

300,000 Auto Layoffs in December

U.S. Economy Crumbling

DECEMBER 1—Auto's Big Four, giant industrial-financial monopolies at the heart of the American economy, will lay off close to 300,000 workers this month. Production schedules are now being drastically cut in light of dismal profit reports and continued declining sales. Although the current layoffs are supposedly for December only it is obvious that long-term "adjustments" are in order. Ford Motor Company is already projecting permanent job losses affecting at least 31,000 workers. Since a layoff in auto means about one and one half layoffs in related sectors (rubber, safety glass, etc.) Ford's latest cutbacks will ultimately put about 78,000 workers on the streets.

Reduced sales and layoffs are now spreading to other areas of the economy including appliances, textiles and television manufacturing. Municipal and state governments are also feeling the pinch. New York City, for instance, is planning to lay off over 1,500 municipal workers, the largest cutback in the city's history including during the dog days of the depression. The press is printing stories of workers who decided to work for the government in order to get (they thought) permanent civil service job security but are on the street without money and ineligible for unemployment insurance. Economic "experts" who had earlier hoped that unemployment would remain below 7 percent nationally are now predicting that joblessness will peak at somewhere between 8 and 10 percent, the highest since the 1930's depression.

The recent 600 percent rise in the price of sugar has highlighted a tremendous rise in the retail prices of basic commodities (utilities, food, gas-

oline) generally. This has cut real wages by over 5 percent in the past year. Profits in capital goods industries such as steel, the most viable sector of the economy outside of energy industries, have been artificially exaggerated both by inflation and recent hearing in anticipation of the coal strike. In reality orders have flattened out this year, and cutbacks will soon be required in these areas as well.

Since President Ford suddenly "discovered" the recession last month his economic advisors are now admitting that it has been in process already for ten (!) months. In announcing his discovery of an economic slump, Secretary of the Treasury Simons said that it would be "V-shaped," with a sharp upswing in mid-1975. Last week, however, "some administration officials" were quoted as saying that something had happened to the second leg of the "V" (*New York Times*, 24 November). It's apparently looking more and more like an "L" these days, even when viewed through Ford's rose-colored glasses.

If things are bad here they are, if anything, worse in the other advanced industrial countries except Germany. Yashica, one of Japan's leading camera companies, has recently been forced to get rid of 41 percent of its workforce. In the past, layoffs of permanent workers had been unheard of in Japanese industries, where a worker belongs to a company for life. The world crisis is cracking the foundations of this paternalistic labor system.

The diminishing opportunities for "profitable" investment and shrinking international markets have led to in-

continued on page 11

Government Threats in Coal Talks

UMW Ranks Resist Miller Sellout



Arnold Miller talks with Harlan County miners.

ED STREEKY-CAMERA 5

DECEMBER 2—The fight between the top leadership of the United Mine Workers and its ranks over a new contract is continuing to heat up and may boil over at any moment. The next few days will determine whether or not Arnold Miller, in close collaboration with the government and management, will succeed in ramming through his sellout pact.

On November 26 Miller finally got his contract past the union's bargaining council, which for 11 days had refused to put its stamp of approval on the blatantly pro-company deal. This time the UMW president was ready for his reluctant district directors.

After the initial package was turned down overwhelmingly (by a vote of 37 to 1) on November 18, the re-opened negotiations were conducted in an atmosphere of secrecy and melodrama. Treasury Secretary William Simons played the hard cop, openly identified with the interests of the coal operators, while W.J. Usery (director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service) played the role of soft cop "friend of the workers."

The council again decisively rejected Miller's "new" deal, by a 22-to-11 margin at a mid-afternoon session on November 26. Yet only a few hours later the same body accepted the same rotten pact. Its members were turned around not by new information, but by the threatening presence of a top government official in union headquarters during the deliberations. Ostensibly there to help explain the terms of the contract, "soft cop" Usery's real purpose was to "explain" the terms of *not* accepting the contract, namely government strikebreaking.

Following the collapse of opposition in the bargaining council a phone conversation was arranged between the UMW chief and President Ford, in which Miller promised to "do everything I can to get the coal flowing again for America." Informed about the phone call, and

continued on page 4

EYEWITNESS REPORT

The Coal Strike in West Virginia-

Miners Up in Arms Over Contract

BECKLEY, W. Va., December 2—The heaviest snowfall in years has delayed voting by UMW miners, but it has done nothing to dampen the widespread dissatisfaction over the proposed contract negotiated by Mine Workers' president Arnold Miller. On Saturday a horn-honking car caravan here calling for a "no" vote highlighted the rank-and-file disgust. Simultaneously Miller was being hooted down by local delegates at a district-wide meeting.

Opposition to the proposed pact centers around its failure to include a clause guaranteeing the right to strike over local grievances, notably health and safety issues. The Right to Strike Committee, a regional grouping in the UMW, organized the car caravan after a meeting last Wednesday of over 100 miners passed a resolution calling: "...on all miners to resist efforts, by union and company officials to sell us a bad bill of goods...."

A young roof-bolter at one of the seven local mines owned by the huge Consolidation Coal Company expressed similar sentiments. As he told *Workers Vanguard* in an interview yesterday, "My father got killed in an accident when I was five.... Management don't care about a man's life—they only care about the coal."

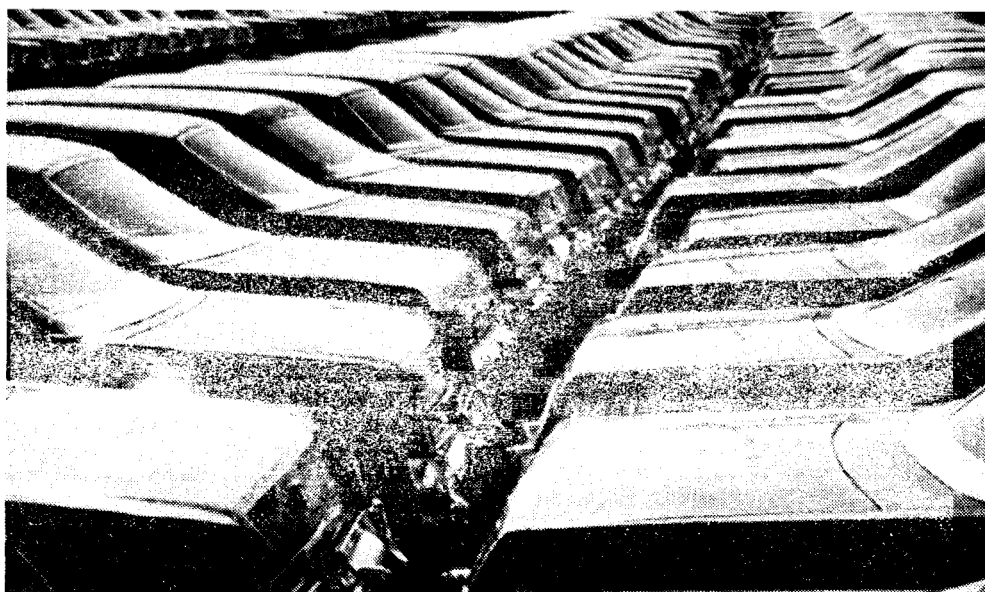
He added, "They're trying to break

continued on page 8



Demonstrators protest layoffs at Jefferson Assembly plant.

WV PHOTO



Detroit: Unsold Chryslers.

JOE CLARK

SL Exchange with Truth

Oak Park, Illinois
8 September 1974

Political Bureau
Spartacist League

Dear Comrades:

We have received from Comrade Green, your local organizer, a proposal for formal political discussions. We accept this proposal. We should make clear to you that we believe that serious political differences exist between ourselves and your organization which would make fusion very unlikely. However, we feel that a serious and principled discussion of political differences would aid in the development of both groups.

Comrade Green has also informed us of your decision to publicize materials relating to our expulsion from the RSL. We are pleased by the decision to expose this bureaucratic and cynical purge. To this end we will supply you with all available written materials necessary to clarify the facts and to fight the RSL's cowardly cover-up.

Enclosed, you will also find a copy of the first issue of our newspaper, TRUTH, which we would like to exchange on a regular basis with your publication.

Comradely yours,
Jon Myers
Central Executive Committee
TRUTH

New York
20 September 1974

Jon Myers
Central Executive Committee
TRUTH

Dear Comrade Myers,

Thank you for your letter of September 8 as well as for the substantial amount of documentation which you have kindly supplied us in connection with your struggle in the RSL. Two points appear quite clear to us: the unabashed, explicit bureaucratism of the RSL and the fundamental principled character of

your struggle around the Russian question. Therefore we must treat your tendency with the seriousness and respect so indicated.

Manifestly there are many differences between our two tendencies. We do not wish to prejudice these, and approach the question of discussion with you comrades with an open mind. As you undoubtedly know we have had a great deal of experience in approaching other groups in these conditions. We have probably learned more, and certainly have ourselves been more tested, by those experiences which demonstrated a fundamental lack of compatibility between tendencies than by those which led to harmonious fusion. We published the results of our persistent overtures to the then-American Committee for the Fourth International as our Marxist Bulletin No. 3 Part IV, "Conversations With Wohlforth." This is already available to you.

The Leninist Faction of Passen and Gregorich, after having already essentially turned away from a perspective toward the Spartacist League, held two formal sessions with an SL delegation in order to place upon us the burden of breaking off unity negotiations. We cheerfully accepted this responsibility. We are sending you under separate cover the rough, uncorrected transcripts of these discussions.

The tone of your letter to us suggests that you are concerned that we might be precipitous in seeking an illusory, unfounded, unprincipled unification with you comrades. These materials referred to we hope will reassure you that we do not approach you in either a naively hasty or a maneuverist fashion. We have before us in the CSL a living model of one ad hoc unification effort on top of another seeking to compact the most egregiously incompatible positions. The worst result is not the acquiring of two splits for each new "unification" but that at each point the resulting organization cannot undertake Leninist struggle because it does not contain within it the program for the road to power (hard enough to carry out in practice), but only programmatic ambiguity breeding new splits as the class struggle unfolds.

