

## Shut Down Auto to Back Rubber Strikers!

# No-Strike Woodcock Offers Bargain to Auto Bosses

### UAW Chief Angles for Carter Cabinet Post

DETROIT—Fresh from a week of convention hobnobbing with Democratic politicians, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock returned to Detroit last week filled with the spirit of "Love thine enemy" reconciliation. At General Motors headquarters July 19, Woodcock kicked off the 1976 round of auto negotiations by extending a warm handclasp to GM's top negotiator George Morris. In succeeding days the ceremony was repeated at Ford, Chrysler and American Motors. With the universal exultation of the bourgeois media over the best prospect of a "strike-free settlement" in over a decade, Woodcock is charting the UAW on a course toward its biggest sellout in recent memory. His reward, hopes the UAW chief, could be a cabinet seat for himself in the administration of Georgia peanut boss Jimmy Carter.

While UAW piecards and GM honchos exchanged pleasantries, evidence of Woodcock's treachery was nearby. Hundreds of UAW members, mostly pensioners, demonstrated outside for a shorter workweek and a cost-of-living (c-o-l) escalator for retirees, demands that Woodcock has already said he has no intention of raising. And only a few miles away, rubber workers at Detroit's huge Uniroyal plant entered their fourth month of picketing in a nationwide strike that has been cruelly prolonged by



Woodcock (center) hobnobs with candidate Carter (left) and auto boss Henry Ford in Detroit last month.

the UAW's continued handling of struck, stockpiled and imported tires.

In the months prior to the formal opening of negotiations, the UAW hierarchy has already made starkly clear that it offers no gains from its gentlemanly game of collective bargaining. Emerging from a series of pre-negotiation conferences capped by the special bargaining convention in March was a "bargaining program" which asks for zero from the bosses. Unlike past negotiations which have focused on particular gains such as a c-o-l escalator, "30 and out," health benefits, etc., this

time UAW tops are telling the ranks that they will get *nothing* in the way of protection from speed-up, layoffs and inflation—and they had better lump it.

### Woodcock's Cabinet Post vs. Auto Workers' Needs

Woodcock's toadying to Jimmy Carter has added an additional personalist rationale for betrayal of the UAW ranks. Woodcock shares with the rest of labor officialdom a fervent desire to avoid at all costs any labor strife that could jeopardize the Democratic con-

tender's election possibilities or force Carter into the awkward position of wooing workers votes while denouncing a major strike. But Woodcock's early rallying to Carter, which included covering up for the candidate's nauseating racist defense of neighborhood "ethnic purity," and his leadership of the "Labor Coalition Clearinghouse" that swung several crucial primaries to Carter, puts him near the front of the line to collect a cabinet-level I.O.U. Woodcock has already been mentioned in the Carter inner circle for the secretaryship of Labor or Health, Education and Welfare.

To step into direct government service for the bourgeoisie rather than retiring to draft lackluster memoirs (per the UAW constitution he must retire by 1977) is a morsel Woodcock yearns for and will swallow a lot to get. And he has already. Despite campaign cosmetics and a kept-liberal vice presidential candidate, Carter is no Humphrey, and also much less likely to throw crumbs to the unions than the usual treacherous Democratic "friend of labor."

While Carter espoused his personal opposition to busing and abortion and claimed that state "right-to-work" (open-shop) laws "suit me fine," Woodcock-directed UAW delegates at the Democratic convention played instrumental roles in beating down the few dissident feminists, blacks and McGovernite liberals who mildly balked at such reactionary views. From

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# Diplomatic Games at the Olympics

With their usual bad taste, the television commentators work to turn the dramatic performances at the Olympics into fuel for the flames of national chauvinism. They deluge the telecasts with maudlin "human interest" stories about American and West European athletes and discuss with patronizing paternalism or barely concealed hostility the feats of athletes from the economically backward capitalist countries or the "Soviet bloc." They gloat over U.S. medals with the arrogance of Vietnam war "hawks" measuring the "kill ratio." Between seemingly endless commercials for fast food and fast cars, some of the finest athletes in the world compete for recognition of their talents and their years of back-breaking work, while governments seek to exploit their achievements for cheap patriotic propaganda and petty diplomatic maneuvers.

"Politics are destroying the Olympics," was the cry of many as Taiwan walked out because the Canadian

host government refused to allow it to compete under the banner of the "Republic of China," and 23 black African states (plus Guyana and Iraq) withdrew to protest the New Zealand rugby team's current tour of South Africa. But the world of sports—like the vastly more important fields of science and the arts—cannot avoid being commercialized and twisted to mirror the national chauvinism of the political world dominated by the degenerate bourgeois order in the epoch of capitalist decay.

The state of Taiwan was created through the flight of Chiang Kai-shek and his hangers-on from Mao's victorious peasant army in 1949. Now ruled by the Generalissimo's son, the island contains an oppressed native minority population which is not ethnically Chinese. In any case, the "Republic of China" exists solely by virtue of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

The International Olympic Committee's recognition of the "Republic of

China" is a carryover from the U.S.-engineered diplomatic isolation of Mao's regime during the 1950's. This situation certainly does not conform to present-day diplomatic protocols or current American foreign policy. Once Maoist China replaced Taiwan in the UN Security Council in 1971, it was a matter of time before the People's Republic gained similar status in all international bodies. It is only the incredible backwardness of the Olympic Committee, particularly the Victorian mentality of Avery Brundage and his successor Lord Killinan, which accounts for the continued presence of the "Republic of China."

If the row over Taiwan was a diplomatic tempest in a teapot, the protest against South Africa, through New Zealand, was more significant. Unlike Taiwan, South Africa is an important ally of American imperialism, which is committed to countering the diplomatic isolation of Pretoria's racist butchers. Accordingly, the Ameri-

can delegation threatened to walk out if the Olympic Committee caved in to the demand for sanctions against New Zealand.

For the New Zealand rugby team (which is partly government-subsidized) to tour South Africa immediately after the Soweto massacre, especially in the face of protests demanding cancellation of the trip, was in effect an act of solidarity with the Vorster regime, even if motivated merely by a philistine commitment to business as usual. But barring the New Zealand Olympic delegation (which has no relation to the rugby team) is an arbitrary and unconvincing way to condemn the foreign supporters of the executioners of Soweto.

In the past weeks, two dozen South African tennis players competed at Wimbledon in England, and Russian and West German athletes shared the winners' platform with a South African at the world trampoline championships

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# All Labor Must Defend Indicted Washington Post Pressmen!

The Local 6 Legal Defense Committee of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU) held a meeting on July 21 in Washington, D.C. to lay plans for a national defense campaign for recently indicted *Washington Post* pressmen, who face many years in jail on charges stemming from alleged sabotage of presses at the beginning of the bitter strike against the paper last October. The 50 people at the meeting—striking pressmen, their families and supporters—discussed methods of publicizing the cases and gaining support and financial contributions for defense of the victimized militants.

The committee lawyer announced at the meeting that eight new indictments had been handed down by a federal grand jury, bringing the total number of defendants to 15. These savage legal reprisals are the culmination of a union-busting campaign in which 204 union pressmen were replaced by scabs and subjected to a nationwide blacklist. The felony charges include inciting to riot, participating in a riot, grand larceny, receiving stolen goods (missing press parts), assault and assault with a deadly weapon. One Local 6 member, Eugene O'Sullivan, faces a 40-year prison term if convicted on all counts of his indictment.

Since other striking craft unions returned to work in February, leaving the beleaguered pressmen on their own, the newspaper management has openly gloated about the success of its anti-union offensive and the millions of dollars it will save annually by reducing the work force, cutting manning scales on presses, lowering overtime pay and eliminating all union control from the press room. The gravity of the felony charges lodged against the 15 pressmen, highly unusual in a case arising from a labor dispute, suggests the extreme vindictiveness of the *Post* bosses who have waited years for an opportunity to eliminate the troublesome printing trades unions, especially the pressmen. Local 6 members earned a reputation as combative unionists when they successfully occupied the press room in 1973 to

force the rehiring of a printer fired for taking part in a slowdown.

At the start of the grand jury inquisition last fall, the publisher, Kathryn Graham, admitted that the *Post* was "cooperating" with the federal prosecutor. Local 6 lawyer Carl Rein was more explicit in locating the origin of the felony indictments: "My inference would be that they [the prosecutors] did this because Kay Graham asked them to" (*New York Times*, 16 July).

As newspaper after newspaper changes over from hot-lead linotype machines to computerized photo-composition "cold type," they have sought to oust the traditional craft unions and to force layoffs, wage cuts and reassertion of "management prerogatives" in production down the unions' throats. This is what the *Washington Post* strike was about and the crushing defeat of the *Post* pressmen is a threat to printing unions throughout the country. It is urgent that all printing unionists vigorously defend the 15 indicted pressmen.

When the mailers' union accepted major contract regressions and returned to work, the *Post* general manager Mark Meagher boasted: "...in that brute strength kind of perspective—looking at the casualties—I think you have to see that you have one union dead on the battlefield and others that have been chastened by the combat" (*New York Times*, 29 February). More recently, ten craft unions at the *Washington Star* caved in to a management demand for 200 layoffs and an eight-month wage freeze.

The *Post*'s assault on IPGCU Local 6 and the indictments of 15 strikers are one particularly atrocious instance of the generalized offensive against the trade unions as the capitalists attempt to boost their profit levels at the direct expense of working-class incomes. Although some Local 6 members at the July 21 defense meeting argued that it is necessary to appeal primarily to liberals on the "human aspects" of the case since "unionism is not popular in Washington," others noted correctly that the only real support for the strike has come from the left and elements of the local labor movement.

Clearly the axis of a successful defense campaign must be a direct appeal to working-class solidarity, expressed not only through financial donations but through a powerful mobilization of trade unionists in the streets against this legal attack, which is a provocation to the entire labor movement. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization, has contributed to the defense of these victimized militants and has demanded that all charges be dropped, that the *Post* lockout of Local 6 be ended and that the striking pressmen and their supporters from other unions be reinstated immediately with full back pay.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: Local 6 Legal Defense Committee; 1300 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Room 101; Washington, D.C. 20006. ■

# Gus Hall's Great New Deal in the Sky, By and By

"I turned off... by old party politicians who serve big business—and double-cross the people? Then here's what you've been waiting for!" declares one of this year's presidential campaign flyers above a "76" symbol and the hyperbolic slogan, "the vote with clout!" But don't hold your breath—it's only the Communist Party (CP), dripping with Red, White and Blue (and Communist too!) campaign promotions and promises.

This year the CP is putting more effort than normal into its campaign. Its usual practice has been to put up a token candidacy while simultaneously saying "fight the right" and throwing votes to liberal Democrats. Of course, wherever it can the CP has continued this practice, recently supporting Democrat Tom Hayden in the California U.S. Senate primary, and various New York Democratic politicians through its front group, the Committee on Independent Political Action (CIPA). But with "ethnic purity" Carter as the Democratic presidential candidate, open support would be too embarrassing for even the reformist CP. So the 19 February *Daily World* announced the CP candidacy with unaccustomed vehemence, a banner headline in red proclaiming "Hall-Tyner Ticket Takes on Bosses Parties." This year the Democrats are written off as a "pussycat opposition" and "no buffer" against the Republicans. But if anything qualifies as a tame opposition—without the least clout either electorally or politically—then certainly it is the CPUSA. At a July 9 Hollywood meeting to kick off the CP's California campaign, veteran presidential candidate Gus Hall offered an audience of 400 mostly old-time CP supporters his "program" for the American working class—a stale rehash of liberal New Deal pabulum seasoned with Stalinist "anti-monopoly" rhetoric.

