also no mass mobilization to defend the black school children, only a half-hearted demonstration on October 13. But part of the reason for this is that at every point the SWP has fought *against* any perspective of independent black and labor mobilization.

The demand for a labor/black defense is a world of make-believe? Nonsense! There are integrated unions in Boston, many of whose members are directly affected by the racist anti-busing mobilizations. Members of the Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen have had their cars damaged by the reactionary mobs. The Columbia Point residents have already had their fill of the bourgeoisie's cops and troops. *What is needed is revolutionary leadership*, to put the heat on the leaders of the mass organizations of workers and the oppressed racial minorities, to organize independently on a program which represents the interests of the working masses.

And if Camejo thinks workers' defense guards and federal troops are not counterposed, then let him try to organize a labor/black defense when the 82nd Airborne Division is occupying Roxbury!

The SWP believes that the U.S. government is unwilling to send troops to Boston to enforce desegregation, so demanding that they come will presumably "expose" the real nature of the government. It is quite true that they will not enforce racial integration, as we have pointed out. But the bourgeoisie may very well send in troops—to prevent any organized defense by blacks! By calling for troops, the SWP does not *expose* the class character of the government and its hired guns, but helps *conceal* the fact that these are the enemies of the exploited and oppressed.

Members of the SWP, you may feel that the call for labor/black defense of the bused school children and Columbia Point is not a "realistic" demand. But we warn you that your call for federal troops is a very "meaningful solution," to use Peter Camejo's words. What it can mean is the imposition of martial law, massive arrests and shootings of black youth and working-class militants. Even you admit that the troops will not enforce desegregation!

If, because of the betrayals of the union leaders, black Democrats and fake socialists, federal troops are called in to patrol the ghettos and housing projects, conscious black and labor militants in Boston will hold those traitors responsible for the consequences of their misleadership. By calling for troops the SWP shows itself to be a nest of anti-Marxist renegades!

## Resolution unanimously passed by second shift meeting of Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Local 33 (Baltimore)

*Whereas*, the present racial violence now going on in Boston and Baltimore around the school busing issue is of concern to all trade-unionists and workers, and

*Whereas*, the anti-busing forces' claim that they are only trying to preserve "quality" education in the predominantly white schools has proved only a front for racist violence against black workers and school children, and

*Whereas*, the right-wing forces in Boston, led by Louise Day Hicks, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Nazis are attempting to channel rising anger of workers—not against big business and its government, which is responsible for unequal and discriminatory education, inflation and unemployment—but against racial minorities, and

*Whereas*, Local 33 and the national office of IUMSWA must support busing to achieve equality in education, for *all* children, through integrated schools, preventing degenerating standards for blacks, Latins, and other minorities, and

*Whereas*, the calling in of cops, the National Guard, and federal troops—strikebreakers for big business—will not defend racial minorities but will, in fact, disrupt that defense, and

*Whereas*, the recent case in Detroit of the United Auto Workers (UAW) providing competent defense and protection for a black family, living in a hostile white community, after the local "authorities" proved uninterested and incapable of such action, shows the way labor defense succeeds,

*Therefore be it resolved*, that Local 33 of IUMSWA demand:

- 1) That the national office work with Local 5 officials in Quincy [Massachusetts] and coordinate a mass rally, calling on other trade unions and black groups to join in a united effort to defeat the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis who are stirring racial hatred and attempting to divide the working class, and
- 2) That the national office and IUMSWA officials in Boston help initiate the mobilization of squads of IUMSWA members with other labor and black organizations to protect the children being bused—both black and white.

Continued from page 3

## ... S.F. City Workers

bitration takes them away *after* a strike is already on.

#### Why Strike Now?

That is why all those who argue that we should all be good little citizens during this election period, and consider a strike *ONLY IF* Prop. L passes, are way off in the wrong ball park. One of the important features of Prop. L which the labor bureaucrats in particular wish to forget is the clause which *EXEMPTS* the Charter Amendment from any change *even if* the Mayor declares a state of emergency—like during a general strike! This clause is specifically intended to prevent labor from using its strike weapon to knock down Prop. L if it passes.

Most importantly, workers must realize that the labor bureaucrats are not going to want to call a specifically illegal strike. It was hard enough to get them to go out last March. They are responsible, remember, for the results of the March strike: settling for 7 percent when the week before the strike broke out *even crummy* George Meany said nobody should settle for under 10 percent. And then there's the question: what happened to those raises?

Brothers and sisters! If Prop. L passes, it will represent a *defeat* for the entire labor movement. The time for action is *RIGHT NOW*. The Chamber of Commerce and all their supporters should be given a taste of what the labor movement of San Francisco will do if this union-busting proposition stays on the ballot and is passed—a show of strength *before* Nov. 5!

That is why the Spartacist League, in conjunction with trade-union militants throughout the Bay Area, has been fighting for the last weeks that the major focus of labor's fight be a massive *MOBILIZATION OF THE RANK AND FILE THROUGH DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES TO BUILD FOR A GENERAL STRIKE* to sweep Prop. L off the ballot. That means independent labor action.

The first step in that direction should be a decisive break with the "Citizens United" strategy, a clean break with the Democratic Party. Labor has

no interest in subordinating its struggles to defend itself to further the careers of the Democratic Party "honorary co-chairmen." The union movement should break with these capitalist representatives and set up its own united-front committee to stop Prop. L.

Of course, if all this fails, on November 5th we call for a *massive and overwhelming* NO VOTE. The San Francisco workers movement must make it clear that it will not allow such vicious anti-labor laws to pass in San Francisco—or anywhere else!

#### Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

For those unionists who have not previously understood the relationship between politics and economics, the labor bureaucrats' abortive campaign against Prop. L is a bitter lesson to be learned. The question of the strike, wages and fringe benefits, collective bargaining, binding arbitration and how to fight are all tied to the question of the present labor bureaucrats' alliance with the Democratic Party.

The struggle against Prop. L poses the need for labor to form its *own political party*—a workers party based on class-struggle politics that will fight for a workers government. Alioto, Brown, Feinstein or Ford, they are all essentially the same—*PRO-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-LABOR*.

A "people-to-people" approach, as advocated by the Revolutionary Union-supported Concerned Muni Drivers caucus, as the way to defeat Prop. L is in practice simply an electoral approach. The historic task is to break labor from the likes of Alioto and Brown. "Class against class," the workers vs. the capitalists is what is called for to smash Prop. L.

But beyond Prop. L it is clear that for labor to go forward a resolute struggle must be started to get rid of the present labor leadership by the formation of class-struggle oppositional caucuses in every union. These caucuses must have a program that links up the day-to-day grievances, racism, sexism, speed-up, inflation and layoffs to the objective need for workers to take control of the society and shape it to their needs: *FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT*.

Faternally,  
BAY AREA SPARTACIST LEAGUE



Federal troops not the answer to fascists.



# Puerto Rican Independence Rally at Madison Square Garden

NEW YORK, October 30—Approximately 15,000 people attended a rally for Puerto Rican independence Sunday at Madison Square Garden. Scheduled to coincide with today's anniversary of the 1950 Nationalist uprising on the island, the event was dedicated to five Puerto Rican political prisoners (Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa, Irving Flores and Lolita Lebrón) who have languished in U.S. jails for more than 20 years.

The day before the rally, five banks in New York City were bombed, reportedly by a group calling itself the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). A note left in a telephone booth demanded freedom for the Nationalist prisoners and immediate independence for Puerto Rico.

At the Garden the accent was on unity of all "progressives." The English slogan for the event was an appeal to liberal American nationalists: "For a Bi-Centennial without Colonies." (In Spanish there was a different theme: posters for the rally urged, "Boricua, defiende lo tuyo"—"Puerto Rican, defend what's yours".)

The slant toward liberals was symbolized by the presence of two huge flags, U.S. and Puerto Rican, hanging from the ceiling. Red flags and the flag of the 1869 Lares revolt, traditional at *independentista* gatherings, were noticeably scarce.