In any case, it is good for tendencies in the socialist movement to discuss and clarify their views rather than subordinate real programmatic difference or agreement to mindless organizational competitiveness, the latter posture already being a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

So with these cautionary injunctions which you already evidently share we are quite happy to undertake discussions between our two organizations. It remains only to work out the arrangements. Probably it would be easiest for a delegation from our Central Committee to meet with your representatives in the Midwest. Please let us know your wishes. If you do wish to proceed with these discussions it would be desirable if we also supplied you with the discussion material from our last National Conference.

Fraternally,
James Robertson
for the Spartacist League/U.S.
cc: Steve Green

28 October 1974

Political Bureau
Spartacist League

Dear Comrades:

This is to inform you of our decision not to pursue any further negotiations on discussions with your group.

We have followed a principled course in these negotiations, hoping to sustain whatever faint chance there was of a discussion which could serve to illuminate the political significance of the dif-

ferences that we mentioned in our first letter.

On the other hand, it is evident that the SL does not want *political* discussions at all. For instance, despite the fact that the SL approached us first, despite our letter of acceptance and despite correspondence since then, the SL has not proposed even a single item for discussion—hardly a sign of wanting to talk politics. It has become quite clear, both from the Robertson letter and from the LF transcripts, what the SL does want. Its sole purpose in seeking to "discuss" with us is to engage in a crude attack on our tendency for not recognizing the SL, now and in the past, as the font of all wisdom and to convey to us the hopelessness of independent existence. We are far too busy to waste our time on such a farcical "discussion" which cannot be in any way useful or helpful.

Your real attitude is also evident in the fact that you have let stand as your position an imputation of cliquism on our part, put forward by you in agnostic fashion in *Workers Vanguard* #52. This is despite the Robertson letter, which speaks of "the unabashed explicit bureaucratism of the RSL and the fundamental principled character of your struggle around the Russian Question." Nor did you take the opportunity, in your article on the RSL in *WV* #55, to disavow any charge of cliquism against us. We can hardly be expected to believe in the good intentions of the SL when its slanders are public and its praise only private. A public correction is the least to be expected of those with even an elementary honesty and, since you are so demonstrably lacking in this quality, negotiations are impossible on any realistic basis.

Trotsky taught us "to be true in little things as in big ones." The basic political content of the SL finds its expression, not only in its attitude towards negotiations with us, but also in the vile backroom slander that Harold Robins "got Trotsky killed." We demand the immediate retraction of this charge, the cynicism of which serves only to illustrate on another point the corruption of the SL.

Fraternally,
Kevin Tracey
CEC

New York
29 November 1974

Kevin Tracey
Central Executive Committee
TRUTH

Dear Comrade Tracey,

In reply to yours of 28 October, it is of course unfortunate that your tendency has come once again to the conclusion that you have nothing to gain by discussions now with the Spartacist League. We do, however, thank you for your overt rejection of such talks, rather than maneuvering and dragging the matter out so as to place the "burden" for the failure of such talks on us (in the fashion of the late Leninist Faction right wing, now in the Class Struggle League).

However, we believe your decision is unfortunate. Certainly your new paper, TRUTH, expresses a number of serious differences with the SL as has your tendency in its earlier incarnations (i.e., as the Communist Tendency in the SWP, as the independent Committee for a Workers' Government, then as entrism currents in the International Socialists and later the Revolutionary Socialist League). But your present treatment of the nature of the Russian Question and your assertion of its crucial importance for revolutionary Marxists indicate certain major points of agreement with the SL as well.

Therefore we were led to believe that discussions with you might be of value. In particular we would have been interested in hearing your evaluation of the earlier fervent ex-CT declaration on the worth of the IS: "We see the IS as the only group seriously trying to implement a proletarian orientation, a question which is *fundamental* for us" (*Workers' Power* No. 60, July 1972). This contrasts with your later dismissal in the first issue of TRUTH, 15 September 1974, of the IS as having always been "Shachtmanite," as "having reached its peak in the period of middle class protest," as "now await[ing] only the opportunity to openly dissolve into reformism" and your assertion of "the open capitulation of the IS to the labor bureaucracy."

Without a critical attitude toward the history and evolution of one's own political tendency, one's present-day words are all too cheap, especially when numerical weakness and lack of opportunity do not permit the test of deeds.

You appear to take particular exception to our "agnostic" refusal to certify your lack of cliquism in your struggle in the RSL. And you go on to insist that without "a public correction" by the SL, "negotiations" to talk with you are impossible.

Upon what objective basis could we make such a determination, accept your ultimatum, and duly publish our "correction"—the tone and characterizations in your letter to us?

To the extent that cliquist currents do warp one's practice, to that extent one's formal program is undermined. And if cliquism predominates in a group then it becomes programmatically rudderless, i.e., at the mercy of passing social pressures, as refracted through personalist and subjective considerations. Certainly your expressed subjectivity toward the SL is not a good omen, but hardly definitive.

Perhaps you believe that the correct political issue you raised in the RSL and the RSL Majority's organizational abuse of you are a sufficient guarantee? It is an elementary mistake in political life to conclude that because one side in a dispute is clearly wrong, the other must somehow be much more than just correct on the issues posed. To do so would be to ignore the central features, totality and motion of the latter side. This is why we sought discussion with your group following your exclusion from the RSL.

Your reference to Harold Robins perplexes us. We by all means and for the record state that to our knowledge Harold Robins was not an accomplice to the Trotsky assassination. Perhaps you have twisted our opinion, which is well known to you, that a bodyguard who fails should later show a certain modesty and not spend the next 30 years loudly trading on the presumed political authority of a simple guard's role, then drift into the social-democratic milieu while still invoking the murdered communist, Trotsky, to justify such a capitulation.

It is our belief that a proliferation of ill-defined, ostensibly Trotskyist grouplets is not a good thing. We remain willing to meet with your group, as with others, in discussion or debate whenever there is even a small hope of unity or even of that mutual clarification which can be a step toward unity.

In its first years the Spartacist tendency was very small, generally well under a hundred supporters, but from our inception we fought for and had programmatic firmness. And it is no contradiction that the bulk of the SL's present cadres have come together over the years upon the basis of principled fusions.

Fraternally,
James Robertson,
for the Political Bureau of the SL/U.S.

Notice

The next issue of *Workers Vanguard*, No. 59, will be dated 3 January 1975.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly
of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:

Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:

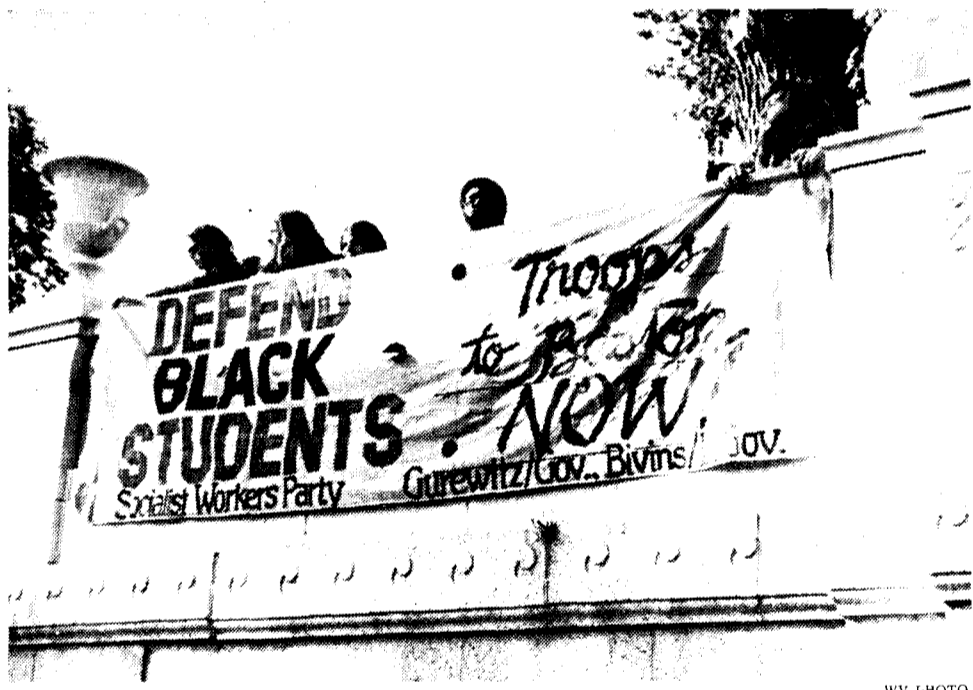
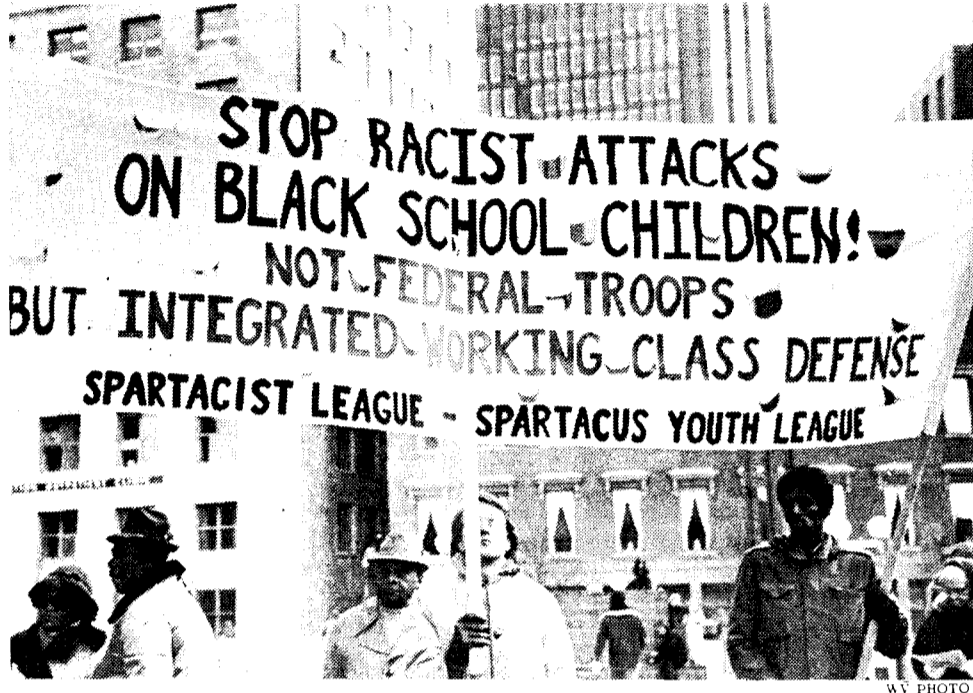
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist
Publishing Company, Box 1377,
G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed
articles or letters do not neces-
sarily express the editorial
viewpoint.