To end the unemployment inherent in capitalism, Hall admitted that the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment" bill was not quite adequate. He called instead for legislating a six-hour day with no loss in pay ("30 for 40"). The demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours, first codified by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program, is not a cheap electoral gimmick, but rather a means to bridge the gap between the immediate economic needs of the working class and the fight for socialism, and can only be won by the mass intervention of a militant working class. But in the hands of the CP, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Progressive Labor (PL), "30 for 40" is reduced to a parliamentary trick, a nice-sounding "reform" completely divorced from its purpose as a call to militant independent political and industrial action by the workers.

The biggest con game the CP has going, however, is its bombastic utopian scheme to rebuild American cities. How? "Slash the Military Budget by 80 percent!" they demand. By simple arithmetic this means the CP is now calling for a \$24 billion military budget... to bomb Vietnam, train Latin American torturers, aid the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, and threaten the USSR and other deformed workers states! The CP's generous offer of \$24 billion to the Pentagon stands in glaring contrast to the Bolshevik program of "Not a penny, not a man for the capitalist army!"

At the Hollywood meeting, although of course no discussion was allowed, supporters of the erstwhile Maoist Communist Labor Party (CLP) jumped to their feet to fervently applaud

"Chairman" Hall. The CLP, which had once branded Brezhnev and Nixon "representatives of international finance capital," and the CP "lapdogs of counterrevolution," now seeks to return to the fold, eagerly pursuing these ex-"running dogs of imperialism." Nelson Peery and other CLP leaders split from the CP in the 1950's, on the basis that Mao, not Khrushchev, was the "real Stalinist." Never did they break with the essentials of the CP's reformist program. Thus their shift over the past year toward alliance with the Brezhnev regime, praising détente and offering "united fronts" to the American CP merely represents a zigzag from one competing bureaucracy to the other, as each pursues class betrayal in its own way.

In an "Open Letter to the C.P.U.S.A." distributed to the CP ranks the CLP offered the CP an electoral "united front" seeking a trade-off of support: the Communist Party should



Dele Wittner/Weekly People

## Gus Hall and Angela Davis

support the CLP's General Baker for Michigan state legislature, and the Communist Labor Party would support the CP elsewhere, although the CLP generously noted that even without this, it would of course "Vote Communist." As could be expected, this hare-brained scheme has been dismissed out of hand by the CP, since its appetites are certainly not toward this small band of ex-CP "renegades."

Although Peery chides the CP for not showing up at "united fronts" against the Nazis and Klan, relying instead on the cops, after a large Spartacist League contingent demonstrated with the CLP in Chicago against fascist terror in a black community last spring, the CLP excluded SL supporters from later meetings. Moreover, the CLP's occasional militant rhetoric and sometimes adventurous posturing is only a threadbare cover for its real strategy, identical to the CP's, of excluding militant leftists while petitioning city councils and state legislators to get rid of fascism.

The gimmicky utopianism and star-spangled Stalinist rhetoric of the CP cannot hide its fundamental reliance on the liberal Democrats. Working-class militants cannot vote for parties whose hack-handed support for capitalist politicians only binds the working class more tightly to illusions in the corrupt, imperialist bourgeois state. No support to the CP! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Sectarianism Damages Gary Tyler Defense

BOSTON, July 25—"Free Gary Tyler!" "Stop the Racist Frame-Up!" "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" These were the slogans of the Spartacist League (SL) and Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) as they marched together with 80 other militants through predominantly black sections of Dorchester yesterday demanding freedom for Gary Tyler, the 17-year-old black framed up by Louisiana police in 1974.

Tyler was arrested on 7 October 1974 in Destrehan, Louisiana. He



Demonstrators in Boston demanded freedom for Gary Tyler Saturday.

was one of a busload of black students who were being transported through a hostile white neighborhood following attacks on them at a newly integrated high school. A shot rang out, and a white youth fell dead, obviously the unintended victim of a racist's bullet. Tyler was arbitrarily singled out to be prosecuted for the killing from among the black students who were on the bus.

Arrested for "interfering with the law" and subsequently charged with first-degree murder, Tyler was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to death in the electric chair. He was removed from death row July 14 after the Supreme Court overturned Louisiana's mandatory death penalty statute (while upholding other capital punishment laws).

While Tyler languishes in jail, a sitting duck for any racist prison guard eager to carry out the thwarted legal lynching, even as the authorities search for a basis to re-indict him, the urgently necessary efforts in his defense continue to be undermined by the grossest organizational sectarianism on the part of several groups involved in the defense campaign.

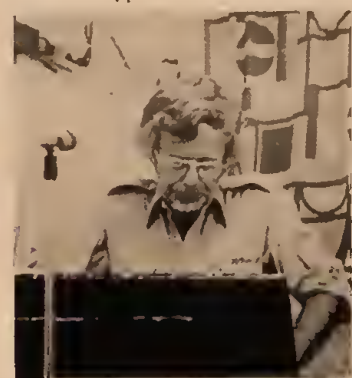
The Boston march had initially been called by a "United Gary Tyler Committee" supported by the October League (OL) and International Socialists (I.S.). But by the day of the march the OL had unilaterally claimed the demonstration as its own following a dispute with the I.S. over a national demonstration taking place the same day in New Orleans. The name on the Boston march posters had been crossed out and replaced by that of an OL front group,

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# SWP Unveils the New Wohlforth (Yawn) Portrait of the Young Crisis Monger as an Old Kautskyite

JULY 24—Last night the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) quietly trotted out the new Tim Wohlforth for his public debut. Only a handful of SWPers and a number of Spartacist League supporters turned out for the occasion—a lecture by Wohlforth on "Marx's Theory of Crisis," part of a series of classes the SWP is running in conjunction with the Caterino Garza congressional campaign on New York's Lower East Side.

Wohlforth had gained no small measure of notoriety as the leading political bandit of the Workers League (WL), the self-styled "anti-revisionist Trotskyist" group he headed for ten years. As his British mentor, Gerry Healy of the "International Committee" (IC), looked on approvingly, Wohlforth schooled his WL in the "method": shameless opportunism combined with



Tim Wohlforth

Stalin-style violence and slander against opponents within the workers movement. The SWP leadership took full advantage of Wohlforth's caricature of left opposition to SWP reformism. When Healy unceremoniously dumped Wohlforth in 1974, the SWP turned around and accepted the homeless cynic back into the fold.

Now Wohlforth finds himself stumbling for the Garza campaign, knee-deep in the mire of the ethnic politics he once despised—and to which he reacted with

1965—  
"We are not Cannonites... We want the destruction of Cannonism."  
"Conversations with Wohlforth,"  
Marxist Bulletin No. 3

1971—  
"The SWP today is involved in a wholesale revision of every fundamental of Marxism."  
Bulletin, 12 April 1971

1976—  
"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."  
International Socialist Review,  
May 1976

his own crude and racially insensitive brand of economism. Now down in District One—scene of some of the most bitter episodes of the 1968 teachers strike—Tim consolidates the contacts Garza makes through the SWP's support to local demagogue Luis Fuentes, the race-baiting and rabidly anti-union former school superintendent.

Wohlforth's class itself was a mockery of Marxist education whose only political content was this posturing opportunist's discovery that "the crisis" (which he proclaimed yearly for 13 years) really came in 1974, where it can conveniently serve as the objective basis for the SWP's "turn" to economist orientation to the working class. The implication is that prior to 1974 (which

1968—  
"History has proven the SWP's evaluation of Cuba to be completely erroneous on all accounts."  
Bulletin, 5 August 1968

1976—  
"It didn't take us more than a few weeks to see that Healy was all wrong on Cuba," Tim said."  
International Socialist Review,  
May 1976

is also the year Wohlforth had his own "crisis" and was purged from the WL), the SWP had been correct in its orientation to petty-bourgeois arenas.

To protect Tim from embarrassing questions, the chairman ruled early in the evening that all political discussion was out of order in the "economics" class. Not merely a crude maneuver, this false dichotomy between economic theory and program is profoundly anti-Marxist. Thus Michael Harrington's bastardized "Marxist economics" lead him into the Democratic Party and the "crisis" theories have been a central political justification for Healyite economism.

Despite the ban on politics, the chair's intelligence network was inadequate and several SLers got the floor. SL speakers quoted some of Wohlforth's economic predictions over the years, pointing out how his phony "dialectics" have been used to rationalize every rotten twist and turn. This so enraged the chairman that he began muttering about excluding the SL from the rest of the weekend's sessions, and for the rest

of the evening would accept only questions about economics. To this an SL spokesman replied:

"It is impossible to ask serious economic questions of a man who for ten years could not get it through his thick skull that Cuba was not a capitalist state, and then within a few weeks decided he was all wrong. What makes a man switch his positions so suddenly? Could it be that he simply felt that supporting strikes of New York cops [the WL position]—which means more arms to the Attica guards—was just the same as supporting free speech to fascists or sending federal troops to Boston [the SWP position]? It's one thing to ask economic questions of a serious revolutionist. It's another to ask a doctor about medical history when every one of his patients has died!"

The SWP has taken Tim back hoping his links with present and former IC groupings will be useful in the current scramble for new international bloc partners. But even the cynical Barnes leadership of the SWP must be somewhat chagrined at having to link up with a man who is so universally and justifiably despised. Hence the convoluted attempts to disappear Wohlforth's

1965—  
"...the U.S. has been in crisis since 1958-59."  
"Conversations with Wohlforth"

1968—  
"He [Robertson] saw only little ups and downs presenting no serious problems for the capitalists nor providing any objective basis of the kind of intense deepening of the class struggle we have seen everywhere in the period since 1966."  
Bulletin, 2 December 1968

1972—  
"The deepening of the capitalist crisis particularly since Nixon's August 15, 1971 decisions..."  
"In Defense of Trotskyism"

political history and drop him onto the scene like he was born yesterday. Or, as one SWPer, posing as a voice from the "independents," put it, "So the man changed his mind on some subjects—that's dialectics."

For years the WL's notorious practices of exclusionism and physical violence against radical opponents shielded from criticism the man who, with Healy, engineered the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (later Spartacist tendency) from the SWP—a crime whose magnitude in setting back the development of authentic Trotskyism is enormous. Now the SWP continues the protection racket.

For a man of Wohlforth's ambitions, the present role as "teacher" of basic economics and book reviewer for the Militant must be quite a come-down. Certainly the SWP has no intention of parading Wohlforth around as a major party spokesman. There is, in fact, a neat little dialectical unity between the one-man rule of the Healyite IC and the chaos of the fake "international" of the SWP and its bloc partners; between the WL which supports cop strikes and the SWP which breaks teachers strikes; between the WL which "hates faggots, hippies and women's libbers" and the SWP which in the name of feminism wants the government brought in to bust up the unions. Tim Wohlforth and the reformist SWP deserve each other. ■

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# TUC Clamps Wage Freeze on British Workers

LONDON—Several days ago at the Trades Union Council (TUC) Northern Regional Council at Newcastle, the Labour government's chancellor of the exchequer, Denis Healey, boasted: "if we can keep our heads—and our nerve—the long-awaited economic miracle is in our grasp." Making a virtue out of the run on the pound, Healey crowed that Britain was now "better placed than ever" to increase exports, since the "new value of the pound" had "made our goods competitive" (*Observer* [London], 4 July).

Why this bubbling optimism in the face of what is at best a precarious British economy? Industrial production is up, slightly; the balance of payments has improved, somewhat. Inflation is finally falling (last year it shot up to almost 30 percent annual rate), but still stands at 15.4 percent. And although unemployment had been levelling off, it is at record levels (6.3 percent) and was recently increased by an influx of jobless school-leavers. Hardly an economic miracle.

The oil sheiks' money managers, who have an interest in the question, don't share Healey's fatuous buoyancy, and have reportedly been dumping their sterling holdings by the hundreds of millions. When the pound plummeted as low as \$1.70 at one point this spring, the fall was halted by an emergency six-month transfusion of \$5,300 millions in special drawing rights from the Group of Ten (the "rich man's club," led by the U.S., which runs the International Monetary Fund). However, the motive for this rescue operation was not confidence in the U.K. economy, but rather fear that collapse of the pound would throw the other major capitalist powers back into the depths of depression.

