

Stop the Stalling—Elect Strike Committees

SHUT DOWN S.F. NOW!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 20—The labor movement in San Francisco, traditionally the strongest "union town" in the country, stands before the brink. Each capitulation, each step backward by the weak-kneed bureaucrats heading the craft workers' 21-day-old walkout only emboldens the Board of Supervisors and further isolates the strikers. But at the same time, a vigorous drive by the angry ranks to pull out the rest of San Francisco labor and close S.F. down could quickly turn the tables on the bosses and open the road to victory.

The city's rulers are determined to implement the notorious Proposition B passed last November and force 30 percent pay cuts on 1,900 municipal craft workers. If this strike is defeated, the Board can confidently look forward to pushing through its Propositions O and E in June. These viciously anti-labor city charter amendments provide for immediate and mandatory firing of any city worker who strikes.

In a pathetic display of impotence, the craft union misleaders took down picket lines yesterday at the opera house, school bus yards and Laguna Honda Hospital "to show good faith" and back up their plea for federal mediation. Quentin Kopp, head of the Board of Supervisors, arrogantly responded that this concession was "not material" and that mediation was "not in the picture" unless all the strikers went back to work. The dwindling and largely ineffectual picket lines, like the craven call for federal intervention, underscores the vacuum of leadership in the strike, which now hangs in the balance.

The San Francisco labor brass is running scared. While the Central Labor Council (CLC) tops plaintively ask each other why there is so much scabbing, they provide no day-to-day direction of the strike. Pickets are mobilized and dispatched by an ad hoc group of strikers operating out of the Plumbers and Pipefitters' union hall. The bureaucracy apparently gave its tacit approval to the efforts of rank and filers to maintain some strike activity in the hopes that this would keep some minimal pressure on the supervisors (and allow militants to "blow off steam") while the labor fakery negotiate a sellout.

The possible shape of such a sellout was indicated this weekend when Laborers union chief George Evankovich told television news reporters that he had offered to take a 10 percent pay cut for the laborers, who are a majority of the striking city workers. In another particularly crass display of cynicism, Larry Martin, head of Transport Workers (TWU) Local 250A described

reports that the Muni drivers had voted a 72-hour deadline for the CLC to carry out preparations for a general strike as based on a "misinterpretation." To protect himself from the predictable outrage which this hazen lie will cause among the membership, Martin also announced that there would be no TWU meetings held this week!

Demand Elected Strike Committees

This morning several hundred striking craft workers and supporters from the TWU and other unions blocked buses entering the AC Transit terminal for 45 minutes. State police maced several militants, and, after the police had threatened arrests, self-appointed picket captains dissolved the line and led the workers over to picket City Hall. This action demonstrates both the continuing militancy of many strikers and the lack of a competent and determined leadership on the lines.

While the CLC refuses to defend the lines from a position of strength, the handful of transit workers associated with the Concerned Muni Drivers, a group backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, offers the dead end of adventurist confrontations with the cops. On Monday a proposal that the fewer than 50 strikers assembled at strike central attempt to shut down AC Transit was defeated by cooler heads who argued that a mass picket line was necessary to carry out such a militant action.

The broad support for an elected strike committee evident at a meeting held today in strike headquarters demonstrates the rank and file's growing consciousness that, unless they take direction of the struggle out of the hands of the treacherous labor fakery, they face imminent defeat. Among those backing such a proposal was Howard Keylor, a longtime waterfront union activist and co-editor of "Longshore Militant," an oppositional newsletter in Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Keylor was roundly cheered when he urged that the ranks elect a picket committee, send a delegation to the Thursday night meeting of Local 10 and issue a call for a mass meeting of all San Francisco labor unions to plan an immediate city-wide general strike. He pointed out that his Local had approved a strike support motion last month, and that the strikers would have the longshoremen's backing in shutting down the waterfront if they threw up lines at the docks



WV Photo

San Francisco city workers picket City Hall last Wednesday.

An April 5 leaflet issued by Keylor and other supporters of the "Longshore Militant" and the Local 6 "Warehouse Militant" pointed the way forward for the embattled city workers through a revival of the kind of active labor solidarity that turned the 1934 San Francisco general strike into an historic victory for the American working class:

"With the warehouse contract coming up June 1, and a major Pay Guarantee Plan crisis facing longshoremen July 1, the time is ripe for the ILWU to call for a general strike. Such a call would find an immediate response from militant Muni drivers who once again to a man have honored the craft workers' picket lines and whose own contract expires July 1.

"An ILWU-initiated general strike could not only assure an end to all cuts

in city services and victory for the city workers; it could win 100% COLA, high wages, and a shorter work week at no loss in pay for the entire area labor movement. It would turn the tide against the bosses' offensive and keep San Francisco a strong union town."

Unionists backing the craftsmen's struggle had their first taste of arrests and police attacks at an April 14 strike support rally in front of City Hall. Although initial news reports described the rally as sponsored by the TWU and the Service Employees International Union, official endorsements were disavowed after several hundred militant workers took steps to "educate" scabs intent on crossing the lines.

Shattering the myth of cops as "fellow

continued on page 11

International Campaign Launched to Save Mario Muñoz3

Muni Drivers Demand General Strike Now!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 17—Nearly 1,000 drivers of the S.F. Municipal Railway (Muni) met today at a special union meeting of Local 250A of the Transportation Workers Union (TWU) at the Marine Cooks and Stewards Hall. After a lengthy floor discussion, the membership voted overwhelmingly to continue respecting picket lines of striking craft workers and to demand that the Central Labor Council (CLC) implement a general strike within 72 hours.

The meeting occurred as the S.F. Board of Supervisors, Mayor Moscone and the Bay Area media intensified a back-to-work campaign pressuring Muni drivers to abandon their shutdown of the city's buses, trolleys and cable cars in support of the tradesmen. Unwilling to make good on their halfhearted call for a general strike, the bureaucrats of the CLC have spent the last week pleading for the intervention of a federal mediator.

The supervisors, knowing that the bureaucrats' sabotage of united strike action has given them a position of strength, have arrogantly demanded the return to work of Muni drivers as a precondition for any federal mediation! As the shutdown of Muni has been the only action to give the strike any social weight, a vote to cross the lines would have been a fatal blow to the craft workers.

The TWU bureaucrats have been carefully probing the militant ranks for signs of anti-strike sentiment in order to start a back-to-work movement. Larry Martin, president of Local 250A, issued a press statement prior to the meeting, announcing that the Local executive board would take a neutral stand on continuing the walkout. Martin lamented to the assembled press: "Our members have been holding out pretty well but their pockets are getting kind of light."

At the meeting, however, Martin briefly presented an executive board recommendation to continue respecting the picket lines. Nonetheless, Martin's subdued tone contrasted starkly with his flamboyant hour-long speech at the last local meeting of April 9. Martin made it clear at today's meeting that if the membership wanted to cross picket lines, he was ready to acquiesce.

During the subsequent floor discussion, the mood of the membership reflected the anger and frustration with Martin and the Central Labor Council's cowardly leadership of the strike. Almost twenty union members spoke, only one of whom advocated a return to work. Speaker after speaker insisted that Muni drivers should not be standing alone in support of the strike, and demanded increased labor solidarity.

Discussion became most heated when a speaker demanded to know whether

Martin was being paid during the walkout, and why the International was not providing strike benefits. Martin at first ducked the question by saying that "Well, I didn't receive my check on Friday." But as virtually the entire crowd demanded to know the answer, Martin, to the hoots and jeering of the crowd, said that he was still being paid because he was still at work.

Roosevelt Watts, International secretary-treasurer of the TWU, told the members that no local of the TWU has strike funds and that the International has the responsibility for raising benefits. Asserting that the Muni drivers were only engaged in a walkout and not a strike, Watts claimed—to boisterous heckling—that the International cannot justify raising money from other locals!

Speaking first from the floor, Milton Chee enthusiastically put on the floor the executive board recommendation. Ignoring the genuine dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of the strike, Chee asserted that the strike was effective, claiming a dip in sales and the projected layoffs of the Emporium, a downtown department store.

In a leaflet distributed before the meeting, Chee and his supporters conspicuously omitted any mention of a general strike or any criticism of the bureaucracy. Instead, the leaflet's sole demand was the call for a strike committee to "extend the impact of the

strike" and to "publish a Strike Bulletin for the people of San Francisco to counter the lies and distortions put out by the company-owned news media." To Chee and his supporters, who have the backing of the Socialist Workers Party, the strategy to win the strike is an education campaign about the evils of the Board of Supervisors!

The next speaker proposed to amend the executive board resolution by calling on the TWU to issue a public statement demanding that the Central Labor Council implement its own motion for a general strike within 72 hours. The initiator of the amendment, Curt Schneider, had issued a leaflet calling for the strike to be intensified or called off, and calling on Muni drivers to return to work if the general strike wasn't implemented. Under pressure from the membership, he withdrew the threat to return to work. After initially denouncing the general strike call, Chee found himself isolated and reluctantly accepted the amendment.

This amendment does put more pressure on the CLC. However, it is a double-edged weapon, since it also takes the heat off the TWU bureaucracy. Martin & Co. will clearly use the failure of the CLC to act within 72 hours as a basis for motivating a back-to-work movement.

Supporters of the "Muni Defender," a
continued on page 9

ILWU Local 6 Workers Strike in Berkeley

Victory to the Victor Strike!

BERKELEY—Office workers belonging to Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have gone on strike against a vicious union-busting assault here by Victor California, a manufacturer and retailer of gas welding and cutting equipment. The workers, virtually all women, narrowly voted to join the union last July. Yet nine months later they are still without a contract and the company has made clear its determination to drive the union out.

Four pro-union workers have either been "laid off" or fired, while others have been subjected to continual threats of company discipline. In response to the strike, the company has hired scabs from "temporary" agencies in order to augment the strikebreakers from among those who originally voted against union certification. While most Teamsters are honoring the lines, the company has hired one of the Bay Area's many non-union truckers, Hydro Trucks Inc., to run scab cargo.

The viciousness of the company attack is fueled by the current wave of anti-strike reaction sweeping the Bay Area as a result of the San Francisco

Chamber of Commerce's massive propaganda barrage against the S.F. city craft workers strike. In this adverse climate, only determined action by the union, bringing its full resources to bear, will be able to win the strike.

Mass picketing to keep the scabs out and to defend the lines is an urgent necessity. Already there has been one incident of violence on the picket lines when a company salesman hauling a trailer deliberately grazed the union's chief steward. On April 19, ILWU members from the union hiring hall came down to picket Victor. With about 65 picketers on the line, 15 Berkeley cops were there to escort the scabs into work. One picket was arrested, although charges were apparently dropped. This incident clearly points out that unless mass picket lines are initiated and militantly defended by ILWU Local 6, against the scabberding, the strike will be smashed.

According to the chief steward, who was interviewed by *WV*, militants in the union are advocating measures, to extend the strike. For instance, the "Warehouse Militant" (12 April) calls for picketing the eight other Victor retail outlets in northern California, and for a "major effort...to immediately bring office workers in these other outlets into Local 6." The newsletter also calls for picketing Teamster warehouses which supply gas cylinders to Victor customers.

