

S.F. City Workers Strike Knifed in the Back

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10—The 38-day-old strike of 1,900 S.F. municipal craft workers collapsed Saturday, representing a stinging defeat for Bay Area labor at the hands of the vicious union-busting Board of Supervisors. The responsibility for this fiasco rests squarely with the Central Labor Council (CLC) and the leaders of the striking crafts unions.

The strike which began over the issue of threatened cuts in city tradesmen's pay quickly became a pivotal test of strength between the labor movement and city bosses. Yet the CLC misleaders continually refused to mobilize S.F. union ranks for the necessary showdown battle, showing their April 6 general strike call to be an empty bluff.

More than any other recent U.S. strike, the San Francisco city workers strike has starkly revealed the role of the union bureaucracy as traitors to the working class, and its Democratic Party friends as sworn enemies of all labor.

The final back-to-work agreement was nothing but a smokescreen for total surrender. All the issues in dispute are to be turned over to an 11-member "study committee" consisting of an equal number of labor and city representatives, plus one mutually agreed-upon "neutral"... strike-breaking mayor George Moscone! In return, the supervisors agreed to remove Propositions E and K from the June 8 city ballot (Proposition E would require dismissal of striking city workers; Proposition K would spread the proposed pay cuts over three years.)

However, as we go to press, Superior Judge Robert Drews has nullified the agreement dropping the anti-labor propositions. The *San Francisco Examiner* today reported that "a group of city residents" including several attorneys

had sought the court order. Later accounts indicate that this group is working in cahoots with hard-line anti-labor supervisors Quentin Kopp and John Barbagelata.

The final hours of negotiations were stalled over selection of the final member of the "study committee." The Board insisted on Democrat Moscone as the "neutral," but CLC leaders had a little trouble swallowing this final humiliation. Plumbers union leader Joe Mazzola complained, "Moscone's been seen on the television time and time again claiming the Supervisors are right and the unions are wrong" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 May). Moscone also brought in out-of-town seabs to repair broken water mains and dispatched police to break up anti-seab demonstrations. The irony is that Moscone was elected last November with the help of the labor leaders, who hailed him as the "friend of labor" successor to their pal Joseph Alioto. However, in the end CLC tops knuckled under and accepted the mayor as de facto arbitrator.

In actuality, the haggling over the composition of the "study committee" was simply face-saving for the labor traitors, since its recommendations are to be turned over to the Board of Supervisors for action by June 10. As supervisor Diane Feinstein gloated, the Board was able to "settle without putting any money on the table. I don't know of any jurisdiction that has been able to accomplish that anywhere" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 May).

An Orgy of Backstabbing

The final days of the strike were marked by an orgy of backstabbing as the union leaders tried to make separate deals with the Board. The stampede was

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Strike pickets face cops at S.F. city hall last month.

WV Photo

Ulrike Meinhof Killed in West German Jail



Ulrike Meinhof

Keystone

MAY 10 West German authorities announced yesterday that Ulrike Meinhof, one of the leaders of the Red Army Faction (RAF), referred to in the capitalist press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang," on trial in Stuttgart for alleged terrorist activities, was found hanged in her cell yesterday morning.

The circumstances of the Meinhof killing are suspicious in the extreme. Prison authorities labeled it a suicide, but then claimed to be "mystified" that no suicide note was found even though she had been heard typing the night before. Moreover, a UPI dispatch quoted the victim's sister saying Ulrike Meinhof had warned her against being taken in by any story of suicide: "She said if it ever were reported that she killed herself then I would know she had been murdered."

Today's *New York Times* stated that a prison guard had "found Miss Meinhof

hanging at the window rails from a piece of her prison towel." The official autopsy was performed instantly, without either the dead woman's next of kin or her lawyers having been permitted to examine the body. Moreover, although not one shred of evidence has been presented suggesting suicide, the "Justice" Minister of Baden-Württemberg, Traugott Bender, has refused to permit an international commission to carry out an investigation.

Bender also stated that "the claim that Frau Meinhof was the victim of a planned murder is slanderous" and threatened legal proceedings against any defense lawyer who made such a charge.

The official suicide story has met with widespread disbelief and justified outrage. In Frankfurt some 600 demonstrators protested against the killing.

but the demonstration was banned by the police, on the grounds that it "endangered public security." The cops proceeded to viciously attack and disperse the protesters.

From the outset it has been clear that the case against Meinhof and her co-defendants is a frame-up orchestrated by the Bundeskriminalamt (Federal Criminal Office) as part of a witchhunt campaign against radicals of every persuasion. The trial, in a specially constructed multi-million dollar security fortress, has been marked by reliance on notorious informers, police invasion of lawyers' offices, seizure of defense materials, prosecution of defense attorneys for "contributing to a criminal conspiracy." There has also been judicial gagging of the defendants, who are not permitted to confer with one another and whose attempts to make

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Provocateur's Last Assignment: "Assassinate George Jackson"

Spectacular Revelations in San Quentin Six Trial

Free the San Quentin Six, Victims of Cop Conspiracy!

MAY 7—During the nine-month-long trial of the San Quentin Six, evidence has surfaced of a hazy government conspiracy to assassinate imprisoned Black Panther leader George Jackson and other militant black and Latin prisoners held in the prison's notorious maximum security "Adjustment" Center (AC).

The case stems from what the prosecution labels an "abortive escape attempt" on 21 August 1971, allegedly by Jackson (who was shot down by guards that day) and other inmates. The assassination of George Jackson occurred just two days before his trial as one of the "Soledad Brothers" was to have begun. The San Quentin Six defendants are charged with murder and conspiracy in the deaths of three prison guards and two inmate "trustees." Despite suppression of defense evidence during the trial and last year's pre-trial hearings, the lid is gradually being pried from the government cover-up of its death plot against Jackson who, at the time of his murder, had served 11 years of an indeterminate "one-year-to-life" sentence for a gas station robbery of \$71.

The most dramatic revelation so far in the trial occurred in mid-April as Charles Garry, representing defendant Johnny Spain, questioned admitted ex-agent provocateur Louis Tackwood. After establishing the witness' background as an agent for the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the Los Angeles Police Department, the following exchange took place.

Garry to the witness: "Now, sir, can you tell the court and jury what was your last completed assignment here in the northern part of California?"

Tackwood: "To assassinate George Jackson."

Garry: "To do what?"

Tackwood: "To assassinate George Jackson."

Garry to the prosecutor: "You may cross-examine."

A stunned Judge Henry Broderick could only mutter "Wait a minute," while District Attorney Jerry Herman furiously demanded that the statement be quashed. After dismissing the jury, Broderick extensively questioned the witness concerning the "relevance" of his testimony. When defense attorney Robert Carrow justifiably remarked that the judge was essentially doing "discovery" work for the DA (i.e., helping the prosecution patch up its endlessly reworked case), the judge angrily fined the lawyer \$500 for "contempt of court."

Under examination by Broderick, Tackwood's testimony, only part of which the jury was later permitted to hear, revealed that:

- The CCS knew in advance of plans by Jonathan Jackson, George's younger brother, to free several San Quentin prisoners—William Christmas, James McClain and Ruchell Magee—from the Marin County courthouse on 7 August 1970, and used the information to set them up for certain death.

- Tackwood was assigned along with

a CCS plant in the Black Panther Party, Melvin Smith, to recruit Panthers from Los Angeles for an attempt in late 1970 to free George Jackson from a courtroom where a connected case was being heard. Jackson and the other Panthers would have walked into a death trap, but the plan fell through when a judge refused to allow the imprisoned militant to testify in the other trial.

- A later police plot involved smuggling inoperative weapons and phony explosives into the AC; a defective .38 caliber revolver was secretly given by CCS agents to a San Quentin guard on 2 August 1971, to be passed to (or planted on) Jackson.

- Two weeks before the murder of Jackson a meeting was held at the CCS office in Los Angeles, attended by FBI man Ed Burch and an agent named Barrens from the California attorney general's Criminal Identification and Investigation (CII) section. The meeting decided that an agent in the prison would approach Jackson and other known militants with a plan for an attempted break-out on August 23 during which the prisoners could all be gunned down with impunity. "We want him dead," police lieutenant Robert Keel said of Jackson.

- Due to distrust between CII and CCS, the state CII independently engineered a so-called "escape attempt" two days ahead of schedule, and Jackson was shot down on August 21.

- At a heated meeting of the entire 17-man CCS "black desk" on August 22, Tackwood was told that his assignment was completed. "CII fucked up," said angry police sergeant Robert Sharrett. "The dumb shits brought in a .9 mm and we had a .38. We're going to go and get the .38 and our man out," said Keel (quoted in *Black Panther*, 17 and 24 April).

Tackwood's startling testimony complements that of other defense witnesses. Ruchell Magee has testified that he saw Los Angeles police agents and guards from other prisons in San Quentin on August 21 and that guards in civilian clothes, some wearing masks, left the cell doors open that morning. Other prisoners testified that they saw guards with handguns (strictly forbidden in the prison) just before the so-called escape attempt.

The evidence presented by Tackwood and other defense witnesses has blasted the prosecution's jerry-built case to pieces. The state contends that radical lawyer Stephen Bingham—who subsequently disappeared—smuggled an 8-1/2 inch automatic pistol and two magazine clips past prison guards and a metal detector and passed them to Jackson, who hid them under an Afro-style wig. The inmate then supposedly secreted them back to his cell past guards who always carried out a thorough and degrading head-to-toe "skin search" before and after prisoners were taken to the visiting room.

The prosecution also maintains that Jackson attempted to escape by running 100 feet across a courtyard overlooked by a 25-foot-high wall, fortified by a gun tower! A prison guard testified on October 7 that he killed Jackson with one rifle shot "at his legs." The bullet allegedly entered his leg and exited through his head. That even contradicted the state's original contention that Jackson was shot by tower guards as he ran toward the wall where they were

stationed. It also clashed with the statement at the time of the murder by San Quentin associate warden Park that "The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson, killed him. Shot him through the head" (see "Free the San Quentin Six!" *WP* No. 71, 20 June 1975, for further details about the case).

Capitalist Prisons on Trial

In nearly every respect, the trial itself is a microcosm of the racist barbarism that marks the bourgeoisie's concentration camps. The courtroom has been converted into a small-scale prison. Spectators pass through metal detectors and are searched, their names recorded and photographs taken. The defendants and inmates called to testify

ment." However, the judge's order for such minimal amelioration as daily exercise time in fresh air and without chains has been stayed in higher court.

Of the 26 surviving AC prisoners, the six chosen to stand trial were all militants hated by prison authorities for refusing to submit to the inhuman degradations of prison life. For over ten years, San Quentin and Soledad prisons have been centers of struggle primarily by black prisoners, for elementary human rights. Protests, work stoppages and food riots have been directed against slave labor, punitive "strip cells," rotten food, sentencing and parole procedures, lack of recreational facilities and the indeterminate sentence. The San Quentin Six—Black Panther Johnny Spain, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate, David Johnson, Hugo



Dan O'Neill

Fleeta Drumgo (right), one of the San Quentin Six, was also accused, along with George Jackson (center) and John Cluchette (left), of killing a Soledad prison guard in retaliation for the murder of three black prisoners in early 1970. The two surviving "Soledad Brothers" were acquitted seven months after the assassination of Jackson.

are shackled and handcuffed to special chairs bolted to the floor. Three armed guards stand over them at all times, and many more line the courtroom corridors. Prisoners are transported between the "Adjustment" Center and the courtroom in a prison-on-wheels, a bus with built-in cells where they are chained up. Until January they were led like animals into the courtroom by neck leashes held by guards.