## "Dunkirk Spirit" for the Workers

Only in one area does the Labour government's idiot optimism seem to fit: in its successful bid to saddle the working class with wage reductions and large-scale cutbacks in social services without provoking a union rebellion.

Last week, Healey announced budget cuts totalling £1,000 millions. They appeared specially designed to provoke labour anger: included are reductions in unemployment benefits for pensioners, cuts in hospital and university construction, a substantial rise in the price of school lunches and increased charges for dental treatment and eyeglasses. Earlier the government relaxed the ineffective price controls to allow an additional 1 percent rise (£1,000 millions annually) in order to improve profitability of private industry.

Only last spring, the chancellor's announcement of impending spending reductions was met with a revolt by "left" Labour MPs [members of parliament] which forced a vote of confidence. But this time there was barely a murmur.

In the meantime the cabinet had cracked the whip on parliamentary left-wingers and mobilized the TUC tops to regiment the unions. This government offensive came to fruition when a special TUC conference overwhelmingly ratified the second phase of "voluntary wage restraints" on June 16. By a bloc

vote of 9,262,000 to 531,000, with 800,000 abstentions, the conference approved a document entitled "The Social Contract, 1976-77" limiting wage increases to an average of 4.5 percent and a maximum of £4 per week. This represents a sharp reduction even from last year's £6 limit and at current inflation rates means a massive 10 percent wage cut in one year.

Several months ago, soon after James Callaghan (a former consultant to the police federation, hosom friend of U.S. secretary of state Kissinger and firm advocate of supplying military weaponry to the Chilean junta) succeeded Harold Wilson as parliamentary Labour Party (LP) leader and prime minister, Chancellor Healey had proposed a 3 percent wage limit, linking it to an offer of tax relief.

For a brief period the TUC leadership bristled with apparent indignation, all the while assuring the government and the ruling class of its willingness to enforce "equitable" new controls. Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), assured Callaghan of "the fullest cooperation in the continuing fight to beat inflation and to reduce unemployment" (*Guardian* [London], 6 April).

Since returning to office following the militant miners strike in early 1974, the Labour cabinet has had to move cautiously to bold down wage claims in the name of a vague "social contract." Relying on large-scale unemployment (coupled with a fierce red-baiting campaign in the bourgeois press) to crush rank-and-file militancy, the union leadership eventually pushed through the £6 limit last September. Emboldened by its success in carrying out the same anti-working-class measures the Tories had failed to accomplish, the Labour administrators of capitalism soon went on to even tighter economic policies.

As the pound slipped on the monetary exchanges, Jones (who once had a reputation as a leftist within the TUC) called for "Dunkirk spirit" and advised the international financial interests that,



TUC general secretary Len Murray (left) with AUEW leader Hugh Scanlon and TGWU head Jack Jones.

"No one abroad need have any fears. We are going to get an agreement. My advice to anybody is to buy pounds because the pound is going to rise in value."

*Times* [London], 27 April

But in spite of the new deal, which takes effect August 1, the pound has risen only to \$1.78.

## Opposition in the Ranks

By early May the TUC general council and the government had reached agreement on the 4.5 percent pay ceiling, and the special conference was convened to ratify it. Actual support among the union ranks was not nearly as strong as the 17-to-1 vote margin indicated, however. Much closer tallies were recorded in meetings of the individual unions.

The National Union of Seamen conference carried a motion for a £20 increase while barely turning back a call for a return to free collective bargaining and an end to wage restraint. The executive of the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) voted nine-to-two to accept the wage packet, but the UCATT conference voted it down. General secretary George Smith responded with an announcement that the executive did not accept the decision, would poll the membership and in the meantime would abstain at the TUC conference. The executive of the National Union of Railwaymen was split equally on the question and also abstained.

Some of the crassest tricks were employed by Hugh Scanlon, head of the powerful Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) and formerly the most prominent opponent of the £6 limit. After narrowly winning a vote (28 to 23) in the union's engineering section, Scanlon forced a bloc vote by this section at the AUEW's national conference a week later where there was

a real chance of a majority of the delegates voting down the pact. Subsequently the union announced it will not seek wage negotiations this year at all.

In the crucial mine workers union (NUM), which smashed through the Tories' "incomes policy" with its 1974 strike, national leader Joe Gormley campaigned assiduously for Healey's 4.5 percent limit. The pay ceiling squeaked through a national ballot by 53.4 percent, with the militant coalface miners of Yorkshire, South Wales, Scotland, North Derbyshire and Kent all voting solidly against.

At the NUM conference early this month, Gormley attempted to rule any pay resolutions out of order. Despite his ruling, a motion to revive the claim for £100 for coalface workers was brought on the floor and lost by only 17 votes. Motions were passed calling for lowering the retirement age to 60 (a hot issue given the large percentage of workers near retirement in this industry) and for an extra week's holiday.

Many of the bureaucrats tried to cover their class collaboration with militant rhetoric (subsequently ignored by the Labour government) against public expenditure cuts and for "socialist measures" such as more money for the National Enterprise Board and more import controls. Others raised the spectre of the fall of the Labour government. Jack Jones warned:

"To oppose the proposals surely will play into the hands of the reactionary forces and the result would be, if they gain power, that there would be no wage increase at all and we would have economic policies dominated by public expenditure cuts and more unemployment."

—*Times*, 8 May

Clive Jenkins, head of the white-collar ASTMS, the largest union to vote against the deal, also protested his loyalty to Callaghan and Healey, stating that, "A Labour Government is essential for the restructuring of our country, but we must urge that Government and arm it with the sharpest polemical swords we can find" (*Times*, 17 June). And although promising to defy wage restraint, the NUM vice president and prominent Communist Party (CP) unionist Mick McGahey trumpeted that "Scottish miners will take second place to no one in maintaining the Labour government" (*Guardian*, 22 April).

The so-called "left" Labourites in parliament performed no better than their brethren in the union bureaucracy. The most prominent "left," cabinet minister Anthony Benn, announced his "unqualified support" for the wage limit at the North-West Miners Delegates conference in early May. The rest, in particular the Tribune group, maintained a polite silence on the wage ceiling, carefully honouring the traditional division of labour between the parliamentary LP and the TUC leadership. Concerning the budget cuts, Tribune group leaders argued that they no longer have the "luxury" of abstaining in parliament since the government and sterling are under mounting attack, and urged their colleagues to restrict



British miners on strike in 1974.



themselves to simply arguing against spending reductions (*Guardian*, 6 July).

After the dust settled, the unions had acquiesced in the 4.5 percent wage limit despite 15 percent inflation. In contrast, in 1974 they brought down Heath's Conservative cabinet by refusing to go along with a 7 percent limit in a period of 14 percent inflation. The sorry spectacle demonstrates once more the bankruptcy of the British centrists' perennial policy of pressuring Labour.

### "Make the Lefts Fight?"

While Labour "lefts" and militant-talking union bureaucrats, including the Stalinist CPers, capitulate to the Healey/Callaghan austerity program, ostensibly revolutionary groups to their left provide protective cover for these fakers by supporting them ("critically") in union and Labour Party elections. The slogan "make the lefts fight" has long been used to encapsulate a policy of tailing after the Benns, Scanlons and McGaheys.

Thus during the 1974 miners strike, McGahey and other Communist leaders in the NUM played a key role in preventing a general strike against Tory wage controls, instead "cooling" militant pickets and asking for "exceptional" pay increases from the Pay Board. Dissolving the sharpening class battles into reformist electoral pressure, the "lefts" only replaced Heath's statutory incomes policy with Wilson's "voluntary restraint." Yet in the midst of this betrayal, the International Marxist Group (IMG), British affiliate of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), proclaimed: "today's NUM left...are not like the 'limp lefts' of yesterday or today.... The NUM lefts have, and will, lead real, hard-fought struggles" (*Red Weekly*, 8 February 1974).

More recently, the fake-Trotskyist IMG threw sand in the workers' eyes by

the hourgeois press as a "moderate."

Wright, who was backed by an amalgam of left-talking bureaucrats and CP Stalinists, has been the key AUEW official in both the Chrysler and British Leyland negotiations over redundancies [layoffs], and a strong advocate of "workers participation" schemes under the Ryder Plan. Wright and the "Broad Left" also call for import controls, which pit workers of one country against those of another and reinforce the illusions that the working class has a stake in improving the bosses' profits. Wright earned notoriety by ordering workers to cross official union picket lines in an auto strike in Stokes in 1973 (*Socialist Worker*, 31 January 1973).

Not a single plank in Wright's platform set him squarely apart from his opponent on any fundamental question of the class struggle. Clearly, no principled basis existed for revolutionaries to extend critical support to this phony leftist. Yet nearly every ostensibly revolutionary group joined in the mad scramble to line up with Wright against Weakley.

The International Socialists (I.S.), veteran trade-union opportunists and the largest group to the left of the CP, ran one Len Blood, an AUEW shop steward and branch secretary, on the first round. Blood campaigned on the strictly economist "Engineers' Charter," a program which does not raise the questions of expropriation of the bourgeoisie, a planned economy or a workers government, which are essential to eliminating mass unemployment.

The I.S. noted that Wright's "Broad Left" had "surrendered on the Social Contract and the £6 pay limit and has failed to offer any fight against unemployment" (*Socialist Worker*, 13 March). However, on the second round the I.S. and Engineers' Charter backed Wright "to keep the right-wingers out." *Socialist Worker* (8 May) quoted

## SEIU Bureaucrats Isolate Public Workers Strike

# Bitter Alameda County Workers Strike Ends in Defeat

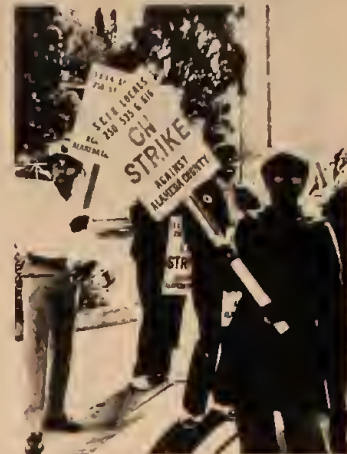
OAKLAND, July 21—The longest strike of public workers in California history ended yesterday when Alameda County workers, represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU—Locals 616, 250 and 535), were forced to swallow a humiliating defeat and return to work. After 49 days on the picket lines and struggling under the shadow of the smashing of the San Francisco city workers strike, the county workers voted to accept the settlement by 1,356 to 174. But there was no enthusiasm for the contract on the part of the membership. The vote showed only how a sour and defeatist union bureaucracy, who left the SEIU workers to starve in isolation, could beat down the ranks' will to fight and deliver them up to the bosses.

Using the recent San Francisco defeat as an excuse to be more "reasonable" in bargaining and striking, SEIU negotiators pared down their already inadequate contract demands. The central issue was a percentage wage package equal to that given management (6.8 percent instead of the pitiful 3.2 percent offered to non-management employees). The final package falls far short of the parity demand: most workers will receive a minimum of \$40 per month effective September 6, and then a one-time 6 percent increase in July 1977. This averages only 4.5 percent over two years. Furthermore there is no provision for retroactive pay back to June 1, the end of the last contract. So monetarily the scabs will come out ahead!

Rubbing the noses of the strikers in their defeat, a provision of the agreement bars the union from taking any punitive measures against the scabs. Chairman of the board of supervisors Fred Cooper, gloating over the settlement, said the deal will be partly funded by "salary savings" (from the pockets of striking workers) avoiding "any impact on this year's property tax rate." The SEIU chief negotiator Paul Varacalri could only whine, "We had to end the strike somehow" (*Oakland Tribune*, 21 July).