The speakers were selected to emphasize this note of "broad support." Most were uninspiring. Angela Davis noted that Cuba, too, was a small island while Jane Fonda appealed to the "great" traditions of the U.S. The problem, according to the entertainer, was the "policy of empire" which was "trying to create a consumer society in Vietnam."

The longest speaking time was allotted to Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), the organization which launched the Garden rally. His speech was appropriately toned down for the occasion, never even mentioning the U.S. working class or socialism in Puerto Rico! Questioned at a news conference about what kind of government he foresaw after independence, the PSP leader replied, "a republic."

A note of discord was struck by a Maoist speaker from the Asian Study Group who condemned "Soviet social-imperialism." This set off a loud chorus of boos, led by Stalinists and the PSP section of the audience, which drowned out the rest of his speech.

But the overall tone of the event was set by the long list of entertainers who paraded across an enormous red rug in the center of a hockey rink. Among them were Lucecita Benítez, Ray Barreto and Danny Rivera singing popular Puerto Rican songs. The Grupo Taoné from the island and El Grupo from New York added a note of protest, as did Holly Near who sang a number with the theme, "No, no, no—No more genocide." Pete Seeger gave a rendition of "Guantanamo."

The rally sponsors were so des-



PSP leader Juan Mari Bras

perate to represent "all shades of opinion" that they invited N.Y. television commentator Geraldo Rivera who is detested by many *independentistas* and universally considered an opportunist. Sporting an expensive white suit and a T-shirt with the Puerto Rican flag, Rivera was booed both when he said he used to oppose independence and when he announced his conversion.

## Proletarian Revolution or Liberal Protest

Trotskyists are the most consistent opponents of colonialism, defending the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination. We demand immediate, unconditional independence of Puerto Rico from the U.S. Communists are firm opponents of imperialism and struggle to unite workers of all countries. This can only be done by opposing all national oppression, the breeding ground for the bourgeois ideology of nationalism.

But it is the obligation of Marxists to warn that the feeble bourgeois independence forces will not achieve national liberation. It is necessary to mobilize the Puerto Rican and U.S. workers in struggle for their own class interests. The goal of such a seething social conflict cannot be limited to mere formal independence—postage stamps,

a flag and a native army to repress the masses.

Rather, the only program which can inspire the oppressed to heroic sacrifices is the promise of an end to their exploitation and misery. This requires the elimination of imperialist domination which can only come about through proletarian revolution, establishing a soviet Puerto Rico as part of a socialist federation of the Caribbean.

The PSP organizers of the October 27 rally were, in fact, quite careful to avoid the subject of socialist revolution (as were all the CP, Maoist, black nationalist and liberal speakers). In a pamphlet distributed at the Garden ("Puerto Ricans and Proletarian Internationalism," October 1974) El Comité, a New York Puerto Rican leftist group, reprinted its exchange of letters with the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.

El Comité had criticized the lack of any reference to socialism in rally propaganda as well as the "revisionist-liberal perspective" indicated by the speakers list. It suggested adding a pro-independence Puerto Rican socialist legislator, but the rally Committee turned this down.

The show-business spectacular quality of the event was widely criticized. One pamphlet distributed outside the hall ("El Martillo" which announces itself as the "clandestine publication"



Angela Davis



Jane Fonda

of the COR—Revolutionary Workers Committees) noted: "Compañero, anyone in our community will tell you that Lucecita Benítez, Danny Rivera, Ray Barreto, Jane Fonda and the other entertainers would fill the garden without calling it a day of solidarity. They have a following, a great following which is apolitical."

The respectable, festival atmosphere was not accidental. The PSP could have spent months building for a massive demonstration but chose not to. These reformists see the question not as one of organizing proletarian revolution but rather as a moral protest, which must "reach out" to liberals, on the model of the Vietnam peace crawls. Hence Geraldo Rivera; hence no mention of socialism or the U.S. working class.

This reformism is tied to Mari Bras' refusal to criticize the bank bombings, when questioned at the news conference. Undoubtedly, his response is partly due to the PSP's nationalist conception of "unity" of all pro-independence forces.

Marxists do, however, criticize individual terrorism, pointing out that it is no strategy for victory, that these are impotent acts of despair on the part of those who see no real possibility of united working-class struggle. (We also make clear that we defend leftist/nationalist terrorists against the imperialist state when their target is the class enemy and not random individuals.)

For the reformist/nationalist PSP, in contrast, the bombings are just another moral gesture. They are politically no different from the respectable Madison Square Garden spectacular or the PSP's annual pilgrimages to the United Nations.

Revolutionary Marxists know, even if Mari Bras and the PSP do not, that real national liberation can only be the product of victorious proletarian revolution, in which workers of the U.S. and the colony struggle jointly against the common enemy—capitalism in its period of imperialist decay. ■

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# What Is the Communist Labor Party?

At a conference held over Labor Day weekend in Detroit, the left-Maoist Communist League (CL) declared itself to be the Communist Labor Party, vanguard party of the American proletariat. While this pretentious declaration doubtless escaped the attention of 99.99 percent of the U.S. working class, it has had a very big impact upon the various self-proclaimed Maoist organizations.

In the months leading up to its Labor Day conference, the CL was the object of lengthy and bitter denunciations by virtually every Maoist tendency in the U.S. The epithets flung at it ranged from the mundane "out and out counter-revolutionary tricky-dicks [?]" and political imposters and swindlers" to the ultimate in Stalinist invective—"Trotskyite!"

Interneine warfare among the Mao cultists is nothing new, of course, and they routinely trade slanders, accusations and brickbats. This is to be expected. After all, while all the myriad Maoist tendencies are scrambling after the Chinese franchise, the "Great Helmsman" sits in Peking, detached and Olympian, apparently uninterested in revealing which of the several interpretations of his thought is correct. Thus the Maoist pot is perpetually simmering.

Still it is unusual for one group to draw such a heavy fire as that directed at the CL (now the CLP). Just what is the CLP? How does it differ from the other ostensibly Maoist groups and why has it been the target of so many vitriolic polemics?

## Origins of the Communist Labor Party

The CLP, under the leadership of one Nelson Perry, is the sole surviving heir of the first of several pro-Stalin oppositional groupings to emerge within the U.S. Communist Party (CP) in the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin. Upon quitting the CP in 1958 this tendency formed the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party in the USA (POC). The POC was especially enamored with Stalin's "leftist" Third Period and in particular with the slogan "self-determination for the Negro Nation in the Black Belt."

The POC existed for nearly a decade as a stagnant and isolated cluster of diehard Stalinists, largely black and Puerto Rican, who supported the Chinese CP in the Sino-Soviet dispute. But by 1967 the POC had begun to drift in a direction in some ways parallel to that taken by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) several years later. According to the CL, the POC at this time "...began searching for the roots of revisionism and like the PLP found these roots with Stalin, Dimitrov, the 7th World Congress of the C.I. and took steps to throw Mao in for good measure."

—"Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League"

Unable to embrace this new line, Perry and his West Coast POC group were expelled from the organization shortly after its 1968 convention.

"The Labor day 1968 POC Conference in New York, spelt the end of a period.... By that time, the POC had completed the turn and now it was thoroughly disgusted with the Anglo-American working class; it held the Trotskyite position on the Soviet Revolution and it was increasingly steeped with hatred for the leadership of the Revolution, especially Mao, whom they labeled as the chief revisionist."

—*Ibid.*

Perry quickly "reconstituted" his followers as the California Communist League (CCL), an organization dedicated to defending Stalin against "Khrushchevite revisionism," singing hymns of praise to Mao Tse-tung and advocating

the slogan of immediate independence for the "Negro Nation." While the POC has since disappeared, the CCL has grown from about a dozen members into an organization which boasted that over 500 delegates attended the recent CLP founding conference.

It is the organizational success of the CL/CLP vis-à-vis the other Maoists over the past several years that is doubtless a cause of much of the venom directed toward it by the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Union (RU). The more left-posturing RU in particular feels threatened by the CLP's recent growth and its own loss of black members. In the past year the RU has seen two of its ex-bedfellows, the Black Workers Congress (BWC) and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRW), enter the CL orbit (only to be shortly and unceremoniously ejected—whereupon they have since declared their own little attempts to build a "party").