Conditions in the AC are so abysmal that a federal judge found them to constitute "cruel and unusual punish-

Pinell and Luis Talamantez—and defendants in related cases have been close to the heart of the struggle, particularly among those whose prison experiences formed the basis for a growing radical political consciousness.

Despite the flimsy, self-contradictory prosecution case, resting largely on the catch-all conspiracy charge, the cards are stacked against the six. Almost to a man, the defense eyewitnesses are black prisoners, who bravely testify at the risk of retaliation by sadistic guards. Testifying against them are mainly white prison employees, upholders of bourgeois "law and order." As the defense has successfully brought out, the trial is, in fact, an indictment of the prison system. Inmate witnesses, backed up by professionals acquainted with life in the cellblocks, have exposed the naked repression that passes for "correction" and "rehabilitation." Nevertheless, to secure an acquittal, the defense must crack through the prosecution's racist demagoguery and

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Sanitation Union Scabs on NYC Building Service Workers Strike

Faced with the refusal of New York City sanitation workers to pick up garbage from the more than 3,000 apartment houses affected by the striking Building Service Employees Union, city hall hit on a new plan to "ease friction" between the two unions. John De Lury, head of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, was requested to instruct his members that they were required by law to remove garbage which had been "certified" as a health hazard. De Lury was only too happy to comply.

On Friday, May 7, Health Department inspectors accompanied the sanitation trucks from building to building, "certifying" garbage piles one by one and instructing sanitationmen to remove them.

While De Lury was doing everything in his power to break the back of the strike, the apartment house owners made a wage increase offer of only half of what the service workers had requested and magnanimously dropped their outrageous demands for cuts in service workers' fringe benefits. According to eight city council members, the landlords can well afford to wait out the strike, as they are "getting a windfall since they have no payroll to meet while still collecting full rents." A tenant rent strike in support of the building service workers is clearly called for, as well as militant support from the rest of the union movement.

The willingness of the sanitation union leadership to agree to the selective removal of garbage is out-and-out scabbing, undermining class solidarity and posing a threat to the entire NYC labor movement. Sanitation workers must immediately cease collaborating with this strikebreaking decree by city officials! Like the "illegal" strike of the sanitation workers last summer, the service employees strike is being deliberately sabotaged by treacherous bureaucrats like De Lury. These traitors must be thrown out of the unions and replaced by militant leaders uncompromisingly committed to a class-struggle program. ■

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Free Mustafa Dzhemilev!

Tatar Dissident Imprisoned in Labor Camp

On April 15, Mustafa Dzhemilev, a leader of the Crimean Tatars, was sentenced in the Siberian city of Omsk to two and a half years in a labor camp for "slandering the Soviet state." Despite the refusal of a key prosecution witness to testify that the defendant had indeed made anti-Soviet remarks, the ruling bureaucracy was determined to victimize this 31-year-old militant for his courageous campaign to restore the rights of the Tatar people.

Last December 3, a press conference was organized in Moscow by well-known Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov (the nuclear physicist) and Pyotr Grigorenko (a former general in the Red Army) to publicize Dzhemilev's case. However, as Grigorenko's son Andrei, a close friend of the Tatar oppositionist, complained: "The journalists wrote their stories, but the world's newspapers

dous crimes: "The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also."

The five Caucasian groups were subsequently restored to their lands and autonomous regions. However, today the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans are still exiled to Central Asia and are not allowed to return to their homelands and re-establish their autonomous republics, even though they have been officially exonerated of the charge of collective treason. In the case of the Crimea, the reason for this probably lies partly in the unwillingness of the self-serving bureaucrats in the Ukraine to hand back this lush resort area to its former inhabitants.

Dzhemilev: a History of Persecution

Mustafa Dzhemilev was born in 1943 in the Crimea and deported six months later with his parents to Uzbekistan. At age 16 he helped found the Crimean Tatar Youth League, which demanded the right of Tatars to return to the Crimea. In 1962 the League was broken up by the KGB and four members arrested. Dzhemilev was fired from his job. He later entered an agricultural college in Tashkent, where he continued to study the Tatar national question, but he was expelled for speaking to a youth group.

When he went to Moscow to appeal his expulsion, Dzhemilev was arrested and deported to Tashkent. In 1966 he was tried and sentenced to a year and a half of forced labor. Released after this term, he was elected a permanent representative of the Crimean Tatars in their negotiations with the government. In May 1968, on the eve of a scheduled demonstration in Moscow by Tatars on the 24th anniversary of their deportation, police rounded up most of the would-be demonstrators, including Dzhemilev, and sent them back to Central Asia.

Mustafa Dzhemilev also became active in the broader dissident movement and opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. According to Andrei Grigorenko, "It was in large part thanks to his efforts that misunderstandings were ironed out between the Moscow democrats and the leaders of various national movements in the USSR. Quite logically, therefore, he became one of the 15 founder-members, in 1969, of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR." Dzhemilev was arrested again in 1969 and sentenced to three years of forced labor. Released in 1972, he was re-arrested in 1974 and remains in prison.

Tatar Nationalism and Soviet Dissidents

The civil rights movement of the Tatars has played a significant role in the Soviet dissident movement. When, as a result of mass meetings in late 1967, several Tatar leaders were arrested, the Moscow-based dissident movement came to their defense. Dissident Aleksei Kosterin, who led the "neo-Marxist" current of which Pyotr Grigorenko and

Leonid Plyushch are the heirs, came to be revered as a kind of heroic figure among protesting Tatars. At his funeral in November 1968, Tatar poet Muarrem Dzelyalaghy Martynov said:

"Following Lenin's tradition, you took the offensive against the enemy yourself."

"Let our party be just and then there will be no nationalism," said our leader Lenin.

"Sleep peacefully, most honorable of Russia's sons."

—Samizdat

Pyotr Grigorenko and his son Andrei, as well as many other Russian and Ukrainian dissidents, have also made the Tatar cause their own. It was Plyushch who, following his recent emigration to Paris, brought international attention to the case of Dzhemilev.

On April 14, Sakharov together with his wife Yelena was arrested in events related to the Dzhemilev case. Having flown to Omsk to attend Dzhemilev's trial, Sakharov and his wife allegedly struck several militiamen in the courtroom who barred their entry to the "public" trial. The Sakharovs were released after confessing to the charge. (The Soviet bureaucrats are hesitant to incarcerate the darlings of the imperialist bourgeoisie.) On the same day, in Moscow, another dissident who is very popular in the West, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, received a relatively light sentence of only two years' exile. But Dzhemilev, who was tried on the same charge, was an easier target.

The creation of the Crimean ASSR, along with several other autonomous republics and regions, was part of the Bolsheviks' program to banish all forms of national privilege and do away with the hated tsarist heritage of a Russian empire that was a "prison house of peoples." Stalin's mass deportations of the Tatars and others were among his most terrible injustices against the Soviet peoples and a glaring proof of the degeneration of the first workers state in history.

Those who raise the banner of a workers political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucratic usurpers and return to the path of Lenin and Trotsky must be uncompromising fighters for the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatars—along with the Volga Germans and other oppressed minorities in the USSR—including the right to return to their homelands and restoration of their autonomous soviet republic. Mustafa Dzhemilev must be immediately freed! ■

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David Newby, State V.P., Wisconsin
Federation of Teachers, AFT*
New York Unemployed Council
Richard Newhouse, state senator, Illinois
OCAW, District Council 8
Dr. Philip Oke, UN rep., Christian Peace Conference*
Organization of Arab Students, Boston chapter
Susan Paul, American Friends Service Committee*
Dean Perlmán, *Christian Century**
Eve Pell
Joseph Persky, URPE*
James Petras
Portage County Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy
Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof. Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
Joanne Fox Przeworski, Chicago Commission to Investigate Status of Human Rights in Chile, 1974*
Rank and File Coalition, Local 6, UAW*
Justin Ravitz, Judge, Records Court, Detroit
Revolutionary Marxist Committee
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
Jack L. Roach, Prof., U. of Connecticut*
Janel K. Roach, Instructor, Eastern Connecticut State College*
Bill Robinson, Exec. Bld., Local 634, AFSCME*
Norm Roth, former Pres., Local 6, UAW*
Richard Rubenstein, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Roosevelt U.*
San Quentin Six Defense Committee
Fay Schmidt
Henry Schmidt, Member of Bay Area Pensioners*
Barry Schulman, National Jury Project
Charles Schwartz, Prof. of Physics, U. of Cal. at Berkeley*
Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine
Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
John Sharpe, Sec'y, international Spartacist tendency
James J. Sheehan
Sylvia Sherman, Sec'y, Local 171, AFSCME*
William M. Shepherd, Prof. of Economics, U. of Michigan*
Carl Shier, International Representative, UAW*
Socialist Party, S. Central Wisconsin local
Roney L. Sorenson, Alderman, Dist. 5, Madison, WI
Martin Sosire
Spark
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I.F. Stone
Doris E. Strieler, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile*
Willie Tate, defendant, San Quentin Six
Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina
Studs Terkel, author
Rip Torn, actor/director
United Farmworker Support Committee, Madison, WI
University of Chicago Student Government
United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
Anthony Wachs, National Lawyers Guild*
Warehouse Militant, S.F.
John F. Weeks, Dept. of Economics, U. of Wisconsin*
What Sha Wants
John K. Whitmore, Prof., U. of Michigan*
Sidney E. William, Youth Visitor Integrity*
Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd.
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Howard Zinn
Marvin Zonis, Prof., U. of Chicago*
Eddison J.M. Zvobgo, ZANU*

* Organization listed for identification purposes only

Partial listing

San Quentin Six...

(continued from page 2)

obstruction by the judge to convince a jury composed of 11 whites and a single black member.

Judge Broderick has consistently manipulated the trial in the prosecution's favor. Defense lawyers have charged him with literally dozens of instances of judicial misconduct. He has helped suppress vital links in the defense case and refused the defense access to CIA, FBI, Los Angeles Police Department and state CII files pertaining to the case and the defendants. He denied a motion to transfer the trial out of Marin County, where the bloody August 1970 escape attempt involving Jonathan Jackson is still a vivid memory feeding white hysteria. The judge forbade a unified defense against the conspiracy charge. He also demanded that Pinell, acting as his own lawyer, reveal all the areas his evidence would cover before it could be heard by the jury.

In contrast with the mountainous media coverage given debutante desperado Patricia Hearst, the bourgeois press has paid little attention to this case and, in some cases, has editorialized for the prosecution. San Quentin Six Defense Committee spokesman Gertrude Mayes told a *WV* reporter of a demonstration held at the federal building during the Hearst trial to protest the near blackout: "All the dailies as well as the national bourgeois press were going to attend it on their lunch hour... but they just sat there in the press room and didn't bother."

"The *San Francisco Chronicle*," Mayes went on, "has said that they will not be back until the 'conviction' comes in," i.e., the paper has prejudged the defendants' guilt before the defense cases are even half completed. She added that:

"The coverage that the press gives poor, oppressed people has always been minimum.... It gets to be a question of class and race that determines the policy and determines who gets assigned the stories. They have said here that nobody is interested in the case."