SWP Calls for U.S. Army

No Troops to Boston, For Labor/Black Defense!



The current busing crisis in Boston has posed the issue of racial equality more sharply than at any time since the demise of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960's. A victory for the racists here will set back the struggle against discrimination throughout the country.

So far things have been going poorly for the integrationists in Boston. There have been weekly anti-busing motorcades of hundreds of cars and segregationist rallies have drawn several thousand participants. Boston's liberal Mayor White soon capitulated to the reactionary Hicks-Kerrigan elements of the School Committee and now even the judge who ordered the busing is talking of a compromise exempting certain schools.

With the abandonment of racial minorities by the liberals and the discrediting of black Democrats (some of the worst cop atrocities have occurred in cities with black mayors) as well as both "pork-chop" and "revolutionary" nationalists, a tremendous opportunity has opened up for communists to win black militants to a program of united class struggle. But this will not be done simply by chanting "black and white, unite and fight." It is necessary to provide correct leadership to the masses in their concrete struggles against oppression.

Community Control and Busing

In Boston there have been very sharp differences in the programs offered by ostensibly revolutionary groups during the busing crisis. Take the question of busing: some support it, some don't. Why?

For the Spartacist League the question is straightforward. We are for the maximum political, economic and social equality among different sectors of the working people. Discrimination divides the working class and thus makes it more difficult to unite against the common enemy—capitalism. We sup-

port integration of the schools as part of the struggle for equality, and therefore we support busing as a means of achieving a modicum of integration, although by distorted and rather artificial means.

For many opportunist groups, however, the issue is awkward. Their method is to tail after petty-bourgeois public opinion, supporting whatever is popular at the moment. This way they will get more recruits—they hope. Today many black politicians support busing, but not so long ago the dominant mood among black militants influenced by nationalist currents was for community control of the schools. So many of these fake socialists supported community control.

The Spartacist League opposes black nationalism and community control because they further divide working people instead of helping to unite them, increasing segregation instead of fighting it. Whatever the immediate rake-off for a handful of minority "professionals" who get good-paying jobs as a result of community control schemes, in the long run these will work against the oppressed black minority. Among other things, such schemes inevitably lead to the demand for community control of schools by whites.

If you support community control for blacks in Roxbury, then shouldn't you support community control for poor whites in South Boston? If you support community control, then shouldn't you oppose busing (which obviously makes community control impossible)?

For the reformists of the Socialist Workers Party there is no contradiction in advocating two counterposed lines on the same issue. For them this is dialectics. In an article entitled "Busing: What Are the Issues?" (*International Socialist Review*, December 1974), SWP leader Peter Camejo notes that community control of the schools by whites is simply a cover for racist reaction. True enough. But he goes on to add

continued on page 8

"Emergency Committee": A Liberal Sham

For A Class-Struggle Contingent on December 14

A "Freedom March for Human Dignity" has been announced for Boston and other major cities around the country on December 14. Organized by the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, the Boston rally has a long list of several hundred sponsors, including trade-union bureaucrats, black organizations, left groups and prominent liberals. The three slogans on the leaflet for the national march are "No to Institutionalized Racism; No to Racist Mob Violence and No to Racism in Education."

The absence of a broad mobilization of left, labor and black organizations has undoubtedly emboldened the racist mobs who are protesting school integration through court-ordered busing. As early as September 22 the Spartacist League urged (in a letter sent to numerous Boston-area trade unions, black organizations and socialist groups) a mass united-front demonstration around the slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children." But the December 14 march is not such a united-front action.

The rally is built around and tightly controlled by a single black Democratic Party politician, Bill Owens. Owens,

who recently became the only black state senator in Massachusetts, is eager to boost his career by attaching his name to a demonstration of national significance. This will draw the limelight away from other members of the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus, and put Owens on the road previously traveled by U.S. Senator Brooke.

Owens can afford a display of "militancy" as long as he has iron-clad veto power over the decisions of the "Emergency Committee": the character of leaflets, slogans, route of march, speakers at the rally, etc. Consequently, neither the hundreds of sponsoring organizations and individuals nor the groups which have been most active in building the demonstration—Youth Against War and Fascism and the Socialist Workers Party—are making key decisions. They are only the water boys.

At a meeting on November 18 to publicize the demonstration, Owens stated unambiguously that all activities in the name of the committee must be approved directly by his office. He announced that he was personally appointing a "screening committee" to "oversee" the work of the Emergency Committee as a whole.

The national leaflet highlights excerpts from Owens' press conference statement, making clear that the rally is to be a pious appeal to "justice loving people from all fifty states." Rather than laying the basis for an integrated working-class defense force to protect the black school children from racist mobs, this "moral witness" led by a bourgeois liberal politico will simply serve to dissipate the energies of those who wish to struggle against the reactionary anti-busing mobilization.

The reformists of the Socialist Workers Party are now seeking to become the "best builders" of yet another bourgeois liberal-led protest movement on the model of the late antiwar movement. By being dutiful errand boys they perhaps hope to induce Owens to take up what has become the SWP's main slogan around the busing crisis, "Federal Troops Into Boston Now." Ironically, this demand was first raised by the SWP because the "leaders of the Black community" (i.e., the black liberal politicians) called for it; but now it is primarily these fake Trotskyists (and, of course, the Communist Party) who are calling on the imperialist army which massacred hundreds of thousands

of Vietnamese to bring justice to Boston.

The Spartacist League is unable to endorse this demonstration which is under the organizational control of the Democratic Party politician Bill Owens. We have no confidence in the organizers of this demonstration who are doing their best to guarantee that it will be a liberal/pacifist pep rally—a vehicle for the electoral ambitions of bourgeois politicians and a forum for liberal demands such as "Troops to Boston."

For revolutionaries to stand by and permit the opportunists, in this case YAWF and the SWP/YSA, and their liberal allies to use the just outrage against the racist anti-busing forces to spread liberal/pacifist illusions would be an abdication of our responsibility to expose these criminal frauds. Thus, we will march in the December 14 demonstration in our own contingent, together with those who agree with the perspective of independent labor/black action against the racists under the slogans:
—STOP THE RACIST ATTACKS!
—IMPLEMENT THE BUSING PLAN!
—EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS!
—NOT FEDERAL TROOPS, BUT INTEGRATED WORKING-CLASS DEFENSE!

Denounces Members in Print

Class Struggle League Squirms Over Cops

The November issue of *Class Struggle* contains yet another inept attempt by Henry Platsky to polemicize against the Spartacist League under the headline "Liberalism Gains a New Ally." But more interesting than this disconnected string of inane contortions ("the SL's slick image-making," "capitulation to the palates of the overwhelmingly pro-Israeli radical-liberal move-

ment [!]" and similar "devastating" accusations) is a box in one corner of the page entitled "Statement by CSL Central Committee."

To all appearances the two articles are unrelated, inhabiting the same page only by sheer coincidence. The Class Struggle League and readers of *Workers Vanguard* know differently. Using language reminiscent of Nixon's various Watergate "revelations" ("we understand," etc.) and suggesting that the group is having trouble keeping track of the activities of its 15 or so members, the statement shamefacedly admits that unnamed CSL members on the West Coast have been saying and doing some bizarre things lately.

Our readers will recall that we recently reported that one Earl Owens of the CSL had given us written statements asserting that cops "have the right to membership in the revolutionary party" and can join the unions, too (see "The CSL's 'International': Fourth, Fifth or Cop?" *WV* No. 56, 8 November). *Class Struggle* now confirms these charges, adding that the functioning of members of their Bay Area branch has been such as to "endanger the reputation of the CSL" and to "ignore the elementary

principles of the working class movement."

The convoluted anonymity of the statement is all the more amusing in that Earl O. is the CSL's leading West Coast member as well as pretentious solicitor for its "International Commission."

While the CSL hastens to "publicly disown the actions of these comrades" in order to protect its tarnished reputation, the latter is far from unblemished even without Owens' own special contributions. He might argue in self-defense, for instance, that inviting cops into the revolutionary party is not only the "ludicrous, but logical extreme" of calling for unionization of the cops, but also of the call (issued by Harry Turner's *Vanguard Newsletter*) for a general strike in support of striking NYC police in 1971. Owens was part of VNL and fused with the CSL together with Turner a year later.

Earl O. could assert with equal justice that he was only following the CSL's Menshevik organizational norms summarized by the slogan "freedom of criticism, unity in action." Brother Platsky is wont to use this device in order to explain how he defends the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian workers' uprising

by the Russian bureaucracy. Turner used to tell how he, personally, favored reconstructing the Fourth International while the CSL was for a Fifth.

The Class Struggle League has been characterized since its inception by opportunist maneuverism at the expense of program and principle. It is an unstable bloc of the remnants of Turner's VNL and elements from the former Leninist Faction of the SWP. They disagreed about which International to construct/reconstruct, trade-union policy, the Near East and other important programmatic questions. The main area of "agreement" was the right to publicly disagree with the organization's policy.