Previous appeals to the Teamster

BERKELEY, April 20—Cops today again escorted scabs through picket lines at Victor. Angered by this blatant scabberding and the unwillingness of the Local 6 leadership to mobilize enough union members to stop the scabs, two dozen militant pickets marched to the Berkeley City Manager's office where they staged a sit-in. The pickets were informed by the liberal city administration that escorting scabs was their sworn duty!



ILWU Local 6 pickets at Victor California headquarters in Berkeley.

ranks by the ILWU, such as during last year's KNC Glass strike in Union City, have met with success. "Warehouse Militant" editor Bob Mandel, a member of the Local 6 general executive board, played a key role in the organizing drive at Victor California and in retaliation was "laid off" by Victor from his warehouse job over ten months ago.

The Victor strike is an important test case for Local 6, whose master contract (together with that of Teamster warehousemen) expires June 1. The other employers are watching Victor's tactics closely. The company is a subsidiary of Pacific Lumber Company, a notoriously anti-union outfit which runs one of the state's few remaining company towns (Scotia) with an iron fist. Pacific Lumber has also played a major role in the rape of California's redwood forests.

In the Victor strike, Pacific has made no pretense that it cannot afford to grant the strikers' demands. It has made it clear that it aims to keep unionism,

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

International Campaign Launched to Save Mario Muñoz

NEW YORK, April 20—As Argentine police with orders to "shoot on sight" continue their pursuit of Chilean revolutionary workers leader Mario Muñoz, an international campaign of pressure and protest to save his life is quickly gathering momentum. Only days after the "Urgent Appeal for Solidarity to Save Mario Muñoz" was published (WV No. 105, 16 April), scores of trade unionists, socialist, labor and civil libertarian groups and prominent individuals have rallied to his cause.

In Chicago on Saturday, April 17, more than 125 people picketed the Argentine consulate, demanding asylum and safe conduct out of Argentina for Muñoz and his family. In New York, a united-front demonstration has been

Argentina. Until the recent coup which overthrew the Peronist government, Argentina served as a last refuge for tens of thousands of South American trade unionists and left militants forced to flee brutal military dictatorships in their homelands. Now there is nowhere for them to go.

Muñoz, a Chilean miners' leader, fled to Argentina following the bloody coup in 1973 to escape capture and certain death at the hands of Pinochet's butchers. Founder and leader of the Interprovincial Union of Workers and Contract Miners of Aconcagua, Valparaíso and Santiago, he took the lead in forming *cordones industriales* (local councils) of workers and peasants in Aconcagua and Valparaíso to resist the

in Chile continue to provoke worldwide outrage and have even forced several West European governments to refuse to renegotiate Pinochet's foreign debt. Anxious to avoid this image for themselves, the generals in Buenos Aires are demagogically posing as democrats. Mousing words like "moderation" and "legality," they are at the same time assembling the apparatus to ruthlessly stamp out the slightest expression of independence by the workers.

Long before the March coup, the Argentine armed forces acted as a law unto themselves; in recent months tens of thousands of leftist and labor militants were detained on political charges. Several thousand were cut down in cold blood by the infamous Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), a cover for the secret police working together with a wing of the Peronist movement.

Though the apologists for the Argentine junta hypocritically deny it, this massive rightist repression has intensified. Detention centers are being set up around the country. The 4 April *New York Times* reported that the bullet-ridden bodies of 15 people were found in ditches and empty lots around the capital, the victims of right-wing death squads. According to *Le Monde* of 15 April, following the coup each of the three military services launched its own dragnet.

"The navy," reported *Le Monde*, "which has no need of lessons from anyone as far as witchhunts are concerned, no doubt led the army further than its commander would have liked. The latter was hard put to restrain his 'hawk' generals, Ramón Díaz Bessone and Luciano Menéndez, who often do what they please as heads of the second and third military region (Córdoba and Santa Fe). Three weeks after the coup d'état... the general staffs even fight over certain prisoners such as Lorenzo Miguel, leader of the Metal Workers, one of the '62 Peronist organizations,' whom the navy 'stole' from the army."

Chileans in Exile

Among the first targets of the junta's repression are the worker and peasant refugees who earlier fled from the barbarous repression in Chile. Unlike deposed Latin American presidents who fly off to retreats on Spain's Costa Brava, the more than 100,000 Chileans in exile live a life of abject misery. Since Pinochet seized power on 11 September 1973, it is estimated that over 30,000 militants have been murdered by the junta. More than 2 percent of the country's entire adult population has passed through the torture centers and concentration camps that dot the countryside and cities of Chile, from the northern deserts to antarctic islands.

Even now, more than two years after the Allende regime was smashed, junta troops regularly sweep through the shanty towns of Santiago and Valparaíso, rounding up thousands of people at random and forcing them to stand for hours in the broiling sun while leftists and militant unionists are ferreted out for "questioning." Despite UN condemnation, the torture continues unabated. Accounts of how courageous residents of the slum communities protected their leaders from this witchhunt recall the heroic actions of those who hid Jews from the Nazi butchers in Axis-occupied Europe.

For those who escaped the grasp of Pinochet's secret police, only a few

thousand could find refuge in the embassies. "People's China" immediately slammed shut the gates of its legation, and within a matter of weeks recognized the junta regime. The United States, which found room for thousands of landlords and pimps fleeing from the victorious North Vietnamese army, has to date accepted exactly 19 (!) Chilean refugees!

Some made their way to Mexico, Canada and Europe, where they now subsist on meagre government handouts and church aid. But the vast majority of those who reached the borders alive made the trek across the Andes mountains on foot. They kept to the high passes in order to avoid guards on the Chilean side who would arrest or shoot them on the spot, and guards on the Argentine side who would send them back to certain death or torture. Some died on the way from starvation and exposure; the survivors now live in the Argentine border provinces—most without work, all of them in fear of bloody repression by the new junta.

Many are housed in pitiful UN refugee camps which recall the post-World War II "displaced persons" camps, except that the material conditions here are far worse. Others migrated to the slums of Buenos Aires where they joined more than 500,000 Paraguayans escaping the horrors of the regime of Nazi-lover General Stroessner; the tens of thousands of Uruguayan leftists and unionists forced to flee "state of siege" conditions imposed by the thinly disguised military dictatorship of Bordaberry, and the numerous Brazilians escaping the feared *esquadrões de morte* (death squads).

These are the flower of the Latin American proletariat, the nameless victims of the AAA and the Argentine generals. These are the masses Mario Muñoz sought to inspire and defend in their difficult years of exile. These are the militants he sought to infuse with a will not only to survive, but to struggle again, to sweep away the torturers and hangers-on of the Pinochet dictatorship with a powerful workers movement.

These are the "crimes" of which Mario Muñoz is accused. Because he has become a symbol of the will to struggle of the persecuted Chilean worker and peasant refugees, he is now being hunted down by troops carrying machine guns and orders to shoot to kill. It is not only to save Mario Muñoz and his family that all socialists and militant trade unionists must take up his cause. It is the lives of tens of thousands of Argentine, Chilean, Uruguayan, Brazilian and other Latin American militants that are at stake!

Committee Plans Action

Today the Argentine generals pretend to be democrats; tomorrow they will try to assassinate thousands in their anti-communist crusade. Their victims are the potential leaders of socialist revolution in Latin America, whose fate is infinitely precious to socialists the world over.

This is the importance of the call by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, to "Free all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina," stressed Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Reuben Shiffman at the April 20 New York Committee meeting. Shiffman noted that a defense must be built not only for working-class leaders

continued on page 11



WV Photo

CHICAGO—Chanting "Chilean Workers' Leader Must Not Die!" and "Videla/Pinochet—Hands off Mario Muñoz!" over 100 people picketed the Argentine consulate here April 17. Participating were contingents from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Trotskyist League of Canada, International Socialists, Revolutionary Socialist League, International Workers Party, the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 and a representative from the Black Students Organizing Committee of the University of Illinois.

called for April 22 by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. This Committee is sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Europe-based Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Workers and Sailors in Chile, who are jointly conducting the international defense campaign to save Muñoz.

At a New York meeting tonight, called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz to prepare for Thursday's demonstration, John Sharpe spoke for the international Spartacist tendency stressing the urgency of bringing worldwide attention to Muñoz' plight and that of thousands of other Latin American refugees now trapped in

rightist mobilization during the last months of the Allende popular-front government.

Muñoz is now being hunted by the Argentine national police as a living symbol of resistance to junta terror. His family has been brutally beaten by government forces in a vain attempt to force Muñoz' wife to reveal his whereabouts. The interior province of San Juan has been sealed off and interprovincial transport is being stopped and searched to track him down.

Generals Unleash Repression

The ruling Argentine military junta of General Jorge Videla is well aware that the mass murders, torture and atrocities

Mao Denounces Monster Peking Rally as "Counterrevolutionary" Bureaucratic Brawl Convulses China



Wreaths commemorating Chou En-lai at massive Peking demonstration condemned by Mao as "counterrevolutionary."

On April 5, a throng of 100,000 poured into Peking's vast Tien An Men Square singing the *Internationale*. They proceeded to storm the steps of the Great Hall of the People, turn over and burn three vehicles, and assault security forces in the area, all in the name of recently deceased Chou En-lai. It was the most turbulent demonstration in China since the days of the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

This mammoth outpouring marked a dramatic turn in the intra-bureaucratic power struggle unleashed by the death of Premier Chou, when his heir apparent, Teng Hsiao-ping, was suddenly eclipsed by the obscure Hua Kuo-feng. Until now the so-called "anti-rightist" campaign directed against Teng has been a one-sided tirade orchestrated from the Olympian summits of the Forbidden City. But during the day-long "fight-back" organized by Teng supporters, the crowd went so far as to ransack an office of the Ministry of Public Security. (Hua, then acting premier, is also minister of public security.)

According to all accounts, the riot was provoked by the mysterious removal of wreaths which had been placed in Tien An Men Square the day before to commemorate the late premier. Some of the wreaths reportedly carried tributes linking Chou with Teng. According to a 6 April UPI dispatch, during the stormy demonstration the following day the eulogy for Chou that Teng had delivered at a memorial service in January was read aloud.

The official response to the rioting was swift. As the protest raged, the chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee addressed the crowd over the loudspeakers ringing the square, appealing for calm and denouncing the "destructive activities" masterminded by unnamed "capitalist roaders." Two days later the Central Committee of the Communist Party, allegedly acting "on the proposal of our great leader, Chairman Mao," issued a statement condemning the riot and placing responsibility for the "counterrevolutionary incident" on Teng Hsiao-ping, who was thereupon purged from all party and state posts. However, surprisingly, the Hsinhua news agency account admitted that the crowd numbered "about 100,000." After denouncing the "handful of bad elements," it described a "majority" (not more?) as passers-by (*New York Times*, 8 April).

Following the unheard-of admission that "hooligans" could entice tens of thousands of demonstrators into a "counterrevolutionary incident," anti-Teng forces mustered counterdemonstrations in Tien An Men Square and throughout the city. These obviously stage-managed mobilizations were supposed to drum up—literally, with drums and gongs—support for the purge of Teng and the formal inauguration of Hua Kuo-feng as premier and first vice chairman of the party. Press accounts referred to the demonstrators in the square as "frequently sleepy looking" and consisting "largely of school-children, who obediently repeated the chants raised by their monitors."