Clearly, the San Quentin Six are unable to get even the minimal accord of democratic rights which the Hearst millions could buy. Only a sustained campaign of mass protest involving black and working-class organizations can stop the government's attempt to railroad the defendants and cover up its own criminal conspiracy. Drop the charges! Free the San Quentin Six and jail the murderers of George Jackson instead!

Donations for the defense of these victims of bourgeois class "justice" can be sent to: The San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169—16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. ■

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**, Box #33, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

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

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

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

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

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

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

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

Build the Mario Muñoz Campaign!

The following is an interview with Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) spokesmen Toni Randell and Reuben Shiffman. Along with the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, the PDC is co-sponsoring the campaign to save the life of Chilean revolutionary trade-union leader Mario Muñoz. Muñoz, a leader of the Regional Miners Councils, was forced to flee Pinochet's terror following the bloody September 1973 coup. He is now being pursued by Argentine police with orders to shoot on sight.

WV: What is the background of the Muñoz case and how did the PDC get involved?

RANDELL: The PDC first learned of the case when a group of South American exiles in Europe, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, contacted us about Muñoz' plight. We feel that his case and other similar ones embody the fate of the tens of thousands of political refugees for whom Argentina was the last refuge. Not only is the bourgeois

the cause of one of the most desperate sections of the Chilean working class, consolidating a highly fragmented union movement, fighting for elementary union rights and at the same time mobilizing defense of Allende's government against reaction. After the coup in 1973 when he and thousands of other Chilean workers and peasants were forced to flee, in many cases on foot across the Andes into Argentina, he continued to aid these refugees during their difficult years of exile.

It's for these reasons that a special effort to publicize these cases must be made. Because these are not the people who, because of their academic connections or ministerial portfolios in the Popular Unity government, will automatically attract world attention. The only way they will receive support is through the means which more or less correspond to the way they've struggled all their lives, namely mass protest.

WV: What is the character of the defense work and what are the latest developments?

SHIFFMAN: The work has two sides. We are attempting through demonstrations and publicity to bring the issue to the public, especially the working-class movement, and at the same time to gain endorsements from trade unions, various organizations and prominent people concerned for democratic rights to bring pressure to bear on the Argentine

United Secretariat), and at the *Was Tun* Festival of supporters of the United Secretariat in Germany the petition received 120 signatures. In England, the Whitecrosses have added their names to the list of endorsers, and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has endorsed the campaign.

There has been enormous labor support from Australia. In the last two weeks we've received endorsements from Bob Hawke, federal president of the Australian Labor Party; the Transport Workers Union of Australia; the Seamen's Union of Australia; the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists; the Waterside Workers Federation of Australia; and the Ship Painters and Dockers union in Victoria. The deputy leader of the Labor Party has telegraphed the foreign minister, requesting an inquiry on the case by the Australian embassy in Buenos Aires. When the ALP was still in power, back in 1973, it made similar inquiries concerning the case of Van Schouwen and Romero, in response to requests from unions contacted by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

WV: How do you explain the widespread support received so far?

SHIFFMAN: It's important to see this campaign in the context of Chile today. The Pinochet regime has alienated all sectors of the population, including the Catholic Church and the main bour-

geoisie. In addition to Australia, in Canada the campaign has been endorsed by the Canadian Labour Congress, three New Democratic Party members of parliament, including NDP leader Ed Broadbent, and the NDP Vancouver Area Council.

But from the American labor bureaucracy we've received an enormously cold reception, demonstrating not only its isolation from its own rank and file, but also its isolation internationally. It's no accident that the AFL-CIO is known in Latin America as the AFL-CIA, and it has tended to behave accordingly in this case. In contrast, where the case has been raised on the shop floor, we've been received enthusiastically by the ranks.

RANDELL: In general the response has really been excellent. The PDC hopes that the Muñoz campaign will be a model of defense work, part of our effort to re-initiate the work begun by James Cannon in the early years of the Communist Party in building the International Labor Defense. It's significant, too, I think, that Martin Sostre, in the telegram that was read at the New York demonstration for Mario Muñoz, referred to himself as a "recently released class war prisoner." The early ILD always made clear which side of the class line it stood on, but in recent years no one talked of "class-war prisoners" until the PDC revived the term.

Throughout all the work on this case, we are making clear the partisan nature of the PDC, that we are concerned with all cases whose victorious outcome is in the interests of the working people. That is why we raise the demand, "Free all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina." We are not liberal civil libertarians; we draw a class line, and do not call for freeing all political prisoners, nor would we defend fascists if their civil liberties were denied.

WV: How's the campaign going financially?

RANDELL: People who have supported the appeal have been very generous with their donations. But it's important to realize how expensive this kind of defense work is. Every time we call Australia it costs \$50 at least, and the calls to Europe thus far are already well over \$1,000. People have also been traveling, both in the U.S. and Europe, to get endorsements and documentation about Mario Muñoz.

So far, we've raised only about 15 percent of the amount we will need. And we'll be facing even higher expenses—for travel, for example—if the governments which have shown an interest in the case agree to grant asylum and assist in putting pressure on the Argentine junta to give Mario Muñoz and his family safe conduct out of the country. The PDC urgently requests that the readers of *Workers Vanguard* respond to the financial appeal by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, to make possible this vital campaign. ■

Interview with the Partisan Defense Committee

press painting the Videla coup as bloodless, but even the *Daily World* is saying that the coup is actually "in the basic interests of the people" because it supposedly promised to restore "constitutional foundations of government"! However, the truth is beginning to come out, and stories have been printed in leading newspapers—such as the London *Guardian* and *Times* and the Paris *Le Monde*—indicating that the Argentine generals are running wild. It was also announced last week by the Chilean MIR that one of its leaders, Edgardo Enriquez, has fallen into the hands of the Argentine junta.

The Partisan Defense Committee has been involved in defense work for Latin American prisoners for some time. Immediately following the Pinochet coup, an international outcry was made about the brutal torture of prominent leaders of the Popular Unity government in Chile. At that time we publicized the cases of MIRistas Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero in order to draw attention to the "far-left" prisoners who had been largely neglected by everyone else; as well as demanding the release of the more well-known figures like Communist Party leader Luis Corvalán. Also, last December we learned of the arrest of 13 Chilean, Argentine and British citizens in Buenos Aires, accused of running guns and otherwise aiding Chilean resistance groups. On a day's notice we initiated a demonstration at the Argentine Mission to the UN, in New York, to defend them. Two of the 13, Richard and Cristina Whitecross, have recently been released, but there is still no word on the remaining 11.

WV: What do you see as the significance of the Muñoz case?

SHIFFMAN: First of all, it's important because people like Mario Muñoz are often overlooked in defense cases. Muñoz is not a prominent intellectual or some romantic figure who would be well-known outside of Chile and Argentina. Muñoz himself went to work at the age of 14 as a miner. The contract miners lead lives of abject poverty—many who did not die of diseases directly related to mining often died of lack of work, of lack of food and medicine. Muñoz is a genuine leader of the Chilean working class, who earned this leadership through championing



WV Photo

Demonstration in defense of persecuted Chilean workers leader Mario Muñoz at Argentine consulate April 22 in New York.

government to grant Muñoz and his family safe conduct out of the country.

RANDELL: In addition to the demonstrations held in New York City and Chicago in the last month, which together drew over 300 participants, there was a demonstration April 23 outside the Argentine Airlines office in Toronto. The main bulk of the participants were supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada and Latin American militants. Another protest demonstration is being planned for the Bay Area in mid-May.

Internationally, we are gathering impressive support. In France in the last two weeks, the campaign to save Mario Muñoz has received endorsements from Pierre Broué, a historian and leader of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste; well-known photographer/journalist Michele Ray; writer Claude Roy; singer Catherine Sauvage; Louis Althusser, author of *Lenin and Philosophy*; Daniel Guérin; and Jean-Paul Sartre. In the city of Grenoble alone, a petition for Muñoz has acquired over 200 signatures to date. Elsewhere in Europe, the campaign was endorsed by Luis Vitale, leader of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (a Chilean sympathizing group of the

geois party (the Christian Democrats), and has isolated itself internationally. Even most of the imperialist governments—who certainly want reactionary governments to defend the interests of capital—do not like these military juntas. Now public opinion, even bourgeois public opinion, is fearful that Argentina will go the way of Chile. That is why there is such an immediately favorable reception at this particular juncture to campaigns that raise the questions of democratic rights and political refugees in Argentina and Chile.

WV: Since its inception, the PDC has been fighting for the concept of anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense. What kind of response are you getting from the left and the labor movement in this campaign?

SHIFFMAN: Well, as Toni said earlier, the Communist Party in fact supports the coup and therefore has not been very interested in defending the victims of the coup. On the other hand, you could say that where the labor movements in other countries with a strong social-democratic tradition have been approached, for an organization of our size and modest influence, we've received an enormously favorable re-

FUNDS NEEDED!

Send urgently needed contributions for the defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz to:

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Box 633, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Make checks payable to "Partisan Defense Committee," earmark for "MUÑOZ CAMPAIGN"



Doubleday & Co

Over 10,000 people gathered at San Francisco Civic Center to protest the bloody police attack on striking longshoremen on "Bloody Thursday."

Then, As Now, CLC Tops Were Main Obstacle to Victory

The 1934 San Francisco General Strike



University of California

"Bloody Thursday" in the 1934 S.F. general strike. Two unionists were murdered by S.F. cops in the "Battle of Rincon Hill."

The recently defeated San Francisco craft workers' strike induced many comparisons with the S.F. general strike of 1934. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) leader Harry Bridges, who played a key role in sparking the 1934 strike, remarked ironically at one point: "Well, I came in during a general strike, and it looks like I may be going out with one." Although this year's conflict never reached the proportions of the earlier struggle—which proved the major event in making San Francisco into a union town—for several weeks it teetered on the brink of becoming a general strike. It was above all the actions and inaction of Bridges and his cronies that stood in the way.

The most important of the lessons of 1934, confirmed this year as well, is the need to defeat and take leadership away from the treacherous pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. In 1934 Teamster president Michael Casey and Central Labor Council head Edward Vandeleur sold out the general strike. If the struggle for union recognition did not suffer an irremediable setback it was only because the leadership of a key section of the workers—the maritime workers—was in the hands of rank-and-file militants who were able to at least conduct an orderly retreat. In 1976 every union was controlled by hardened bureaucrats—from CLC head John Crowley to Harry Bridges, the completely domesticated militant of yesteryear—and there existed no elected strike committees at all, a fact which is central in explaining the total rout of the workers. The whole bunch of labor fakers, moreover, give political support to the Democratic "friends of labor" who are among the most dangerous leaders of the union-busting crusade.

How It Began

The general strike of 1934 grew out of the shipping companies' determination to smash the reviving dock workers' union. In the years since the destruction of the AFL longshoremen's union in 1919, employers had a free hand in dictating working conditions on the waterfront. Longshoremen were forced to join a company union to get work, militants were blacklisted, the speed-up was grueling, and bribery and favoritism were the rule in the daily "shape-up." By the middle of 1933, however, partly under the impetus of the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA), of which section 7(a) purported to guarantee the right of union organization, there was a mass influx of longshoremen into the virtually defunct AFL union, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

The union's demands, which were circulated up and down the Coast and used as the basis for recruiting new members, included: union recognition, union-controlled hiring halls with preference for ILA members (closed shop), a six-hour day/30-hour week, and a wage increase from 85 cents per hour to \$1 (with \$1.50 for overtime). By early March 1934 the employers had already decided to oppose these demands unconditionally, provoke a strike and break the union. After an initial delay, a coastwide longshore strike began on May 9 and rapidly gained support from the other maritime trades, tying up shipping on the entire coast.