In its aborted attempt to fuse with the Revolutionary Socialist League earlier this year the CSL obligingly modified its position on Arnold Miller for the RSL's benefit. But the RSL haughtily spurned this sacrifice, rejecting fusion on the grounds that "It seems that you are just a temporary assemblage of diverse entities." The story of Earl O. only confirms once again the obscene consequences of scorning the struggle for principled Marxist clarity. The chickens are coming home to roost in the CSL. ■

Continued from page 1

... Miller Sellout

aware of the predictable reaction in the coal fields, a union aide groaned, "this will kill us."

It should not be surprising to coal miners or the left that Miller is such a willing tool of the government and energy monopolies. As a leader of the Miners for Democracy, Miller was responsible for bringing the U.S. Labor Department into the union to help "clean up" the corrupt gangster regime of Tony Boyle. Explaining that it is a betrayal to bring the bosses' state into union affairs, the Spartacist League refused to back Miller for UMW president in December 1972 government-ordered elections.

In contrast, most of the left (as well as the liberal press) supported this sub-reformist. Some fake socialists favored the use of the capitalist government to bring "progress" to the unions; others agreed that this is "bad" but outweighed by Miller's "democracy." Now Miller is simultaneously paying off the friends in Washington who arranged his election and shedding a facade of democracy assumed when he was out of office and not faced with "the responsibilities of power."

If At First You Don't Succeed

Miller was well pleased with his first package, which he called "the best contract in the history of the labor movement," one which had "taken the apple right down to the core, peelings and all" (*New York Times*, 24 November). Actually, Miller showed that as far as he was concerned the UMW could surrender "the apple" to management and the membership would get the worm.

The UMW chief negotiated a contract which threw away the right to strike over local grievances—an acute need in the death-trap mines—and a wage package that is really a pay cut. (The "capped" cost-of-living formula will increase wages by a maximum of six percent over three years. This means that under the proposed pact—including the straight wage increase and c-o-l escalator—total pay would rise 21 percent over the life of the contract. At a rate of inflation above 7 percent—it is currently running about 13 percent—real wages will fall.) In addition, the traditional two-week summer vacation was cut in half, one week being shifted to the winter for the companies' benefit.

Miller was faced with the problem of how to sell this rotten "apple" to the ranks. His solution was simple—lying: "Every time the cost of living

goes up three per cent, that's three per cent of the total wage," he told miners in West Virginia.

Lies, however, were not sufficient to push through the first contract. The bargaining council sent Miller back to restore the two-week summer vacation, get a 22 percent wage increase in the first year (to make up for past losses due to inflation) and obtain the right to strike over health and safety issues. Sounding more like the voice of industry than the president of a striking union, Miller fumed to reporters: "You wouldn't believe some of the recommendations" (*New York Times*, 24 December).

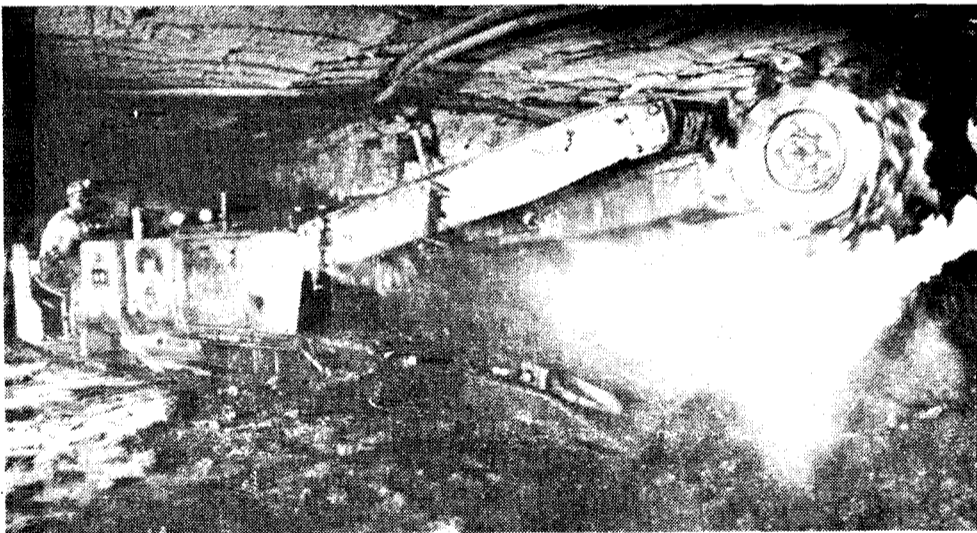
The "renegotiated" pact actually does nothing about vacations, nothing about the right to strike and only raises pay by another 2 percent! Yet when the bargaining council balked at endorsing

in the contract" (*New York Times*, 1 December). Even the bargaining council's original demands, however, are far from adequate to satisfy the miners' needs. Forces in the UMW which seek to counterpose a policy of militant class struggle to the defeatist reformism of Miller & Co. must call for unlimited cost-of-living protection (sliding scale of wages), no loss in existing union gains (vacations, grievance procedure, etc.) and the unconditional right to strike.

In addition, the present favorable bargaining power of the union should be used to strike to organize all non-union coal fields (more than 30 percent of present U.S. production). And in order to win support from broad sections of working people and the rest of the labor movement, the UMW should call for the expropriation without compensation of

tions mount united-front demonstrations in support of the miners' strike. If Taft-Hartley provisions or troops are used in an attempt to break the strike through government intervention, the entire labor movement must respond with a general strike for victory of the strike and against Taft-Hartley.

As John L. Lewis remarked in the 1943 coal strike, "you can't mine coal with bayonets." But it is possible to break a strike by isolating it. This must not be allowed to happen. ■



UNITED MINE WORKERS

this insulting proposal, Miller went on the air to question their "sincerity":

UMW Ranks Want Strike Victory

Now that he has battered down the bargaining council, Miller has dropped all talk of his "ultra-democratic" ten-day ratification procedure. After educational sessions on Saturday, the miners vote today (Monday) and the results will be announced tomorrow. Miller is officially predicting a 60 percent "yes" vote.

He will have to overcome a lot of resistance among the membership to reach this figure. Already on November 29, some 300 miners marched in Bellaire, Ohio, against the contract. "Dump Miller and Guzek" (president of district 6) and "Miners Get Ripped Off Again" read their signs. At a district 29 educational in Beckley, West Virginia, the next day, Miller and his lawyer reportedly were unable to answer questions about job bidding under the contract. "Get Guy Farmer [the companies' chief negotiator]," hooted miners from the floor, "he knows what's

the profit-hungry energy monopolies and for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, in order to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Besides selling out the miners, Miller sits together with Meany, Fitzsimmons and Abel on President Ford's Labor-Management Committee, a body whose job is to keep down ("monitor") wages through "jawboning" until mandatory government controls are reimposed. While it is only natural that the likes of Miller should see nothing wrong with sitting on a wage-control committee, the union ranks must demand that labor get off all government boards. In addition, socialists and union militants must call for a workers party—break with the parties of big business!—to fight for a workers government.

If miners do reject the contract, pressure will quickly build for government intervention. There will be cries of "energy blackmail" and denunciation of coal miners' "greed" in the press. In such a situation it is urgent that the labor movement and socialist organiza-

The Left and Arnold Miller

Unable to resist an "honest reformer," many supposedly revolutionary groups "critically" supported Arnold Miller for UMW president in 1972. There were many different reasons, of course. The International Socialists gave their backing because Miller was a step forward compared to Boyle. The Revolutionary Socialist League claims to have no such illusions; it supports Miller because the workers think he is a step forward. And the *Guardian* added its vote because Miller was a step forward and a step backward (that old "two-line" struggle).

The opportunism of such fakery is such that even today they are making excuses for Miller as dissident miners march with signs denouncing the UMW president and his miserable contract. The *Guardian* (4 December) wonders whether the supposedly "best ever" contract really is so good, but says that the UMW president is only "acting defensively." *Revolution* (November 1974) now says that Miller "may not be a staunch defender of the strike": No kidding.

The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (1 November), which has a good word for just about every liberal labor skate, touts the present UMW bureaucracy as "coal miners not long out of the pits." For the SWP this "makes them different from all other top negotiators." Apparently they forgot to pass the word to Miller.

But the ultra-reformist Communist Party is the most shameless of all. While most of Miller's "socialist" cheerleaders are choking on the sellout coal contract, the CP's *Daily World* (15 November) headlined, "Miners scan new accord with cautious optimism."

Special From Tel Aviv

Israeli Trotskyists Demand Strikes Against Austerity Plan

EDITORS' NOTE: We reprint below a leaflet, dated November 15, issued by the Spartacist nucleus in Israel protesting the government's recent draconian "austerity" regulations. Shortly afterward a wave of Arab demonstrations in solidarity with the PLO broke out on the West Bank; many students were arrested as a result and one female student killed. The Spartacist group was the first Israeli left organization to respond to this important protest against the Zionist occupation. A leaflet dated November 21 demanded army and police out of the Arab communities, immediate release of the political prisoners and immediate, unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

The goal of the government's new economic plan is a decrease in imported goods and an increase in exported goods (hence the 42 percent devaluation of the [Israeli] pound) at the expense of the working masses—ending the subsidy for basic foods, eliminating the cost-of-living escalator, cutting back on social services like health and education.

In order to facilitate the success of their plan, the capitalists have been busy making protectionist propaganda ("Our Answer to Arafat: Buy Blue and White") in an attempt to indoctrinate the workers with economic nationalism. However, the workers' interests lie not in protecting their "own" capitalists, but in solidarity with the international working class. The new economic plan is a plan for war by the employers' government against the mass of working people. As David Pintov, a municipal worker, said in the general meeting of Haifa workers committees: "The attack on our living standards is as serious as the blow that was dealt us by the October War" (*Ma'ariv*, 14 November).

In the general assembly of the executive of Histadrut [Israel's corporatist "labor federation"] on November 12, the minister of economy, Y. Rabinovich, said, "This step is only the second stage of our plan." The implication was clear: the third stage of this plan is widespread unemployment. All the "sabbath songs" about how much unemployment there will be if the workers do not accept this plan cannot hide the truth—that even if the workers do accept the plan, they will in any case face widespread unemployment.