Through a Looking-Glass Darkly

Even though the "anti-rightist" campaign has now led to mass rioting and the purge of Teng, the titanic power struggle raging within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy remains just as subterranean, Byzantine and elaborately obscured as before. Even the basic issues involved remain a matter of often bizarre speculation.

The most well-informed "China watchers," including those stationed in

Peking, have turned to cryptology in attempting to decipher the present factional feuding. Two republished poems by Mao have been analyzed over and over, as have his every trite homily and enigmatic historical allusion. Each rumored snub exchanged by Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, and Teng, not to mention whispers about a spat between Chiang and her husband, has been wildly inflated.

The last two weeks' events have provided Pekingologists with abundant grist for their almost depleted mills. The fact that Teng was not expelled from the party, and that the Central Committee declaration failed to brand him a "capitalist roader" or liken him to Khrushchev as usual has been the subject of endless speculation.

Most burlesque, however, was the exegesis applied to the epigram attributed to Mao as the watchword of the entire "anti-rightist" campaign: "It is contrary to the will of the people to reverse previous verdicts." This consummately ambiguous verdict could be equally directed against Teng, accused of reversing the policies of the Cultural Revolution; against Chou, who reversed the purge of Teng and rehabilitated him; or against Mao himself, whose personal authorization of the Teng purge on April 7 reversed Chou's verdict promoting him.

The fact is that to the question of what is happening in China today, applied to the specifics of the immediate factional/clique struggle the most honest answer must be: "Who knows?"

Stalinism and Enforced Ignorance

The lack of information is itself a key component of the Peking regime. Throughout two decades of shifting bureaucratic in-fighting, rigid secrecy about disputes among party leaders and a steady diet of political primitivism fed to the masses have been a constant in "People's China." Even in small empirical doses, the truth about political and economic life is a dangerous item to the brittle Stalinist caste, which can maintain its parasitic rule atop the proletarian property forms only by depriving the working masses of any possibility of autonomous political action.

Mao's sycophants in the West claim that the so-called "two-line struggle" now raging in China is a "mass debate." But what are the issues in this debate? Nobody outside the Forbidden City knows. And who are the protagonists? The Chinese masses have not been informed. Where are the Soviets, through which the masses can democratically resolve political disputes and then implement their decision? The Chinese masses have only the "power" to fill Tien An Men in carefully orchestrated performances controlled by the leading clique or intended to obliquely shift the balance of bureaucratic power in favor of another clique.

The official "history" of the "two-line struggle" is presented as a medieval morality play in order to hide its real content and thereby prevent the masses from mobilizing to defend their interests. Yesterday's "closest comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tse-tung" suddenly becomes a renegade whose "revisionist ideas" would mean the destruction of "socialism" and restoration of capitalist rule.

Look at Teng: for years promoted as a selfless proletarian leader; then "unmasked" by Mao during the Cultural Revolution as the "Number Two man in the party following the capitalist road" and purged; then brought back into power along with legions of other "repentant" bureaucrats. "But," the Chinese press announced after the

second purge of Teng. "once he returned to work his old sickness re-occurred" Only the Thought of Man can exorcise the "devil" of revisionism it seems, and once again Teng Hsiao-ping joins the political ghosts Kao Kang, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta.

Let One Flower Bloom

Thus the latest demise of Teng is part of a continuing bureaucratic reshuffling, the seemingly continuous revolving door in the Forbidden Palace. In the long run, the answer to the question of what is happening in China is, "Stalinist business as usual." From 1949 on political power has been monopolized by a privileged bureaucratic stratum ruling over the masses. But lacking any working-class tradition and based on a much more backward economy than the Russian degenerated workers state, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is acutely sensitive to its inability to congeal a stable regime and the extreme brittleness of its stranglehold over the proletariat.

The current "anti-rightist campaign" and the earlier "Cultural Revolution" have become a pattern of periodic purgatives to dissipate pressure from the masses and smoke out potential oppositionists. Though cloaked with phony "anti-bureaucratic" rhetoric, Stalinist rule has not been challenged. All wings of the bureaucracy vividly recall the whirlwind of criticism reaped by their first exercise in "mass debate," the "Hundred Flowers" campaign in 1956, and the chaos at the high point of the

coming out on top of the "moderates," yet the outcome was unrelieved bureaucratic domination domestically and an alliance with U.S. imperialism internationally. The triumph of "radical" Maoism meant sending tens of thousands of dissident youth to the peasant hinterlands for "re-education." Chinese troops smashing strikes in Kwangtung last year and Chinese military advisors training CIA-led forces in Angola.

Rather than lining up behind one or the other bureaucratic clique, the task of Marxists in China is to prepare the political revolution which will elevate the working class to direct political rule through the creation of soviets and under the leadership of a Trotskyist party. While ousting the anti-proletarian usurpers, the working class must defend tooth and nail the historic conquests represented by the collectivized property relations established as a result of the 1949 Chinese revolution that smashed the capitalist state.

Two-Line "Trotskyists"

In contrast, the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) promotes illusions in the so-called "radical" Mao wing of the Chinese bureaucracy, just as these opportunists during the "Cultural Revolution" gave the Maoist Red Guards their "critical support"—bellowing their support and whispering the criticism. In a recent article (*Imprecator*, 18 March), the USec attempts to demonstrate that the Mao loyalists, while unfortunately not yet the "genuinely anti-bureaucratic forces active in 1966-68," nevertheless have fought for "radical slogans" and attacked "bureaucratic privileges." These opportunists take as good coin the Mao clique's slogans, and only a residue of Trotskyist plumage (quite sparse by now) prevents Livio Maitan and his acolytes from characterizing Mao's bureaucratic opponents as "freaks," "running dogs" and "Confucius mongers."

Nevertheless, without evidencing the slightest embarrassment, the USec article observes that the "radical" faction is "often rightist on foreign affairs." In the next breath it adds that despite "classical Maoist themes of equality and participation," the Great Helmsman is running a campaign with a "marked totalitarian bias," thus placing him "clearly to the right of his opponents, who despite their hostility to proletarian democracy favor a certain measure of liberalization...."

The "two-line" contradiction characterizes not the murky bureaucratic power struggle in China but the opportunist apologetics of these pseudo-Trotskyists. Here the "radicals" are radical, there they are conservative: here the Maoists are egalitarian and participatory, there they are totalitarian. Obviously tailing the popularity of Mao in the "broad vanguard" of leftist youth, the USec fails to draw the obvious conclusion that the entire bureaucracy in China must be toppled by a proletarian political revolution to establish soviet democracy.

It is true that during the misnamed "Cultural Revolution," the social turmoil set in motion by bureaucratic manipulation from above at times assumed considerable sweep and threatened to break into independent action. But at that time some of the most subjectively revolutionary Red Guards were among those who battled with the workers in Shanghai and other industrial centers where the proletariat was mobilized by Teng & Co. to defend its legitimate interests from Mao's attempts to drive the workers' living standards down to peasant levels.

Without the intervention of a conscious Trotskyist leadership, even the most subjectively anti-bureaucratic forces cannot develop into a party capable of rallying the working masses to storm the strongholds of the bureaucratic parasites who rule from the Forbidden City. ■

Local 600 Demo: UAW Tops' Protectionism Attacks All Workers Strike Rouge to Save the Engine Plant!

DETROIT—The demonstration called for April 13 by leaders of River Rouge Local 600 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) to protest the impending shutdown of the engine plant was at best an uninspiring dud. Held in front of Ford World Headquarters in Dearborn, Michigan, over a mid-day span of four hours (to attract both first and second shift workers), the rally attracted at most 300 participants out of the 30,000 employed in the giant Rouge complex.

It was held only one day after auto baron Henry Ford turned down a request by a dozen Congressmen to reconsider the shutdown. Despite this haughty rebuff, the UAW conducted the demonstration in a hat-in-hand, bended-knee fashion. A week previously Local 600 bureaucrats had begun distributing buttons pleading, "Henry have a heart."

The officially endorsed slogans were in the same pathetic spirit. They included, "A factory without work is like a graveyard," "Loyal workers demand Ford Motor Co. loyalty" and "America is beautiful while people are working." The labor fakers also attempted to divert angry workers from attacking the real enemy into backstab-

plant. "Ford Tribune," published by the Communist Labor Party, correctly denounced the protectionism of the UAW bureaucrats, yet failed to call for strike action against the layoffs. "Time to Unite," a newsletter and grouping supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, called for a strike of all Rouge workers, but limits its efforts to pressuring the Local 600 bureaucrats into leading such an action.

In contrast, a leaflet signed by Rouge workers Jerry Harris, Keith Dodds and Matt Prince pointed out:

"We need a strike to prevent the layoffs from even occurring! And to insure the success of this strike, its leadership must not be left simply in the hands of those officials who have sold out before. A Rouge-wide Strike Committee, composed of trusted militants, must be elected to carry out this offensive."

The strategy put forward by these militants—of consistent struggle against the class collaborationism of the UAW misleaders—is the only way to defend Rouge workers from the company's attack.

- No layoffs—No plant closure!
- For a Rouge-wide strike to prevent the loss of a single job!
- For an elected strike committee!



Hua Kuo-feng

Sygma



Chiang Ch'ing

Globe and Mail (Toronto)

"Cultural Revolution" before Mao abruptly called it off. This time, Peking Radio was quick to counsel against the formation of "struggle groups" and to urge instead a campaign of "study." The *Economist* (10 April) accurately caught the flavor of Maoist "democracy" with its headline summarizing the anti-Teng campaign. "Let one flower bloom."

Certainly there are sharp antagonisms and differences between various forces contending in China today. But the power struggle has nothing to do with "radical" as opposed to "moderate" policies. Instead, it is more likely that the "rehabilitated" bureaucrats, who like Teng were purged during the late 1960's, fear they will again become targets of the leading clique now that their patron, the ever-flexible Chou, is gone.

While their physiognomy remains veiled at present, the factional array and rhetoric recall the divisions of the "Cultural Revolution." At that time the "radical" Mao faction succeeded in



WV Photo

Demonstration April 13 at Ford headquarters against threatened layoffs at River Rouge complex.

hing against foreign workers. Placards with protectionist shibboleths such as "United we stand. Divided they send our jobs to Europe" were prominently displayed. Even other UAW members were under attack from Local 600 signs demanding "Ford work for Ford workers."

Disgusted with the tepid spirit of the demonstration, a group of protesters broke away from the official assembly point—on an immense lawn several hundred yards from the building—and rallied directly in front of Ford headquarters. The breakaway was eventually joined by a large majority of the workers present, and the action thereafter picked up somewhat in militancy.

With the failure of the Congressional appeal, the UAW tops' strategy is now to direct the whole issue into contract negotiations in the fall. "If Ford closes the engine plant, they'll pay in September," the bureaucrats bluster. This is nothing but a trap to disarm Rouge workers! The engine plant closure (costing anywhere from 1,500 to 5,000 jobs) is set for July. If nothing is done by then and the layoffs are allowed to go through, then nothing will be done later.