The shippers retaliated by using old-line AFL leaders, principally ILA president Joseph Ryan, to compel arbitration of the key issues. When that failed, they attempted to open the S.F. port by force. But the strike held solid for 80 days. When police killed two strikers and the governor sent in the National Guard, the result was a three-day general strike in San Francisco.

These events did not occur spontaneously, however. Supporters of the Communist Party and the "Albion Hall" group (named after their meeting place) around Harry Bridges, provided the driving force behind the struggle to build the union. It was these militant

trade unionists who, while unable to present a program of consistent class struggle, pushed the strike forward. Their serious errors led to the betrayal of the general strike by the treacherous AFL misleaders, but without these militants the strike probably never would have happened in the first place.

The Communist Party, by that time a pliant tool of the Stalinist counterrevolutionary bureaucratic usurpers in the Kremlin, was still operating on the basis of the ultra-left sectarian "Third Period" line laid down by Stalin in 1929. Following this policy both the New Deal and the AFL union tops were denounced as "fascist" and dual unions were the order of the day. The Stalinist dual union on the West Coast waterfront was the Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU), composed of both seamen and longshoremen.

After 1933, however, the Stalinist line began to shift in an empirical reaction to Hitler's unopposed march to power in Germany. Already preparing to build "popular-front" alliances with liberal bourgeois politicians, the Stalinist parties began to reconsider working in the unions dominated by old-line bureaucrats. Thus when longshoremen flocked to their historic AFL union in 1933-34, CP cadres followed and were thus able to link up with Bridges' group, rather than being totally isolated in their own sectarian "red" union.

The longshoremen who began joining the ILA in 1933 faced difficulties at once. The employers defended the "Blue Book," a company union formed after the defeat of the 1919 strike, and fired workers for wearing ILA buttons on the job or for not having their "Blue Book" dues paid up. The newly elected ILA leadership advised workers to refer such disputes to the NRA administration, which promptly ruled that the "Blue Book" was a bonafide union! It was the "Albion Hall" group which actually built the AFL union by organizing job actions and a successful strike against Matson Lines in 1933, to reinstate four fired workers.

Membership dissatisfaction with NRA stalling was evident and a coastwide ILA convention was called for February 1934. Bridges prepared for it by making a tour of the Northwest ports, discussing the issues and urging the election of militant delegates from the ranks. As a result, the convention adopted a democratic constitution and called for the federation of all unions in the industry, which drastically cut across craft-union prejudices. The inter-union solidarity prepared for by the militants at this convention was critical: seamen had crossed longshoremen's picket lines in 1919, while the longshoremen scabbed on seamen in 1921.

Following the employers' flat refusal to bargain—based largely on the assessment that the West Coast union was in the hands of radicals who had to be smashed—and the taking of a coastwide strike vote, Bridges initiated an elected strike committee in the San Francisco Bay area Delegates, who were elected from the docks and gangs on both sides of the Bay as well as from casuals totaled nearly 50 in number. The need for such a measure became even clearer when the head of the ILA Pacific Coast District, "Burglar Bill" Lewis, unilaterally called off the strike in March on a request from F.D.R.

The Key: Inter-Union Solidarity

The strike finally got under way on May 9, and inter-union solidarity of maritime workers was the key to its initial success. The MWIU led its members off the ships as they hit port. This sparked general walkoffs of seamen, even from foreign ships, and the eventual sanctioning of the strike by the AFL seamen's union. Other maritime crafts also walked off in sympathy and a joint strike committee, as called for by the ILA convention, was set up, with each union pledging not to return to work until the others had settled.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shipping on the entire West Coast was halted.

Despite this militant maritime solidarity, support from truck drivers remained critical to the success of the strike. The shippers immediately recruited scabs, many of them students from the University of California, dubbed the "scab incubator" to unload the ships, while police armed with an anti-picketing ordinance kept the strikers at a distance. Over the vigorous objections of its president, Michael Casey, however, the S.F. Teamsters local voted not to move scab goods off the piers. By May 27, there were at least 25,000 workers out, and the San Francisco port alone was losing \$100,000 per day because of the strike.

While maritime workers were marching on the Embarcadero, ILA president Ryan, a fossilized craft unionist who defended the "shape-up" system against hiring halls, flew into town at the request of government mediators and attempted to convince longshoremen to arbitrate wages and hours and accept a jointly controlled hiring hall (i.e., leaving control in the employers' hands) with no closed shop provision. Though roundly voted down in all ports, he proceeded to sign an agreement to this effect about two weeks later in San Francisco Mayor Rossi's office, pledging the longshoremen's compliance with the agreement. But the dockers rejected the deal, and Ryan was booted off the platform in the San Francisco local. More importantly, Ryan's treachery made the need for militant leadership clear, and the joint strike committee established earlier was empowered by the ranks to replace the regular executive board in handling negotiations.

At this point, city rulers represented by the S.F. Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial Association decided to open the port by force. Trucking goods from the piers to the warehouses was the employers' immediate tactical objective, so they focused on breaking Teamster support for the strike. Police formed cordons for scab trucks and attacked strikers. For two days clubs flailed, and on "Bloody Thursday," July 5, two strikers were killed by police bullets. The port was immediately occupied by the National Guard.

Bridges and the Communist Party (CP) had already begun agitation for a general strike in response to the employers' "open the port" declaration, and now the movement mushroomed, although stalling AFL leaders prevented immediate action. Bridges and 1,000 longshoremen and seamen were present at a July 11 Teamster meeting, despite protests from Casey and CLC president Vandeleur, who argued vigorously against the strike. Through rank-and-file pressure, Bridges was allowed to address the Teamsters, and an overwhelmingly pro-strike vote was taken following his speech.

Similar delegations of up to 75 strikers were sent to other unions throughout the city, with similar results. Sympathy strikes were declared by ship boilermakers, machinists, welders, hutchers and laundry workers. By July 13, 32,000 workers belonging to 13 unions were on strike. Some of them, like the Market Street streetcar employees, put forward their own contract demands.

The Central Labor Council was rapidly being forced to revise its tactics under this intense pressure. Earlier in June it had passed a resolution demanding that the ILA "disavow all connections with the communistic element on the waterfront." However, to undercut the rising general strike sentiment after "Bloody Thursday" the CLC set up a Strategy Committee, which stalled for a week while supposedly "studying" the possible implementation of a general strike. The CLC also sent a whining telegram to the governor, saying that the National Guard wasn't necessary because the city police were well-equipped to do their job. And this, after they had

just murdered two strikers!

General Strike!

The maritime strike committee had called a mass meeting for July 7, to which all Bay Area unions had been urged to send delegations for the purpose of implementing general strike action and forming a broad strike leadership. The support for a general strike was solid, but when the establishment of the officials' Strategy Committee was announced the maritime committee decided to postpone action in order not to undercut the CLC, which was apparently taking steps toward a general strike. This deferral by Bridges and his CP supporters to the Labor Council bureaucrats handed the strike leadership to labor fakers whose sole aim was to betray the strike. This was the critical mistake of the militants, from which disastrous consequences inevitably followed.

The CLC began to feel an increasing pressure for strike action. Finally, the Strategy Committee asked all city unions to send five delegates each to a meeting July 14, at which a vote of 315 to 15 authorized a general strike for July 16. A strike committee was appointed by the Labor Council, consisting for the most part of salaried union officials who were chummy with the top AFL bureaucrats.

On Monday, July 16, the city was seriously crippled, but the CLC began to sell out the general strike from the very first day. Employees of the Municipal Railway (Muni) were told to return to work on the grounds that striking would jeopardize their civil service status. Phone, telegraph and power workers were never called out on strike, leaving communications in the grip of the bourgeoisie. Printing union leaders dangled the restoration of a 10 percent pay cut before the eyes of union members, convincing them to stay at work. Moreover, since the CLC did not publish a central strike bulletin, the city's workers were totally dependent for news on the bosses' press, none of which supported the strike. A publisher's committee censored all newspapers to make sure the strike was slandered and red-baited from every column. The Hearst papers in particular were so vicious that several unions took boycott action and their members refused to read them!

Sheet metal workers were told by the CLC to repair police cars, a traitorous act providing direct aid to the military fist of the class enemy. While originally only a few services, such as hospitals and milk deliveries, were allowed to function, permits were soon given to hundreds of owner-operators of trucks, amid charges of scandals in issuance of permits. Numbers of restaurants were allowed to open, feeding the rich, while many small groceries were kept closed.

In addition, squads of police agents, posing as dissatisfied workers, were organized to carry out a vicious witch-hunt. On the second day of the strike (and with at least tacit support of the AFL bureaucracy), these provocateurs went on an anti-communist rampage, smashing the offices of the CP's *Western Worker*, the IWW and the MWIU. The police who "mopped up" after them arrested more than 300 "radicals" in one day. Militants were even pulled out of picket lines and victimized. These activities had a demoralizing effect on the strike, and the CP's isolation from the labor movement plus its tactical sectarianism made it difficult to mobilize a broad defense against these "red scare" attacks. Meanwhile, Bridges' strike committee had already undercut the defense by affirming that, while it was willing to accept support from any source, it was an "anti-communist" organization (Charles Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*, 1972).

Bureaucratic Sabotage

On July 17 the CLC strike committee presented a resolution to the city unions

continued on page 11

Shocked WL Supporters Pull Off Ex-National Secretary Fred Mazelis Assaults Spartacist Militant in Cleveland

At a Cleveland shopping center last week, Fred Mazelis, former national secretary of the disintegrating Workers League (WL), physically assaulted a *WW* salesman. While WL thuggery is far from unprecedented, the frenzied attack so startled several of Mazelis' shocked supporters standing nearby that they rushed forward to restrain him and drag him away.

Mazelis initially appeared reasonable enough and bought a copy of *WW*. But when asked why he was no longer WL head and why the WL had changed its leadership so often in the past couple of years, Mazelis denounced the Spartacist

supporter for starting a "non-political" argument.

Responding to another question, Mazelis defended the WL's political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA. But when pressed about the MPLA's strike-breaking activities, Mazelis without warning put down his bundle of *Bulletins*, grabbed the SLer by the throat and began hitting him in the face. The SLer struck back effectively in self-defense and three WLers intervened to stop Mazelis' unprovoked attack. Mazelis began shouting to his comrades, "No, no! This is important!" Clearly beside himself, he told the SLer: "We kicked your ass in Los Angeles too.... This is just the beginning!"

Workers League gangster violence within the workers movement erupted several times recently in Los Angeles. On March 1 the WL held a meeting at Cal. State L.A. to publicize its shameful campaign to smear leaders of the reformist Socialist Workers Party as "accomplices of the GPU" in the Stalinists' assassination of Trotsky. When members of the Spartacus Youth League appeared at this "public" meeting, they were physically threatened and one was assaulted and choked. A supporter of the WL's Young Socialists told a campus employee to have the university police eject the SYLers on the grounds that not all of them were students.

The next week, when the same presentation was made at UCLA, an enraged David North, current WL national secretary, attacked a photographer and ripped her camera out of her hands.