The plan was accepted warmly by the capitalist economic organizations, which have been demanding a demonstration of strength from the government. In the meeting between the industrial capitalist representatives and the Histadrut, Shavit (the capitalist representative) said, "I hope that the Histadrut does not expect that we will break the government's economic plan" (*Ha'aretz*, 15 November). The repre-

sentative from the merchants' organization condemned the Likud [a rightist Zionist parliamentary bloc] for its refusal to support this plan.

The plan was approved by the Knesset [the Israeli parliament] on November 12. Even those who had previously spoken against it voted for the plan—for example, Mapam [a left-Zionist "labor" party] and Jacques Amir (ex-representative of the Dead Sea workers committee) from Achdut Avodah [another of the Zionist "labor" parties]—after [Israeli premier Yitzhak] Rabin calmed them down by saying that negotiations with the Histadrut would continue.

Histadrut "Opposition" to the Government

The meeting of the Histadrut executive committee approved a counter-

interest to the workers. We should avoid steps which can bring social instability" (*Ha'aretz*, 15 November).

Abramovich is merely repeating the general line that was accepted by the Histadrut executive committee in the summary speech by Meshel, its general secretary: "The enemy should make no mistake. Our differences cannot weaken our unity. We do not want this government to fall. If the government wants to remain strong, it must remember that its ally is the Histadrut" (*Davar*, 13 November).

The government's attack on the workers is supported by the capitalists on the one hand and by the Histadrut on the other. The only question facing them is how to attack the workers and at the same time to maintain the workers' confidence in the government and the Histadrut. But these "gentlemen" are wrong if they think that they can

defend the Soviet Union, Marxists will take a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides or military defense of those countries under imperialist attack. In the case of an inter-imperialist war, the interests of the working class on both sides will be to turn it into a civil war of class against class. If the war's character were similar to the 1956 war—[in this case,] an attempt by the imperialists to seize control of the oil fields—the interests of the working class would be to declare its military support for the oil-producing nations, despite the reactionary character of their regimes. This would not mean any political support to these regimes. In fact, the Marxists will point out that only the victory of the socialist revolution in these countries can mean real victory against the imperialists.

The Workers Committees

During the discussion, a demonstration by Tel Aviv workers committees took place outside, demanding that Histadrut fight for the cost-of-living adjustment. The workers committees, although a part of the Histadrut, are at the same time the only organizations elected by the workers themselves. Even the more militant committees, however, still adhere to the illusion that the Histadrut can be pressured to the left, rather than seeing the need to build real trade unions independent from the state and semi-state agencies like the Histadrut.

But there are committees and there are committees. While some committees demonstrated outside—the doors being guarded by police—other committees were at the same time invited to the meeting. A look at the speeches of those committees which were invited inside makes clear what were the criteria for the invitations.

Albert, from a committee in Ashdod, threatened, "If there are more [!] steps like this, the workers committees will decide to strike." Peretz (head of the Ashdod port committee), whose popularity with the workers declined after his last trip to the U.S., said, "We are one nation, and we want to strengthen the government and the Histadrut; but we would like to know how long we must go on tightening our belts." No doubt as long as the workers believe corrupt little bureaucrats like Peretz, who claim that the capitalists and the workers have the same interests, the government will be able to continue tightening the workers' belts.

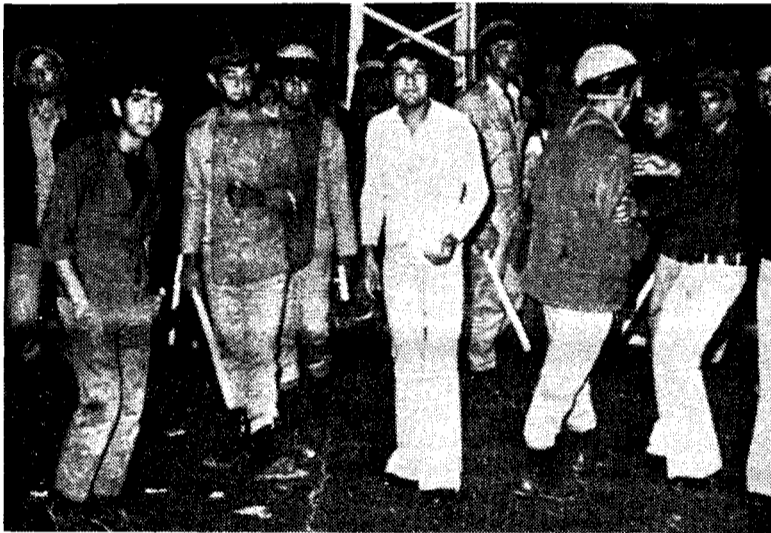
For Peretz and his kind the question is not how to organize the workers for victory, but how he can wind up sitting next to his old friend, Jacques Amir, in the Knesset. And in order to prove that he belongs there, Peretz stressed repeatedly that, contrary to the "bad name" of the town of Ashdod, it is possible to organize peaceful, orderly demonstrations there (i.e., ones that do not hurt the bourgeoisie)—as, for example, the recent demonstration there of 2,000 workers.

By implication he drew the distinction between the kind of demonstrations he leads and the spontaneous demonstrations that went on for four days in the Tel Aviv slum of Ha Tikvah. He thereby showed his solidarity with the police who suppressed those demonstrations.

It is in the interest of the working class to win to its side the people of Ha Tikvah. It is not necessary for the

continued on page 8

Israelis demonstrate against new austerity policy.



proposal by a large majority—for full employment, full cost-of-living escalator and compensation for large families. This will melt away like inscriptions on ice. At the very same meeting, Histadrut officials made conciliatory statements, declaring quite clearly their willingness to make substantial compromises. Not only will the full rise in the cost-of-living not be paid (at best Histadrut will "win" from the government a wage increase of a few pounds which will be presented to the workers as a big achievement), but the already existing unemployment will increase next year.

It is clear that, as in the past, Histadrut will support the government in whatever the government does. The chairman of the "trade union" section of the Histadrut, A. Abramovich, called upon the workers to support Histadrut, saying, "The Histadrut is not going to oppose the government's plan. The discussion with the government will be on some details which are of the most

endlessly cheat the workers; a surprise is in store for them.

New Threat of War

The general meeting of the Histadrut executive on November 12 was only a show whose purpose was to cheat the working masses. Rabin opened the meeting with a military, anti-Soviet speech: "We shall do everything to ensure that if a war is forced on us we shall come through it. This is my first national duty. Radio Moscow suggests that we surrender; if we surrender, it will not be necessary to double our military expenses" (*Davar*, 13 November).

As usual, when capitalist representatives like Rabin prepare a new war at the expense of workers' lives they present it as the defense of workers' families. And they attempt to cover the attack on workers' living standards with the need to protect the workers' lives. But if in fact a new war is fought, it will be to further the interests of capital, not labor.

It is true that a new war is threatening the masses of workers and peasants in the Near East. More and more, voices of the imperialist governments are demanding military action to end the oil boycott. *Davar* (10 November) translated an article by Jack Anderson, a U.S. columnist, which states that American imperialism is thinking of sending American troops to Libya and giving the green light to Israel to occupy the oil fields in Kuwait.

At this time it is not completely clear what the imperialist powers will do, whether they will unite or fight each other. Depending upon how the imperialists align themselves and the possibility that it will be necessary to



Youths in pro-PLO demonstration in Jerusalem's Old City.

From "People's War" to the "Mini-State"

During more than a quarter century of Israel-Arab conflicts in the Near East, ostensibly Marxist tendencies have repeatedly failed to provide a program for unity between the Hebrew and Arab working masses. Instead, various "socialists" tailed after one or another currently popular bourgeois nationalist force.

Thus in the "six-day war" of June 1967 much of the left supported the "progressive" sheiks and colonels against Israel, in the name of a classless "Arab Revolution." Yet only three years later that well-known Arab "revolutionary," King Hussein of Jordan, unleashed a bloody attack on the refugee camps (the infamous "Black September" massacre) leaving thousands of Palestinian dead.

Following the ignominious defeat of the Arab regimes in the June war, the attention of petty-bourgeois radicals shifted to the nationalist guerrillas of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Being out of power—and with no prospect of soon getting in—the several commando groups of the PLO could afford more flamboyant rhetoric than their mentors in Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and Kuwait. But, as demonstrated by its recent drive to acquire bourgeois respectability (acceptance of proposals for a West Bank "mini-state" and clamping down on commando actions), "pick up the gun" rhetoric has not enabled the PLO to give revolutionary leadership to the exploited masses of the Near East.

The "Militant" PLO

The Palestine Liberation Organization was set up in 1964, financed out of the coffers of the British-initiated Arab League, precisely to head off the development of an independent national movement in the refugee camps. Its founder, Ahmad Shuquairi, had been

assistant secretary-general of the League and later a member of the Syrian and then Saudi Arabian delegations to the United Nations—hardly the credentials of a revolutionary. King Hussein, who at the time held the West Bank and has consistently opposed moves for Palestinian independence, sponsored the meeting at which the PLO was formed.

It was the Arab defeat in the 1967 war that spurred the development of Palestinian commando groups, by discrediting the existing nationalist regimes and providing opportunities for guerrilla actions in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. By 1968 Shuquairi had been forced out of the leadership of the PLO. The largest and most moderate of the resistance groups, Yasir Arafat's Fatah, declared that the main strategy was "armed struggle," defined as "guerrilla warfare progressing toward comprehensive popular war of liberation" ("Program for Political Action," *Free Palestine*, April 1971).

According to Fatah, "exemplary" commando operations were supposed to "detonate" armed mass mobilizations on the scale of Algeria or Vietnam. But except for the single battle of Karameh on 21 March 1968, when Palestinian guerrillas fought Israeli troops to a standstill, "armed struggle" never progressed beyond isolated terrorist attacks.

Another indication of the PLO's "militancy" was its rejection of proposals for a "mini-state" which would accept the pre-1967 boundaries of Israel and abandon the 900,000 Palestinians living in Jordan, the 200,000 in Syria, the 300,000 in Lebanon and an equal number in Israel. The 1971 Palestinian National Congress declared its:

"Firm opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland on the basis that any attempt to establish such a

state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question."