Varacalri is making quite a name for himself as an engineer of dirty deals for Bay Area workers. In his position of executive secretary for United Public Employees Local 390, an SEIU affiliate which represents a large chunk of the cross-bay rapid transit workers, Varacalri only two weeks earlier helped "settle" the BART workers contract—a three-year pact containing no wage increases, only a cost-of-living adjustment! This also meant throwing away a golden opportunity to link up the marginal county workers with the far more powerful BART workers.

But Varacalri was not the only labor hack who took an active part in sabotaging the county workers strike. An earlier attempt to build support for the strike among AC transit bus drivers was also blocked. At the request of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) acting local president, the SEIU's chief negotiator at that time agreed not to send a delegation to a June 7 ATU meeting to discuss support action from the bus drivers. The ATU bureaucrats ruled out of order a militant's motion for a sympathy strike in support of the county workers and the Local executive board's own motion was watered down



WV Photo  
Striking city workers picket Alameda County courthouse last month.



WV Photo  
SL/SYL supporters in Hayward, California, march supporting SEIU strike.

to simply a one-day strike to honor the picket lines! Even this motion was put forward with such little enthusiasm that the membership wrongly voted it down.

The county workers were constantly harassed by deputy sheriffs and threatened by the county board's hiring of "temporaries" (scabs). Meanwhile, the Alameda Superior Court handed down a decision declaring the public workers strike "illegal." The hospital workers clerical and social workers who make up the Alameda county strikers lacked social weight and desperately needed to expand their strike in order to win. Responsibility for the defeat of this strike lies clearly with the Alameda Central Labor Council and the SEIU tops who allowed their members to strangle in a web of bureaucratic cowardice and kowtowing to the bosses.

The bosses' anti-union offensive in the Bay Area is sweeping aside union gains won through bloodshed and bitter struggle. To avoid further demoralizing defeats militants must take up the banner of united working-class counter-offensive, dumping the labor traitors who stand in the way. ■

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Bob Wright

*Socialist Worker*

supporting "leftist" Benn in the jockeying over succession to retiring prime minister Wilson. Even though Benn & Co. are clearly dancing to the tune called by right-wingers Callaghan and Healey, the IMG majority tendency (Tendency 4—out of five!—formerly labelled Tendency B) urges a fight to "unify in action all those forces prepared to fight against the Government's policies, isolate and defeat the supporters of these policies, and continually force the lefts to take action" (*Red Weekly*, 3 June [our emphasis]).

A clear test for revolutionaries was presented in the recent AUEW elections. The British "far left" failed miserably, responding with characteristic opportunism and centrist confusion. In the most publicised contest, right-wing candidate John Weakley faced Bob Wright, candidate of the "Broad Left," in a second round [run-off] race for the post of AUEW assistant general secretary. Weakley earned notoriety by taking the union to court to ensure a postal ballot and was widely touted by



John Weakley

*Socialist Worker*

Blood's rationale: "Any member who takes the union to court, as John Weakley did, must be opposed." And what about opposing strikebreakers like Wright! True to mold, the IMG backed Wright as an answer to the "right-wing offensive" (*Red Weekly*, 20 May).

### Learn to Swim Against the Stream!

Another group which, like the IMG, supported Benn against Callaghan for parliamentary LP leader was the International Communist League (ICL), established through the fusion of the former Workers Fight organization with the Workers Power grouping expelled from the I.S. in 1975. Although it poses as Trotskyist and as a left critic of the IMG, the ICL, like the Italian FMR and the German Spartacusbund with which it is associated, is a congenital bog group incapable of providing an alternative to the USec's unprincipled manoeuvres. In fact, both ICL and IMG are eager to submerge political differ-

*continued on page 11*



# From the Great Leap to the Tien An Men Square Riot

## Mao's "Socialism": No Electricity, No Soviets

After the fall of Lin Biao in 1971, the main changes in official Chinese policy consisted of concessions to the workers and peasants, partial recentralization of the economy, reconstruction of the civilian government apparatus (including widespread reinstatement of bureaucrats disgraced during the "Cultural Revolution"), and a headlong plunge into open diplomatic alliance with U.S. imperialism.

With the liquidation of Lin and his People's Liberation Army (PLA) group, Mao turned to Chou En-lai to administer the governmental and party appara-

rally led to a greater centralization of economic control. Whereas in 1969-71 local control was all the rage, in 1972 local authorities were reminded that there was a state plan (they had forgotten!) and they were supposed to adhere to it.

"A few imits and comrades have veiled to view the relationship between the part and the whole correctly in the current work of capital construction. Disregarding the State plan, they have gone after quantity, scale and comprehensiveness, engaging in construction projects outside the plan as they please."

*People's Daily*, 8 June 1972

The most important change in economic policy during the Mao Chou Teng period was the rapid increase in foreign trade, particularly with Japan. In 1972, China's foreign trade totaled \$4.7 billion, about the same as in 1966. By 1975 this figure had escalated to \$13 billion (*U.S.-China Business Review*, March-April 1976), which even discounting the effects of inflation represents a substantial change in the Chinese economy.

Broadly speaking, China exports textiles, coal and oil, and concentrates its imports on technologically sophisticated capital equipment. Since 1972 China has imported more than 100 complete plants. In the past, Peking had been careful to balance exports and imports, but in the last few years the Mao Chou Teng regime abandoned this policy and China has run up a \$1.4 billion trade deficit.

As revolutionary Marxists we do not criticize the expansion of China's trade with the imperialist powers per se. Any isolated workers state should take full advantage of the international market to maximize its resources—traditional Stalinist autarky is reactionary. However, China's increasing trade with and credit from the capitalist world takes place in the context of an ever-more-extensive alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. China's genuine need for modern technology does not excuse support for the Japanese *zaibatsu* and the Rockefellers.

### Not "Liberalization" But Workers Democracy

Moreover, an isolated workers state (particularly an economically backward country such as China) will ultimately succumb to the economic pressures of capitalist encirclement. Only the overthrow of the nationalist bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the Forbidden City through proletarian political revolution, along with socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, can overcome China's economic backwardness. This, and not backyard iron furnaces or trade with the imperialists, will open the road to socialist planning on a global scale and integrate the factories of the Ruhr and Leningrad with the communes of Hunan.

In order to defeat Lin Biao and replace his followers who were purged, Mao was forced to reinstate most of the victims of the Cultural Revolution, most notably the number two "capitalist roader," Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This situation required an increased margin for tolerated differences within the bureaucracy, which was then extended to



Wreaths at Chou En-lai memorial demonstration April 4 in Peking.

intellectual and cultural life as well (although still within the framework of Stalinist totalitarianism). During the Cultural Revolution and the Lin regime, only five foreign "Marxist" works were allowed to circulate, but since 1972 translations have flourished. After five years of nothing but slogans from the Little Red Book, even the collected works of Enver Hoxha can be a source of political stimulation!

However, if the Mao/Chou/Teng regime was "liberal" toward errant bureaucrats and pliable intellectuals, it had a very different attitude toward the proletariat. In his policies toward the workers, Teng was indistinguishable from Lin Biao. In 1974, he is reported to have told a visiting Hong Kong academic:

"Wages are low and the living standard is not high. We only get enough clothing and a full stomach. To develop the economy, this situation must be maintained for some time to come. We have made this clear in the people. The people understand."

quoted in U.S. Congress,  
*China: A Reassessment of the Economy*

But what institutions do the people have for expressing their alleged "understanding"? In the summer of 1975, Teng

demonstrated how he dealt with those workers who apparently failed to "understand."

Last year saw a hardening of line, evidently in response to challenges from the workers. The regime's pronouncements of liberality (the January 1975 constitution included the right to strike) combined with evident economic expansion must have created pressure for significant wage increases. Yao Wen-yuan, a leader of the Shanghai "radicals" who came to prominence during the Cultural Revolution, wrote an important article, "On the Social Basis of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique" (*Peking Review*, 7 March 1975). Yao's theme is that money wages and material incentives are the main social bases for capitalist restoration. The message was clear: those workers who demanded higher wages were under the influence of bourgeois ideology.

A few months later, the regime responded to worker militancy with distinctly non-literary methods. In July the modern textile plants in Hangchow (near Shanghai) were struck. In response, a 10,000-strong force of PLA troops was sent in to break the (constitutionally permitted) strike. The *Far*



Tien An Men Square, April 5, the day after mass Chou En-lai memorial was held.

## Part 2 of 2

tus. A competent, smooth and cynical apparachik, Chou proved his loyalty to Mao during the Cultural Revolution when he tolerated the purging and humiliation of favorite subordinates such as foreign minister Chen Yi. At the same time, he was known as a "soft-liner" and thus perfectly suited to act as intermediary between Mao and the purged "capitalist roaders" like Teng Hsiao-p'ing who were being rehabilitated in order to stabilize the regime.

Almost immediately after Lin's death, the bureaucracy moved to conciliate the discontented peasantry. In December 1971 the regime issued a "Directive on the Problem of Distribution in Rural People's Communes" which asserted that, "artificial egalitarianism... hampered the realization and implementation of Mao's revolutionary line" (*Asian Survey*, January 1973).

This directive reasserted the peasant's right to a private plot and prohibited authorities from commandeering labor from the production teams. Since this time the Mao regime has been extremely conservative about pushing for greater collectivization. The new 1975 constitution of the "people's republic" not only includes the right to a private plot, but stipulates that the production teams will continue to be the basic unit of accounting and distribution.

During this period the Peking rulers also sought to overcome the relative stagnation of agriculture by applying hybrid strains, manufactured fertilizers and other technological advances associated with the so-called "Green Revolution." Between 1972 and 1974, China's production of chemical fertilizer shot up from 14 to 24 million tons (*Far Eastern Economic Review Yearbook*, 1975). This extraordinary jump was made possible by the importation of entire urea plants.

In 1972, the regime also raised the wages of the lowest-paid workers. This was the first wage increase in nine years. Mao had the effrontery to link Liu Shao-chi with Lin Biao as advocates of low-wage austerity whom he had finally defeated after a decade of struggle to grant the workers higher incomes! In reality, Mao and his partisans were the foremost advocates of maintaining the workers' living standards at near-peasant levels.

### "Stress on Things Big and Foreign"

The reconstruction of the civilian party and government apparatus natu-



Eastern Economic Review (8 August) reported.

"After the city was cordoned off from the rest of the country, Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping personally intervened (bringing with him large detachments of armed public security personnel), the situation calmed down."

Such are the ways of the "moderate" Stalinists

#### And Now?

In what sense does the conflict between "moderates" represented by Teng and Maoist "radicals" reflect fundamental political differences? Certainly the original point of contention between Mao and the central party leadership coalesced around Liu whether to abandon the Great Leap Forward is real. Likewise, the attempt to resuscitate the "Great Leap" in the early stage of the Cultural Revolution was a recognizable political dispute. But in both cases, there were no qualitative left-right divisions between the two wings of the Chinese bureaucracy, and the interests of the proletariat stood in contradiction to support for either faction.

While the bureaucracy as a whole acts as a honapartist arbiter between the pressures of imperialism and the pressures of the working masses, Mao has sought to carve out a personal honapartist role as mediator between the various cliques and power blocs of the ruling caste. In order to maintain his personal authority, he has constantly shifted lines during the last decade, first proclaiming one policy and then carrying out its virtual opposite.

Thus in 1971 he brought the former "capitalist roaders" back into power in order to do in his main ally of the Cultural Revolution period. While praising economic austerity and Spartan virtues, he seeks to take credit for the modest improvement in living standards during the last few years. Maoist doctrine is whatever the "Great Helmsman" says it is at present, and woe unto those who fail to tack and veer in cadence. Nor, for that matter, have the "moderates" fought for a consistent policy. Chou En-lai's main program was never to be on the losing side of a faction fight. And Teng, despite his posture of liberality, was just as ruthless in suppressing the workers in Hangchow in 1975 as were the "radical" Maoists in Shanghai in 1967.