The rally was supported by a number of opposition groups in the UAW, but most lacked a clear program for a militant struggle to save the engine

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The National Question in Yugoslavia

In 1944-45 the Yugoslav Stalinists swept into power in the wake of defeated and retreating Italian and German occupation troops. This victory came to the largely peasant-based guerrilla armies led by Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) leader Josip Broz Tito only after a prolonged, bitter and difficult struggle against not only the Axis occupiers, but also against native fascist collaborators and the anti-Communist Serbian nationalist-monarchist Chetniks, arm of the exiled

Ottoman yoke and united in a federal framework. In Croatia and Dalmatia the National parties brought together Serbs and Croats around an Illyrian program.

While the three major nations (Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia) were all South Slav, there were enormous cultural and regional differences dividing them. Both the Croats and Slovenes had lived for centuries under Austrian and Hungarian rule, were Catholic in religion, used the Latin alphabet, and consequently were "Western" in outlook. The more numerous Serbs, meanwhile, who had been closely tied to Byzantium, remained under Ottoman occupation for five centuries and were less economically advanced than their neighbors to the west and north. The Serb religion was Eastern Orthodox, their alphabet Cyrillic. While a major achievement of the Illyrian movement was the creation of a common language from major Serbian and Croatian dialects in the 19th century, this was not enough to erase centuries of otherwise radically different cultural traditions.

Regional differences were also pronounced. The Croat inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast were a seafaring commercial people, heavily influenced by Italian culture. The Croats of the interior were largely peasants, beholden to the German and Hungarian nobility. Montenegro, whose people are ethnically very close to the Serbs, was populated by fiercely independent highland clans who successfully resisted Turkish occupation and had their own patriarchal/theocratic government. In the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina large numbers of Slavs had converted to Islam during the Ottoman rule and identified closely with the Turks.

The diversity of the South Slav peoples did not preclude a unification in this period of capitalist expansion; such a process occurred in the economically more advanced but equally heterogeneous Germanic regions. However, the confluence of imperial interests in the Danubian region—where Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires abutted, with both German and British interests at work—dictated that this should not occur. Moreover, when a Yugoslav state was finally born it immediately exploded in bitter national conflicts among its component parts.

The state of Yugoslavia was created by the events of the first imperialist world war. It was the product of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, where the victorious Allies carved up the booty won from defeated imperial Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire. Bent upon using the shattered fragments of the Hapsburgs' realm to create a belt of client states as a noose around a resurgent Germany and a *cordon sanitaire* to seal off the victorious October Revolution, the Allied imperialists with France in the lead decreed the formation of a set of new East European states including Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

A constitutional monarchy with a Serbian king, Yugoslavia brought together Serbia (the biggest component of



Yugoslav partisans during World War II.

U.S. Army

Part 1 of 2

pre-war Yugoslav government of King Peter.

Crucial to the CPY's success in this struggle was its ability to forge a Yugoslavia-wide resistance movement. This was no easy task. In the period between the two imperialist world wars, Yugoslavia had been wracked by bloody national antagonisms among its peoples. Being acutely aware of this, the German and Italian occupiers had purposely dismembered the Yugoslav state and done everything in their power to fan national hatreds and encourage communal strife.

Overcoming these obstacles by advocating a policy of equality among nations and by smashing the old state apparatus (such as it was) in the territories it liberated, the CPY was able to lead the peasant masses of the various nationalities in a victorious guerrilla war against the Axis occupiers. The common endeavor of driving out the fascists and the experience of reconstructing the economy on a collectivist basis went a long way toward defusing the murderous nationalism which had plagued bourgeois Yugoslavia. The Tito regime quite justly points with pride to its success in putting an end to the internecine national conflicts which plagued Yugoslavia in the inter-war period.

Yet while the smashing of capitalist property relations and the destruction of the bourgeois state were necessary preconditions for the solution of the national question, enabling the victorious Stalinists to make great strides in that direction, these steps are not enough. The deformed workers state which issued out of the 1944-45 victory of the peasant-based guerrilla forces has been unable, despite its proclaimed intentions, to achieve a lasting solution to the national question in Yugoslavia: the conditions of bureaucratic rule constantly regenerate nationalist-inspired conflict, and thereby nurture dangerous capitalist-restorationist forces.

Origins of Yugoslavia

In the 19th-century, a pan-national movement to unite the South Slavs in an Illyrian (Yugoslav) state arose. Many drew inspiration from the revolutionary-democrat, Svetozar Marković, who held that the Serbs could not be liberated unless the neighboring peoples threw off the Hapsburg and

the new state, which during the latter half of the 19th century had gained its independence from the Ottomans and been recognized as a sovereign state at the Congress of Berlin in 1878) with Montenegro (a tiny kingdom whose people are very closely related to the Serbs) and the South Slav lands from the Hapsburg empire: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina. When the borders of the new kingdom were finally drawn they contained no less than 15 different nationalities or ethnic groups, including (in addition to those already mentioned) large numbers of Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Turks and Rumanians.

There were several reasons why national liberty, equality and fraternity could not be realized within a bourgeois Yugoslavia. Most fundamentally, in the period of imperialist decay, with the productive forces declining, the Serb, Croat and Slovene bourgeoisies found their interests counterposed rather than compatible in the cause of building a greater nation. Like Europe as a whole, the South Slav nations could not unite except under proletarian rule (or through imperialist conquest).

But there were other factors as well. In addition to the core areas of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, the lands which became Yugoslavia contained numerous regions in which various peoples were heavily interpenetrated. Thus in the post-war carve-up of Austro-Hungary, Slovenia acquired areas with a sizable Germany minority. The Vojvodina (formerly attached to Hungary) was a district of intermingled Hungarian, Croat, Serb and ethnic German population; a large Serbian minority is settled in southern Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina has a checkerboard distribution of Croats, Serbs and Muslim Slavs.

In addition, Italy was awarded Trieste, Istria, the Dalmatian capital of Zadar and the "free state" of Rijeka—territories which contained several hundred thousand Slovenes and Croats—while many Macedonian districts were left in Greece and Bulgaria. The basis was thus established for bitter

irredentist movements among the South Slavs in Yugoslavia and their neighbors, justified by arguments of ethnic composition and/or previous possession of the disputed territories. With such a conglomeration of nations compressed in a restricted area, the interpenetration of peoples frequent in border regions becomes far more than an incidental factor. In this case, a democratic solution to the national question would be found only in the context of proletarian, collectivist property relations which provide the basis for a federative solution free from national oppression.

Birth of the Yugoslav Communist Party

The hastily constructed "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the Union of South Slavs," was a tinderbox of social and national discontent. While the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian politicians were haggling over what form a bourgeois Yugoslavia should take, sharp struggles rocked the country. By the end of the war the Croatian peasantry was settling accounts with the Austrian and Magyar (Hungarian) aristocracy. A wave of mass desertions devastated the crumbling Hapsburg armies.

Meanwhile, in the cities unemployment was great. Those few who could find work received starvation wages. In July 1919, in response to revolutionary events in Bavaria and Hungary, a general strike swept the country and army units, many containing ex-prisoners of war from Russia, mutinied. King Alexander was thus prevented from sending troops to suppress the proletarian revolution in Hungary. In these circumstances the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was born shortly after the declaration of the new kingdom. It regrouped the Serbian social democracy in toto and large chunks of the Croatian and Slovenian Social Democratic parties.

The young party played an important role in the upheavals of 1919, but over the next year permitted an acutely pre-revolutionary situation to slip away

through passivity. Support for the CPY nevertheless remained widespread. In November 1920 the party came in third in voting for a constituent assembly, winning 59 seats. In the elections it was the only Yugoslavia-wide party.

While the party had gone on record as favoring the creation of a Yugoslav state as a progressive step, affording an opportunity for the South Slav proletariat to wage a united struggle against the bourgeoisie of the region, it paid almost no attention to the national question in the first years of its existence. The CPY leadership viewed national issues as purely bourgeois disputes which distracted the proletariat from the business at hand, the class struggle.

Early in 1923 the Communist International prodded the (by now illegal) CPY toward stressing the Leninist policy of recognizing the right to self-determination for the constituent nations of Yugoslavia. But by the Fifth World Congress the Comintern had gone a step further, and was urging the dissolution of the Yugoslav state. The motivation for this line was Stalin Zinoviev's flirtation with the radical Croatian Republican Peasant Party (CRPP) of Stjepan Radić, which in 1924 stood for an independent Croatia. Radić, whose party had the following of the overwhelming majority of the Croatian peasantry, was assiduously courted by the Krestintern, the dubious "Peasant International."



John Phillips/Life

Draza Mikhailovich was tried in 1946.

During the Fifth World Congress, which put out a call for a Balkan federation of worker/peasant republics, Radić journeyed to Moscow to join the Krestintern. When he arrived, he told his hosts: "The Croats are not part

of the Balkans either geographically, politically or culturally" (Fred Singleton, *Twentieth Century Yugoslavia*, 1976). But the epigones of Lenin were prepared to go to considerable lengths to recruit the leader of the most influential peasant party in Europe.

"Radić submitted his application to the Krestintern with the following qualification: that 'the CRPP will continue to pursue its own program using its own tactics, more or less'; that the alliance of workers and peasants in Croatia he achieved by everyone simply joining the CRPP, and that there be no representative for Yugoslavia in the Krestintern, since his party did not recognize such a national unit. The Krestintern justified accepting these extraordinary conditions by explaining that the state sought by the CRPP was 'nearest of all democratic republics to our type of workers' and peasants' republic'."

Helmut Gruber, *Soviet Russia Masters the Comintern*, 1974

Upon returning to Yugoslavia Radić found that all Krestintern membership won him was a jail sentence. Following the success of his party at the polls in 1925, he broke with the Krestintern and accommodated himself to a seat in the Belgrade parliament. In 1928 Radić was gunned down in parliament by a Montenegrin deputy associated with King Alexander. Alexander shortly afterwards proclaimed his dictatorship. Six years later the king, in turn, was gunned down by right-wing Croats (the Ustashi) and Macedonian nationalists on a state visit to Marseilles.

While the Krestintern sank into oblivion following Radić's departure, the CPY line calling for dissolution of the Yugoslav state remained with the party throughout the "Third Period." The slogan was not dropped until the Comintern switched to the strategy of the popular front against fascism, at which point CPY members suddenly became Yugoslav patriots. Yugoslavia, after all, was part of "democratic" France's Little Entente.

Tito and the Popular Front

From the late 1920's on, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was an obedient servant of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Like many of its sister parties in Central and East Europe, it saw large numbers of its cadre fall victims to Stalin's purges. At one point (in 1938), the Stalinized Comintern considered dissolving the CPY, as it did the Polish CP, branding it a "nest of imperialist spies."

Josip Broz Tito was to assume leadership of the CPY in late 1937 when he was appointed caretaker general secretary of a central committee completely vacated by Stalin's latest purge. Tito inherited the post partly by default

(there were few potential rivals left free or alive), but chiefly because of his loyalty to Stalin (he was a protégé of Dimitroff) and his reputation as an extremely capable party organizer and underground worker unlikely to make political trouble.

The CPY center was transferred at this time from Paris back to Yugoslavia despite conditions of illegality, and Tito began assembling a new leadership and reorganizing the party. Heavy use was made of returning veterans of the Spanish Civil War (save those Tito purged at Moscow's behest because of alleged Trotskyism). The party youth organization was refurbished and was to be the source of many of Tito's cadre. New circles of workers were recruited and attempts were made to extend the party's influence among the peasantry, but with little success up to the war.

The CPY's policies were above all those of the popular front. But it had an abiding problem.