—*Free Palestine*, April 1971

The PLO "Tamed"

That is precisely what the "mini-state" meant—both in 1971 and today: an attempt by the Arab regimes to rid themselves of hundreds of thousands of unwanted refugees, thereby eliminating a source of domestic political turmoil and a principal object for Israeli attack, by cramming them into the Judean hills. It will not solve the Palestinian question any more than the 1921 partition solved the Irish question.

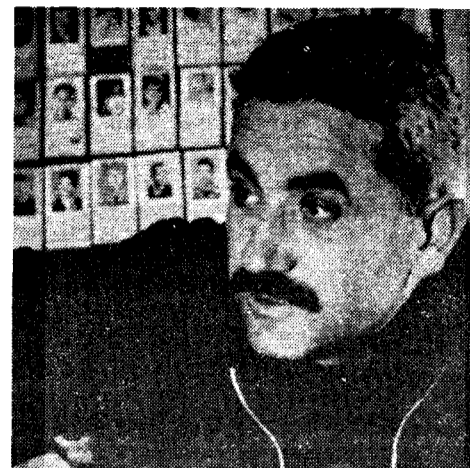
However, faced with the continued military impotence of the commandos (both against the Israelis and the butcher Hussein) and in the wake of the 1973 October war, which greatly strengthened Arab "moderates" around Faisal and Sadat, the PLO has dropped its opposition to the mini-state and is now talking of forming a government-in-exile. At the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo this June, a "Transitional Program" of the PLO was adopted which supports a West Bank state as "a link in the chain of the strategy... to establish the Democratic Palestine state."

In addition, at the recent "Arab summit" meeting in Rabat, one of the secret resolutions was reportedly a pledge by the PLO to end public opposition to Hussein. In return the Liberation Organization was recognized as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated Palestinian territory."

Since the granting of "observer" status at the United Nations to the PLO and Arafat's dramatic visit to New York last month, the resistance movement has sought to bolster its new-found respectability by clamping down on airline hijackings. That this is not a belated recognition that indiscriminate terrorism is actually di-



BÉRNAID GOTTFRYD—NEWSWEEK



WORKERS PRESS



EDDIE ADAMS

From top: Yasir Arafat of the PLO, George Habash of the PFLP, and Nayef Hawatmeh of the DPFLP.

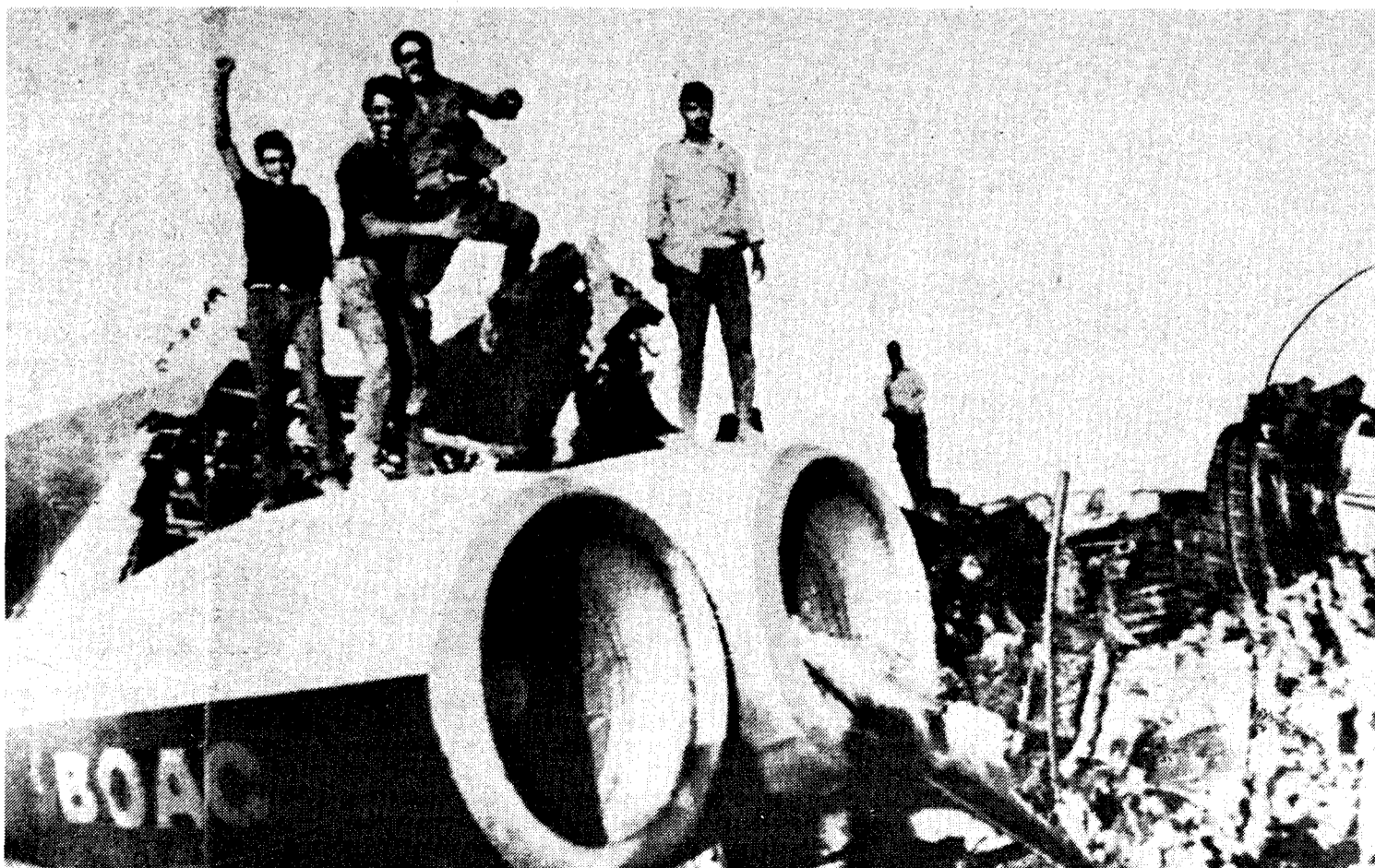
rected against the working people was indicated by the remark of one PLO official, explaining the "detention" of 26 people (presumably Palestinian commandos) in connection with a recent hijacking: "At the time we are gaining international recognition," he said, "we cannot allow mercenaries in our ranks to undermine our new stature" (*New York Times*, 28 November).

On the imperialists' side, this is exactly what is hoped for by those who support "Operation Mini-State." As French foreign minister Jean Sauvagnargues observed in justification for his visit with Arafat in late October, "The best way to distract people from violence and despair is to induce them to shoulder the responsibility on the international level, that is, to make them act in conformity with international realities" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

The Lessons of "Black September"

Hussein's 1970 massacre of three to five thousand Palestinian refugees and commandos was a watershed for the guerrilla movement. Fatah blamed "Black September" on the adventurist antics of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), especially his hijackings of airliners which were landed in Jordan. Arafat also condemned Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), a left split from the PFLP, for provoking the repression by calling for the overthrow of Hussein. The correct policy, said Fatah, was "non-interference in the affairs of the Arab regimes."

The DPFLP, at the time the most left-wing expression of the resistance, drew many correct conclusions from the September tragedy, albeit never transcending an eclectic Stalinist "armed struggle" concept of two-stage revolution. Hawatmeh saw the weakness



Commandos pose atop wreckage. PFLP guerrillas blew up four hijacked airliners in September 1970. At one point they held more than 300 hostages at their "Revolutionary Airport" in the Jordanian desert.

of the Palestinian resistance in its acceptance of the reactionary Hashemite monarchy and the failure to raise "a democratic program for the rural areas (dealing with the land question, the struggle against feudalism, the big land owners and rural capitalism...)" (*September Counter-Revolution in Jordan*, November 1970).

The DPFLP denounced the policy of "non-interference" as rank opportunism in order to "benefit from the money and weapons of the regimes." Fatah's collaborationist perspective "resulted in the absence of a revolutionary programmatic alternative to the program which caused the defeats of 1967 and 1948," leading it to "give deeds of absolutism to the reactionary regimes for their handful of subsidies" and to "cover up for the programs of the nationalist regimes, which have been unable to attain the objectives of national democratic liberation."

The "mini-state" scheme, too, was denounced by Hawatmeh as placing "the

national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution*).

Because the DPFLP could not find the road to a revolutionary proletarian perspective, it rapidly degenerated into the left-wing apologist and cover for Fatah. Since last year's October war, Hawatmeh has followed Arafat and Al Saiqa, a commando organization founded by Syria mainly to police refugee camps after the June 1967 war, into the fold of the Arab League and adopted the once-despised position of the "mini-state."

Marxism vs. Terrorism

As a consequence, "armed struggle" has degenerated into isolated and indiscriminate acts of terrorism, often directed against civilian targets, in order to garnish international publicity.



DFPARDON GAMMA



هذا طريقنا في الكفاح
فيا اخي اتمم كفاحي

TIME



BALLANTINE BOOKS

Above: General Dayan, Brigadier General Narkiss (left) and General Rabin enter Old City in Jerusalem at Lion's Gate.

Far left: Palestinian guerrillas in training. Left: El Fatah poster proclaims—"This is the way to liberation of my homeland. And so, my brothers, I'll fight on."

Palestinians in a position surrounded by the anvil of Israel and the hammer of the reactionary monarchy and imperialism" (*ibid.*).

Hawatmeh as Left-Wing Cover for Fatah

But the DPFLP proved unable to assimilate the most important lesson of 1948, 1967 and "Black September"—namely that "the main enemy is at home." This is true both for the Arab masses under the reactionary Hashemites or the nationalist colonels and for the Hebrew-speaking working people of Israel. The DPFLP never explained why the nationalist regimes were "unable to attain the objectives of national democratic liberation"—a correct empirical observation which could have been the beginning of Marxist wisdom, i.e., an understanding of the permanent revolution. Instead, it continued to envision some sort of "national united front" which would perhaps include some of the Arab nationalist regimes, and certainly the "progressive" Palestinian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, while excluding the bulk of the Hebrew workers except for a few "progressive intellectuals."