Thus the Teng/Mao conflict is largely of a cliquist nature, reflecting past enmities and loyalties rather than current burning political differences. Nevertheless, there are differences in the respective bureaucratic clienteles. Mao's backing comes largely from rural party cadre whose consciousness was shaped by the anti-Japanese war and the civil war against the Kuomintang. It is both supremely ethnocentric and profoundly distrustful of the urban working class and the technical intelligentsia as prone to corruption by Western social values.

During the 1950's, Liu and Chou constructed a modern state bureaucracy consciously modeled on the Soviet Union. Their political ties were with the administrative and technical cadre and party activists directly dealing with the urban industrial workers. Thus the Liu/Chou milieu, on which Teng forces draw, inclines toward the importation of modern technology and favors material incentives and education rather than mass mystification and the cult of Man. Both cliques are equally committed to maintaining bureaucratic control over the working masses.

The nature of the current jousting can be deduced from the charges against Teng, which are eminently cliquist in nature. It is said that he wanted to "reverse correct verdicts," that is, reinstate unrepentant anti-Maoists from the Liu period. Most notable among these were Peng Chen and ex-PLA chief of staff, Lo Jui-ch'ing, who in 1965 committed the unforgivable crime

continued on page 9

# For A UFW Harvest Strike!

## Cannery Workers Battle California Agribusiness

OAKLAND, July 24 As over 30,000 California cannery workers went on strike July 20 the bourgeois news media began blaring about the possible multimillion dollar loss to growers and processors of peaches, apricots, pears and tomatoes. According to official sources, the harvest-season strike is costing \$24 million a day. The California Farm Bureau estimates that as many as 100,000 farm workers could be idled by the strike.

The plight of the reactionary agribusiness hordes, stuck with crops they can't sell, is of course considered much more newsworthy than the rotten situation of the thousands of cannery workers, not to mention migrant farm workers.

The political pressure of the growers was enough to mobilize Governor Brown, who telegraphed President Ford last Wednesday to urge the president's personal intervention in hopes that he could end the strike in 48 hours. As the strike became a pre-election political football, federal mediator James Searce moved the talks to Washington, and Ford sent out a federal "fact-finding" team to lay the legal basis for an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction. Such an injunction would seek to destroy the strike's effectiveness by sending workers back at the height of the canning season, when over 60,000 workers are normally employed.

While the news blackout imposed by Searce has aided only the growers and cannery hordes, it is clear that Teamster officials, representing the striking cannery workers in 13 union locals, prefer to meet behind closed doors, away from rank-and-file pressure. When a *WV* reporter went to one local strike headquarters to get the union's side of the story, the official response was, "We are not entertaining the press."

Teamster officials were reluctant to call the strike at all. The old contract expired June 30 but the union kept the workers at work for three weeks beyond the expiration date. The hard-nosed attitude of the cannery bosses, represented by California Processors Incorporated (CPI), which represents 28 companies with 74 plants in California, finally forced the union to strike.

Though 38 issues remained unresolved as the strike began, only the wage issue has received publicity. The cannery bosses have reportedly offered

increases of 95 cents to \$1.43 per hour over a three-year contract, but union negotiator Freddy Sanchez said they actually offered only 25 cents. The union is reportedly demanding \$3.00 to \$3.50 over three years.

Presently wages average only \$4.93 per hour in the industry and, most significantly, over half of the cannery workers are hired on a seasonal basis only. Sanchez estimated that 82 percent of his membership earned less than \$5,000 last year and worked 1,000 hours or less (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 July).

Reinforcing the news blackout surrounding the strike is the cowardly silence of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union leadership. In the context of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) leadership's decade-long attack on the UFW, rarely have the interests of the ranks of both unions intersected in a more direct and obvious manner against the backstabbing policies of the labor fakery.

Cesar Chavez' limitation of farm workers' struggles to an impotent strategy of legislative lobbying has allowed the Teamster/grower alliance to push the farm workers up against a wall. Since February, when the growers' representatives in the state legislature cut off funds for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which had supervised bargaining elections since last summer, the UFW has elected to simply run a holding operation until a November election referendum is held to force the release of funds to once again attempt to implement the much-touted Agricultural Labor Relations Act.

Now is the time to forge a fighting unity among all workers in the agriculture industry! It is strike action—at harvest time!—and not the bosses' courts and legislatures that will finally bring the agribusiness magnates to their knees. If they think they're threatened by the cannery workers strike, a joint strike of field and processing workers, supported by the entire labor movement and utilizing the methods of militant class struggle, as opposed to pacifistic groveling, could fundamentally alter the relationship of forces in the industry to the benefit of all agricultural workers.

The on-again-off-again "jurisdictional" negotiations between Chavez and Fitzsimmons of the IBT are not designed to bring about such necessary unity. In fact, action by the UFW in solidarity with striking cannery workers would threaten the "settlement" sought in the bureaucratic machinations, not to mention Chavez' most precious hope—the political alliance with Democratic Party "friend of the UFW" Governor Brown.

A recent court decision bringing "affirmative action" to the 74 northern California canneries has caused a furor potentially explosive enough to completely derail the strike. Traditional discrimination in the industry, encouraged by the labor fakery, has sown divisions within the union's ranks, which are now directly aiding the bosses.

The discrimination is real and pervasive. At peak season, when the industry



WV Photo

Picket outside Del Monte canning plant in Emeryville.

employs roughly 60,000 workers, women reportedly hold 58 percent of the seasonal jobs and minorities 62 percent. In contrast, these two groups have only a tiny percentage of year-round or high-paid seasonal jobs. This pattern led to class action suits filed three years ago by individual women and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund against the Teamsters union and the canning industry.

In a May 5 decision, U.S. district judge William H. Orrick ordered a five-year action plan providing for up to \$4.9 million in damages to victims of past discrimination, and setting hiring quotas for women and minorities. "But," noted the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 June), "the critical element, creating a furor that could spill over into current industry contract negotiations, is the reshuffling of seniority." By granting seniority rights dating from the time of first employment as seasonal workers and eliminating the previously separate seniority lists for seasonal and full-time workers, the court order simply throws out the window contractually established union job protection. It also means that seasonal workers can now bump full-time workers, including some women and minority workers.

This has caused tremendous unrest in the industry. At the Hunt's Food plant in Oakdale, a 36-year-old warehouseman killed himself after brooding over being bumped off the year-round job list. On June 25 hundreds of Central Valley cannery workers participated in a motorcade to the S.F. federal building in protest of the "affirmative action" court rulings. They are also reportedly planning to file reverse discrimination charges with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Although Teamster officials refuse to comment on strike issues, discrimination in the industry and the court attack on seniority are having an impact on the strike. At the Emeryville Del Monte plant, picketers reported anti-strike sentiment among seasonal workers (who far outnumber steady employees). The company is naturally trying its best to exacerbate tensions within the workforce by calling back laid-off workers, thus forcing them to lose unemployment benefits by refusing to cross picket lines.

The northern California cannery strike graphically illustrates how appeals to the bosses' government to meddle in union affairs aid the class enemy and weaken the workers' movement. Militants must fight instead for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for an end to discrimination in hiring and for strikes against layoffs. Such a fight requires the building of a class-struggle opposition, both in the Teamsters and the UFW, to forge a unified and militant agricultural workers union. ■

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(continued from page 1)

Woodcock's point of view, a lousy contract for 700,000 auto workers is a small price to pay for his personal advancement. Class-conscious auto workers, on the other hand, must demand no support to the Democrat's "new breed" of smiling racism and double-talk union-husting: for a workers party based on the unions, to sweep away the corrupt politicians and their capitalist masters!

The UAW brass would have a more difficult time forcing their brazen plans for this year's double dose of peanuts down the throats of an aroused and militant rank and file. But in the absence of an authoritative alternative leadership the conservatizing effects of the last two years of economic disaster are still widespread. At the depth of the 1974-75 depression nearly half of all U.S. auto workers were on either indefinite or temporary layoff.

With high unemployment remaining, even the sharp upturn in auto sales and production in the first half of 1976, accompanied with pounding speed-up, finds auto workers with the caution of men who know there are many jobless eager to take their place. One high-ranking UAW official recently confided to the *Wall Street Journal*, "I think we'll be able to sell the members a package this year that wouldn't have been accepted in 1970 or 1973." Aware that the union tops did absolutely nothing to fight either the massive layoffs or the ensuing productivity drive, the auto workers are totally cynical about their own "leaders," but unsure of the next step forward.

Moreover, the slow strangulation of their striking sister union, the United Rubber Workers (URW), has left many auto workers apprehensive that the same fate could await them. Woodcock & Co. have followed a wretched "hands off" policy made doubly criminal by the fact that a victory in this first-ever URW strike against all Big Four rubber companies at once would have a powerful impact on the battle in auto. With 1.5 million members and a strategic position in industry (compared to the URW's 60,000 members in a subsidiary sector) it is clear that UAW sympathy strike action is the decisive ingredient.

## Rubber Strike Betrayed

From the very beginning of the URW strike in late April, it was clear that effective pressure on the Big Four rubber companies would be exerted only when auto production began to be affected. URW president Bommarito demagogically asserted that stockpiled tires would be liquidated in three to four weeks and then proceeded to run the strike into the ground.

Avoiding all but a few token attempts at mass picketing and scrupulously observing court injunctions, the URW leadership has managed to shut down only 50-60 percent of U.S. tire production. At least 13 non-unionized and non-striking plants continue to work at full capacity and supervisory employees at many struck plants cross the picket lines daily to keep up a steady, if diminished, output of tires. Combined with massive stockpiles far beyond the URW's original estimations and the importations of tires from non-striking URW-organized Canadian plants, auto and truck production has not been curtailed despite the record length of the strike.

The rubber industry, producing new and replacement tires and many rubber car parts, is not a separate but rather a largely subsidiary industry to auto, a situation calling for coordinated bargaining, common contract expiration dates and the closest joint action between the unions. As we stated early on in the strike: "Shutting down auto is a crucial ingredient to victory in the



Chrysler skilled tradesmen demonstrating for reactionary particularist demands July 16 outside UAW's Solidarity House.

rubber strike. UAW militants must demand an immediate auto solidarity strike. No handling of any tires until the rubber workers win!" (WV, No. 111, 28 May).

Such action would bring the URW strike to a speedy conclusion. But such a secondary strike was about the last thing the cowardly URW leadership was going to call for, and certainly the last thing their UAW counterparts wanted to hear of. Questioned in Detroit early in the strike, Woodcock callously observed that the last rubber strike had lasted nearly three months and not hit auto output, and he saw no reason why this one should! Such vicious backstabbing has not only allowed the URW to be slowly starved into desperation—precisely the rubber barons' goal—but also inevitably weakens the UAW as it approaches its own contracts. Local UAW officials in Detroit are already blackjacking their membership, warning that the URW's plight argues against a major auto strike this year.

Brandishing its pro-Democrat, anti-strike arguments, the UAW bureaucracy is offering the ranks a no-win strategy, which in the context of a worldwide capitalist depression means massive setbacks for auto workers. Even big business economists are predicting that the current "shallow" upturn will soon reach its limits and a new slump will set in. The 20 percent of the industry's 1973 workforce still on layoff will never see the inside of an auto plant again, and many more tens of thousands will once more be thrown out of work (this time with SUB funds already near depletion) unless a militant fight for jobs is launched through an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. But this can only be achieved by ousting the present gang of pro-company bureaucrats in Solidarity House.

At this early point of course, there is still some publicity jousting: the UAW tops, for instance, have come down hard against GM's tentative suggestions that auto workers begin picking up part of the tab for skyrocketing health care costs. But negotiators for both sides are aware that UAW members will not, without a bitter struggle, give up company-financing of health insurance which they won in 1961. Such demands will probably be dropped as soon as negotiations get serious. But on the real issues, the main outlines of the UAW "goals" are already shaping up.