"We did not found a Popular Front on the French model, because developments in our country followed a different pattern. We proposed to some



John Phillips/Photo Researchers

From left: CPY partisan leaders Vladimir Bakarić, Edvard Kardelj and Marshal Tito in July 1944.

parties that we should found a Popular Front...but some of the bourgeois parties had become too involved with the great powers.... Consequently, they rejected all suggestion of cooperation, even a Popular Front, fearing it would be dangerous to them."

—Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito*, 1953

The CPY was acutely embarrassed by the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 but dutifully fell into line. Invasion of the USSR by Hitler's armies relieved it of the intense contradictions between popular-frontist impulses and its fealty to the Soviet Union, contradictions that had become trebly acute with the successful German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941. Upon receiving confirmation of the Nazi invasion of the USSR, the CPY immediately launched a call for a general uprising against the Axis occupation. This was to be its first step on the road to victory in 1944-45.

The Partisans and the National Question

During the war the Communist Party had to pay special attention to the national question. While from the outset adopting the position of Yugoslav patriots bent on expelling the invaders and restoring a united country, CPY propaganda took special care to denounce the old Belgrade government and its Serb chauvinism. The CPY demanded recognition of the national rights of all the peoples of Yugoslavia and called for a Balkan federation of all the South Slav peoples including the Bulgarians and Macedonians.

The Yugoslavia of the inter-war period had been a mini-prisonhouse of nations, dominated by a thinly disguised Serb government sitting in Belgrade. The constitution was strongly unitary (it

had been passed with the Croat, Slovene and CPY delegates absent from the constituent assembly). Serbs comprised the bulk of the officer corps of the armed forces and a large proportion of the central government administrators. Their chauvinism was often extreme, and many acted as if Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia were merely colonies occupied by the Serbian army. The situation was intensified in 1928 when King Alexander abolished the historic provinces and suppressed all opposition. The stage was set for a spread of national conflagration.

Early in the Axis occupation there were murderous pogroms in which Croats and Muslims especially took revenge against the Serb oppression visited upon them by the Belgrade government during 1918-41, by slaughtering several hundred thousand Serb peasants living in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, the Germans encouraged the Serb quisling government of Milan Nedić to launch its own pogroms against non-Serb peoples living in German-occupied Serbia.

Tito's success in creating an all-Yugoslavia partisan movement is all the more remarkable considering that the uprising against the fascist occupiers began among the peasantry of western Serbia. Consequently, early in the war partisan units were composed chiefly of Serbs, the "oppressor nation," forced to operate in regions of mixed nationality where the anti-Serb pogroms had been particularly intense.

The mobilization of thousands of peasants who only a few weeks or months before had engaged in or been the victims of fratricidal pogroms was not without its difficulties. In Herzegovina, a center of the Ustashi-led massacres, victimized Serbs rose up with fanatical determination to exact "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." The Serb masses attacked the Muslims—accused of joining the Croatian fascists in carrying out the bloodbaths—with appalling ferocity, also killing Communists who sought to stop the wave of blind revenge and protect endangered villages. Vladimir Dedijer, Tito's biographer, wrote of the early days of the partisan war in Herzegovina:

"Communist workers from Drvar helped the rebellious peasants dispel this grave psychological trauma, but the greatest achievement along these lines was recorded by the Partisans at Kozara Mountain. On the very first day of the uprising there, 10 percent of the units were Muslims and Croats, their number rising to 35 percent by war's end. The fact that the insurgents did not perpetrate reprisals against the innocent Muslim and Croat population made it easier to persuade the people to join the Partisans."

—V. Dedijer, *History of Yugoslavia*, 1974

In mid-1942, when the partisans were

continued on page 9



WV

Hands Off Union Seniority Rights!

Integrate Chicago Schools!

CHICAGO, April 13—In recent months the Chicago schools have been a battleground for conflicts raging between the city administration, the teachers union, federal and state agencies. School integration, educational programs, budget deficits and teachers' salaries have all been at issue in many-sided disputes reflecting the close association of economic and race questions in the current capitalist depression.

On March 31, the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) rejected a plan for faculty integration submitted by Chicago school superintendent Joseph Hannon, thus threatening the loss of \$160 million in federal funds. Then on April 8 the Illinois Board of Education put the city school system on one-year "probation" for Hannon's arrogant refusal to even file a pupil integration plan by the April 1 deadline. After one year, if the situation is not corrected, state funds may also be cut off.

Meanwhile, on March 23 Hannon announced a plan for wiping out the Board of Education's \$47 million deficit: reducing expenditures for supplies and services, eliminating spring vacation pay for all school employees and cutting the school year by 11 days. Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) president Robert Healey answered this 8.5 percent wage cut by threatening strike action if the loss of vacation pay were not reversed within a week.

Healey's militant play-acting soon ended, however. In a ten-hour negotiating session April 4, Hannon agreed to restore vacation pay in return for the union's acceptance of an additional five-day cut in the school year. Thus the CTU leadership traded away a week's pay at the end of the year... in order to get a week's pay now! And both the union and the Board, who regularly mouth pieties about "quality education" lopped more than three weeks off instructional time without batting an eyelash.

Shamelessly asserting that, "If a person has absolutely no money, you can't ask him to pay you" (*Chicago Tribune*, 6 April), Healey argued that the teachers should take their money before the Board goes completely "bankrupt." As for the future, he and Hannon are gambling that the Illinois legislature will bail out Chicago's schools by passing a special appropriations bill, and that cutback-happy Governor Walker, now a lame duck, will not veto it.

Forced Teacher Transfers

Several civil rights and black groups denounced the Hannon teacher integration plan as sheer tokenism. Its stated goals were to achieve a maximum 70 percent predominance of either white or non-white teachers at most (not all) of Chicago's 591 schools. This fell far short of HEW guidelines, which demanded faculty racial balance in every school corresponding (within a 5 percent leeway) to the city-wide 55/45 ratio of white to non-white teachers.

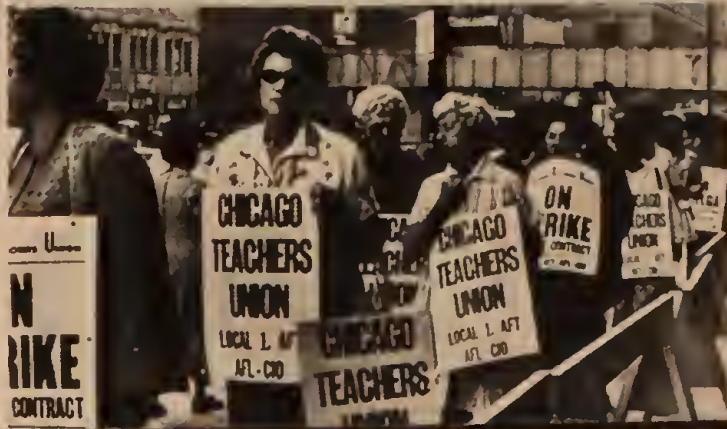
The Hannon plan was approved by the CTU house of delegates and then by a three-to-one margin in a referendum of the union membership. Many black and other minority teachers reportedly voted against the plan because of its tokenism, which no doubt induced some of the white teachers (and certainly the CTU leadership) to support it. Others, however, may have voted for it figuring

that it was the biggest step toward integration they could get from the Daley machine. A large part of the union membership (10,000 out of 25,000) expressed its frustration by simply not voting.

But the Hannon plan is not only tokenistic; it should have been opposed by militant unionists because it throws teachers' contractually won transfer rights out the window. This opens the way to all sorts of employer victimization and favoritism, endangering the seniority system itself—the only form of union job protection CTU members have at present. Under the plan, transfer rights for certified teachers would be frozen for three years.

The main brunt of the plan, however, was to be borne by the substitute teachers. Up to 1,464 "full-time-basis" (FTB) substitutes—uncertified teachers who are regularly assigned to a particular school—would be transferred involuntarily in order to achieve faculty racial balance. Day-to-day substitutes, in turn, previously upgraded to FTB status after working 20 consecutive days in a given school, were declared ineligible for such promotion if it did not further integration.

A supporter of *Substance*, a newspaper published by a group of Chicago-area radical substitute teachers, told *WV* that the school board has already begun using the last ruling in a broader attack on job rights. By deliberately assigning only white substitutes to majority white schools, and only black substitutes to majority black schools, it foils integration and circumvents the requirement to upgrade steady



Striking Chicago teachers last fall.

Art Shay/Time

port contained some 13 recommendations, which have never been implemented. Yet 86 percent of all black students in Chicago still attend schools officially classified as segregated, and the patterns of racial separation are even worse in the schools than they are in housing!

More than a century of history has demonstrated conclusively that separate educational facilities for black and white students are inherently unequal; they also reinforce racial antagonisms which serve to divide the working class. The integration of student bodies is a necessary component in achieving equality in education for blacks and other oppressed minorities; it is key to any struggle for better education for all. Given the present population distribu-

tion for racial imbalance on the teachers unions, it can drive a wedge between the labor movement and the increasingly non-white population of the urban centers. This is of crucial importance in the capitalist onslaught against the municipal unions, and is a principal reason why the federal government is pushing teacher integration schemes. Another current example is Los Angeles, where the school board reached agreement with HEW on a "compromise" plan for teacher integration while at the same time passing a motion precluding "compulsory busing of students" in the city's schools.

Communists are revolutionary integrationists. Fighting against teacher segregation is necessary also to combat racial divisions within the union. Teacher militants must put forward a class-struggle program that not only supports busing to achieve student integration (and labor/black defense guards to enforce it against racist attacks), but also indicates that the union would take necessary measures to eliminate racial discrimination in matters within its control. Thus they would demand prompt union action against teachers guilty of racist acts.

Such a program must call for union control of hiring, which would enable the teachers to take steps to rectify faculty segregation without endangering their job rights. This must, of course, be combined with a program demanding adequate funding for all schools, so that assignment to a ghetto school does not mean imprisonment in decaying facilities which make quality education impossible.

But union militants must vigilantly oppose all employer and government attempts to infringe upon union gains! Forced transfers of teachers are an invitation to arbitrary disciplinary action by school officials.

Oust the Bureaucrats—Break With the Democrats!

The response of several liberal black leaders to the controversy over teacher integration has been to write off the union and its membership as enemies of black rights. The *Chicago Defender* (18 February), an establishment black daily, simply dismissed the (45 percent non-white) CTU as "an arrogant, Mississippi-inspired teacher union." The NAACP, for its part, demanded a frontal assault on teachers' job rights by extending government-ordered forced transfers to the entire CTU membership.

"Black capitalist" PUSH operator

continued on page 10

Left, Chicago Teachers Union president Robert Healey; right, Chicago school superintendent Joseph Hannon.



Chicago Tribune

substitutes to FTB status!

Moreover, the CTU tops' support for the Hannon plan accepts in principle state intervention overturning teachers' transfer rights; Healey & Co. only want to scheme to see if they can give up a little less. A class-struggle leadership, in contrast, would resolutely oppose all interference by the bosses' government in union affairs and defend union gains against attack by the state, whether the courts, HEW or other agencies.