In the wake of a general lack of results from "mass [i.e., opportunist] work," many independent Maoists and restive RUers are being attracted by the CLP's emphasis on "party-building," its significant industrial implantation and its sizeable core of black and minority cadre, including the more militant elements of Detroit's late League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Playing upon this attraction a CL leader recently bragged that the CL is "about 1/3 Anglo-American, 1/3 Negro national minority, and 1/3 Latin national minority; 60 percent women and 100 percent working class" (*Peoples' Tribune*, May 1974).

## The CLP's Stalinism

Unlike its OL and RU rivals, whose leaders first came over to Mao and then to Stalin via petty-bourgeois New Left protest politics, the CL/CLP from the outset looked to Stalin.

"It was the theoretical and ideological defense of Stalin that built the Communist League. We know and history has fully confirmed the fact that a Party cannot be built in the United States unless it takes full account of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin...."

—*Peoples' Tribune*, March 1972

The CLP's route to Mao grew out of solidarity with Mao's defense of Stalin against "Khrushchevism."

Hence, as opposed to its ex-New Left competitors, the CLP prefers above all to worship Stalin and tends to relegate Mao to the status of a secondary deity. As the RU correctly points out, "CL claims not only to be the great standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism, but of Stalin's work in particular." For example, in the introduction to its pamphlet "The Negro National Colonial Question" the CLP asserts that "This statement... is a reaffirmation of the position of the Communist International and the position of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, the greatest of all thinkers on the question of oppressed peoples and nations." ("Note," hisses the RU, "that Mao Tse-tung is not included.")

An index of the CLP's attachment to the "Great Father of the Soviet Peoples" and to all Stalin thought can be found in its attitude toward Trotskyism. Castigating the OL for seeking an "anti-imperialist" bloc with the SWP (which the CLP wrongly believes to be Trotskyist), the *Peoples' Tribune* shamelessly lectures:

"What is the Marxist-Leninist position on Trotskyism? We have always held that the Trotskyites are counterrevolutionary agents whose role is to be the center and rallying point for the enemies of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky himself was an agent of the German fascists, actively trying to destroy the Socialist Revolution in the USSR. Trotskyism is not some incor-

rect trend within the Communist movement to be bargained with or argued with. Stalin makes clear that 'Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class but a gang: without principle, without ideas, of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of intelligence services of foreign states.'"

—*Peoples' Tribune*, March 1973

It is truly pitiful that the CLP imagines it can get away with such shame-faced lies. Any serious militant willing to take the time to examine the real history of the October Revolution can quickly convince himself or herself that such tales about Trotskyism were the smokescreen behind which Stalin organized the murder and imprisonment of the best militants of Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

Does the CLP really believe that anyone remotely familiar with the facts of the case will be gullible enough to join it in concluding that the overwhelming majority of Lenin's Central

splitters looked to Stalin (who, fortunately for them, was no longer alive) and his "theories" as an antidote to the CP's policy of class treason. In this manner the CLP has been led to take a number of positions whose Alice-in-Wonderland qualities would do justice to J. V. Stalin himself.

Thus, with a perfectly straight face the CLP can assure us that:

"The world wide impact of the 7th World Congress was largely lost on the C.P.U.S.A. Their concepts of the United Front could be summed up as: In the labor movement, a left center coalition with the center in the leadership. Politically, develop an international and national struggle against fascism under the leadership of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. When Roosevelt took Browder out of jail in 1941 and then invited him to the White House for dinner, the fate of the Communist Party was sealed. To this day the C.P.U.S.A. has not broken the style of work that makes them the tail of the liberal bourgeoisie."

—"Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League"

For hack Maoists like Avakian and Klonsky, everything the CP did in this period that is too gross to cover up was simply Browder's fault. But as good opportunists they hesitate to reject everything the CP did from 1941 on, both from fear of smearing Stalin with some of the responsibility for the CP's betrayals and from a desire to keep their own collaborationist options open.

The CLP leadership has no such qualms. It has also read Stalin—more carefully than the RU and OL. Thus, the CLP points out that while Stalin criticized Lovestone-Pepper for American exceptionalism, he was also careful to note that William Z. Foster was not without faults. The CLP is therefore led to adopt the consistent Stalin position that at bottom the CPUSA was never quite a Leninist party and has always been plagued by white chauvinism, American exceptionalism and criminal factionalism. How could it be otherwise? Stalin, you see, was infallible. Whatever blunders or crimes the various CPs committed could not be his fault; they must be laid at the doorsteps of local CP leaderships.

The only problem is that the CLP is not so consistent as Stalin in maintaining this theory. Rather than maintaining that every Communist Party in the world, everyone in fact save J. V. Stalin, was guilty of original sin and was some sort of national chauvinist and a criminal factionalist, the CLP imagines the problem of class collaboration stopped at the U.S. borders. It has no criticisms of the Stalinist parties of Spain, France, Chile, Cuba, etc. during the same period. Unfortunately for the "American exceptionalist" CLP,

continued on page 11



Joseph Stalin

Committee of 1917, leaders of the Bolshevik Party, the October Revolution and the Communist International, were ultimately to end up "agents of Hitler and the Mikado?" Such fairy tales are an insult to the intelligence of any honest militant. By spreading them, Stalinists like the CLP only help to create cynicism and anti-communism and do not at all succeed in hiding their political bankruptcy.

## The Fundamental Contradiction

In fact, the CLP's militant defense of Stalin and his crimes manages to do nothing more than lead it to tie itself up in a unique and fundamental contradiction. The split of the central cadre of the CLP from the CPUSA back in 1958 was to the left and did reflect a genuine revulsion with the CP's gross class collaboration. But at the same time, the

## CORRECTIONS

The article "Left Cretinism in the NDP" in WV No. 53, 27 September, refers to a "convention" of the Ontario New Democratic Party in 1972 when the left-wing Waffle Caucus was ordered to disband. It was actually at the Orillia provincial council of the ONDP, in June 1972, that this occurred. By the ONDP convention in December the Waffle had already left.

In WV No. 55, 25 October, the article on "Racist Terror Shakes Boston" refers to a march to the Boston Common on October 12. The correct date of the demonstration was October 13. In the same issue an article on Ireland refers to a "Special Measures Act" which first authorized internment. The law is actually entitled the Special Powers Act. This has been superseded by the Emergency Provisions Act.



# Workers League Crumbles

## Crisis Comes, Wohlforth Goes

Amidst the desultory fanfare of celebrating "Ten Years of the Bulletin," the Workers League slid its former leader of more than a decade, Tim Wohlforth, into oblivion without a word of lamentation, jubilation, or even excuse.

An apathetic audience of about 180 listened as the WL's October 25 "Tenth Anniversary" public meeting in New York introduced Fred Mazelis as WL National Secretary, confirming the rumors that Wohlforth had been deposed as WL head. (We print below the text of our leaflet distributed at that meeting.)

The ouster of Wohlforth represents a tremendous setback for Healyism internationally. The Workers League is the oldest and largest Healyite colony, and Wohlforth had been its leader, pretentious propagandist and public spokesman from the outset. As befits the WL's razzle-dazzle operation, Wohlforth had at least a certain, albeit tawdry, presence. His replacement by the colorless and slimy Fred Mazelis is apparently a last-ditch attempt to stem the WL's hemorrhaging of its small core of cadre.

For years the WL sought to drive its young supporters to ever greater frenzies of work and self-sacrifice in executing an opportunist line with promises that The Crisis would catapult the WL's Potemkin Village into the big time. With unintentional irony, one young WL supporter told a WV reporter that the bureaucratic and sectarian Wohlforth finally had to go, now that The Crisis has come.

Whether Wohlforth will reappear in the course of some future WL gyration, opposition or palace coup, only time and possibly Healy can tell. But this much is clear: Wohlforth has no future in ostensibly socialist politics outside the Workers League. Even among the most demoralized of the degeneration products of Trotskyism, he is notorious as a demagogue and a fraud.