For the DPFLP, as for the rest of the commando groups, Zionism could never be destroyed by united class struggle together with the Israeli workers, but only from without, through a combination of commando terror, renewed Near East wars and diplomatic maneuvering. The DPFLP was unable to break with the myth, shared alike by Arab nationalism and Zionism, that the Hebrew worker is wedded to the Zionist state. Yet this myth is being shattered today by strikes on the docks of Ashdod and riots in the slums of Tel Aviv.

Most importantly, Hawatmeh and his followers failed to break with the "two-stage revolution" theory and find their way to the Marxist concept of permanent revolution (though they occasionally mentioned the words). For Trotsky it was the victorious working class that would bring national liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and

Thus a splinter group from Fatah, led by its former treasurer Abou Mahmoud, attacked a Pan American jet in Rome last December, killing more than 30 persons. And on April 11 three members of the PFLP-General Command entered an apartment in the small Israeli town of Qiryat Shemona and killed 18 persons.

Fatah has in the past itself condemned such indiscriminate terrorism. However, immediately after the Palestine National Council adopted the "mini-state" resolution (and its concomitant: national liberation through the UN and Geneva negotiations), Fatah took credit for its first operation of this sort. On the evening of June 24 three Fatah commandos entered an apartment in the Israeli seaport Nahriya and murdered a woman and two children. The purpose of this otherwise senseless act was to provide a "militant" cover for Fatah's rapid rightward motion.

Likewise, the DPFLP (prior to Ma'alot) had been critical of isolated acts of terrorism. This was one of the differences that led to the split between Hawatmeh and Habash. After the split the DPFLP wrote:

"Historically we find that reliance on individual action and terrorism was the solution of those who had lost faith in the potential revolutionary capabilities of the masses."

—*Al Hurriyah*, 2 March 1970

Quite true! And there is no doubt that Ma'alot was the desperate act of an organization that has lost faith in the revolutionary capacity of the masses.

In an interview with Paul Jacobs, published in the Israeli Zionist newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* (22 March 1974) Hawatmeh was quite explicit: he called for a "united, democratic state where Palestinians and Israelis will live together with the same rights and responsibilities" but added "we know that instituting the united democratic state is impossible in this period" (quoted in *New Outlook*, May 1974). As Jacobs pointed out in a later article,

"Since the DPF had not mounted any guerrilla actions for a long time it has been vulnerable to the accusation that it lacked militancy and courage. Hawat-

meh's statement increased the pressure upon him; Ma'alot eased the pressure...."

—*New Outlook*, August-September 1974

The "Rejection Front"

The "mini-state" perspective and maneuvering to get delegate status at a renewed Geneva peace conference have been rejected by the PFLP, PFLP-General Command, the Arab Liberation Front and Popular Struggle Front. These groups have formed a "rejection front" which proclaims its fidelity to the old slogan of "revolution until final victory." In an interview (reprinted as a pamphlet by the Organisation of Arab Students under the title "Liberation Not Negotiation") with the Italian leftist paper *Il Manifesto* (29-30 January 1974), PFLP leader Habash stated:

"The danger of the Geneva conference... is that it weakened the Arab people's animosity toward U.S. imperialism and depicts the latter as a neutral arbitrator...."

"Hence the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab masses would be transformed from an anti-imperialist national liberation movement, into a limited nationalist fight for the regaining of some of the lost lands."

While the PFLP seeks to give the "rejection front" the image of a militantly independent Palestinian force, this is far from accurate. The PFLP-General Command is headed by former Syrian army officer (and graduate of Britain's Sandhurst) Ahmad Jibril. When in September 1968 the Syrian government arrested three PFLP leaders in Damascus, including Habash, Jibril refused to condemn the arrest and split from the PFLP. The Arab Liberation Front is simply a creation of the Iraqi Ba'athist Party. And all three—PFLP, PFLP-GC and ALF—are uncritically pro-Iraq.

Habash, who is more widely known for his hijackings and the Lod airport massacre (carried out by the Japanese Red Army in solidarity with the PFLP) than for his contribution to Marxist theory, has of late been making correct criticisms of the current Fatah-DPFLP strategy (just as Hawatmeh earlier made correct criticisms of the

Fatah-PFLP strategy). But while Habash claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist internationalist," his fundamental nationalism was revealed by a reply to a reporter of the German magazine *Stern*, who asked in 1970 whether PFLP hijackings might spark another world war:

"Oh yes. But let me assure you this does not worry us.

"The whole world would stand to lose something in such a war except for us. If that should be the only way to destroy Israel, Zionist and Arab reaction, we would in fact welcome the third world war."

—*Workers Press*, 18 September 1970

In view of the potentially genocidal consequences of such a nuclear holocaust, which could threaten the very existence of humanity, it seems almost too mild to quote Lenin on the question of Polish independence on the eve of World War I:

"To be in favor of an all-European war merely for the sake of restoring Poland is to be a nationalist of the worst sort and to place the interests of a small number of Poles above those of the hundreds of millions of people who suffer from the war."

—"The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed-Up"

A Bantustan for Palestinian Refugees

Indeed, preparations for the fifth Near East war are in full swing. Israel and Syria have put their troops on alert; Arafat, in his interview with *Time* (11 November), predicted war in at most six months. At the Rabat conference a joint military command was proposed comprising Syria, Jordan, Egypt and the PLO. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues to rush arms to Israel and Russia continues to dump its most advanced military hardware into Syria and Iraq.

We have warned that yet another Israel-Arab war will not bring national emancipation for Palestinian Arabs, nor will United Nations/Geneva peace conference negotiations or a West Bank "mini-state."

The proposed West Bank state is, in fact, even less than the Palestinians were promised by the UN partition plan of 1947 and, if rumors of a secret Brezhnev-Ford deal at Vladivostok are true, would involve recognizing the Zionist state as presently constituted (*New York Times*, 29 November). Masquerading as recognition of the right to self-determination for the Jewish population, this actually means abandoning the 300,000 Palestinian Arabs living within pre-1967 Israeli boundaries to continued second-class citizenship and acceding to the results of Zionist conquest in 1947-49.

As to the results of another Arab-Israel war, we have shown elsewhere that in 1948, despite pious claims that they were fighting for the national rights of the Palestinians, the Arab League proceeded to gobble up whatever the Zionists failed to occupy. Syria carried off the El Hamma district in the Golan Heights, Egypt took the Gaza strip, and Transjordan transformed itself into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan by absorbing the West Bank. In the latter case there was active collusion by King Abdullah with the Zionists to prevent the emergence of an independent Palestinian state (see "Birth of the Zionist State: A Marxist Analysis; Part 2/The 1948 War," *WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). Neither in 1948, 1967 nor 1973 have the Saudis, Hashemites, Nasserites and Ba'athists fought for the liberation of the Palestinians.

In addition to becoming a "bantustan" for the dumping of unwanted Palestinian refugees and serving to legitimize the undemocratic partition of Palestine following World War II, a West Bank "mini-state" would necessarily become the client state of the reactionary Arab regimes. How much can be expected in the way of "aid" from the oil-rich sheiks in such an arrangement was indicated by the results of the Rabat summit: \$1 billion a year for Egypt and Syria, \$300

continued on page 11



The frenzied genocidal hatred for which the Near East situation is such a fertile breeding ground manifested itself recently in an incident in Beit Shean. Three Arab guerrillas allegedly on a mission to capture hostages and exchange them for fourteen PLO prisoners in Israeli jails killed four residents of an apartment building. Israeli soldiers stormed the building and killed all three. Furious townspeople threw the bodies out a window to the street below where they were beaten, spat upon and set on fire. At left, mob watches burning corpses.

SYGMA

Continued from page 5

Israeli Trotskyists...

Ha Tikvah residents to turn to fascism. While their action—spontaneous riots partly directed against small shopkeepers—is not the method of working-class struggle, workers should support their just demands against high prices and try to win them to the workers' side. Solidarity with the police will push the Ha Tikvah people toward a potential fascist movement.

Peretz' speech essentially suggested that workers committees like his should at the most organize peaceful demonstrations that can divert the anger of the workers.

The Left and the Economic Crisis

The government is right when it says that the economic crisis developing in Israel is part of the world crisis, but this crisis does not fall from the sky. Rather, it is a result of the anarchy of the capitalist production system. That is why the solution is not tightening the workers' belts but tightening the belt around the neck of the capitalists—by expropriating the means of production under workers control and by replacing the political rule of the capitalists with a workers government. The current world economic crisis is creating not only starvation and unemployment of millions, but can lead to a third world war. The only way forward for workers is the fight for political power.

To the left of Ma'arakh [the Zionist "Labor Alignment"—including Mapai, Mapam, Rafi and Achdut Avodat—which forms the core of the government coalition] stand a few parties and groups claiming to represent the interests of the workers.

Moked, which aspires to become a social-democratic party, calls on the economic level for a fight for a full cost-of-living adjustment, while on the political level it proposes to pressure the government to accept the imperialist arrangement for peace in the Near East (which any day may explode in a new war), spreading pacifist illusions that this imperialist arrangement will be able to bring peace and a solution for the oppression of the Palestinians.

Rakah, the pro-Moscow Stalinist party, adheres to the illusions of the Soviet bureaucracy that indefinite co-existence with imperialism is possible (ignoring the fact that the interests of imperialism lie in the restoration of capitalism in Russia). It holds the same program as Moked, i.e., putting pressure on the Histadrut to fight for a full cost-of-living adjustment and on the government to accept the imperialist peace arrangement. The same positions are held by the two satellites of Rakah—Matzpen (Tel Aviv) and Struggle.