Then two weeks later at a March 21 meeting of TUALP, the WL's fake trade-union front, at the Los Angeles Convention Center, Spartacist supporters were excluded, as were members of the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070, a class-struggle opposition within the public employees union. When one Militant Caucus member insisted on his right to attend, he was set upon by WL goons and struck in the face. As before, the WL enlisted the aid of the Convention Center management to expel the SL and Militant Caucus members, and the Los Angeles Police Department was called in to lend a hand.

These Stalinist hooligan tactics are completely alien to the Trotskyism which the WL pretends to uphold. They are the tactics of an impotent, paranoid sect which cannot defend its politics and is terrified of losing control of its membership. Labor militants and supporters of all left-wing political tendencies must defend the principle of workers democracy by repudiating the Workers League's despicable gangsterism and expunging such practices from the workers movement. ■



Rosie Douglas

Old Male

Caribbean militant Roosevelt (Rosie) Douglas, who has been fighting deportation from Canada to his native Dominica since 1972, has been expelled under an order issued by Canadian Immigration Minister Robert Andras and Solicitor-General Warren Allmand declaring him a "national security risk." Earlier Douglas was imprisoned for 18 months for taking part in a 1969 demonstration at Sir George Williams University in Montreal.

Douglas went into hiding earlier this year to escape deportation and possible imprisonment, torture or even execution by the vicious government of dictator Patrick John on the tiny West Indian island of Dominica—the same government which framed up Desmond

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Can Tim and Nancy at Last Find True Happiness in the SWP?

In a sickly-sweet feature interview in the 7 May *Militant*, former Workers League (WL) leaders Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields discussed their reconciliation with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The four-page spread is a disingenuous exercise in mutual back-scratching in which "Tim" and "Nancy" play the injured innocents, duped to these many years by manipulative sectarians, who have suddenly discovered with surprised delight that the friendly reformists of the SWP have been right about everything all along.

After being ousted in late 1974 from the fake-Trotskyist WL (which Wohlforth had launched ten years earlier upon leaving the SWP!), the duo came increasingly into the SWP's orbit. Although their incorporation into the SWP was no secret to anyone, the *Militant* interview is the first public display of the lengths to which Wohlforth has gone to disavow his political past and regain the SWP's good graces. And quite a spectacle it is: Wohlforth embraces the SWP's reformist line on every question with all the zeal of a

repentant "reds" exposing the designs of extremism's sinister masterminds. This is the thrust of the article, right down to its just-folks *Readers' Digest*-like tone.

Wohlforth's path to self-righteous reformism was prepared by years of consummate cynicism as head of a tendency which, although claiming the mantle of "anti-revisionist" left opposition to the SWP, showed itself ever willing to shelve its pretended "principles" for any passing opportunist appetite. The WL's "theory" that in a situation of economic crisis wage demands are inherently revolutionary, for example, is no less an abandonment of the transitional program than the SWP's consistent reformism.

Still, there is something positively indecent about Wohlforth's conversion, for his "case" for the SWP rests simply on an indictment of the Workers League, that twisted parody of "anti-Pabloist Trotskyism." A naive reader of the interview would never guess that the WL was from its inception Wohlforth's creature.

In exchange for the ability to exploit

Wohlforth's adhesion as a testament to the SWP's appetite to become the inclusive party of American social democracy, the *Militant* generously not only forgives Wohlforth his years of slander and gangsterism against external organizational competitors, but also alibis his arbitrary despotism as head of the Workers League tendency. The article approvingly allows Wohlforth to slough off onto the shoulders of the WL's international big daddy, Gerry Healy of the British WRP, all responsibility for the political banditry and Stalinist-like internal regime of the WL during Wohlforth's decade as its National Secretary. Wohlforth describes himself as "especially impressed" by the extent to which the SWP "has held its members over the years":

"This stood in such stark contrast to Healy's group," Tim went on. "There is such a fantastic chewing up of people. And, unfortunately, the Workers League found itself in many ways imitating his methods."

"Wohlforth feels that these methods drove a lot of members out of the organization...."

But where was Wohlforth when the WL "found itself" utilizing these methods? Wohlforth was the WL National Secretary! Glorifying in his role as tinpot tyrant, Wohlforth ran the WL with such arrogant bureaucratism that the hemorrhaging of members had reached epidemic proportions before Healy reached in to remove his U.S. deputy.

When Wohlforth was purged from the WL in late 1974, spouting indignation about Healy's high-handed organizational methods and mouthing pieties about Healyite destruction of cadres, *WV* likened this hypocrisy to the piteous cries of a Jay Lovestone bemoaning the crimes of a Joseph Stalin. Wohlforth's lurid 39-page exposé of his fall from grace, reported in *WV* ("Wohlforth Terminated," *WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975) and later serialized in full in the SWP's *Intercontinental Press*, was an elaborate whitewash of Wohlforth's complicity as Healy's 12-year groveling lieutenant and junior partner.

The WL is notorious for "chewing up" its membership. There is a political basis for its orientation toward rebellious but politically naive youth, who are pulled in on an activist basis and propelled by crisis-mongering and get-rich-quick schemes for a couple of years until, demoralized and convinced that "socialism" is just another shell game, they drift quietly out of politics without ever challenging the cynical policies of the WL leadership. This is the Healyite "method," in deliberate counterposition to the Leninist conception of a party of dedicated and conscious revolutionary cadres.

Babes in the Woods?

Considering what passes for political education in the WL, it is conceivable that Fields—although in contact with the WL since 1966, a member since 1970 and eventually part of its Political Committee, according to the *Militant*—had actually been unfamiliar with the history of the SWP prior to the Wohlforth/Fields voyage of discovery beginning a year and a half ago. The *Militant*'s portrayal of her is as a self-described "activist" always skeptical of the WL for "not getting involved" and looking for ways to "help the Workers League break out of being a narrow, sectarian group that just criticized." But the treacle that drips from the mouths of "Tim and Nancy" in the interview is simply mind-boggling.

The incident which precipitated Wohlforth and Fields out of the WL was Gerry Healy's personal intervention into a WL summer camp, charging that Fields was "probably" a CIA agent and that Wohlforth had covered up the CIA connections of his companion's family. The WL investigation subsequently "cleared" Fields but she was barred from positions of leadership and Wohlforth was removed as WL National Secretary.

According to the *Militant* interview, "it became clear to me [Fields] that Healy's methods were wrong" only following this confrontation. Fields says she began rereading James P. Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* and, it seems, found eye-opening insights:

"...There is a lot of material in there on how you assemble the cadres of a party. Cannon talks about a 'control commission,' an impartial body that can conduct a calm, objective investigation of something like a reasonable suspicion that a party member might be a police agent."

"It's all in there. Before long I began to

MPLA Arrests Its Left Wing

MAY 10—Despite the rhetoric of "People's Power" and the window-dressing of advisory workers commissions in industry and people's commissions in the towns, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) continues to ruthlessly lash out at the slightest organizational or political expression of working-class independence. In early April the one-party bourgeois regime in Luanda launched yet another round-up of leftists and critics of MPLA policies. According to *Intercontinental Press* (10 May), by month's end the Angolan Directorate of Information and Security had arrested over a hundred political opponents.

Interior Minister Nito Alves, recently returned from Moscow, signaled the wave of repression with a speech ordering the immediate arrest of all supporters of the Maoist Angolan Communist Organization (OCA) and the "Active Revolt" faction within the MPLA itself. The Lisbon weekly *Expresso* of 30 April noted that Alves' speech "clearly alluded to the possibility of executions, made more probable by the recent creation of the revolutionary people's tribunal."

The most widely known figure caught up in the government dragnet was Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, former honorary president of the MPLA. With his brother Mario, a founder of the Angolan Communist Party in 1955 and one of the earliest leaders of the MPLA, Andrade has been a major internal opponent of the leadership of Agostinho Neto. In 1974 his Active Revolt group in the MPLA charged Neto with "presidentialism," "tribalism" and "regionalism" and opposed any dealings with the CIA-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

According to the London *Economist* (April 3): "Active Revolt... has not co-operated with the Popular Movement since it became the government. It has a strong following in the university and among those who are loosely known as the movement's intellectuals." The arrested Active Revolt leaders include

Gentil Viana, a former adviser to Neto, Rui Castro Lopo, a former commander of the MPLA's second military region during the guerrilla war against the Portuguese, Manuel Videira, a doctor who served on the eastern front during the war, and Hugo de Menezes, a member of the MPLA's steering committee in 1962.

In his attacks, Alves lumped the Andrade brothers' group together with the OCA, an organization which is reportedly influenced by Peking but, unlike the Chinese Stalinists, labels U.S. imperialism the "main enemy" in Angola. The interior minister reportedly announced that, "All obviously reactionary individuals—those who individually are known to belong to the OCA, either as advisers, writers, or propagandists, or those who have up to now been passionately loyal to the Revolta Activa or have shown such an attitude—will have to be immediately arrested" (*Intercontinental Press*, 10 May).

The *Economist* describes the MPLA's critics as "young Angolans and Portuguese under the influence of two far-left Portuguese parties, the Portuguese Democratic Union and the Revolutionary Movement of the Portuguese Proletariat." In a dispatch from Luanda, the *Guardian* [London] of 3 April writes: "The left-wingers have formed various clandestine groups and have demanded that the MPLA immediately form a Government of 'workers and peasants.' In the past month they have accelerated propaganda activities among labourers and in the poorer neighborhoods of Luanda."

Another target of the government crackdown is the *Jornal de Operário* ("Workers Newspaper") which reportedly "accuses the Popular Movement government of selling out both to the Russians (because it accepted Soviet military aid) and to the Americans (because it has asked the Gulf Oil corporation to resume oil production in Cabinda). The paper also attacks the Cubans in Angola as 'the new colonizers'" (*Economist*, 3 April). Numerous

sources also report the dissidents have raised racially inflammatory slogans attacking the MPLA for including whites and mulattoes in its government.

While calling for military support to the MPLA against the CIA-engineered, South African-led imperialist power play in Angola beginning last fall, the international Spartacist tendency refused to capitulate to the leftist pretensions of Neto, Alves & Co. Rather than calling for "all power to the MPLA," as did the European majority of the self-proclaimed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), we underlined the need for an independent Trotskyist vanguard party of the proletariat. *WV* repeatedly warned that the MPLA sought to replace colonial rule not with a government of the workers and peasants, but rather with a regime representing the interests of the emerging Angolan bourgeoisie.

The current suppression of left-wing organizations and their publications, along with opposition elements inside the MPLA, is a striking confirmation of our earlier warnings. It is a continuation of the MPLA's attempts to break dock workers' strikes (in the spring of 1975) and its disarming of self-defense groups in Luanda's shantytowns last October. At that time, also, supporters of the Maoist-influenced Amílcar Cabral Committees and USec supporters grouped around *Revolução Socialista* were arrested and summarily deported to Portugal (see "MPLA: 'Nationalists of a New Type?'" *WV* No. 93, 23 January).

Faced with growing opposition among the working masses, who feel that national independence should not be a license for plunder by *nouveaux riches*, the bourgeois "People's Republic" of Angola is ruthlessly crushing all political opposition, including from militants who bravely fought against the Portuguese colonial army and the South African invasion. Those bogus socialists who called for political confidence in the MPLA are now reaping their bitter reward. ■



WV Photo

Tim Wohlforth

have bookmarks stuck all over. Every night when Tim would come home, I would say to him, "Listen to this. This is what Cannon said."

"You would jump on me as soon as I walked through the door," Tim said.