## Down-the-Line Sellout

• **Strike Strategy:** While optimistic that a strike can be avoided entirely, UAW leaders will at most launch a token strike against a single company (the "apache strategy") if necessary to keep volatile ranks in line. Only a strike of the entire industry, including agricultural implements and supplier plants in both the U.S. and Canada, can have the force necessary to beat the corporations,

which always stand shoulder to shoulder.

Following the recent judicial upholding of Canada's wage-control law, bringing out all auto and agricultural implements workers on both sides of the border to defend wage parity (won in 1967) is an elementary duty of class solidarity with the 60,000 fellow UAW members in Canada. It could also muster the force necessary to launch a cross-Canada general strike against Trudeau's wage controls, an act of militancy that would immeasurably strengthen all North American unions.

• **Job Security:** In the wake of layoffs that hit 300,000 auto workers and that continue to keep the auto employment rolls well below the 1973 levels, the need for a sliding scale of wages and hours—concretized in the UAW's historic slogan "30 hours work for 40 hours pay" combined with full cost-of-living protection—has never been more evident. The demand for the shorter workweek to create more jobs has consistently been the most popular rank-and-file issue in membership polls,



UAW vice president and Ford division chairman Ken Bannon

but just as consistently has been rejected by the UAW leadership. Woodcock high-handedly ruled out of order at the special convention even a weak-kneed motion endorsing the "principle" of a shorter workweek being the priority demand this year.

Instead, the UAW is pushing "short work time" hoaxes which boil down to an absentee control plan whereby workers with perfect attendance "bank" one half hour a week and can take a day off every 16 weeks! Already in effect in the agricultural implements division, this farce, of course, has done nothing to create more jobs.

The recent mass layoff at Ford's giant River Rouge complex shows how shal-

low the bureaucrat's commitment to "job security" is. Especially since Ford is the probable strike target and this is the largest local in the UAW, the company's announcement that it would lay off 1,380 engine plant workers in the course of phasing out that plant became an important test case of the union's resolve.

Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi—who is also head of the Ford UAW National Negotiating Committee—backed up by Ford UAW director and vice president Ken Bannon, vowed they would not let Ford get away with it. When the July 23 layoff deadline came, however, 1,380 workers hit the street. Rinaldi and Bannon had merely obtained an "agreement" where lower-seniority Rouge workers in other plants could be "bumped" out of their jobs, and pledged to hargain for more jobs later in the national negotiations, when the whole issue could be swept under the rug! This attack on a key section of the UAW particularly hits at black and other minority workers who are concentrated at lower seniority levels.

Rouge militants who had been campaigning for a Rouge-wide strike and occupation of the engine plant to prevent the layoffs were reportedly ejected from a recent pre-layoff engine plant meeting. When an engine worker rose to their defense he was ruled out of order and told to shut up and sit down. This is the kind of "fight for job security" the UAW hacks have in mind!

• **SUB Pay:** When the GM and Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) funds—which provide laid-off workers up to 95 percent of their take-home pay during layoffs—went bankrupt in the depth of the 1974-75 crash, the need was posed for guaranteeing the SUB funds out of corporate assets with government backing for the duration of layoffs. Instead the UAW leadership will demand a few more pennies an hour be added to SUB funding and as well seem intent on "protecting" the funds by limiting the eligibility of lower-seniority workers!

Proposing a "restructuring" of the SUB funds to eliminate the circumstance where lower seniority workers who were laid off collected full benefits while higher seniority workers laid off later confronted an empty fund, UAW officials are hinting at a two-tier system with separate funds for high and low seniority workers, or a modification of seniority to achieve the same end. This racist scheme poses the gravest threat to minority and women auto workers and must be soundly defeated. While opposing government "affirmative action" schemes and court orders which throw out the seniority system and take jobs away from white male workers to compensate for company racism and sexism, Marxists must oppose the dangerous "two-tier" scheme which threatens to introduce the worst abuses of seniority by massively victimizing young, black and women workers.

While fake-lefts like the October League and International Socialists who at Fremont GM have been so ready to "restructure the seniority system" to allow the layoff of older white workers rather than younger, female or minority workers, the Spartacist League has consistently demanded: No to government/employer attacks on seniority! No two-tier systems! SUB must become the right of every worker from the date of hire and for the full duration of layoffs! For indefinite recall rights and maintenance of union membership for all laid-off workers!

• **Skilled Trades:** When Ford skilled tradesmen rejected the 1973 agreement by three-to-one, Woodcock & Co. first rigged re-votes at the key Local 600 to ensure a favorable production workers vote, then crushed the tradesmen's revolt. The bitterness since then has fueled the reactionary International Society of Skilled Trades (a secessionist group seeking decertification of the UAW), the Independent



Skilled Trades Council (which wants a veto power over the contract for tradesmen), and a large group of Chrysler committeemen, who recently held a 250-man demonstration at Solidarity House demanding a separate citywide skilled trades local within the UAW. All these measures are steps toward craft-unionist, separatist solutions to the real grievances of the UAW's 120,000 tradesmen and would represent a historic retreat from industrial unionism.

The UAW brass is worried over the ferment among the craftsmen. At the February skilled trades conference, Woodcock disingenuously apologized for 1973: "I goofed. I admit it." UAW negotiators plan on smoothing things over by "sweetening" this year's pact with extra money to increase the wage gap between skilled and production, as they did in 1967. Over the last ten years, that gap shrunk from a high range of about 38 percent to a current 25 percent.

Tradesmen certainly need a substantial wage boost, but so do production workers! Both received a measly 3 percent annual increase in the last contract, plus c-o-l increases that cover only about 80 percent of the real rise in prices. Communists respect the training and skills which merit special compensation, but oppose an ever-widening gap between the living standards of skilled and production workers, which inevitably erodes their solidarity. UAW members in both skilled and

standards! For the right to strike over all grievances, without International authorization! A union steward for every foreman!

### Open up the Bargaining—Elect Strike Committees! For a Class-Struggle Leadership in the UAW!

The hidebound UAW leadership can succeed in its sellout attempt only by maintaining its extreme bureaucratic isolation from the membership, seeking to suppress or co-opt its impulses to struggle at every point. The content of bargaining will be vague and tepid for the next month; as the real negotiations get underway, a news blackout will be mutually accepted to keep the rank and file (and only it) in the dark until agreement is reached on a new contract.

UAW members must demand that this traditional blackout be ended: Open up the bargaining, with daily reports to the membership on all items! As well, strike committees should be elected in every local, composed of trusted militants who can link up nationally to break the exclusive stranglehold of the pro-capitalist union big-wigs.

But above all, the losses already suffered by auto workers can only be reversed by forging a new class-struggle leadership which can oust the Woodcock bureaucracy and its flunkies throughout the union. Unfortunately, the few dissident groups pretending to national influence in the UAW are inherently deformed by their circum-



Rubber workers at General Tire scab on URW strike.

Hank Daniel/kop photography

production must demand a substantial wage hike for all, plus a full dollar-for-dollar cost-of-living escalator. In addition, to break down pernicious divisions whereby the skilled trades have been kept overwhelmingly white, while production is heavily black, class-struggle unionists call for an end to discrimination in hiring and for union-controlled training plans to especially attract women and blacks.

• **Speed-up:** The worldwide scramble for the auto market has sparked industry-wide speed-up as the auto magnates seek to squeeze more production out of a permanently reduced workforce. Even the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that last year's productivity in auto leaped twice its average annual rate (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 July), making the assembly lines worse hells than ever before.

Longtime UAW leader Walter Reuther engineered the bargaining pattern in the automotive industry where relatively high wages and benefits were traded off for management's complete control of the shop floor. Working conditions are largely the province of localized, hence weaker, bargaining, and even the local right to strike over production standards is effectively hamstrung by the International's reluctance to grant strike authorization.

The flagging fake-concern of the UAW leaders over "blue collar blues" and "humanizing the workplace" translates into virtually no new demands concerning speed-up or working conditions. UAW militants must counter this by demanding an industry-wide offensive against the productivity drive: Turn back and freeze line speeds and production standards in the contract! For workers veto power over changes in

scribed reformist outlooks. "Autoworkers United to Fight in '76"—supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party—simply begs the question of unemployment by opposing any demand for a shorter workweek! The largest group, "Coalition for a Good Contract" (CGC), is touted by the International Socialists and represents an attempt by the United National Caucus to reach ever more timid layers of bureaucratic "oppositionists." In addition to ducking all "political" issues, the CGC, finding little response in the ranks, has occupied itself by trying to link up with straight-line bureaucratic formations (like Local 22 president Frank Runnels' Short Work Week Committee and the Flint-based "30 and Out" Committee) to "pressure" the UAW negotiators into a "better deal."

But the sellout, pro-capitalist UAW tops are not going to change their colors through pressure: they must be thrown out! Groups like the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) from GM Local 1364 (Fremont, California) are key to this struggle. While CMUAW has been campaigning centrally for an industry-wide strike for jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, it raises a broader transitional program ranging from "cops, company and courts out of the union" to the expropriation of industry. CMUAW calls on the unions to break with the capitalist parties and form a workers party to fight for the creation of a workers government to expropriate industry and run it in the interests of all the working people and the oppressed. The expansion of such groups' influence to embrace the broad ranks of the UAW is essential in defeating the capitalists and their lackeys in Solidarity House. ■

## Mao...

(continued from page 7)

of favoring a united front with the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Apart from the empty "capitalist road" rhetoric, the only concrete policy differences revealed in the fall of Teng concern the economy. Teng is accused of advocating over-centralization and too much emphasis on importing modern technology:

"In light of the actual conditions of the industrial front, some enterprises are criticizing the revisionist wares of the capitalist-roader [Teng] such as his attempts to oppose independence and self-reliance and advocate the slavish comprador philosophy and doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, to oppose the activism of both the central as well as local initiatives and re-impose

that of a leftist outsider once again preparing to "storm the headquarters."

The Maoist faction "did not win politically" during the Cultural Revolution says a recent article in *Inprecor* (8 July), the organ of the United Secretariat (USec). Rather, it "yielded" to the "Chou faction" but is now engaged in another "more directly confrontational and provocative" campaign against the mainstream of the bureaucracy. The author, while forced to admit the existence of a bureaucracy, prettifies the Stalinist regime, claiming that "even now China maintains a sort of horizontal democracy" in which the masses can discuss "how to implement" policy decided on high by Mao & Co. While the *Inprecor* editors formally distance themselves from the article (referring to it as "a contribution" to analysis of recent events), its faith in Mao is standard USec tailism.



Machine-tool factory in Hunan Province.

Pictorial Parade

the practice of 'direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned,' to oppose the policy of 'walking on two legs' and lay one-sided stress on things big and foreign...."

—*Hsinhua Weekly*, 29 March 1976

### Riots in the Square of Heavenly Peace

If the political differences between Teng and Mao's followers are not great, the organizational conflict is nonetheless bitter. The pro-Teng riot in Peking's Square of Heavenly Peace on April 5 was no more spontaneous than the larger pro-Mao demonstrations which followed. However, it did reveal the extreme instability of the bureaucracy and the explosive tensions within Chinese society. For anti-regime rioters to control central Peking for over ten hours indicates extensive collusion with local police, militia and army authorities. Further, it indicates that the "moderates," too, can mobilize the masses against those in power, holding out the threat (promise) of a reversal of Mao's scenario of 1966. No doubt realization of this fact has inhibited the so-called "radicals" from extending the anti-Teng offensive to include other former "capitalist roaders."

What effect will Teng's ouster have on Peking's policies? Not much. The decision to replace Teng by the dark-horse, middle-of-the-road Hua Kuo-feng rather than a prominent "radical" like Yao Wen-yuan implies a temporizing approach to current policies. The commune party secretaries will continue to be granted enough money to build small steel or fertilizer plants as they see fit, ambitious capital goods imports may be curtailed somewhat, and the cult of Mao is likely to be revived again.