Only the consanguine cynics of the WL would try to disappear their founding leader without one word of denunciation, self-criticism or comment. It might have been wiser, though, to have announced that poor Wohlforth had come down with a bad case of phlebitis.

The pages of Workers Vanguard, Spartacist and Individual leaflets have over the years devoted sufficient attention to Tim Wohlforth and the Workers League. We have ex-

posed the WL's shamefully opportunist and self-contradictory positions (most grotesquely, managing in one issue of the Bulletin to simultaneously hail the alleged turn of the corrupt black nationalist Newton wing of the Panthers to "dialectics" and [to support] the striking New York cops). We have exposed the WL's accompanying lies, dishonesty, duplicity and bombastic pretense, centered on the WL's fake-popular "agitational" newspaper. We have exposed the WL's shameless disregard for the principle of workers democracy. The cynics who have made up the core of the WL either ignored or even agreed with these characterizations and shrugged them off with a "so what? that's how we're going to get ahead."

But the WL's attempt to adapt the usual practices of big-time bureaucratic and revisionist parties to the few hundreds in the WL has been a disaster, as indeed such a one-sided sellout must be. The WL is hopelessly cut off from recruiting militants from any part of the existing left, where everyone who cares knows the WL as a dirty word. The



Fred Mazelis

only source left for WL recruitment is raw, semi-political youth, whom the WL tries to turn from would-be socialists into corrupted WL cynics. But the real all-sided irrelevance and isolation of the WL from social or political struggles lead to enormous turnover, for the WL can deliver neither social struggle nor even any real payoff for corruption. So these often serious, if naive, youth just go away, embittered and anti-socialist. The internal life of the WL mirrors its publicly expressed fakery and scummi-

ness. So except for the very narrow central clique, even the most cynical and degenerate WL cadres can only be the recipients of the same endless stupid abuse and lying which the WL tries to dump on the world at large. The political life of a WL member is indeed nasty, brutal and above all short. The WL's basic method of "short-cuts" in principle and endless demagoguery is a losers' strategy.

### Healy

The WL's creeping crisis of cadre loss appears to have reached Tim Wohlforth himself. The main story going around is that he has been deposed as central leader. For all we know he's still covertly the American boss, or perhaps the disappearance of his name in recent Bulletins reflects his expulsion. If the latter is the case this makes Wohlforth a three-time loser as central leader: in 1962 the Spartacist tendency took a majority in the then-common faction away from him; in 1964 his then-buddies, the Phillips state capitalist group, broke with him and took a majority with them; now three quarters of his cadre has walked out on him over the last 18 months, and Gerry Healy appears to have dumped him.

While Wohlforth has preened himself as a master theoretician, parading in his "The Struggle for Marxism in the U.S." as the first real American Marxist and proud author of the eccentric work "Theory of Structural Assimilation" (an embarrassed WL disappeared that one several years ago), his main contribution has been to turn crucial aspects of Marxism—"theory," "method" and "dialectics"—into empty mystifications in order to peddle political garbage.

The WL has always been a satellite of Gerry Healy's "British group and is the product of steady pressure to conform to Healy's imaginings of what an American version of the British WRP ought to look like. Remember that the idiot opportunist WL line of a couple of years ago that "the road to the American working class is through the YSA" was admittedly dictated to the WL in Britain. The WL as it has become is, together with the interchangeable Australian and West German Healyite groups (the only other two visible Healyite groups outside Britain), the foreign face of the British Healy/Banda operation.

To blame Wohlforth and not Healy for the present sad state of the WL would be like blaming William Z. Foster and not Stalin for the crimes of the American CP, and in no case

could an Earl Browder/Freddie Mazelis set things right.

### Trotskyism

Unlike the Healyite shambles, the international Spartacist tendency and its American section, the Spartacist League, have leaped forward, making great gains because of its fidelity to the Trotskyist program and its energetic assault upon crisis-ridden revisionists in a dozen countries. The Spartacist is published in four languages, while the SL/U.S. produces a bi-weekly Workers Vanguard on the road to becoming a weekly, a monthly Young Spartacus and the journal Women and Revolution. In the United States a communist cadre is being forged in the labor movement, through hard-hitting trade-union fractions, and elsewhere.

It is the Spartacist League, not the Workers League, which has been able to win revolutionary elements from Maoism, labor reformism, the SWP and its international bloc partners, and the left social democracy. While the WL press makes wild claims to having brought down Nixon and then warns of resulting imminent fascism which only the WL can stop, the SL and Spartacus Youth League have undertaken real campaigns and struggles: in solidarity with the British miners' strike; around the agricultural workers; stopping the loading of ships to Chile; for the jailing of Nixon; for strikes against anti-labor legislation; for mass united front demonstrations to defeat the racist anti-busing forces. This is why the Spartacist League is undergoing all-sided growth—geographically, among workers and into new industries, among black and student youth.

Don't wait for cynicism and burn-out, the sure fate of those who stay overlong with the Workers League; like many other fake "revolutionary" organizations, the ranks are better than the counterfeit cause they try loyally to serve. Look to the Spartacist League for Marxist leadership!

To those who cling to the demonstrated bankruptcy of the Workers League's opportunism and deceit, we can only say along with Trotsky: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International" (Transitional Program, 1938).

## Continued from page 1 ...Jefferson

to do or what the action and resistance should be, however.

A rally tonight called by Jesse Jackson's PUSH and the NAACP focused on the threatened closure of Jefferson, which is 75 percent black. While the meeting drew 800 there were no speakers from the UAW leadership. (When you have no answers, it's smart to keep your mouth shut!)

Jackson's theme was "be a man," and "don't let them take your masculinity." He then called for all the men to rise, come forward, hold hands and pray!

If Jefferson Assembly is closed

workers should take over the factory, backed up by the entire UAW and the rest of the labor movement, demanding the government expropriate the plant. Placing no confidence in the bosses' government to organize industry in the interests of working people (it would certainly run the plant into the ground just as Chrysler has), Jefferson workers cannot limit a factory takeover to a simple sitdown strike, but must impose workers control of production through an elected factory committee.

The occupation of Jefferson would have an appeal far beyond the confines of a single plant, city or industry. Taking over factories and instituting workers control could lead to a situation of dual power on a limited scale. Victory cannot be achieved in isolation. Factory occupations must be spread

to plants threatened with closure throughout the industry and country.

Lasting gains will not be won simply by turning factories into producer cooperatives, particularly in an industry so tightly controlled by powerful monopolies. Nor would this offer an answer to the broader threat of unemployment facing all auto workers. A factory occupation at Jefferson must be part of a national campaign for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to provide jobs for all available workers, and for the nationalization of the auto industry without compensation.

Because of the key position of auto in the U.S. capitalist economy, such demands necessarily raise the need for a workers government. They also urgently require social planning of produc-

tion, which, in turn, means extending workers control throughout the entire transport manufacturing industry.

A militant mass factory occupation, well planned and organized, and raising demands which all UAW members and workers throughout the country can recognize as their own, would not be a suicidal adventure such as that spawned by PL/WAM at Mack Avenue in August 1973. But to achieve success it must be part of a broad labor industrial and political offensive, with a capable, dedicated leadership and a clear class-struggle program. The key task in preparing to answer the wave of layoffs and plant closures is to begin forging that leadership, both in the plants and through the struggle to construct a vanguard party of the working class. ■



# "Labor Party" Farce in San Mateo County

**The CSL's  
"International":  
Fourth, Fifth  
or Cop?**

BURLINGAME, California, October 26—A meeting here today, pretentiously billed as the founding conference of the "San Mateo County Labor Party," exposed the futile opportunism and comic stupidity of trying to form a labor party without struggling against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy.

The core of the organizing committee for this "labor party" was a caucus in AFSCME (government employees' union), the Committee for New Leadership led by one Jerry Warren. Consciously seeking an alliance with the labor fakers in order to build a reformist party, the CNL put forward a truncated "minimum program" consisting of six planks: 100 percent cost-of-living escalator, no layoffs, free full-time childcare, no sexual/racial discrimination in hiring, free public transportation and public works jobs for the unemployed at union wage scales.