Even as theatre, this soap opera of home life among the ex-Healyites is unconvincingly maudlin, to say the least. As politics, it is flatly phony. Who is this "Tim" who was able to look with "fresh eyes" at his organization only after "Nancy" unearthed in Cannon's book the long-lost secret of the impartial control commission?

Originally recruited in 1957 to the Young Socialist League, a degeneration product of Max Shachtman's right split from the Trotskyist movement, Wohlforth broke from Shachtmanism and in 1960 was one of the founders of the SWP's youth group, as the *Militant* explains. He was the leading spokesman for the anti-revisionist Revolutionary Tendency (RT) which emerged within the SWP in the 1961-63 period. After carrying out an unprincipled split of these forces in 1962 under Healy's direct guidance, and provoking the SWP's expulsion of the RT majority led by James Robertson (which later evolved into the Spartacist League), Wohlforth functioned for ten years as National Secretary of the American Healyites after departing the SWP in 1964.

Wohlforth now spits on the part he played in the fight against the SWP's right turn to centrism, codified organizationally by its part in the 1963 reunification which formed the United Secretariat, Wohlforth explicitly attributes the SWP's "internationalism" to its "decision in 1963 to move toward collaboration with the forces in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International"—a "decision" which he opposed! He also solidarizes with the SWP's "wholly positive" (i.e., uncritically tailist) position on the Cuban revolution.

Needless to say the *Militant* interview makes no mention of the RT majority's evolved position on Cuba; the analysis of Cuba as a deformed workers state and the Trotskyist call for military defense of Cuba against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, linked to the demand for proletarian democracy through soviets. Wohlforth and Fields confine themselves to heaping scorn on the Healyite "analysis" that Cuba remains capitalist—an "orthodox" reflex which denies reality, much to the delight of the SWP:

"It didn't take us more than a few weeks to see that Healy was all wrong on Cuba," Tim said.

"Everyone who drops out of the Workers League immediately changes their position on Cuba," Nancy added.

In July 1961 Wohlforth became the anti-revisionist forces' major literary exponent of the position that Cuba was a deformed workers state by authoring "Cuba and the Deformed Workers States" on behalf of the then-united RT. However Healy swiftly brought Wohlforth to heel and for the next 12 years he loyally expounded the Healyite "Cuba is capitalist" line. Now he asks us to

believe that he and Fields suddenly discovered and solved the Cuba question in "a few weeks" in 1974!

Similarly, the interview presents Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* as the duo's real introduction to the Leninist conception of party-building. At the same time, though, it tries to imply that Cannon had always been one of Wohlforth's heroes:

"While we can now see how we really didn't grasp much of it, we had always taken the history of the SWP very seriously and tried to train people in it," Tim indicated. This general attitude toward James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the SWP, now became very important.

This is another shameless falsification. Back in 1964, as part of his "The Struggle for Marxism in the United States," Wohlforth had portrayed the founder of American Trotskyism as a parochial pragmatist and proletarian primitive:

"The primary concern of Cannon's from the moment he joined the [Communist] party until the moment he was expelled in 1928 was the American question. Cannon never evinced any interest in the great questions of Marxist theory and politics which occupied the major attention of the Communist International in this period....

"Virtually no one in the American party, least of all Cannon, either understood or was really interested in the great struggles going on within the CI and the Bolshevik party..." [emphasis in original]

Thus Wohlforth sought to present himself as America's first real Marxist politician!

Nancy Gets a Job

In repudiating their political past, one of the biggest pills for "Tim and Nancy" to sugar-coat is their switch from the WL's hypocritical-economist "working-class line" to the SWP's line that the class axis is not primary and extra-class "liberation" movements (respectable black nationalism, pro-imperialist pacifism, bourgeois feminism) lead inevitably to "socialist" consciousness. Perhaps the most blatantly fraudulent description of Wohlforth/Fields' motion toward the SWP is the mechanism suggested to explain their enlightenment on the woman question.

Wohlforth and Fields need to justify their switch from the WL's sneering insensitivity to women's oppression (reflecting the WL appetite to cozy up to the labor bureaucracy on the basis of existing backwardness among sections of the working class) to the SWP's gung-ho tailism of the program of the liberal bourgeoisie (Equal Rights Amendment, abortion law repeal, government attack on union-won seniority rights through "preferential hiring" and "preferential layoff" schemes, etc.). With an apparently straight face the article explains:

"Their ideas on women's liberation changed in an unexpected way. While in the Workers League, both worked full-time for the organization.

"Now Nancy was forced to take the most god-awful job, dominated by economic and social discrimination against women," Tim recalled.

"The impact of the day-to-day world of a woman worker in New York City caused them to reconsider the Workers League's view that the women's liberation movement is a middle-class diversion."

What a magnificent gift to the reformists' stereotype of the hapless sectarian who sees the light when confronted at last by the real world.

Tim Discovers Democratic Demands

The programmatic core of the article (to the extent it has one) is a presentation of the archtypically reformist schema which portrays revolutionists as sectarians, not only indifferent to real struggles but even hostile to real gains. Thus, reforms (which are termed "democratic demands") and revolutionary struggle are presented as mutually exclusive:

"Some in the radical movement, Tim and Nancy noted, tend to ignore the

needs of these [specially oppressed] layers and to play down the importance of democratic demands.

"They will counterpose a full socialist program to certain democratic demands...." Tim said. "Or, if they consider themselves to be Trotskyists, they will often counterpose what we call 'transitional demands.'"

Authentic Trotskyists do not "counterpose" the transitional program to reform demands, but rather to reformism. A reformist policy, such as that pursued by the SWP, aims at "winning reforms" through subordinating the proletariat to the class enemy, thereby building into the "reform" struggle not only the guarantees of its own impotence but also the reinforcement of bourgeois ideology and the seeds of future defeats and betrayals.

Wohlforth justifies the suicidal policies which the SWP pushes for the black people of Boston by contrasting them with the abstentionism of the WL:

"As they continued to review their experiences they began to reach the conclusion that Healy had always been unable to comprehend the significance of Black oppression in this country. That was what was really behind the abstention of his American followers from the Boston march."

The dichotomy is SWP reformism vs. abstentionism, and the villain is—again—Gerry Healy.

In fact, under Healy's tutelage, the WL manifested the most obscene gyrations over the black question. From the initial failure to oppose the SWP's turn toward black nationalism in the early 1960's, the Wohlforthites oscillated back and forth from gross insensitivity to black oppression (the WL *Bulletin* once carried the headline "Black Causes Are Reactionary") to shameless tailing of militant black nationalists like the Panthers in the attempt to consolidate a following among lumpenized minority-group youth.

Wohlforth Comes "Home"

In exchange for his blanket endorsement of reformist SWP style, the *Militant* confers upon Wohlforth a full pardon for his sins, named and unnamed. There is not a word about the WL's notorious practice of exclusionism and physical violence against other ostensible socialists (which has included vicious assaults against SWP supporters). The *Militant* permits Wohlforth to disavow "the most recent chapter in Healy's strange history"—the scandalous campaign of baseless slander against the SWP's Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU" (Stalin's secret police) in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Sole responsibility is conveniently laid at "Healy's" doorstep, as if Wohlforth—who for ten years led his organization in the systematic application of violence and slander against political opponents—would somehow have hesi-

Ulrike Meinhof...

(continued from page 1)

political statements are repeatedly ruled out of order. All have been incarcerated for years, much of it in solitary confinement; German law does not recognize habeas corpus, and so-called "protective" or "preventive" detention is a commonplace for victimized left-wing opponents of the Bonn regime.

The Baader-Meinhof show trial has been under way for a year, and has been expected to run for another two. But in the case of Ulrike Meinhof, killed in her jail cell, this slow judicial strangulation has been discarded in favor of a swifter method of retribution. This, too, is a part of capitalist class "justice."

The repressive guardians of bourgeois "law and order" must not be permitted to enforce their cover-up by intimidating critics with threats of legal prosecution. Stop the witchhunting show trials—Free the RAF and all victimized left-wing prisoners! ■

tated to echo the vilification of Hansen with the same zeal he displayed in slandering the Spartacist League as "the finger-man of the world capitalist class."

The SWP accepts the adhesion of this discredited cynic to buttress its search for new international bloc partners as the "United Secretariat" non-aggression pact fragments. One can surmise that the SWP looks upon Wohlforth as a possible lure for Alan Thornett's split-off from Healy's own organization in England and perhaps for Healy's main bloc partner until 1971, the OCI in France, with which the SWP has been negotiating. The appeal is clearly directed to bigger fish than the irreparably compromised Wohlforth.

Even as an opponent, Wohlforth rendered the SWP invaluable services, beginning with breaking up the left opposition to the SWP's degeneration and orchestrating the expulsion of the RT majority. Along with his mentor Healy, Wohlforth and his Workers League provided the revisionists with a ready-made horrible example, enabling them to equate all left opposition with idiot sectarianism and calculated organizational barbarism. Now he is ready to serve the SWP more directly.

Wohlforth's WL ceaselessly sought to climb onto the SWP's reformist hand-wagons, despite spouting a far more "leftist" line reflecting opportunist orientation toward a differing recruitment pool. Undeterred by its recurring penchant for stridently proclaiming political confidence in Ho Chi Minh's Stalinists, the WL could never resist the urge to tail the SWP's popular-frontist antiwar policy.

The Spartacist tendency in 1971 noted that the Healyites' often rabid "anti-revisionism" "has always had something of the character of a personal vendetta by a cast-off currently on the outs with his masters." Healy's 1970 unity overtures toward the United Secretariat, his proclamation that the SWP youth would be the WL's "road to the American working class," exemplify the appetite beneath the bitter estrangement. Now it seems that Wohlforth learned his lessons better than Healy might have wished. ■

Rosie Douglas...

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Trotter. However, late last month Douglas was captured by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, slapped in jail and quickly spirited out of the country.

Although he has been "allowed" to "emigrate" to Jamaica instead of being deported to Dominica as originally ordered, Douglas' expulsion represents an attack on all immigrants, the left and the working class as a whole which must be vigorously protested. It is part of the racist uproar over immigration touched off by the Trudeau government's "Green Paper" last year. Hoping to turn the workers' anger against "undesirable aliens," it proposes to reduce unemployment of "native" Canadians through the deportation of immigrants.

Despite sharp political differences with Douglas' reformist, "Third Worldist" politics, which place the struggle against racial oppression apart from and above the class struggle, nevertheless the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has resolutely declared its solidarity with the victimized black militant and been active in his defense. Also, the Partisan Defense Committee financially contributed to Douglas' defense campaign.

Recent attempts by the Canadian government to deport or deny citizenship to militants like Douglas, as well as the campaign to tighten immigration laws in general, represent an attack on all working people. Left, labor and minority organizations must wage a broad-based campaign to beat back the racist, anti-communist offensive. ■

S.F. City Workers

(continued from page 1)

started by Laborers Union head George Evankovitch, who ordered a small number of workers back to work for the Housing Authority, called off pickets as an obscene gesture of "good will" and offered to send all 1,100 of his members back on the basis of the deal which was eventually accepted by the CLC. This would have left the other craft unions out alone.