HEW's Teacher Integration Campaign

The Chicago educational system has been notoriously segregated under the despotic reign of Mayor Richard Daley (and long before). Twelve years ago a panel of "notables" indicted the city's "neighborhood schools" policy as principally responsible for maintaining massive segregation. The Hauser Re-

tion in U.S. cities, a program for integrating the schools must include substantial student busing. Marxists not only support city-wide busing, but we also seek to extend it to the suburbs, thus breaking down class as well as ethnic lines in education.

While battles over busing in Boston and Louisville have grabbed the headlines in recent years, the government has not initiated any new actions to secure compliance with federal regulations for student desegregation. Instead it has retreated from this explosive social question to the "safe" issue of teacher integration. Teacher integration alone will not destroy the fundamentally racist and unequal character of the educational system; consequently, racists are much less likely to get stirred up over it.

But the focus on teacher integration has another great advantage for the bourgeoisie: by placing responsibility

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 7)

encircled by the German army in the Kozara Mountain liberated zone, it was above all their support for national equality that enabled the predominantly Serb CPY-led forces to successfully carry out a harrowing 300-kilometer march to the largely Croat and Muslim Bosnian March district. Tito admonished the shock troops as they prepared to break out to "carry the flag...of brotherhood and unity of our peoples through new regions of Yugoslavia..." (G. Prunkel and A. Rühle, *Tito*, 1973). This march led to the mobilization of tens of thousands of non-Serb partisans and made it possible for the first time to link up with the resistance units in Slovenia and Dalmatia, thereby giving the struggle a Yugoslavia-wide scope.

The Emergence of a Deformed Workers State

A major role in the fighting was played by special workers battalions. While the peasants often succumbed to lethargy once the Ustashi or occupation troops withdrew, the worker partisans were more disciplined, could be easily moved to new battlefields and were a powerful force in overcoming the narrow ethnic hatreds of the peasantry. Early in the fighting, a workers battalion at Užice, the center of the uprising in western Serbia, held out to the last man against a German surprise attack, enabling the partisan command to escape; and among those who withdrew, the majority were also workers.

Tito concluded from this experience the need for special Proletarian Brigades as mobile shock troops if the partisans were to survive the intensive onslaught by German, Italian, Ustashi, Chetnik and Serbian puppet troops. In the bulletin of the partisan command of February/March 1942, a directive establishing these units included among their aims: "3. The Proletarian Brigades are a guarantee for the successful struggle against the occupiers and their native servants, for the successful struggle against national enslavement and economic oppression."

As could be expected, Stalin reacted violently against the formation of the

Proletarian Brigades. He complained in a peremptory telegram to Tito that this move gave credence to the Allied imperialists' claim that the partisan movement was "taking the road of sovietizing Yugoslavia." Instead, thundered the Great Organizer of Defeats, the present task was to "unite all anti-Hitler forces."

Throughout the war, Tito gave ample evidence of his willingness to limit the struggle to the bounds of capitalism. He tried to form a united command with the Chetniks—even offering the supreme command to Chetnik leader Draža Mihailović. When people's liberation committees were set up in Montenegro following early success against Italian occupation troops, these "soviets" were dissolved on orders from the CPY leadership. In response to pressure from Churchill and Stalin, as late as 1944 he agreed to add representatives of the exile Yugoslav monarchist government to the provisional government proclaimed in the liberated areas.

But in November 1941, in the middle of a large-scale German offensive, the Chetniks attacked partisan headquarters; later the royalists openly collaborated with the Italian army. Simply in order to survive, it was necessary for Tito to destroy the Chetniks. (This did not, however, stop Radio Moscow from proclaiming Mihailović leader of the Yugoslav resistance, nor the U.S. Communist Party from raising funds for the monarchists, which it presented to King Peter during his trip to America!) For the same reason, Tito had to maintain the Proletarian Brigades or perish.

The CPY found itself compelled to boot out the local representatives of the old state apparatus in liberated areas because of their ties to Mihailović or to the various quisling occupation regimes. In its place the Communist-dominated Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) was created. While Stalin was warning, "Do not raise, at this stage, the question of abolishing the monarchy; do not proclaim a republic," Tito wrote in September 1942 that people's liberation committees should no longer be considered provisional, but rather as "organs of power and as the nucleus and basis of the future people's power" (quoted in *Tito*).

By 1945, AVNOJ had decreed the nationalization of all property confiscated in the course of the war, all enemy property, all the property of collaborators, war profiteers and "absent persons." Together this included over 80 percent of all Yugoslav industry. The new regime constituted the de facto government throughout the country and commanded an army of over 300,000 men and women. Except for a token handful of bourgeois politicians who served for a few months as window dressing for the federative republic of Yugoslavia, the country's pre-war rulers remained in London. The local bourgeoisie, which had almost universally collaborated with the hated occupiers, had fled. Real power was in the hands of the Communist Party, and Tito had emerged from the war with his own deformed workers state.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Muni...

(continued from page 2)

newsletter put out by the Communist Labor Party, suggested that the Muni workers close down other local transportation service by picketing BART, AC Transit and the Southern Pacific Railway. Martin ruled these proposals out of order on the grounds that the recent court injunction prevented such picketing. This is the most incredible servile legalism! The picket lines which Muni workers are presently respecting are also "illegal," as would be the general strike Martin says he supports! However, the "Muni Defender" group did not protest this bureaucratic outrage and simply sat down.

Other rank-and-file opposition groups were critical of the do-nothing attitude of the TWU bureaucrats but were equally unable to counterpose an effective class-struggle strategy. Concerned Muni Drivers (CMD), which is supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, called vaguely for Muni drivers to take the strike into their own hands. However, a CMD leaflet distributed to the meeting advised that "in the meantime all drivers should know we are entitled to special unemployment assistance and food stamps." This petty social workerism only underlines the willingness of CMD to capitulate to the TWU bureaucracy.

Supporters of the Progressive Labor Party condemned Martin and the CLC brass for stalling around, but could only suggest that Muni workers volunteer for picket duty and circulated an "unofficial strike committee" sign up sheet. Isolated actions by a handful of workers attempting to substitute themselves for the membership are no solution.

Rather than capitulating to Martin's legalism and simply continuing to passively respect picket lines, union militants must demand that the TWU officially enter the strike. The presence of the 2,000-member TWU on the picket lines, presently maintained by a force of 1,900 craft workers, would have an important impact on the strike. Putting the TWU on the lines could force the CLC to implement the general strike call within 72 hours. TWU militants should also demand that the slogans of a general strike include no pay cuts, victory to the craft workers strike, abolish Proposition B; reopen all city workers' contracts; for a big pay boost with full cost-of-living protection and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; and for the right to strike, abolish all the anti-labor charter amendments.

Muni drivers have been the backbone of the present strike; without their support, it almost certainly would have collapsed by now. The San Francisco strike continues to hang in the balance. A decisive demonstration of militancy by the Muni workers could turn the tide. ■

Victor Strike...

(continued from page 2)

which found its way into Victor warehouses several years ago, out of the offices.

The attack on Victor California workers is part of an employer offensive probing the union's defenses on a series of key issues. In recent months, Local 6 members and even entire house steward committees have been fired for resisting open attacks on the seniority system and attempts to impose production quotas and mandatory overtime.

The ILWU leadership, tied by a thousand threads to the Democratic Party machine and committed to a program of conciliating the bosses, has done virtually nothing to defend the union from these attacks. Local 6 president McClain's response to police scabberding against the strike currently underway at Clinical Specialties in San Francisco was to plead (unsuccessfully) with S.F. mayor Moscone's new police chief to stop protection of scabs! Such reliance on the "good will" of the police or capitalist politicians can only lead ILWU members to defeat, whether at Victor or during the upcoming master contract dispute.

The union membership must rally to the defense of the Victor strikers! Organizing the unorganized is of vital importance to the entire labor movement. Organizing among women workers is particularly important since the social isolation of women often allows them to be used as a drag against working-class militancy. As the "Warehouse Militant" put it:

"Organizing will prevent the employers from playing lower-paid workers off against higher-paid ones, inhibit runaways to lower-wage areas and greatly strengthen labor's general ability to fight."

Office workers are notoriously underpaid, and women workers on the average receive wages amounting to only 60 percent of men's salaries. Victor's is no exception. The workers have neither health nor vision care, nor do they have even the minimal job protection afforded by seniority. Starting wages run as low as \$500 a month, and workers with over 20 years' employment make as little as \$700 a month.

Current union demands would bring the office starting base pay to \$655 per month, still a full \$100 below the starting union scale for Local 6 office workers in other shops, and \$300 below the scale for warehousemen. While union recognition is the key demand in this strike, a militant fight by the entire union could sharply raise wages for Victor office workers, striking a blow against the super-exploitation of women workers and setting an important precedent by winning parity with the warehouse section. ■

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Witness' Sworn Statement Tells Story of Bribery and Intimidation

How Desmond Trotter Was Framed

Free Trotter Now!

Desmond Trotter continues to rot in jail on the tiny, impoverished West Indian island of Dominica. The 23-year-old political activist was framed up and found guilty of the murder of a white tourist during the carnival season of 1974. But the story of his arrest and trial makes abundantly clear that Trotter's "crime" was to oppose Patrick John, the tinpot dictator who runs the island of 72,000 inhabitants with an iron fist.

Trotter was sentenced to death by "her majesty's court" in this "associated state" of Britain, and Britain's privy council refused his appeal. Nevertheless, due to a groundswell of international protest, earlier this month Trotter's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by John.

An important part of the defense activities to save the life of Desmond Trotter was the work of an international delegation that went to Dominica in an eleven-hour attempt to save him from the hangman's noose. The problem was how to prove that a frame-up had been perpetrated. This meant exposing the political vendetta of the petty tyrant Patrick John and his plantation "Labour" Party against the young left-wing organizer.

The delegation was aware that the key prosecution witness at the trial, Camella Francis, had admitted to a lawyer that she testified under duress. The delegation went first to the neighboring island of Antigua, located Francis, and recorded her sworn testimony before the local Commissioner of Oaths. The delegation then traveled to Dominica with Francis' testimony; an embarrassed cabinet, faced with demonstrations, an avalanche of telegrams and the recantation of their main "witness," commuted the death sentence.

We publish below excerpts of Camella Francis' statement taken on March 31 in Antigua. We do so not only because the document clearly shows Trotter's innocence, but also for what it tells of the police methods of capitalist "justice." The tactics of course vary from the U.S. shams to the shanty towns of the West Indies, but the method will be immediately recognizable: bribery, intimidation, and the threat and use of torture to get witnesses for frame-up convictions.

[After the shooting incident at the end of February 1974, Camella Francis and her friend Hyacinth Francis were picked up and brought to police headquarters in Roseau, Dominica.]

14. I was asked if I knew anything about the shooting of a white man for

which Desmond Trotter was eventually charged, I answered 'NO!...'

16. I was then told by C.I.D. Police Officer 'Toulon'. "Look I want you to do something for us; I asked him, 'What! He said, 'I want you to make a statement saying that you heard Desmond say he shot a white man.' I asked him, 'how am I going to make such a statement when I did not hear him say so'.

17. Officer Toulon then said, 'I will write it, read it to you and then you will sign.' I said, 'I cannot do that as I do not know the man.' He said, "You can make some good money". I will show you the man on the day of identification; and if you do that you will be paid and sent home the following day.' I continued to protest. Officer Toulon then said to me, 'if you don't sign it, I will lock you up in the cell and pluck out your nails. I became very afraid for my life. The Officer Toulon then wrote the statement, read it and told me to sign it; I was trembling all over from fright when he continued to insist that I must sign; and I did sign the statement.