The hapless Class Struggle League, which had earlier conjured up a "United Front for a Labor Party" together with the CNL, enthusiastically advertised the conference in the Bay Area radical milieu. However, when militants arrived they discovered that only those who "live or work in San Mateo County" would be allowed to speak or vote! (No "outside agitators" here!) Thus the majority of those present were shunted into an observers' section while the "voting delegates"—a grand total of about 15—hammered out the program for the liberation of San Mateo County.

## Partial Program, Total Betrayal

The CNL/CSL "partial program" merely represents one more attempt to tailor a "labor party" to what is acceptable to the present misleaders of labor. Last year an offhand remark by United Mine Workers president Arnold Miller, that workers should "elect a labor president," was enough to send the CSL into ecstasy. *Class Struggle* (November 1973) proclaimed that a "labor party...in which the workers will be better tied to the capitalist parliamentary farce" would be "a step forward for the class." The CSL "neglected" to mention that Miller never breathed a word about a labor party and is a longtime loyal Democrat.

So, too, with the "San Mateo County Labor Party." While its organizers were able to draw endorsements from a few isolated union locals (notably Fire Fighters and AFSCME), the only real power at the meeting was Tom Hunter, business manager of Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 467, in whose hall the SMCLP was "founded." Hunter, originally from Scotland and familiar with the British Labour Party, is also a "practical" business unionist. During the discussion he boasted that he tells his members to vote for Republicans like Houston Flournoy (for California governor) and Dixon Arnett (for state assembly)!

If the CNL/CSL program was partial, their betrayal was complete. Even the reformist six-point platform turned out to be negotiable as the meeting repeatedly capitulated to Hunter's right-wing objections. First he announced that "no layoffs" was simply "pie in the sky" and would "turn people off." Always accommodating, Jerry Warren proposed to amend the point to read "no layoffs where possible." This was duly passed, with one CSL supporter voting against, for the record.

Next Hunter objected, with perfect reformist logic, that "free public transportation" would mean higher taxes on working people, so that point was tabled. Thus in the space of one afternoon, one third of the original program was dropped or rendered meaningless. Hunter even tried to amend

the call for "public works at union wages" to read "...at prevailing wage scales"! But after some horse-trading a compromise ("...at prevailing union wage scales") was reached.

If only to advertise in advance their willingness to retreat to such a sub-reformist program, fully compatible with capitalist rule, the organizers of this farce had earlier made explicit appeals to backward social attitudes among the workers. A leaflet by the CNL/CSL "United Front for a Labor Party" bemoaned the fact that "the bosses make sure our paychecks aren't big enough to support our families so our wives are forced to work." (So women's place is in the home—or is it only wives?) One member of the CNL recently quit in disgust when Jerry Warren adamantly refused to include in the caucus program a point opposing discrimination against homosexuals. After all, it might jeopardize those endorsements from the Fire Fighters.

## For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Later in the afternoon session "outside" organizations were permitted to make short statements. Earl Owens of the CSL tried to put a respectable face on the proceedings by denouncing unnamed radicals who want a "perfect labor party." (The CSL certainly proved its willingness to settle for an absurd parody of a labor party.) "The problem," he said, using the traditional argument of all reformists, "is to begin."

For the Spartacist League, Tweet Carter took the floor and pointed out that the struggle for a labor party must explicitly demand an end to support for the two capitalist parties. Our call for a workers party is linked to the perspective of a workers government and "the end of the capitalist system of exploitation," she emphasized. For that reason it is necessary to fight for a full transitional program representing the interests of the working class.

An SL leaflet to the conference listed as among the points necessary for a real class-struggle workers party: jobs for all, full cost-of-living protection, 30-for-40, strikes against layoffs; an end to all forms of racial and sexual discrimination; full union democracy, no government interference in the unions; expropriation of industry under workers control; oust the labor bureaucrats, break from the capitalist Democrats and Republicans; opposition to protectionism and U.S. imperialist war aims.

The problem with the CNL/CSL "minimum program," Carter noted in contrasting the SL's principled struggle, was that it glosses over crucial class questions, for instance, the presence of cops in the labor movement. Any trade union should exclude cops from its ranks: they are the agents of the class enemy. But AFSCME includes many thousand police among its members. Where would the "San Mateo County Labor Party" stand? The CNL and CSL were silent on this point.

Ruth Ryan of the Committee for a Militant UAW stressed the importance of opposing court interference in the unions, citing recent lawsuits against the UAW by reformist fake militants as a negative example. "The union bureaucracy is the obstacle," she noted, but the bureaucracy must be removed by the ranks, not the bosses' state.

## When Is A "Labor Party" Not A Labor Party?

Near the end of the conference, the fundamentally anti-communist character of this "labor party" was exposed when an SL supporter pointed to a

dangerous clause in the newly adopted constitution of the "SMCLP": "No member may act...to bring the party under the control of some other party or organization."

"If I were reading the AFL-CIO Constitution," the speaker said, "I would take this clause to refer to 'commies,' socialists, subversives, reds..." Suddenly Hunter shouted out from the audience, "Yes, that's what it means!" The embarrassed chairman responded that the clause could also refer to Democrats.

By this point there was no keeping the cat in the bag any longer. A San Francisco taxi driver asked whether a member in the San Mateo County Labor Party who was also a union leader could be expelled if he told his members to vote Republican or Democrat against an SMCLP candidate. Jerry Warren moved to defer the question, but Hunter was, as usual, unabashed: "The answer is NO!"

Hunter's reply made it crystal clear that the "SMCLP" is not a labor party at all, but just one more "independent" local slate that does not counterpose itself to the capitalist parties. Operating in a similar manner but on a much larger scale, the "American Labor Party" during the 1930's ran its own candidates locally while channeling votes to Roosevelt nationally.

Hunter became agitated by the attacks from the left and demanded time to reply. He related how a long time ago he attended a workers' meeting in Scotland which found it necessary to expel the Communists. "The police are working people," he asserted, and even "decent people" to boot.

In reaction to Hunter's anti-communist tirade an older worker in the printing trades in San Mateo County rose to say that a lot of Hunter's ideas were "all wet." He went on to say he had been active in the American Labor Party in New York, and it had been an opportunist venture. It was necessary, he declared, to break with the Republicans and Democrats, and he would fight for that. The cops, he said, were scabs and must be thrown out of the unions.

Stunned by this attack on his creation Warren quickly moved to end discussion. By this point even the CSL looked shamed by the crass opportunism of its CNL "allies," but it dutifully voted for the founding of the SMCLP, its miserable constitution and Jerry Warren as executive secretary of this abortion. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

### Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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sarily express the editorial  
viewpoint.

A hotly debated issue at the meeting to organize a "San Mateo County Labor Party" was the role of police—the hired guns of the capitalist class. The Spartacist League stated forthrightly that cops should be expelled from all working-class organizations, including unions (such as AFSCME) and any labor party. Others, leading union bureaucrats, wanted to include cops. It is now rumored that the "SMCLP" wants to run a candidate for sheriff.

Throughout the discussion the Class Struggle League and the Committee for New Leadership (a caucus in AFSCME) remained silent on this important question. However, their apparent neutrality is only on the surface. At the 1972 national convention of AFSCME CNLer Jerry Warren strongly opposed a resolution proposed by a delegate from the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070 (Los Angeles) demanding that cops and prison guards be expelled from the union.

Earl Owens, leading West Coast member of the tiny CSL, complained at this meeting that the SL had lied about and distorted his position on the cops by asserting in a leaflet that he supports unionization of cops, considers them part of the working class and would welcome them into the CSL provided they accept its program and discipline.

Not only did CSLers at the meeting never call for excluding cops from a labor party; not only is the CSL in a propaganda bloc with Jerry Warren who opposes expelling cops from AFSCME; but we have a handwritten statement from Brother Owens stating just what his "position" is:

10/26/74

"I, the undersigned, Earl [Owens], state that individual members of the police and army, in my opinion, who accept and will fight for the Transitional Program of the IV International and accept the discipline of the revolutionary party, have the right to membership in the revolutionary party. Though such individuals are not by occupation part of the working class, they can be invaluable to the revolutionary party, to the extent they struggle against the organs of bourgeois repression."