This prognosis stands in contrast to that of various self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" tendencies who in one form or another gave "critical" support to Mao or his Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. These "critical" apologists for Stalinism—embarrassed by Peking's post-1971 bloc with U.S. imperialism—deny Mao's responsibility by postulating a more-or-less total fall from power. They analyze Mao's present situation as



Ollie Atkins/Time

Hua Kuo-feng

For the Chinese laboring masses the difference between the Mao and Teng cliques of the bureaucracy is no more significant than that between capitalist politicians Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter for American workers. After experiencing in the course of the last decade the rise and fall of the Red Guards, of Lin's PLA regime and of the old party "moderates," there is reason to hope that the most advanced workers are disillusioned with Maoist bureaucratic factionalism. On the other hand, Mao's personal mediating bonapartist role has been key to maintaining the precarious "unity" of the Chinese bureaucracy, while the material backwardness of the country promises continued dissension in the ruling stratum as one policy after another fails to raise "People's China" to "great power" status.

Thus the stage is set for tremendous turmoil in China following the death of the Chairman (if not before). In this convulsion the workers must not simply act as cat's paws for one or another bureaucratic faction or clique. Their mission is to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who stand in the way of working-class political power, the democratic rule of soviets. It is with the aim of leading this anti-bureaucratic political revolution that a Chinese Trotskyist party must be built. ■



## Tyler...

(continued from page 3)

"Boston Workers United to Fight Back."

At the Boston demonstration the OL speaker openly advocated that those the OL disagreed with should be excluded from participation in the Gary Tyler defense. He denounced the leadership of the national Tyler Defense Committee as "the enemy within our ranks" and wound up in a crescendo of redbaiting, demanding that "these same people and their Trotskyite friends... must be exposed and thrown out of our movement." Only OL-dominated organizations (Communist Youth Organization, Fight Back, Call Sellers' Collective) were permitted speakers.

The Boston march is only one example of the criminal sectarian squabbling which has been permitted to undermine the urgent requirements of united-front solidarity in defense of victimized militants. In New Orleans the OL organized a "Southwide Coalition to Free Gary Tyler" based on its own program (including such reformist slogans as "Jobs or Income Now"). In their hostility to Tyler Committee national coordinator Walter Collins—a former leader in the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) which the OL now dominates—these imprincipled sectarians are now attempting to use SCEF to make a power play for leadership of Tyler defense activities.

Every organization in a united-front action must be permitted to put forward its distinctive political viewpoint. But any attempt to impose one's program on other groups as a condition for participation in joint defense action is a blow against a united defense.

The PDC encountered similar behavior at the June 5 New York I.S.-influenced march. One of the slogans of the march was "Ban the Klan," which appeals to and implies confidence in the

racist bourgeois state and its Klan-infested cops to protect black people. When the PDC explained that this slogan was counterposed to its class-struggle defense policies, the New York Tyler committee responded that the PDC would be barred from speaking at the rally unless it accepted the slogan. The PDC nevertheless took part in the action, carrying signs demanding freedom for Tyler and also raising the slogan, "Labor Black Defense Against Racist Cop Klan Terror."

From the outset the Healyite Workers League Young Socialists which makes a "principle" of never engaging in united actions with other organizations—also sought to make the Tyler case its private property through its "own" Tyler committee.

By undermining the traditions of working-class solidarity with all victims of bourgeois repression, these despicable sectarian antics will one day explode in the faces of their perpetrators when they themselves come under attack. The PDC, in its principled defense of all class-war prisoners, represents the alternative: a class-based defense policy which mobilizes the broadest unity in action while actively defending the right of all left-wing tendencies to freely put forward their contending political programs. Free Gary Tyler! ■

## Miners...

(continued from page 12)

the strike official and that strike committees be elected. But unless class-struggle militants put forward a transitional program going beyond trade-union reformism, they will fail to prepare the miners to smash the red-baiting propaganda and government repression that the strikers will soon confront. Lacking this preparation the militant ranks will once again be forced to capitulate to pressure from Miller or pro-Boyle bureaucrats still in power at the district level.

The Right to Strike Committee's current tailism comes as no surprise since the RCP, then the Revolutionary Union, found Miller's use of the courts no obstacle to supporting him in 1972. In May Aubrey Brown, a spokesman for the Committee, stated that "no one is more despised in the coal fields than Arnold Miller." However, Right to Strike Committee spokesman, Skip Delano, added that the UMW president can "change his tune" and that the group would back him if he does (*Charleston Gazette*, 8 May).

Right to Strike leaders Delano and Bruce Miller have themselves been victimized by the courts. Both Delano and Miller were jailed for five days last fall for their activities during an unsuccessful wildcat, but they were released after agreeing to refrain from further militant activities. Miller was jailed again in March by Judge Hall for

## Defend Victims of Haitian Dictatorship!



WV Photo

A "Demonstration Against Oppression in Haiti," held at the United Nations on July 24, drew 150 opponents of the Duvalier regime of terror. The protesters denounced the assassinations, arbitrary jailings and torture of political critics, mass starvation among the peasants and imperialist economic domination. Appeals were made to support three young leftists who fled across the border into the Dominican Republic and sought asylum in the Jamaican embassy in Santo Domingo following a gun battle with the murderous thugs of the "tontons macoutes." In contrast to various priests and other petty-bourgeois elements who called for a democratic (bourgeois) republic to replace "Baby Doc," the Spartacist League raised the internationalist perspective of smashing the Duvalier dictatorship through a proletarian revolution in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, extended through a socialist federation of the Caribbean, and supported by the working class of the U.S. and South America.

violating an injunction and served a three-month sentence.

By essentially restricting itself to demanding the right to strike, the Committee has nothing to add when miners defy the courts and walk off the job. They can only chase after bureaucrats who claim to "support the demands." The bureaucrats will allow certain militant actions to blow off steam and will even identify themselves with the strike to a certain extent in order to maintain credibility with the ranks. Local 1759 president Holstein, for example, has received telephone threats against himself and his family and had his car damaged. Yet he is just as committed to the defense of capital as Arnold Miller. Holstein told *WV* that he has stopped many strikes over issues he considered trivial or based on a thirst for "revenge." "I've ended plenty of strikes for them [the coal companies]," he said.

At this point the strike is still gathering momentum. After Sunday's meeting, workers gathered in numerous smaller groups to arrange for pickets throughout Kanawha, Boone and Raleigh counties and all across the state. Militants promised that scabs who received broken windshields as a first warning would have something else broken the next time they tried to cross a picket line.

Militancy alone will not put an end to the onerous working conditions, the murderous cave-ins and anti-union injunctions, however. These are features of the profit-hungry capitalist system which can be ended only by a united working-class upsurge to smash the bosses' state apparatus and institute a workers government in its place. In many ways the men in the pits are far ahead of their American class brothers and sisters in combativity and union traditions. Revolutionaries must seek to lead the miners and all workers beyond the reformist trade-unionism personified by Arnold Miller, as well as the Right to Strike Committee, and toward the conscious struggle against the wage-slave system itself. ■

### CORRECTION

The article, "The Lessons of Entebbe," *WV* No. 118 (16 July), includes the following sentence: "Unlike the right of nations to self-determination, 'national sovereignty' is not a bourgeois-democratic demand that Marxists support." Unfortunately, due to faulty grammar this sentence could be read as implying that "national sovereignty" is a democratic demand, but one which we do not support. National sovereignty is not a bourgeois-democratic demand; it means, rather, the monopoly on violence of a particular state power within its borders. While defending the right of nations to self-determination and opposing imperialist aggression against colonial and ex-colonial countries, Marxists do not defend the "sovereignty" of bourgeois states.

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# Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

in the U.S. The black African rulers (who carry on a substantial foreign trade with South Africa) went after inconsequential New Zealand precisely because they did not dare to try to force out of the Olympics South Africa's real allies: West Germany, which supplies Vorster's military machine with nuclear reactors, or the U.S., the ultimate protector of the apartheid state.

The protest raises the general question of quarantining South Africa: should opponents of apartheid refuse to visit South Africa on principle. In general, cultural isolation of South Africa does not advance the struggle against racial oppression. Boycott by foreign scientists, academics, artists and athletic teams only strengthens the garrison-state attitudes of extreme Afrikaaner nationalism. When Arthur Ashe beats white tennis players in South Africa, this does not reinforce apartheid. When Jesse Owens won four gold medals in the 1936 Munich Olympics, he humiliated Hitler personally and objectively ridiculed the doctrine of the Aryan "master race."

Under particular circumstances, boycotting athletic events can be an effective political protest. A year after the reactionary coup in Chile, the masses were still heavily boycotting soccer matches at Santiago's National Stadium, where thousands of leftists and labor militants had been brutally tortured (and many murdered) in the weeks following the September 1973 coup. This unorganized, almost instinctive boycott was one of the few ways the Chilean working people could express their hatred for the murderous Pinochet junta. When the Russian soccer team refused to play the Chileans in 1974, this was a significant act which reinforced the protest arising from the Chilean masses themselves.

Similarly, after the Soweto massacre or during the Angola invasion, a campaign of international protest against South Africa—including cancellation of athletic tours—could be very effective. But a permanent boycott "in principle" is either empty moralism or a cynical gesture by the neo-colonial African nationalist regimes.

## Can the Olympics Be "Non-Political"?

The exploitation of the Olympic games for purposes of national prestige was never more clear than this year, as the Canadian government turned Montreal into a virtual military garrison, under the guise of preventing a repetition of the catastrophe which occurred at Munich in 1972, when a "Black September" guerrilla kidnapping of Israeli athletes ended in a bloodbath.

The idea that politics can be kept out of sports in class society is liberal individualistic idealism. International

athletic competition, which is organized along nation-state lines and largely government-financed, necessarily expresses chauvinist ideology and is subordinated to diplomatic maneuvering. Competitive athletic superiority is closely identified with martial and "macho" values. The deformed workers states, with their nationalist ideology and commitment to the substitution of diplomatic "victories" for class-struggle victories in the name of "peaceful coexistence," accept the framework which defines the Olympic games as mainly a tool for patriotic self-congratulation, expending considerable resources of their planned economies in the training of superior athletes.

The Olympics in particular have a history as an arena for national antagonism. They arose out of the sports associations which flourished after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The associations were encouraged by governments to stimulate national pride and instill the martial values of discipline and competitiveness. The Olympics' French founder, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, adamantly opposed admitting German athletes to the games.



Tommie Smith and John Carlos give "black power" salute during playing of the U.S. national anthem at the 1968 Olympics.

The "cold war" mentality of the 1950's virtually reduced the Olympics to a symbolic test of superiority between "Soviet socialist man" and the "rugged individualism" of the "free world." When the USSR outpointed the U.S. for the first time in 1956, it produced a minor national trauma and much hand-wringing over the supposed loss of moral fibre among American youth.

When national hostility reaches a certain pitch, it explodes among the athletes themselves. In 1956, shortly after Soviet tanks crushed the workers' uprising in Budapest, the Russian and Hungarian water polo teams met at the Melbourne Olympics. Within minutes the pool was red with blood.

The cry that "politics should be kept out of the Olympics" also reflects Americans' and Europeans' smug contempt for the "lesser nations" of Asia and Africa. During the first and second world wars, the Olympics were simply cancelled. If in 1944 anyone had suggested that the Olympics be held on schedule in neutral Sweden so that Russian, German and French youth could compete in a spirit of brotherhood, he would certainly have been declared a lunatic. Yet liberal sports-writers argue that Israeli and Egyptian, or Pakistani and Indian, athletes should somehow be unaffected by the fratricidal antagonisms whipped up by their bourgeoisies.