21. The following day at 9:00 o'clock a group of boys were brought into the Police Station accompanied by Police Officer 'Pestaina' and another Police Officer whose name I do not remember, they came to me and said, 'Desmond Trotter is the fourth person in the line.' Police Officer Pestaina then told me to go into the room. I went into the room where I saw some eight or nine young men; one Mr. Joseph the A.S.P. in charge of the C.I.D. said 'Miss Camella Francis you made a statement stating that you heard Desmond Trotter say on the night of the 24th February 1974 he shot a white man at the corner of Queen Mary and River Street; identify the one who said so.'

22. I then pointed on the fourth person in the line as I was told by Police Officer Pestaina and the other Police Officer. A.S.P. Joseph then told me 'ask Desmond to smile'. I then asked Desmond to smile. Desmond shook his head, then smiled.

[Camella Francis and Hyacinth Francis gave a statement to a lawyer saying they had testified against Trotter under duress.]

49. I eventually left the next day—Monday. After another Policeman came for me around 5 a.m. I told him I was not going. He said 'What you mean by you not going, anywhere? you see them hot cells we have down there, if you don't go, I will arrest you and put you in the cell. He began to harass me

and I became fearful, dressed and left with him for the Airport. I arrived in Dominica the morning.

50. Whilst in Dominica and before I appeared in court at the trial; I was called into one of the Police Offices and a group of policemen began to question me.

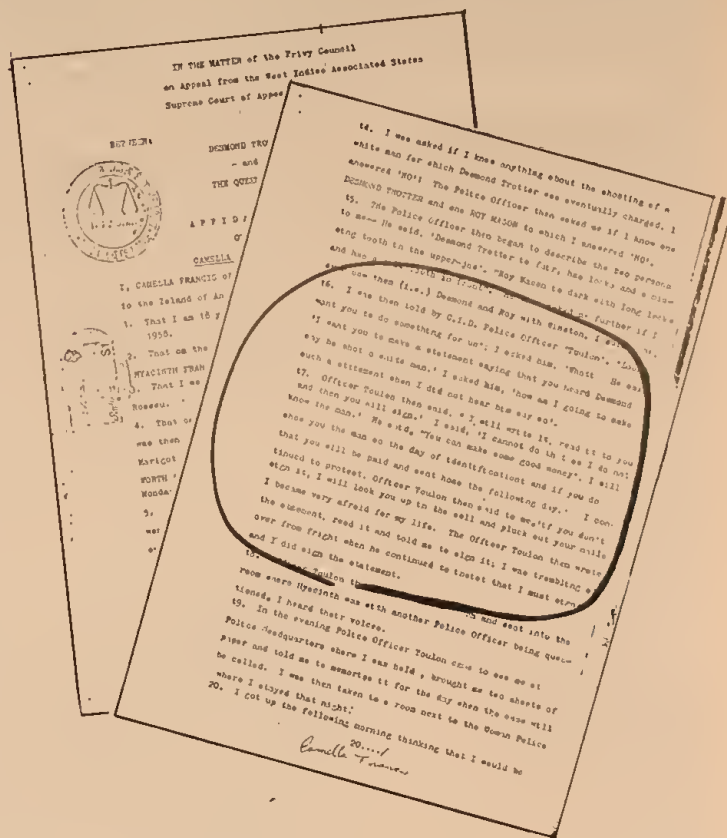
51. I was asked if it was true that Hyacinth Francis and I had given a statement to Lawyer Kendall, I replied, 'yes', I was then told, that I would be charged with perjury, so must tell the Court I did not give a statement to the Lawyer; It was Hyacinth who gave the statement.

A.S.P. Joseph, and the Deputy Commissioner of Police. Who stated that I had done a good job.

60. At the time of my departure I was given a cheque of \$75.00 by A.S.P. JOSEPH of the CID and told that I would receive a further cheque at the end of the case which I never received.

61. I make the above statements knowing the same to be true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Desmond Trotter remains behind bars. Only massive international protest



52. I went into Court and I gave the statement which Police Toulon had told me to sign previously and I had repeated in the Preliminary Inquiry. I was then asked if I gave Lawyer Kendall a statement, to which I answered, 'I did not give him a statement but I went to Kendall's Office to follow Hyacinth.'

58. I was congratulated by the High Officials of the Police Force including

can force his release. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that telegrams demanding the immediate, unconditional release of Trotter be sent to Premier Patrick John, Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. (Copies should be mailed to: Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, P.O. Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.) The fight is not over—Desmond Trotter must be freed!

Chicago Schools

(continued from page 8)

Jesse Jackson injected a nationalist twist, opposing the stiffer HEW guidelines because they would do away with black faculty majorities in any school. Jackson said such a solution "would end black teacher self-determination and it would also be unworkable because white teachers don't want to be assigned to black schools" (Chicago Tribune, 30 March). Jackson suggested a scheme permitting a 65/35 predominance of either race, a proposal which differs

only minimally from the Hannon plan! This is just one more example of Jackson's de facto alliance with Daley forces.

While the misleaders of Chicago's black community engage in virulent union-busting, the callous CTU bureaucracy refuses to champion the just cause of oppressed minorities. CTU officials confirmed to WV that the union has no position on busing or integration, and has no intention of taking one! The Healey leadership is concerned simply to preserve the positions of tenured teachers, its voting base in the union.

In the contract negotiations and strike last fall, for instance, Healey

refused to defend substitutes' interests or fight for more teachers and reduced class sizes and teaching loads. He also "counseled" the Board of Education that it might finance the contract settlement by dropping a proposed \$5 million increase in the city's bi-lingual education program. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that there is anti-CTU sentiment among the black and Spanish-speaking population, and that many substitutes were prepared to scab on a possible strike this spring.

The attacks on the Chicago Teachers Union are part of a nationwide government-sector "austerity" program aimed at unloading the burden of the capitalist depression on working people

through massive layoffs, wage slashing and cutbacks in vital social services. Arguing over which section of the exploited and oppressed must sacrifice in order to jack up profits is a dead end. The fight for racial integration, better job conditions for teachers and quality education requires a militant struggle against capitalism by teachers in alliance with the rest of the labor movement and the masses of working and poor people. It is only by breaking with the bourgeois politicians such as Daley and ousting their labor lackeys like Healey that the road can be opened to united class struggle to put an end to the exploitation and social oppression of capitalist rule. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

tion of their ranks around a program which could really enforce husing and stop racist attacks: labor black defense. Cops, courts and federal troops were the "answer" of the reformist SWP.

Putting forward the same program as black liberals, these fake-Trotskyists tailored their "independent" mass protests to the availability of big-name sponsors who could lend them the desired respectability. In 1974, its December 14 march was built around black Democrat Bill Owens, a Massachusetts state senator. Two months later it founded the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) with a keynote speech from Boston NAACP head Tom Atkins, who also highlighted a second pro-husing march in May 1975.

Already at the 14 December 1974 demonstration, the SWP's tailing alter demagogic liberal "celebrities" had drawn it into dangerous situations beyond its control and in which it was unprepared to defend the marchers who

had heeded its calls to demonstrate. At that march, Owens (who had earlier called for an adventurist march by blacks from Roxbury through South Boston, the hotbed of racist mobilization) deliberately sought a confrontation with the Boston police. Behind him several thousand marchers were bottled up in narrow streets and with no defense preparations had the cops decided to charge.

This time the SWP NSCAR have maneuvered themselves into a perilous situation by their belief that they could corral an NAACP endorsement through pressure tactics. Confident that they could extract support from community black organizations, the sponsors of the April 24 march scheduled a march route beginning at Franklin Park in Roxbury and winding for several miles through the black community before ending at city hall.

But as we go to press, the April 24 march has received no endorsements from any significant black organizations in Boston. Meanwhile, racial tensions in the city have escalated dramatically as a result of the vicious assault against black attorney Lands-

mark and Saturday's attack on the two MBTA drivers.

The Spartacist League Spartacus Youth League had announced intentions to form a contingent marching under the banner of extend the busing, no reliance on troops/cops for black labor defense to stop racist attacks. However, with the liberal politics of the march, and given the present extreme racial tension in Boston and lack of community support for the march, it would be irresponsible to urge militants to participate in the April 24 march.

The key to defense of the rights and safety of black people in Boston is not crawling after the liberals. It is, rather, a political struggle centered in the trade unions, to build working-class support for desegregation and racial equality, and to forge unbreakable links between the cause of labor and the struggles of oppressed minorities. This can only be done under banners which draw the class line between the battles of the oppressed and the armed fist of the oppressor. Support busing, extend it to the suburbs! Not cops or troops, but labor/black defense against racist terror! ■

city workers' wages (not the bloated debt payments to the hanks) for soaring taxes, the supervisors may soon attempt to deliver a death blow to the strike.

Salami Tactics

The local bourgeoisie is employing "salami tactics" to isolate the craft unions not only from other city workers but also from other local labor disputes.

While Muni workers have kept most public transportation shut down tight, the treachery of Teamster officials has kept taxi cabs on the streets. A dispute between the Yellow Cab Company and a thousand Teamster drivers was temporarily "settled" with the help of the bureaucracy and a federal mediator. For several months, the union has been attempting to collect \$1.2 million in back payments owed to the pension and health and welfare funds. On April 5 the Teamsters obtained a legal order to collect out of the company's receipts, but when a sheriff's agent arrived, Yellow Cab responded with a lockout. Rather than fight on their own behalf and in solidarity with beleaguered city workers, last week the union brass accepted a "partial agreement" that forces drivers back to work with a pay cut.

Meanwhile, directors of the Golden Gate Bridge District have taken a hard line against the sudden strike of their bus drivers for a new contract. In the latest vote the Golden Gate directors decided to withdraw their last offer and start negotiations "from scratch." The link between this action and the city strike was made clear when it was revealed that S.F. supervisor John Molinari is also a Bridge director.

When asked if the directors were taking a new hard line, Molinari responded, "Absolutely." The cowardly leadership of the Amalgamated Transit Union responded by pushing through a motion to take down all their picket lines, which had halted ferry service for several days. Although the buses across the bridge will remain idle, well-organized car pools, encouraged by free tolls, have maintained the flow of commuters into the city.

Stop the Stalling!

Despite the apparent success of the capitalists' "divide and rule" scheme, the city workers strike can still be won. At every workplace strike committees must be elected to broaden the leadership of the strike, oversee its conduct and insure the mass participation necessary to win!

The cringing labor "leaders" have abdicated all responsibility except to plead for some face-saving device like mediation to allow them to call off the strike. Elected committees could lay the basis for a general strike by organizing militant mass picket lines at all major city workplaces and transportation centers, and building a mass meeting of the entire San Francisco labor movement by sending official delegations to all area trade union locals.