Evankovitch was quickly followed by Larry Martin, head of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A, whose 2,000 members have provided the muscle of the strike by shutting down the Muni mass transit system in solidarity with the craft workers picket lines. Martin hastily called a general membership meeting May 5 where the only proposal taken up was an executive board recommendation to return to work on conditions similar to those proposed by Evankovitch. Martin was widely reported to be urging a "yes" vote and promising city officials he would urge TWU members to cross craft workers lines if the hallot propositions were removed by the Board: "Do it tonight, we'll go back tomorrow," he was quoted as saying (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 May).

After the Muni drivers' meeting, Martin announced that the ranks had decided in a voice vote, by a two-to-one margin, to go back if the Board dropped "especially E. for us," strongly implying that TWU leaders were unconcerned about Proposition K. Talking to a *WV* reporter after the meeting, union members confirmed that the Local 250A executive board recommendation dealt exclusively with Proposition E, thus stabbing the craft unions in the back. This piece of treachery reportedly lost on the first voice vote, and Martin had to ram through a second count.

In the meeting, Martin tried to scare the TWU membership with reports that the health plan was in jeopardy because of the city's failure to make premium payments during the walkout. He also implied that difficulties in getting welfare were due to craft workers' refusal to pull pickets off the welfare offices. Anxious to push through his sellout, Martin made sure no other counterproposals reached the floor, and a back-to-work vote by Muni drivers then set the stage for the final surrender.

The abject defeat of the craft workers puts Muni in a dangerous position as the deadline approaches for the transit contract in July. It also leaves striking Golden Gate bus drivers in the lurch, after being out for nearly a month. They are now in danger of being totally smashed. Only through absorbing the lessons of the recent defeat can the Board of Supervisors' union-busting rampage be stopped.

The strike could have been won, but doing so would have required overcoming narrow business unionism and launching a class-struggle offensive. It

required a citywide general strike, drawing in all the ranks of S. F. labor against the strikebreaking Board, not only to defend the craft workers but also to insist on the unconditional right to strike, abolition of all the anti-labor propositions and reopening of all the city worker contracts, in order to reverse the sellout of non-craft municipal employees negotiated in March. It required organizing and electing strike committees to take control of the strike.

The Left and the S.F. Crafts Strike

The CLC's failure to implement its own general strike call demonstrated the inability of the labor bureaucracy to defend even the most minimal demands of the working class (no pay cut!) against a concerted employer offensive. More afraid of mobilizing its own ranks in a militant class confrontation than of losing a battle with the bosses, the sellout union brass must be ousted by a militant leadership based on a class-struggle program. Those who simply seek to pressure the bureaucracy, or to ignore its massive presence, will only lead the proletariat down to defeat.

As early as October 1974, the Spartacist League (SL) had organized a contingent to demand a general strike at an official labor rally against Proposition L (the "Feinstein amendment"), an earlier attempt by the supervisors to write a wage cut into city law. The CLC leaders' response was to form an electoral coalition with Democratic mayor Alioto to defeat the proposition at the polls. At that time virtually every left organization capitulated to the union tops' class collaboration, including the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU). At the October 1974 rally, Larry Martin denounced the call for a general strike and a TWU goon squad attempted without success to remove SL and general strike contingent banners.

The 1974 rally was a foretaste of things to come. During the recent craft workers strike, those "revolutionary" groups who had given a left cover to the union tops on Proposition L made a spectacle of their limitless capitulation before the CLC and/or mindless adventurism. As could be expected, the most shameless opportunists were the Communist Party, which has historic roots in the Bay Area labor bureaucracy and has repeatedly backed liberal Democrats. A leaflet issued by the CP early in the strike simply called for empty "unity" and denounced all criticism of the union leaders: "Name-calling attacks on trade union leaders does not contribute to that unity."

In addition, a prominent CP supporter in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) provided the most substantial "left" support to the CLC misleaders, sabotaging an effort by longshoremen to come to the aid of the craft strikers. At the April 22 meeting of ILWU Local 10, a three-part motion was presented by the class-struggle oppositional

grouping around *Longshore Militant*. While the first two parts—calling for joining the picket lines and shutting down the port—were ruled out of order, the third part (for an "immediate mass meeting of city labor to launch an immediate general strike") managed to reach the floor. However, the CP supporter amended this so as to leave implementation up to the leaders of the various unions, in effect killing the motion.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers party (SWP), which is trying hard to catch up with the CP's super-reformism, made its own contribution to the bureaucrats' efforts to bury the strike. The *Militant* has carefully avoided demanding a general strike so as not to offend the labor officials the SWP is courting. Instead, it has suggested such harmless diversions as "a one-day mass mobilization on a Saturday" (*Militant*, 23 April [our emphasis]).

Moreover, when the idea of elected strike committees began to pick up support in an ad hoc meeting of union militants at strike headquarters on April 20, *Militant* writer Nat Weinstein urged everybody to instead put more "input into the official strike committee" of the bureaucrats. Weinstein made several other noteworthy and disgusting comments during the strike. At one point, walking a picket line he told a *WV* reader that what the striking unions needed was "a modified defeat" to enable them to save face and retreat gracefully! And speaking at a Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco, he urged the bureaucrats to threaten the formation of a labor party in order to scare the Democratic Party supervisors into negotiations.

At a heated April 17 meeting of Muni drivers, Milton Chee, one of the authors of an earlier leaflet touted in the *Militant*, enthusiastically put on the floor an executive board motion that merely called for continuing to respect picket lines. It took rank-and-file pressure to force Chee to accept an amendment calling for a general strike. His only further contribution to the strike was to file a class action suit against the city to obtain food stamps. Not surprisingly, a U.S. district judge ruled against Chee on May 6.

For its part, the phantom Labor Party Organizing Committee, consisting largely of ex-supporters of the Workers League and created by the S.F.-area Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist), boasts that one of its supporters put forward the general strike amendment at the April 17 Muni meeting. Unfortunately, the SL(DC)'s publication, *Labor News*, "neglects" to mention that the original amendment called for a return to work if no general strike developed within 72 hours. Under pressure from the membership the author of the amendment was finally forced to withdraw this treacherous escape clause for scabbing. The duplicity of *Labor News* on this vital point mirrors its supporters' origins in the WL school of falsification.

Opportunism and Adventurism

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was quite active during the strike, but floundered aimlessly precisely because it has never been able to put forward a program to defeat the labor tops. Consequently PLP has oscillated from capitulating before the union bureaucracy (and especially aspiring bureaucrats) to ineffectual attempts to bypass it, just as it zig-zagged from blind loyalty to Peking to denunciation of China as one more imperialist country. As a substitute for a class-struggle program, PLP has nothing to offer but adrenalin.

At the beginning of the craft workers' strike, PLP was in transition from one of its periodic flirtations with the bureaucrats to another spurt of adventurism, coming out with one of its endless "horn yesterday" "self-criticisms." Referring to PLP supporters' activities in the SEIU strike committee in San Francisco, *Challenge* (15

April) wrote: "At the time, we were not clear that the union leaders were our enemies all the way down the line. We knew that they were corrupt, incompetent and sellouts, but not that they were the main agent of the ruling class."

For Progressive Labor, the solution for the workers was simple: "To halt the ruling class attacks on workers in S.F., all trade unions must break with the labor fakers, join the Progressive Labor Party and build the all-out fight to get rid of the bosses" (*Challenge*, 22 April). As a first step in this fantasy, trade-union supporters of PLP helped organize a demonstration at supervisor Quentin Kopp's house April 8. But the leaflet for the demonstration, signed by the "SEIU Joint Council Strike Committee," limited itself to the bureaucrats' demands!

The response of the Maoist groups in the crafts strike was abysmal. The October League played no visible role at all during the entire struggle. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, formerly RU) actively opposed a general strike, arguing that the bureaucrats' half-hearted call was simply "an excuse to discourage workers from going on the offensive to extend the strike." Those who called for organizing a general strike were denounced by these fake-revolutionaries as "Trotskyite and other opportunist sects" (*Revolution*, 15 April).

The RCP was reduced to "jamming the official strike committee," i.e., pressuring the bureaucrats into more militant tactics. The RCP-backed Concerned Muni Drivers (CMD) failed to counterpose elected strike committees to the sellout Martin leadership of the TWU. Instead the CMD limited its activity to obtaining unemployment benefits and food stamps. On May 5, the very day of the meeting where Martin pushed through the strikebreaking vote, its newsletter, "Dragging the Line," covered for the bureaucrats with the incredible claim that "victory is in sight.... The strike has been growing in effectiveness!" The CMD called for a "no" vote on the back-to-work motion, but had nothing to counterpose to Martin's defeatist strategy.

The Spartacist League, in contrast, neither tailed after nor pretended to bypass the sellout labor officialdom. Throughout the struggle the SL sought to link the fight for a citywide general strike against the Supervisors' union-busting drive to the crucial task of building a class-struggle opposition inside the unions, to oust the labor fakers whose do-nothing policies led straight to this disastrous defeat for San Francisco labor. Only by replacing the sellout bureaucrats by a leadership committed to the defense of the working class against the employers and their government can the tremendous power of the organized labor movement be unleashed. Oust the bureaucrats—For a militant leadership based on a class-struggle program—Forward to a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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1934 Strike...

(continued from page 7)

calling for arbitration of all issues in dispute. This passed the assembled body of delegates, over the protests of the maritime unions, by a hand vote of 213 to 180. The labor brass then met with General Hugh Johnson, head of Roosevelt's supposedly "pro-labor" National Recovery Administration, who had just denounced the strike in violent terms. With such "leadership," it was easy to call off the general strike only three days after it began. Even so, the vote was close and the ranks never voted to return to work.

With the general strike over, the Teamsters could then be pressured to end their strike on July 20, but only after verbal assurances from Casey that this would not mean handling scab cargo. Yet the next day truck drivers found themselves going through picket lines under armed guard, while Casey's goons helped police protect them from the strikers! This final blow forced the longshoremen to vote to accept arbitration on July 21 and return to work ten days later. In the intervening period, however, they provided a dramatic display of solidarity to other maritime unions. Although they had voted to go back, the longshoremen honored their commitment to stay out until all other maritime unions had also voted. When the maritime workers returned, they all marched across the Embarcadero together, as an unbroken group.

Although the general strike was sold out and the dockers were forced to accept arbitration of all their demands, the workers had built powerful union organizations and decisively smashed the company unions. The strikes strengthened the entire Bay Area labor movement with an influx of new members. And in the following months, maritime workers (both longshoremen and seamen) were able to establish the closed shop and union-controlled hiring halls through militant job actions, despite the fact they lost on these points under the arbitration award.

Although the leadership provided by the Albion Hall group and CP was decisive at several points in preventing defeat of the 1934 strike at the hands of ILA chief Ryan and his cronies—and in laying the basis for the later creation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific—both failed at the critical point to prevent domination of the general strike by the AFL bureaucrats. The AFL tops, in turn, after spending months trying to cram arbitration by Roosevelt's NRA down the throats of the longshoremen, only took over leadership of the general strike because they were afraid of losing control of their organizations.

The Communist Party admitted shortly afterwards that:

"The Party, at the decisive moment when the bureaucrats stood isolated and the workers were rallying for the General Strike in the first meeting at which the General Strike leadership was elected, did not develop a struggle against the misleaders and saboteurs. It allowed them through this course to place themselves at the head of the General Strike and overcome their isolation by feigning support for the General Strike."