/s/ Earl [Owens]

What a stupid travesty of Marxism and the basic principle of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie! During an earlier verbal discussion with SLers following a forum of the Berkeley-based Committee for Working Class Studies, Owens repeatedly refused to state that cops are not part of the working class and asserted that they could join any workers' organization without resigning from the police force.

In another written statement from the October 26 meeting Owens states that "if cops stop being cops, i.e. stop breaking strikes" then they could join the unions. As to accepting the program and discipline of the revolutionary party, what police infiltrator doesn't claim that!

The call for non-strike-breaking cops to join the unions is the crassest Kautskyian notion of taking over the state. It is not unknown to Brother Owens that under the Weimar Republic Prussian state police were heavily recruited from among members of the Social Democratic Party. Perhaps the CSL has something similar in mind, as part of its "proletarian military policy."

Members of the Fire Fighters' union, outraged by Sheriff's Department attacks on picket lines, may mistakenly believe that a "labor sheriff" would behave differently. But for Owens, who claims to be a Leninist, to perpetuate such illusions is stupid and criminal. ■



## Union Bureaucrats Dissolve Bargaining Council

# Postal Workers Stranded Before Automation Drive

TORONTO, October 28—As the Canadian government proceeds to implement large-scale "rationalization" of the mails at the expense of postal workers, the leaders of both post office unions have dissolved the joint bargaining council, leaving their members with neither a contract nor union protection!

Postal workers are presently organized into two unions; the 22,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), which is mainly composed of clerks, and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) representing 12,000 drivers and letter carriers. Since 1967 the two unions have had a joint bargaining agent, the Council of Postal Unions (CPU).

However, on October 8 the CUPW, with the cooperation of the LCUC, dissolved the CPU. Now both unions must apply separately for recertification, a process which will take at least several months. Thus while the government considers recertification of the unions, the Treasury Department (which administers the postal service) can freely automate with no worries about union "interference."

The rationalization scheme (MAPP) is based on automation of mail sortation, eliminating some of the more skilled classifications of postal clerks. The automation will result in increased workloads and layoffs for most categories of postal workers.

CUPW members have already demonstrated their readiness to fight the MAPP plan by launching a nationwide strike last April against the impending rationalization. The CUPW bureaucrats, led by president Joe Davidson, quickly sold out that struggle, first by limiting the struggle to opposition to wage cuts and then by forcing the ranks back to work without having won even these minimal demands. The LCUC bureaucrats formally advised their members to honour CUPW picket lines but refused to organize active support for the strike.

Now these bureaucrats hope to avoid militant struggle against MAPP by opposing any strike action as "foolhardy" until the union is recertified. The CUPW sellouts expect that their members will have accepted MAPP as a "fait accompli" by the time that the jurisdictional wrangles and red tape are finally resolved.

### CUPW Raids LCUC

CUPW leaders had yet another reason for dissolving the CPU at this time. They plan to effect a "merger" on their own terms with the LCUC: CUPW has been raiding the LCUC drivers (Mail Service Couriers) since April. The CUPW tops seem to think that between now and the time of recertification they will be able to sign up enough of the 2,500 MSCs to have that category included in their jurisdiction. Thus the MAPP plan won't affect the bureaucrats—recruitment of drivers will offset the loss of dues from laid-off clerks!

The ranks have not been taken in by Davidson's demagogic "merger" rhetoric. At a September 29 Toronto CUPW local meeting, militants put forward a motion that the local go on record as being opposed to raiding, since raiding only creates further obstacles to merger. The motion passed overwhelmingly.

ingly. Even the local union brass found it impossible not to affirm this basic principle of labour solidarity.

The response of the national bureaucracy? CUPW leaders threatened to suspend the democratic rights of the union's largest local. In a letter of October 22 addressed to "all members of the Toronto local" Davidson stated:

"This lack of action [to recruit the Mail Service Couriers] on the part of your Local leaders has caused the Calgary Local to urge all other Locals involved in the Mail Services Carriers campaign to demand that the National Executive Board place the Toronto Local under trusteeship.

"For the sake of unity, support your National Union...."

It is precisely Davidson's raiding tactics which threaten a merger of the two unions into a "strong and united" national union which could effectively deal with the threat of job layoffs.

On the other hand, the response of the LCUC tops to CUPW raiding has been to go to the bourgeois courts to obtain an injunction. This is an act of fundamental class betrayal. The courts intervene in union affairs not as "unbiased" mediators, but to increase the control of the capitalist class over the workers' organizations. Militants in the postal unions must demand *government out of union affairs!*

LCUC bureaucrats have consistently opposed merger with the larger CUPW because they fear a loss of privileges for themselves. Their response to MAPP has been to assure their membership that it is primarily a problem for the CUPW clerks! In reality drivers and letter carriers will also be affected by the rationalization.

### PAC-RMG: Militant Economism

In opposition to the existing trade-union leaderships there are several supposedly radical groupings in the post office. But none provide any real alternative; all simply stand for one or another brand of "more militant" pure and simple trade unionism.

The Postal Action Committee (PAC), which is supported by the Canadian Party of Labour (associated with the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S.), specializes in "know-nothing" trade-union militancy. PAC's program for postal workers has two components: democratic rank-and-file control of the union and CPL's special cure-all—"30 for 40."

The slogan of a sliding scale of hours, to provide employment for all by dividing the available work among existing workers at no loss in pay, was first used by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program of 1938. It retains its full validity today as part of a revolutionary program to mobilize workers against bourgeois rule. For PAC, however, "30 for 40" is a demand which can "solve the problem of automation." Marxists recognize that the "problems of automation" (speed-up, wage cuts, unemployment) are endemic to capitalist production and cannot be "solved" by anything less than proletarian revolution and socialist planning.

Also active in the post office are supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), Cana-

## CANADA



Mail stacked up during April's postal strike in Toronto.

dian sympathizing organization of the so-called "United" Secretariat. RMG supporters function as individual militants while awaiting the spontaneous generation of an "organized vanguard layer" of postal workers who will lead their own struggles.

The failure of such a layer to come forward led the RMG to regretfully report in the October issue of the *Old Mole* that "no consistent opposition to the bullshit of the bureaucrats has emerged over the past couple of years." It certainly hasn't come from the RMG!

During the national wildcat strike last April the RMG followed the lead of the bureaucrats in focusing entirely on wage demands instead of raising demands which could have made the strike a fight against MAPP. The RMG's only contribution was to attempt to "spice up" its political capitulation by making some tactical suggestions for increasing the militancy of the strike (mass picketing, elected strike committees). The ultimate logic of such economism was clearly demonstrated when RMG supporters blocked with the bureaucrats in advocating a return to work without having resolved any of the major strike issues!

### For a Class-Struggle Leadership

The MAPP rationalization cannot be defeated by trade-union bureaucrats who have so willingly acceded to the government at every point. Nor can the attacks against postal workers be defeated by a "new" leadership based on a program of simple shop-floor militancy. Only a leadership based on a full class-struggle program can provide a clear alternative to the sellout

policies of the current bureaucracies.

A revolutionary leadership within the post office would call for an immediate merger of the two postal unions. Such a merger must take place as a result of a full and democratic discussion of all the issues involved and must guarantee that no section of the postal workers be required to sacrifice any benefits, gains or democratic rights already won.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40") as part of the struggle to defeat government attempts to introduce massive automation and layoffs; for union control of hiring—a union hiring hall; for full union rights for all postal workers (part-timers, term employees and workers who have not yet completed their six months' probation); for union control of working conditions to undercut management harassment on the shop floor; for a sliding scale of wages to be adjusted upwards in direct proportion to the increased cost of living, as determined by a union cost-of-living commission.