The flag-waving patriotism of the Olympic ceremonies creates a natural target for oppressed national or ethnic

minorities. In 1968, two American black medal winners in track refused to stand at attention for the "Star Spangled Banner," instead raising a clenched-fist "black power" salute. Bourgeois public opinion denounced Tommie Smith and John Carlos for "besmirching the Olympics." A militant black in 1968 certainly had every reason to refuse to salute the flag which was the emblem of the racist cops who gunned down ghetto poor in Watts, Detroit and Newark.

## Sports in a Socialist World

But the sentiment that "politics should be kept out of sports" reflects more than just liberal mushy-headedness. Like music or astronomy, athletics is a genuinely trans-national activity whose standards of achievement are international. Sports like judo and new techniques like the back flip (the "Fosbury flop") in high jumping and the East German-developed skin suit in swimming were rapidly internationalized. The notion that national antagonisms should not prevent athletes from competing against one another is in part a rational impulse which is utopian in the consummately irrational world system dominated by capitalism.

The skill and dedication of Olympic and professional athletes deserves to be recognized. But bourgeois society deforms all fields of individual and collective endeavor and utilizes every social institution to buttress its decadent system. Organized sports play an important role in indoctrinating the youth and instilling in them the values of ruthless competition and approved labor discipline. If the English ruling class likes to believe that World War II was won on the playing fields of Eton, the U.S. bourgeoisie is just as certain that its hegemony is due to the "100 percent Americanism" and ruthless competition drive instilled by the Boy Scouts and the Little League.

The "star system" of capitalist sports—aped by the Russians, who repeatedly harassed gymnast Olga Korbut to keep her in line with Stalinist standards of decorum after building her up into a teenage idol—is deliberately fostered to provide the illusion of a just society in which talent and hard work are sufficient to produce recognition

and material success. The inspiring achievements of exceptionally talented athletes like Walt Frazier and Jim Brown are supposed to be the model for black youth in a society which cannot provide good jobs, decent housing or education for the black masses. The fact that some fields of entertainment including professional sports (especially those sports which can be practiced in inner-city playgrounds, unlike for example tennis or swimming) are open to individual blacks of great talent becomes the paradigm case of the great hoax called the "American dream."

The deformed workers states share with the capitalist countries a mortal fear of athletes who think. Former New York Rangers hockey coach Emile Francis was once quoted as saying he knew a player wouldn't "make it" when he saw the young man reading a book on the team bus. And the athlete who talks about politics is anathema. The U.S. sports establishment hounded Muhammad Ali unmercifully for his black nationalist and antiwar views; when he refused to accept the draft during the Vietnam war he was stripped of his world championship boxing title.

A socialist society would see an unprecedented flowering of athletics on every level. Greater individual athletes will be produced, without the mutilation which produces illiterate American boxers and Russian gymnasts who have done nothing else since they were four. Amateur sports will draw upon the broader participation of people from all social and age groups, who will find in athletics a source of pleasure, relaxation and health. Socialist man, benefiting from the enormous increase in leisure resulting from the qualitative expansion of the means of production inaugurated by the destruction of private ownership, will find in all the diverse forms of creative endeavor an outlet for a competitive spirit unlike that which now finds its expression in a sports world suffused with racism, sadism and commercialism. In Trotsky's words, socialist man "will make it his business to achieve beauty by giving the movement of his own limbs the utmost precision, purposefulness and economy in his work, his walk and his play." ■

# TUC...

(continued from page 5)

ences in order to build cozy propaganda blocs in the unions, a point made quite explicit by IMG national secretary Brian Grogan at a joint meeting with the ICL earlier this year.

Likewise, in typically impressionistic fashion, the ICL advocated a second-round vote for Wright in the AUEW election, "not for what he stands for, but to keep out Weakley and the right wing" (*Workers Action*, 10 March). To elaborate its position, the 3 June issue of *Workers Action* published a letter from one of its supporters without comment. The letter argues for support to Wright on the grounds that he will be "more susceptible to rank and file pressure" and "would be forced to support such calls as opposition to wage restraint" as "the only way he could retain his left appearance." But on key issues such as economic protectionism, class-collaborationist "workers participation" schemes and bringing the government into union affairs, Wright responded to pressure from the Labour tops, who in turn responded to the pressure of the ruling class.

Another recently formed avowedly Trotskyist group is the Workers Socialist League (WSL), which was expelled last year from the Healy/Banda Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). It actively asserts the need for a "new leadership" and a fight for the Transitional Program in the unions. Unlike the IMG and ICL, the WSL pulled back

from supporting Benn in the Labour Party election. It also opposed participation in the Ryder Plan committees, while I.S. and WRP members at British Leyland stood for election in these management-dominated speed-up committees (see "Expropriate British Chrysler!" *WV* No. 90, 2 January). Yet in the crucial AUEW election, the WSL also called for support to Wright, without explanation and noting (almost in passing) that he does not pose "an alternate policy" to the right wing (*Socialist Press*, 5 May).

Characteristically, the WSL (like the WRP, IMG, I.S. and ICL) caters to the illusions of rank-and-file militants rather than swimming against the stream and posing a clear-cut pole of class-struggle unionism linked with the fight for a Trotskyist party of the working class. The thread which links all these groups is their political submersion within the current of left Labourism and shop-floor union militancy. The crucial task of an authentic Trotskyist organization in Britain today is to win advanced workers to the understanding that the Labour Party and the trade-union bureaucracy which is its base of support are a roadblock to revolution.

The working class cannot attain proletarian state power and a planned economy by pushing the Labour Party, the TUC or their factions to the left. The union misleaders must be ousted and replaced by a genuinely revolutionary leadership, and the Labour Party must be polarized and split between the reformist servants of capitalism and the proletarian masses whom they time and again betray. ■

## JUST OUT

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Miners Wildcat Against Court Injunction

CHARLESTON, W. Va., July 26.—Coal production in West Virginia has come to a virtual standstill in the wake of a week-old strike, which by now includes an estimated \$5,000 out of the 60,000 United Mine Workers (UMW) members in the state. The walkout began June 24 over a job-posting controversy at the Cedar Coal Company in Cabin Creek, but has now become a political strike against government interference in mine workers' management disputes.

The strike continues to grow, spreading into southern Ohio and reportedly into Pennsylvania and Illinois as well. By last week the strike had reduced rail tonnage of coal by 70 percent on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, which laid off hundreds of employees as a result.

In March UMW Local 1759 at Cedar Coal filed a grievance demanding that a newly created communications job be filled by a union member. The company eventually submitted to an arbitrated decision, but refused to post the job, claiming that as a new position it did not come under the 1974 UMW Bituminous Coal Operators contract. Following the June work stoppage, both union and management agreed to submit the posting issue to a federal arbitrator. On July 9, the arbitrator ruled in the company's favor and a week later U.S. district judge Dennis Knapp fined the striking local \$50,000 and an additional \$25,000 for each day the strike continued. Currently the Local has \$28 in its treasury.

### "Bullets Wrapped in Paper"

It was in response to these fines that the wildcat last week spread across the state. Union members met in Logan County Saturday, July 24, to discuss the strike and a much larger meeting was held Sunday on a field at Dry Branch on Cabin Creek to organize and spread the struggle. Miner after miner rose to attack the court. One militant described the injunctions as "bullets wrapped in paper." The strikers demanded allegiance from all miners and denounced as a scab any miner who works at a site where pickets may be temporarily absent.

Several strikers criticized UMW president Arnold Miller for his attitude towards the strike. They referred to his statement of sympathy for the strike while urging the miners back to work. After a number of militants criticized Miller, local union officials felt obliged to defend the union president, telling workers to "read between the lines." A motion was passed, however, calling on Miller to arrange a meeting with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) to discuss the strikers' demands.

The strikers want a written statement from the operators forswearing the use of courts in disputes with the union. They also demand that all fines and injunctions be dropped, and that no

discharges or reprisals result from the strike. At the Logan County meeting, strikers demanded investigation of the judges who had issued "massive fines and penalties against the miners."

Though militants insisted they will not mine coal until the demands are won, local union officials are starting to hedge on the last demand. One local officer said, "don't press too hard on that one." They are afraid that an investigation of possible financial connections between the judges and the coal companies would compromise U.S.

period" precisely when strikers' anger and militancy is increasing.

The demand for an investigation of the judges is potentially a powerful demand, which could marshal broad support for the miners by exposing the complicity of the politicians, courts and coal bosses. Knapp was appointed by Nixon, with strong backing from West Virginia's notoriously corrupt governor, Arch Moore. Hall, who fined the union \$700,000 during the 1975 wildcat and who dragged the 213 strikers to court in the first place, is backed by

tion of these reactionary judges is an ominous warning of their readiness to undercut the strike to suit the wishes of the very court against whom the strike is directed.

### "A Company Injunction"

The political potential of the coal struggle is great. The strikers have raised a powerful voice against the bosses' government. When one speaker at Sunday's rally inquired whether the no-strike injunction was federal or state, a worker yelled out, "it's a company injunction!" Local 1759 President Hayes Holstein has been quoted as saying that "this is not a Cedar Coal strike. It's a strike against the U.S. government, so it will be a hard strike to win" (*Sunday Gazette-Mail* [Charleston], 25 July).

The sentiment against company-bought politicians and judges, particularly in an election year when disgust over governmental corruption is at an all-time high, should be turned toward mobilizing the labor movement for the construction of a workers party with a class-struggle program. Pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats like Arnold Miller, however, are completely opposed to any such demand since unleashing the workers' political muscle would mean dumping them as the first order of business.

Miller, in fact, was elected by appealing to the federal government to interfere in UMW affairs. It is self-defeating to oppose court interference in labor-management disputes while inviting the same judges to settle internal union issues. The corruption of crooks like former UMW president Tony Boyle must be cleaned out by the miners themselves. While virtually every left group in the country supported Arnold Miller's campaign for the UMW presidency in 1972, citing his talk of union democracy and the gangsterism of his opponents, the Spartacist League refused to back this liberal "reformer" precisely because Miller dragged the UMW into court and invited the scrutiny of the U.S. Labor Department to ensure his election.

The most prominent opposition group in the UMW is the Right to Strike Committee, which is uncritically supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). However, at the Dry Branch meeting Sunday, the Right to Strike Committee made no attempt to direct the anger of the workers beyond the level set by the bureaucrats. One Committee supporter insisted to a local bureaucrat that the group simply supports the four strike demands.

Seeking to keep a low profile (in contrast to its prominence in the September wildcat), the Committee has simply tailed after the bureaucrats, not even raising the call for re-opening the contract to include the right to strike or demanding that the International make

## Report from West Virginia Coalfields

district judge K.K. Hall's decision last week which denied a Cedar Coal Company petition for a court order enjoining employees from honoring picket lines. Hall's decision was based on a recent Supreme Court ruling at the Bullalo Forge steel plant.

Similarly, union officials are fearful of antagonizing Judge Knapp, who continued indefinitely a hearing on criminal contempt charges against 213 union members and agreed to hold in abeyance the fines which had been accumulating against Local 1759. A hearing on the company's request for a new restraining order was to be held on Tuesday, July 27, the day Knapp's original order expires. If the request is not granted the companies will be without legal sanctions to force the miners back to work. Knapp's decision, which he claimed "would be in the best interests of everyone," is ostensibly intended to provide a "cooling-off

former Ku Klux Klansman and current U.S. senator Robert Byrd. Hall also colluded with an attempt by the Kanawha Coal Operators Association to force two *Charleston Gazette* reporters to testify against miners involved in last summer's wildcat strike wave. The reporters refused to reveal information they obtained at a strike meeting, protesting that they would not be used as labor spies. The contempt of court citations which Hall slapped on the newsmen were dismissed this week by a federal appeals court, but only on the technical grounds that the information was available from other sources. Thus, the courts have not denied the coal companies the power to coerce journalists into supplying legally incriminating evidence against UMW members.

The willingness of the local bureaucrats, perhaps under orders from Miller, to abandon the demand for an investiga-



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