—"Lessons of the Recent Strike Struggles," CP Central Committee, 5-6 September 1934

Thus at the same time as it was victimized for its ultra-leftism, the CP adapted opportunistically to trade-union militants within the maritime unions. The politics of the CP longshore fraction was indistinguishable from "rank-and-file" activists like Harry Bridges, who strongly distrusted the AFL bureaucrats but shrank from the task of challenging them for leadership at key points. Though militant, Bridges was never more than a practical trade unionist, ready to check the AFL leaders, but lacking a full political program for smashing the bureaucracy

hy building a class-struggle leadership.

Throughout the entire strike, although it lambasted the AFL, the CP refused to criticize Bridges' conciliatory failures. And within a few short months, the "fraternal" alliance between Bridges and the CP became part of the Stalinists' trade-union back-up for a "popular-front" alliance with Roosevelt, under which it ceased to play a militant role even on a trade-union level. Though persecuted for years as an "alien" and "Communist," Bridges was soon transformed into a trade-union bureaucrat.

1934 and Today

The few general strikes that have broken out in the history of the U.S. labor movement have been of a localized and defensive character. This was true of San Francisco in 1934 and characterizes the situation today as well. Responsibility for the defeat of these strikes lies squarely with the reactionary leadership of the unions.

This year's craft workers' strike proves once again the treacherous role of the legalistic and cowardly union bureaucracy, which acts as the labor lieutenants of capitalism in sacrificing the most fundamental union gains and betraying the most bitterly fought struggles. These class traitors' support for the bourgeoisie extends from obstructing the movement for a general strike to opportunistically seeking to take it over for the purpose of derailing it.

The task of revolutionaries is to begin now to lay the groundwork for ousting these dangerous fakers, by educating the working class in the need for uncompromising independence from the capitalists, exposing the betrayals of the present misleaders and providing militant leadership for the workers' movement in its vital struggles. Only a strategy of consistent class struggle can lead to victory—the "realistic" conciliators have nothing to offer but defeat. ■

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Rubber Strike...

(continued from page 12)

has allowed one major tire producer, General Tire and Rubber, to continue production. Although its contract expires May 15 and its workers will presumably be drawn into the strike at that time, the operation of General Tire and several smaller URW tire plants (as well as some unorganized plants) has had a major effect in limiting the impact of the strike. At present only 65 percent of U.S. tire manufacturing capacity has been shut down.

URW officials have ordered union pickets to obey court injunctions against mass picketing. As salaried employees walked freely in and out of the Firestone plant in Akron, pickets told *WV*, "This is a dumb way to run a strike. Anyone can go in who wants to." Strikers also suspect scabbing. They reported seeing carloads of young and unfamiliar "workers" entering the plant and speculated that hourly jobs such as maintenance were being performed by strikebreakers.

In an effort to undercut membership restiveness, the URW bureaucrats have "permitted" a limited display of militancy. On May 3, six hundred pickets defied an injunction and blocked entrances to the Akron plants of Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone. Thousands of salaried employees were prevented from entering the company offices. The pickets remained until leaders of Locals 2, 5 and 7 pulled them off at the order of Summit County Common Police Judge Sam H. Bell. Similarly, a few unidentified pickets appeared before midnight on May 7 at the Seiberling plant owned by Firestone in Barbaton, Ohio, and almost every union member honored their lines. This was repeated at 6 a.m. on May 8. A single woman picket kept the noon shift out while workers congregated across the street.

However, such actions are being carefully monitored and orchestrated by union leaders—at no risk to themselves. The picketing at Seiberling was conspicuous by the absence of URW Local 18 officials (as well as of the cops), and workers told *WV* that production would be resumed the following Monday. Such sporadic and staged shows of militancy will not win the strike but only serve to dissipate the genuine anger of the rank and file.

International Boycott

Bommarito, who recently returned from a trip to Geneva, Switzerland, is currently ballyhooing his scheme for an international boycott against Firestone, which may later be extended to Goodyear. Genuine international labor solidarity among rubber workers could be a crucial element for a URW victory. However, the international boycott sponsored by the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions (ICF, which claims 5.5 million members in its affiliated member bodies) promises to be a token affair. Although ICF head Charles Levinson claims to be working toward common expiration dates in many countries for contracts with multinational companies, he says that such internationally coordinated labor actions are still a few years off. The Firestone boycott, while rejecting joint strike action, does include an appeal to Firestone workers abroad not to work overtime. However, such promises of international cooperation have not meant much in the past. Thus at the beginning of the URW strike, Japanese union leaders promised an "unlimited walkout" in solidarity with American rubber workers if the Big Four hadn't settled by April 26. This "unlimited walkout" turned out to be brief strikes against two tire companies which merely coincided with the URW

strike and which Japanese leaders were busy settling during the ICF meeting!

Such mutual backstabbing rather than international solidarity is, of course, the rule rather than the exception among the reformist union hierarchies, whose loyalties lie with their own national bourgeoisies rather than with workers in other countries. Bommarito and the URW leadership are no strangers to this conduct, either. They have regularly sold out the demands of Canadian URW workers for parity with U.S. rubber workers. (Not having a joint contract expiration date, Canadian rubber workers are now working!)

Furthermore, Bommarito has been one of the major supporters of protectionist legislation, which makes foreign workers pay for layoffs of American workers by limiting imports of rubber products. Moreover the main axis of the international boycott is not genuine labor solidarity, but an impotent consumer boycott of Firestone products, which appear under more than 300 brand names.

UAW

A major factor working in favor of the rubber companies was the stockpiling of tires before the strike by automobile companies—and the further augmenting of these supplies after the strike began. (There are persistent rumors of shipments of Canadian tires to American auto plants.) As long as auto assembly lines continue to run, there will be relatively little pressure on the Big Four to arrive at a settlement. While the exact size of company stockpiles is a carefully guarded secret, informed observers estimate that a major pinch will not be felt until June 1 at the earliest (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 May). Meanwhile, rubber workers are being forced to subsist on \$35 a week strike benefits, and even these paltry funds will be exhausted after two and a half payments! This has forced the URW tops to call a special convention for May 27 to consider increasing dues to beef up the strike fund.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, has only paid lip service to the cause of the rubber workers. While endorsing the toothless Firestone consumer boycott, he has acquiesced to the stockpiling by auto companies which fundamentally undercuts the strike. Auto workers must come to the aid of rubber workers by refusing to handle the stockpiled tires and other struck rubber products. Such action was advocated by one group of auto workers, the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of UAW Local 906 in Mahwah, New Jersey. A spokesman for the MSC told *WV* last week that it distributed a leaflet to union members criticizing UAW leaders, saying: "But a leadership that believed in solidarity action and not just words would mobilize the auto-workers to REFUSE TO HANDLE STRUCK TIRES!"

Of course, Bommarito as well as Woodcock has no intention of challenging the Taft-Hartley Act by calling for such concrete acts of solidarity. The weak-kneed conduct of the strike by the URW bureaucracy only prefigures a complete sellout at the bargaining table as well. On some issues, like jobs, the URW tops are not raising any demands whatsoever. In addition, Bommarito has already stated his willingness to sacrifice the c-o-l clause for the first year if the wage increase is big enough. At the Akron rally he bellyached about Firestone's paltry proposals on pensions, health and safety, but refused to commit himself to any specific contractual goals. Meanwhile the Gold, URW International secretary-treasurer, stated frankly that union negotiators "are not out to hurt the companies," but rather to win "a few pennies" for the workers. It is precisely such penny-ante class collaborationism that presents the greatest obstacle to a victory in the rubber strike. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with the Reactionary Offensive! Support the ERA!

Women's Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution!

One component of the current rightward political swing in the United States is an anti-women's liberation campaign which has manifested itself recently in the publication of a number of virulently male chauvinist books and articles such as *The Total Woman*, in the renewed efforts of "right-to-lifers" to deny women access to abortion and birth control, and in attempts to block ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (see "Reactionary Backlash Targets Women's Rights," *Women and Revolution* No. 11, Spring 1976).

The ERA, a simple statement affirming equality between men and women under the law, is an entirely supportable bourgeois reform. That this amendment, which appeared certain to achieve ratification a year ago, is now so hotly contested is a measure of an increasingly hard-line polarization on social issues in the U.S.

Opponents of the ERA—such as Phyllis Schlafly, head of the ultra-rightist "Eagle Forum for God, Home and Country"—have saturated the country with scare-mongering leaflets warning that passage of the ERA will lead straight to sexually integrated public toilet facilities, the loss of protective legislation for women in industry and compulsory military conscription for all. Like the issue of

abortion rights, the ratification of the ERA has become a rallying point for a broad spectrum of reactionary forces dedicated to the defense of the oppressive family structure and the enforcement of conventional bourgeois morality.

At the present time, 34 states have ratified the ERA, but ratification by four more states is necessary in order for it to become a constitutional amendment. The bourgeois-feminist National Organization of Women (NOW) has called for a demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 to demand ratification and is sponsoring an "ERA Freedom Train" to Springfield for ERA supporters from the East Coast.

Unlike the Socialist Workers Party, whose real "program" for women's liberation is to become indistinguishable from NOW's legalistic tokenism, the Spartacist League does not present the ERA as the solution to women's oppression. As Marxists, we maintain that the fundamental precondition for women's liberation is not bourgeois legal reform but the replacement of the family as an economic unit through the socialization of household labor by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Nevertheless, every manifestation of the current backlash must be vigorously opposed and every genuine reform—e.g., free abortion on demand, busing to integrate school facilities, the Equal Rights Amendment—must be supported. The mobilization of the working class around its historic interests—in counterposition to the racist,



WV Photo

national-chauvinist, sexist backwardness generated and nurtured by the sellout labor "leadership"—is a precondition for the construction of the proletarian vanguard party which must

lead the working class to the conquest of state power.

—Support the ERA!

—For women's liberation through proletarian revolution!

Big Four Try to Starve Out Rubber Strikers

AKRON/CLEVELAND, May 8—An estimated crowd of over 1,000 striking rubber workers and supporters rallied in Akron today next to the Rubber Bowl. The event kicked off the official nationwide boycott of Firestone products as part of the United Rubber Workers (URW) strike against the "Big Four" tire companies. Though numerous URW dignitaries, including International president Peter Bommarito, were on hand for the occasion, militant workers who hoped to hear a strategy for victory in their strike went away

disappointed.

After three weeks, the nationwide rubber strike against Firestone, Goodyear, B.F. Goodrich and Uniroyal remains deadlocked. The companies have not budged in their opposition to union demands on wages and pensions. Their offer for a cost-of-living (c-o-l) formula of 5-cents-per-hour increases in 1977 and 1978 if the consumer price index rises 7 points, and a maximum increase of 10 cents for an increase of 9 points in the CPI, is downright laughable. In a further provocative move they



URW president Peter Bommarito speaking at Akron rally May 8.

WV Photo

have continued their policy of cutting off SUB payments to 1,700 rubber workers laid off by Firestone, Goodyear and Goodrich.

The URW bureaucracy has retreated before the companies' hard-line stance. Although the union initially broke off negotiations because of the SUB benefits cut-off and asserted that affected employees would have to be completely reimbursed for all lost payments before any agreement was signed, it docilely returned to the bargaining table a day

later with an agreement to arbitrate the issue.

Actually, only 70,000 out of 190,000 URW members are out on strike. Many of the remaining union members (as well as some employees of the Big Four) are concentrated in non-tire sectors of the rubber industry which traditionally pay lower wages. By keeping these workers at their jobs, the Bommarito bureaucracy is consciously sanctioning this inequity in pay scales. Furthermore, the URW

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