The government's attacks on postal workers are part of a general assault on the rights and living standards of the entire working class, as the Canadian bourgeoisie attempts to improve its position relative to the capitalists of other states. A struggle for the real interests of postal workers—and all workers—must inevitably lead to an attack against the capitalist system itself. Thus a class-struggle program in the post office would not merely address the immediate needs of postal workers but would link these needs to the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist government of exploitation and oppression and replacing it with a workers government. ■



End U.S. Economic Blockade of Cuba!

It appears that the U.S. government is now considering proposals to lift its 13-year embargo on trade with Cuba. In April of this year Senators Javits and Pell introduced a Congressional resolution calling for a "review of United States-Cuban relations." Then, earlier this fall, the two Senate leaders travelled to Havana accompanied by a large number of newsmen. They returned to report that Castro was "friendly, frank, and warm" (*New York Times*, 1 October). Pell also walked off with one of Castro's cigars, which he presumably smoked before passing through U.S. Customs.

The first U.S. restrictions on trade with Cuba began in 1959, in response to expropriation of U.S. properties there following the overthrow of Batista. Eisenhower and Kennedy hoped that a boycott, in particular elimination of Cuba's sugar quota, would damage the island's economy and hinder the potential growth of its agricultural production. The U.S. also ordered its Latin American "allies" to close their ports to any ship that docked in Cuba.

The U.S.-imposed embargo made Cuba largely dependent on Russian credits, and for a while also curtailed trade with Europe. But neither the

economic blockade nor the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion succeeded in reimposing imperialist domination. Now, as Britain and Spain have traded regularly with Cuba for years, and with the world price of sugar rising to 40 cents a pound (up from 6.5 cents in 1961), a resumption of trade appears advantageous to Washington.

Trotskyists are the *best defenders* of the social conquests of the Russian, Chinese and Cuban revolutions. From 1959 on we have opposed the imperialist economic blockade of Cuba. Trade with capitalist countries proved to be necessary even in the earliest years of the Russian Revolution, in order to obtain needed raw materials and advanced technology. Against the attempts by U.S. rulers to economically strangle the USSR, American Trotskyists continued to demand diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union even after Stalin had carried out a political counter-revolution, entrenching bureaucratic rule and purging the Marxists. We take the same attitude toward the Cuban deformed workers state.

Of course, increased relations with the imperialists pose dangers of counterrevolutionary subversion. This is



Fidel Castro. LEE LOCKWOOD/BLACK STAR

particularly true where, as in Cuba and the other deformed and degenerated workers states, there is no real workers democracy and the ruling group is a parasitic petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste which seeks above all to protect its own privileges.

The only answer to the danger of capitalist restoration is a proletarian internationalist policy of extending the revolution. The Stalinists, who seek to conciliate imperialism, are incapable of carrying out such a Marxist policy, and it is no accident that today Castro has joined the Russians and Chinese in singing the praises of Henry Kissinger and détente.

In a recent television interview the "líder máximo" pointed out that the defeat in Chile was due to the fact that the military was not on the side of the working class (conveniently "forgetting" that he supported Allende before the coup). But Castro contrasts this with the "revolutionary" governments of Peru and Panama, where the colonels allegedly are on the side of the workers! "Peaceful coexistence," popular fronts with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and support for "anti-imperialist" military juntas—this is the logic of Stalinism.

Down with the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba! For unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialist attack! For political revolutions to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracies from Moscow and Peking to Hanoi and Havana! ■

Continued from page 7

Communist Labor Party

an examination of the facts reveals that the CPUSA was simply carrying out a policy of class collaboration no different from that of any other Stalinist party, and further, that this policy originated with Joseph Stalin himself.

The United Front Against Fascism

The policy of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, the proposal of a "wide anti-fascist Popular Front" which would also draw in the petty-bourgeois parties "or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist Popular Front, despite their [bourgeois] leadership" advocated by Stalin and Dimitrov, was a panic reaction to the defeat of the German working-class by the Nazis. This defeat was above all prepared by the "ultra-left" Third Period policies of Stalin—when he held that the No. 1 enemy was the "social-fascist" Social Democrats, and let Hitler march to power unhindered.

With the Seventh World Congress Stalin rushed to bloc not only with the Social Democrats, who only yesterday were supposed to be the "left wing of fascism," but also with the "democratic, anti-fascist" wing of the bourgeoisie. When the Communist International shifted its line from the Third Period to the Popular Front, the line of the American party shifted as well.

The CLP would like to blame Browder for a great deal of the CP's opportunism. Yet it is clear that Browder was placed in the leadership of the CP at Stalin's orders. Further, Browder faithfully carried out Stalin's Third Period line. When Stalin/Dimitrov signalled the switch to a policy of Popular Frontism, Browder obediently went along with the change. Does the CLP really believe that Stalin's back was turned when Browder liquidated the CPUSA (following the lead of Stalin who a year earlier had liquidated the Comintern!) and declared "Communism is 20th century Americanism" [!:] or when Foster called the Roosevelt administration a *de facto* people's front, "a coalition among the worker, middle class elements, and the more liberal sections of the bourgeoisie"?

The CLP tries hard to keep up a left face. It was one of the few Stalinist tendencies

to criticize the Allende regime in Chile, for example:

"This Marxist government not only does nothing to free the working class from bourgeois political control, but actually condones it under the guise of 'unity against reaction'.... Of course, the Communist Party of Chile called for all out support to its policies. Right up to the very end they called upon the 'people' to support the 'patriotic' armed forces."

—Peoples' Tribune, September 1973

But *this is precisely the role the CLP would play* if it logically followed through with its theory of the United Front Against Fascism, i.e., Stalin's people's front. In fact, the schizophrenic CLP endorses in the case of Vietnam and the Philippines the self-same tactics that it so strongly condemns in Chile. Thus, in the very issue of *Peoples' Tribune* quoted above the CLP states the need to "first achieve a new type of national democratic revolution, a people's democratic revolution in the concrete semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions of the Philippines, before reaching the stage of socialist revolution" (our emphasis).

Again, this is precisely the role the Spanish Communist Party, under Stalin's direct guidance and with the blood-stained assistance of such "veteran communists" as CLP member Admiral Kilpatrick (whose job, brags the CLP, was "rooting out the hidden agents of the bloc of rights and Trotskyites"), played in crushing the Spanish workers' revolution nearly 40 years ago. Here

is what Kilpatrick, the GPU and the Spanish Stalinists fought for, as quoted from the French Communist Party's *L'Humanité* in August 1936:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public... that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republican order while respecting private property."

—Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*

Whither the CLP?

The CLP clings to Stalin, yet it cannot reconcile itself to the class collaboration of Stalin's CPUSA. It seeks to wriggle out of this contradiction by covering up the equally wretched records of other Stalinist parties and advancing an American exceptional theory of "revisionism in one country." Paper, as Stalin was fond of saying, will take anything that is written upon it. But insofar as the CLP attempts to construct a political party of the working class and intervene in the class struggle, it will only be able to reproduce the reformism it purports to fight. Indeed, despite its "leftist" impulses and ultra-Stalinism the practice of the CLP does not transcend the sub-reformism of its New Left Maoist competitors.

Of course the CLP arrives at its revolution-by-stages conclusions in its own unique manner. Stating that fascism is on the agenda (except in the Black Belt "Negro Nation" where, we are in-

formed, it already exists), the CLP advocates the classical Stalinist United Front Against Fascism (in which, we are assured, the CLP will be the leading force). Holding the position that the oppression of black people in the U.S. is a national oppression and that the "Negro Nation" (which doesn't exist—see *Young Spartacus*, No. 23, May-June 1974) is a colony of American imperialism, the CLP demands immediate independence for the "Negro Nation" and states:

"Our political outlook can be summed up—the state of the United States is very powerful and as a united whole cannot be overthrown. The overthrow of this state is possible only if it is first — or in the process — dismembered." [our emphasis]

—Peoples' Tribune, July 1974

The CLP claims to have broken with the "theory" of two-stage revolution only to return to it through the back door. Such is the inevitable fate of all would-be revolutionaries who embrace Stalinism which, as history has demonstrated, is reformist to the core.