Muni drivers' TWU Local 250A, in particular, must vote to join the strike and take the lead in reviving the strike momentum. City workers saddled with last month's disastrous agreements must demand that their contracts be re-opened and that they be accorded substantial wage increases with full cost-of-living escalator clauses and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. The entire San Francisco labor movement must be mobilized in a general strike to defend the craft unions and to smash all anti-labor propositions! ■

SAN FRANCISCO

**Public forum:
Bust the Union Busters!**

**Guest speaker:
Bob Mandel, editor of
Warehouse Militant**

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Committee to Save Mario Munoz

In the United States, the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Munoz. Among the endorsers of the campaign in the U.S. and Canada are:

All-African People's Revolutionary Party
Antoine Andrien, member Haitian Fathers'
James Bond, City Council of Atlanta, Ga.
Anne Braden
Fred Brantman
Stokely Carmichael, All-African People's
Revolutionary Party
Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back
John Carroll, Esq., Southern Poverty Law
Center
Chileans for Democracy
Noam Chomsky
Communist Cadre
Robert Cowan, Math Dept., Queens College
Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos
en la Republica Dominicana
Oave Dellinger
Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Frank Gonner, Gen. Counsel, U.E., member
ACLU
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American
Communication and Action
Alexander Erlich, Prof., Russian Inst., Columbia
U.
Eugene Genovese, Prof. of History, Rochester
U.
Dick Gregory
Burton Hall, Atty.
Harlem Fight Back
James Houghton, Harlem Fight Back
Tom Hayden
Nai Hentolt
International Socialists, Chicago local
International Socialist Party
Oale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.
E. Roy John, M.O.
Sanford Kalz, Atty.
Florynce Kennedy, Atty.
Friends of Indochina
Rose Kirk, Chiel Steward, OCAW Local 7507
Pat Knight, Pres., SSEU Local 371 (verbal)
Labor Struggle Caucus, UAW Local 6, Chicago
League for the Revolutionary Party
Gerald Letcourt, Atty.
John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology,
Rutgers U.
Sidney Lens, labor leader and author
Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing

Committee:
Longshore Militant, ILWU Local 10, S.F.
Conrad Lynn, Atty.
Slaughter Lynd, author
Militant Caucus, ILWU Local 6, S.F.
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, NMU
Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians
Society
National Alliance Against Racist and Political
Repression, Chicago chapter
National Jury Project
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
Richard Newhouse, Dem., Ill. State Sen.
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, District
Council 8
Or Philip Oke, U.N. Rep., Christian Peace
Conference
Rank and File Coalition, UAW Local 6, Chi.
Revolutionary Militant Organizing Committee
John Rodriguez, Member of Parliament, New
Democratic Party of Canada
Norm Roth, former Pres., UAW Local 6
Richard Rubenstein, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Roosevelt
U.
Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade
Unionists
Martin Sostre
Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth League
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I.F. Stone
Water Team, Friends of Indochina
Studs Terkel, author
Rip Torn, Actor/Director
Women and Revolution
Women's College House Collectors, Ltd.
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense
Committee
Howard Zinn

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

**Demonstration only

Partial listing

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

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

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

Hands off Mario Munoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Munoz

☐ I pledge \$_____ to help save Mario Munoz (Make payable to Partisan Defense Comm.)

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

Munoz...

(continued from page 3)

and militants, but all those whose defense is in the workers' interest, including students, artists and even army officers who pledged to defend Allende's Popular Unity government against the gorilla plotters. Shiffman rejected the call to "free all political prisoners," a bourgeois liberal demand which would encompass a defense of the likes of Adolph Eichmann or the aspiring Pinochet of Portugal, Antonio de Spínola, who *should* be imprisoned.

Shiffman outlined plans for future demonstrations, delegations, press conferences and a telegram campaign. Among those who have endorsed the campaign to save Mario Muñoz are I.F. Stone, Dick Gregory, Martin Sostre, Stokely Carmichael, Noam Chomsky, Tom Hayden, John Rodriguez (New Democratic Party member of Canadian parliament), Richard Newhouse (Democratic state senator, Illinois), the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (Chicago chapter).

All supporters of the campaign were urged to send telegrams to Congressmen calling on them to telegraph the Argentine government to demand the witch-hunt be called off and safe conduct out of the country be guaranteed to Muñoz. In addition, the Committee demands that Muñoz be granted UN refugee status and his life protected against the junta. ■

S.F....

(continued from page 1)

unionists," the notorious S.F. "TAC" squad lined the steps of City Hall and escorted the scabs inside. Also attempting to prevent picketers from blocking entrance to the building was Stanley Smith, head of the S.F. Building and Construction Trades Council. One righteously indignant militant shouted at Smith: "We've been laying down for two weeks. You see where it got us."

By ramming, through last month's rotten sellout of the majority of city workers, the bureaucracy paved the way for the massive scabbing by lower-paid, unskilled city workers which is undermining the craftsmen's strike. Now the CLC's back-pedaling on its April 6 vote to prepare a general strike encourages the Board of Supervisors in its intransigent stance. Armed with a sweeping court injunction and backed by a frenzied petty-bourgeoisie who blame

WORKERS VANGUARD

NSCAR March in Boston

For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Attacks!

BOSTON—The April 24 march on Boston takes place in the context of a steady escalation of racist violence. The paramilitary wing of the anti-busing movement is growing holder every day. On April 5 prominent black attorney Theodore Landsmark was brutally beaten by a white mob in City Hall Plaza under the very eyes of Mayor Kevin White. Then on April 17 two black bus drivers were set upon at a South Boston bus stop by a half-dozen thugs. Without warning, the racist pack attacked the drivers, screaming racial epithets, kicking them and beating them with a car antenna. Three white fellow workers bravely came to their defense and were also injured.

Such brazen assaults occur virtually every day; only the most outrageous are ever reported in the bourgeois press. One of the two black drivers beaten last Saturday told reporters: "Every day it's the same when I drive through South Boston. I get stoned in my bus and spat on" (*Boston Globe*, 18 April). Carloads of white hooligans have even driven through predominantly black Roxbury on several occasions, hurling rocks and smashing windows.

Since the commencement of court-ordered busing in Boston in September 1974, the Spartacist League has struggled for a mass mobilization of black and labor organizations to crystallize public outrage against the Klan-inspired vigilantes, to politically isolate them and muster the forces to stop them in their tracks. The Boston trade-union movement and black organizations such as the NAACP have the authority and resources to undertake such a mobilization, which could serve as the framework for organizing integrated defense guards to put an end to these racist atrocities.

Black people in Boston, although certainly capable of halting the brazen nightriding incursions into black neighborhoods, are a small minority of the population. They must seek to win powerful allies in the workers movement, without which they cannot put an end to the continued racist assaults on blacks throughout the city. The sizable reactionary anti-busing mobilizations, the pogrom-like atmosphere and the repeated complicity of the police demonstrate the burning necessity for anti-racist forces to organize independently

of treacherous capitalist politicians and their racist thugs in blue.

Unfortunately, the leaders of Boston's trade unions, the only mass organizations of black and white workers, have criminally capitulated to the racists. Those, like the leadership of the Firefighters Union, who actively solidarize with the anti-busing movement are encouraged by the liberal bureaucrats who prefer to say and do nothing. The beating of black and white bus drivers, like the attacks last year on the Meatcutters' union hall in South Boston, shows how easily reactionary movements against the democratic rights of black people can grow over into a direct threat against labor. This points to the elementary duty of the trade unions to put all their strength on the line to beat down the racist frenzy.

While the labor bureaucrats hide their heads in the sand, the NAACP and local

black community leaders have totally failed to organize the black community for even the most obvious forms of self-defense patrols. Instead they preach reliance on the racist cops, who continually demonstrate that they are among the worst enemies of black people, or on the imperialist army headed by busing foe Gerald Ford.

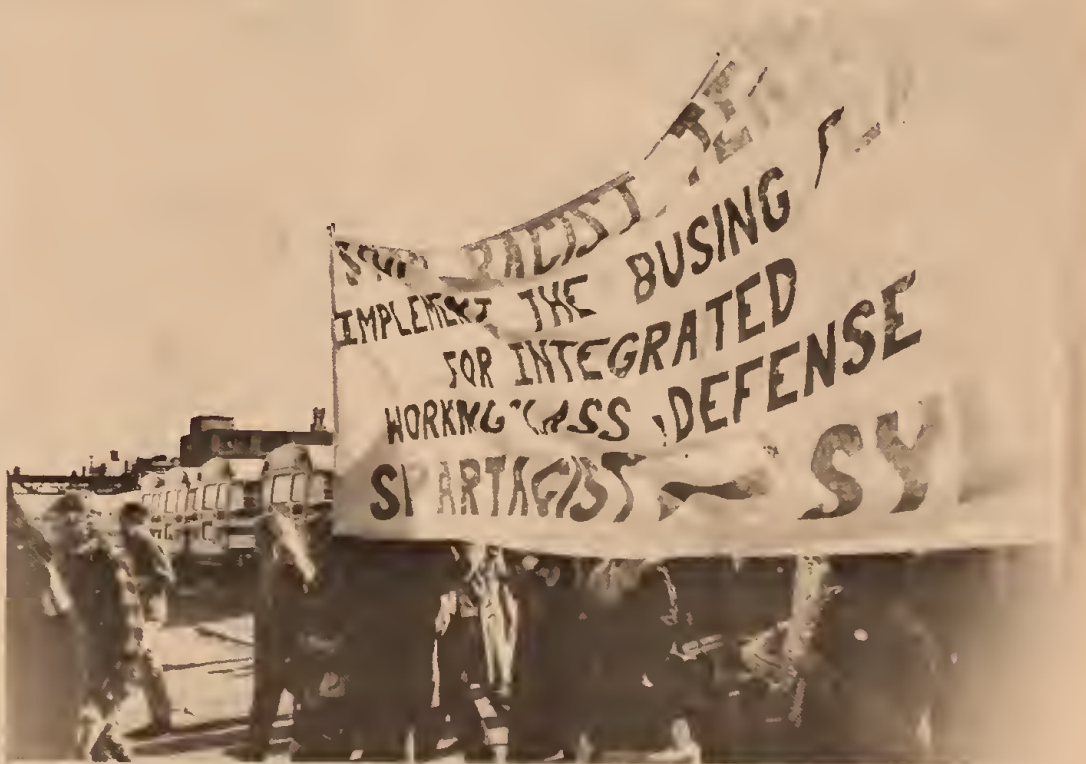
An independent broad-based, united-front demonstration to protest the wave of anti-black terror could be an important initial step toward building a black and labor defense force. But that is precisely what the April 24 march is not intended to be. The initial call for the march from the April 24 coalition, set up by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), raised the criminally dangerous demand for "city police, state police and federal troops" to "protect" the black community, kowtowed to the Bicentennial and the phony progressiv-

ism of the Kennedy family and bluntly offered itself as an election year vehicle for bourgeois politicians ("such a march can be an organizing vehicle to register voters").

A march of this kind, firmly tied to the coattails of the liberal bourgeoisie, far from intimidating the racists will only embolden them. The SWP/NAACP/liberal strategy of reliance on the armed forces of the class enemy for defense against the racist terror campaign can only be taken by the racists as an expression of impotence and helplessness by the pro-busing forces.

From the beginning of the anti-busing mobilization in Boston 18 months ago, the SWP has centered its campaign around the liberal perspective of simply "enforcing the law." At no time did it appeal to black, labor and socialist organizations to undertake a mobiliza-

continued on page 11



Spartacist League marches in Boston, November 1974.

WV Photo

Keep the Buses Rolling!