The CLP cringes in fear of the "united whole" of the American bourgeoisie. This is the essence of revisionism—a lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class and its vanguard to defeat the bourgeois state. The reformists seek, therefore, an "easier" path. There is one state power in the U.S. Only a united working class marching behind a single, united, multi-racial Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party will be able to overturn it and institute a workers government which will liberate all the oppressed. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## UMW Strike Deadline Nears

# Shut Down Coal! Organize the Unorganized!

NOVEMBER 2—Mine workers throughout the country are preparing for November 12, the day when their contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association expires.

The coal industry has been booming ever since the "oil crisis" began last fall, with profits soaring 181 percent in the last year (*United Mine Workers Journal*, 16-31 October). The nation's third-largest producer, Island Creek (a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum), raked in an incredible 716 percent increase in "earnings."

In contrast, coal miners' take-home pay has gone up only 8 percent. With prices continuing to climb at "double-digit" rates, their real wages are actually declining, down about 4 percent since late 1971.

As the energy conglomerates rush to cash in on their manipulated "shortages" and unusual profit opportunities, they send down the orders for speed-up. In the pits speed-up means death. Already 99 miners have died in the first nine months of 1974, 25 of them since September 3, the date contract negotiations began.

The miners are chafing at the bit in their eagerness to remedy these outrages. However, all signs indicate that the United Mine Workers (UMW) leadership is aiming for a "statesmanlike" settlement and a "managed" strike.

(As we go to press news reports indicate that contract talks have "reached an impasse" over economic issues. However, it is unanimously agreed that the companies refused to present their "final offer" in the belief that a strike was inevitable anyway. Neither the UMW nor the employers have revealed what the demands are.)

In fact the Bargaining Council has failed to specify any wage demands, thereby showing its willingness to "deal" on this point. In the case of the UMW-represented "ABC" (construction) workers, who bargain separately, the union bureaucracy did not demand any wage increase at all!

The cost-of-living escalator being sought (the UMW now has none) would cover only about 70 percent of the rise in consumer prices. Under the final contract, this percentage will undoubtedly be even less, leaving miners still vulnerable to the ravages of the current grinding inflation.

### Safety and the Right to Strike

Non-economic issues—health and safety, grievance procedures, pensions, etc.—make up the heart of the UMW contract proposals. The frequent wildcats which occur in the coal fields are often triggered by atrocious working and sanitation conditions or arbitrary and dictatorial disciplinary procedures. Wildcats, because they do not have official union support, often result in frustration and defeat.

The union is demanding the right to strike at the local level on all grievances and disputes, something that is prohibited by "no-strike" clauses in most union contracts. However, the proposal raised by the UMW Bargaining Council links this demand to a supposed equal "right" of the company to lock out!

Talk of a "right" of the employers

to deprive workers of their jobs is outrageous coming from the mouths of union officials! Once the alleged "right" of the companies to exploit labor, make a profit and organize production is admitted the union becomes superfluous. Miller knows this, of course, so the linking of the right to strike over grievances to a lockout clause is merely a way of dumping what for the membership is a key demand.

If anyone doubted what the attitude of the union leaders is on the right to strike over safety and working conditions, they only have to look at Miller's campaign against wildcats last year.

The UMW bureaucracy is focusing in the negotiations on achieving compliance with federal mine safety standards. Yet, as almost every issue of the *UMW Journal* points out, the current federal mines legislation is biased toward the employer. The new Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) is as reluctant to enforce even these standards as was its predecessor, the Bureau of Mines.

Putting in a "friend of labor" to replace the current MESA administrator, James Day, would not significantly alter the function of the government agency. Miller calls for this because it is the essence of his "strategy." Ever since coming into office in a Labor Department-ordered and supervised election, Miller has sought to use the government to his benefit. The capitalist state cannot, however, be cajoled into changing its class character.

### Strike to Organize Non-Union Fields

In spite of the victory at Brookside mine in August, organizing efforts in Harlan County, Kentucky, have recently suffered a setback because of the defeat of the UMW in a representation election at the nearby Highsplint mine, which is also owned by Duke Power. The UMW bureaucracy had earlier tried appeals to stockholders, meeting with a "citizens" panel, U.S. senators and the Kentucky governor in an effort to end company-backed violence and the use of state troopers as scab herders at Harlan.

Predictably nothing happened. Despite heroic determination of the Brookside miners, the strike dragged on for months. It was not until the union reluctantly called a five-day national "memorial," mobilizing the economic power of the entire union, that it was possible to force Duke Power to accept the national contract.

The UMW will have to use the same tactics of union solidarity if it is to extend the victory at Brookside to non-union coal fields in eastern Kentucky, the South and important strip-mining operations in the West. The current tight coal supplies of major industrial and power users give the UMW an exceptional possibility to organize the more than 30 percent of the bituminous coal industry which is still non-unionized.

A recent *UMW Journal* (1-15 October), while promising the union will back new organizing drives, states that "...the key factor, at Brookside, will be the miners themselves and their fam-



Miners march at Harlan, Kentucky, during UMW "memorial" in August. WV PHOTO

ilies." These are noble-sounding sentiments, but as the Brookside experience shows, the united power of the entire union is necessary to achieve success against the giant conglomerates.

The signing of an agreement not to strike at Brookside if there is a nationwide walkout on November 12 and the UMW's statement that the key will be local efforts are sure signs that the touted organizing drive will be less than massive. The UMW was built, as was the CIO in the 1930's, by national action and tremendous social struggles. It can be no different today.

Miners should take advantage of the present strong bargaining power of the UMW and demand of their leaders that a national strike be called to organize the non-union fields!

### Expropriate the Coal Barons!

Newspaper reports indicate that there is now agreement between the UMW and the companies on non-economic issues, leaving only the "secondary" wage demands to be thrashed out. It seems clear that if a strike occurs, the main cause will be the ranks' will to struggle and the lack of time to complete the ratification procedures before contract deadline.

Miller is obviously aping the tactics of Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers. During the 1973 auto negotiations Woodcock called a two-day strike against Chrysler as a bogus show of militancy and a chance for the membership to "blow off steam."

Although Miller seems ready to talk turkey, the capitalists (which, in the case of coal, happen to be the largest oil and steel monopolies) are taking no chances. The economy is in deep crisis and coal stockpiles are dangerously low, particularly in the key steel industry.

The Federal Energy Administration is now preparing to order utility companies to dump their coal reserves on the market if necessary to break a militant strike. Then, when the power companies run short, public opinion would

be mobilized against the "selfish" miners.

### Needed: A Class-Struggle Opposition

During the heyday of the "gasoline shortage" last winter the UMW called for nationalization of the energy monopolies. This demand should be resurrected, specifying that there should be no compensation for the coal barons and oil billionaires. With Rockefeller's multi-million dollar gifts and the oil/coal companies' astronomical profits scandalizing the country, this would enable the union to cut across the public discontent during a lengthy coal strike. Of course, Miller and the union leadership, with their eagerness to "compromise," have no intention of raising this demand.

The initial euphoria of Miller's first days in office is wearing off and there are now reports of dissension in the upper councils of the UMW. A wave of wildcats throughout 1973 and the West Virginia strike against "gasoline shortages" this February were signs of restiveness in the ranks. So, too, was the refusal of the December 1973 UMW convention to approve Miller's "improved" grievance procedure, which relies on "neutral" third parties sitting on arbitration boards.

Miller, the champion of union democracy and darling of the liberals and opportunist fake socialists, either broke or abandoned the wildcats. He snuck his unpopular grievance procedure back into the bargaining demands, and has managed to scuttle the demand for a six-hour day which was raised on the floor of the convention.

The tremendous rank-and-file militancy of the last three years is being squandered for the most minimal gains during a period of soaring company profits and tremendous union bargaining power. This must not be allowed to happen! Construction of a class-struggle opposition in the UMW, and in all key sections of the U.S. labor movement, is clearly a crucial task for revolutionaries and militant coal miners. ■