To their left stand two groups which claim to be revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Trotskyist—Matzpen (Marxist) and Workers Alliance. (The latter has correctly abandoned its previous name of Vanguard.) Matzpen (Marxist) has been distributing a leaflet advocating the building of independent trade unions and

raising some correct economic demands, e.g., a monthly cost-of-living adjustment (calculated by national meetings of workers committee representatives). At the same time it proposes workers control of capitalist production profits, meaning simply that the workers should manage production for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

Without calling for a political fight for a workers and peasants government, Matzpen (Marxist) ends the leaflet with a call for a general strike. Every general strike can open the way for a revolutionary situation. Agitation for a general strike without giving the working class clear political direction, without workers militias for defense, without revolutionary leadership, is no more than a call for the bourgeoisie to break the back of the working class.

Workers Alliance, in its "mass" newspaper, *Workers Voice* (November 1974), puts forward some transitional demands, including for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to end unemployment, open the books, nationalization without compensation under workers control—only of those factories which close down. While it pays some lip service to the interests of Arab workers, it avoids the demand for a united workers' political fight—the demand for a workers and peasants government.

This same paper cynically uses—for the first time—the Spartacist slogan "For a bi-national workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East," in the article "The Generals and the Government Prepare a New War." But the article "Strikes in Gaza and the West Bank" ends with its old slogan, "For a Unified Democratic State." This can only have one meaning—that although Workers Alliance tries to color itself for the moment with leftist slogans, it remains loyal to the political logic of the two-stage theory: first, the bourgeois democratic stage and then, later, the socialist stage.

In the past, Workers Alliance has never raised transitional demands in its "mass" paper. In the absence of any analysis on its part of its failure to do this previously, we can only understand its current behavior as a temporary left posturing in the present threatened crisis—and to expect that, under the pressures of a new war or full-blown depression, Workers Alliance will retreat to its usual reformist and cowardly behavior. In any case, its use of only

pieces of the Transitional Program (stopping short of the key question of political power) and its continued two-stage methodology demonstrate that, even as a temporary posture, it does not know how to put forward revolutionary Marxist politics.

Program for Workers' Victory

The program which can unite all sections of the working class, connecting the democratic and economic struggles to the fight for proletarian power in this country, as part of the struggle for the socialist federation of the Near East, must include the following demands:

- Strikes for monthly cost-of-living adjustments (to be calculated by the workers committees)! For substantial wage increases! For immediate withdrawal from the occupied territories!
- Against the claim of the bosses that they cannot pay wage increases: Open the books!
- Against growing unemployment: A shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Thirty hours' work for 46 hours' pay each week!
- Against the closing of factories: Occupation by workers, nationalization without compensation under workers control!
- Expropriate all industry under workers control!
- Against the national oppression of the Palestinians: Israeli army and police out of the Arab communities! For the right of all the Palestinian refugees to return! Land to the fellahin!
- Against the attack of the police and right wing on strikes: Workers armed self-defense of picket lines! Toward Arab-Jewish workers militias!
- Down with the Histadrut, which functions as part of the capitalist state apparatus! For independent Arab-Jewish trade unions, based on the workers committees! Oust petty bureaucrats like Peretz and his friends!
- For a workers and peasants government, loyal to the real interests of the working class!
- To win this difficult struggle requires leadership that fights for the historical interests of the working class. For the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party which will lead the class to victory! ■

Continued from page 3 No Troops to Boston!

that the question can't be dealt with "on a universal, abstract basis."

Camejo denies that black community control is linked to white community control, since "The fact is that whites already control the schools..." So, you see, the problem is not uniting black and white working people in struggle against the capitalists who control the schools and fighting for democratic rights of oppressed minorities, but organizing against white control of the schools! Race struggle not class struggle—this is the logic of the SWP's sometime nationalism.

What about the contradiction between busing and community control? No problem here, says Camejo, they are simply "a number of ways" of equalizing education. But since they are obviously counterposed (how can you have black control of Martin Luther King school if a majority of the students are white because of busing?), how does the SWP decide which to raise? Simple: "The question of how to achieve quality education for Black children is one

Continued from page 1

Miners...

the union. The right to strike is our only defense. What's the use of having good pay if you don't live to spend it? I think Miller's been bought out... The government's in control."

Beckley in Raleigh County is the center of UMW District 29. With some 70,000 active members this is the largest and possibly most militant district in the union. District 29 voted Miller down in 1972 and was the scene of a wildcat wave which Miller attempted to squash shortly after his election.

At the District 29 delegate meeting Saturday Miller responded to charges of sellout with a mixture of pleas for sympathy and warnings of dire consequences if the contract is voted down: "The price to get a right to strike would be too costly," he remarked, "be mindful that if it's a mandate of the members, I'll go back to the bargaining table—but we can't do it without jeopardizing what we've got already in the agreement." His clincher was a threat that, "I think the government's ready to step down on us now."

Impatient hoots and catcalls greeted Miller's assertion that "This is the best contract ever negotiated by any labor union in the country." Many voiced additional resentment over the leadership's steamroller speedup of the ratification process—"It may backfire," said one delegate from Local 5997.

Under pressure Miller agreed to a one-day extension of the voting procedure. However, the local radio station continues to be inundated by UMW-paid spot announcements pushing the contract.

Before the strike began here last month, southern West Virginia was the site of a virulently racist, anti-communist "anti-textbook protest." This reactionary campaign is centered in nearby Kanawha County. It is neither widespread nor deeply-felt. In fact, many of the touted "anti-textbook" wildcats are due largely to the miners' instinctive refusal to cross any picket line, even one set up by non-mining right-wingers. Nonetheless, such reactionary protests are always dangerous. Unfortunately, not one UMW leader—apparently not even the militants of the Right to Strike Committee—has publicly denounced this movement.

The experience of the coal strike in Raleigh County once again points to the need, not only to replace the Boyles and Millers, but to construct a new leadership in the UMW not simply of "militant" trade unionists but one committed to a program representing the interests of the whole working class. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

SYL East Coast Educational

Public Session:

"The Leninist Party in Motion:
Program and Conjuncture"

Speaker: JAMES ROBERTSON Spartacist League
Central Committee

Friday, December 20
8 p.m. Marc Ballroom
27 Union Square, New York City

For more information
call the SYL Local in
your area.

that must be decided on by the Black community...."

No crisis of revolutionary leadership for these "Trotskyists"! If there is a contradiction between two lines, then the community (i.e., not the revolutionaries) must decide what is best, and the SWP will tag along behind. And just who is the community in this class-divided society?

SWP Calls for the Bosses Army

"We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston..." declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. The "leaders of the Black community"—who turn out to be black Democrats like Mel King, Tom Atkins, Bill Owens and the like—call for federal troops for the same reason they have in the past supported liberal Democrat Mayor Kevin White: they seek to build illusions that blacks can achieve justice by "working within the system," i.e., by relying on the government. For the SWP, however, this presents no problem. Says Camejo: "Generally speaking, the Black Democrats may begin with the best intentions." If, according to this "former resident of Boston," these fakers "may begin" with good intentions, what is certain is that the fake Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party follow them wherever they are going, for the SWP "completely supports" their demands.

The Spartacist League is a revolutionary Marxist organization. We understand that the state is an instrument of the ruling class to suppress its enemies. The U.S. Army, just as much as the local police or National Guard, is the armed fist of the bourgeois state. And we hold—along with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky—that this state cannot be taken over or reformed into its opposite. It must be *smashed*, and replaced by a workers state.

Consequently we have repeatedly warned working people in Boston that they cannot depend on the forces of the capitalist state to protect them against the racist mobs and achieve integration of the schools. In the 11 October issue of *Workers Vanguard*, we wrote: "Instead of relying on local or federal government for protection, black people and all working people must depend on their own organizations for defense. The Spartacist League advocates the formation of a bi-racial defense force, organized by black and community groups and the labor unions, to protect the buses and maintain order in the schools." We have pointed out that troops may well be sent to Boston, not enforce integration but to maintain a segregationist "law and order" and prevent any organized defense by black and union militants.

Marxism vs. Reformism

There are two sharply opposed lines here. The Spartacist League condemns the call for bringing in troops to Boston as a betrayal of elementary principles of Marxism; the Socialist Workers Party labels the call for independent labor/black defense an "unrealistic" demand of "sectarians." Militants who wish to lead the struggles of the workers

forward, unlike the SWP, cannot depend on the black Democratic politicians to decide for them which is correct.

The SWP seems to be somewhat concerned about its image in raising this slogan, especially since the only other ostensibly socialist organization with this line is the ultra-reformist Stalinist Communist Party. Consequently, it called on the venerable Joseph Hansen to write a lengthy polemical article ("Should Federal Troops Be Used In Boston?") in the 25 November *Intercontinental Press*, in which he attacks the SL position, as well as those of several other groups.

Getting his signals crossed with the cynical hack Peter Camejo, who dishonestly charged that "the Spartacist League also opposed the use of force to carry out the desegregation order," Hansen labels the SL call for labor/black defense "a commendable stand." This must be somewhat disorienting to SWP members who might recall reading a statement by Camejo (*Militant*, 1 November) that, "The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now...you pull this slogan of trade-union defense guards totally out of the blue. It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community."

Hansen gives two main arguments to support the SWP call for federal troops to Boston. First is a historical argument. Sometimes, he says, federal troops have been used against the reactionaries and not just the workers. Recent examples of this, he says, are Little Rock in 1957 and Selma in 1965.

Elsewhere we have refuted these historical "proofs" by the SWP in detail (see "Not Federal Troops, But Labor-Black Defense!" *Young Spartacus*, No. 27, December 1974). We pointed out that in Little Rock, Eisenhower sent in troops after a night of mass resistance in the black areas. In the aftermath he proceeded to strengthen the hand of the racists, not the integrationists, by dumping the federal judge, forcing the resignation of Attorney General Brownell and stacking the Civil Rights Commission with racist Dixiecrats. In Selma, the federal troops were withdrawn following a demonstration in Montgomery. On the way home one of the marchers was murdered by a carload of racists including an FBI agent!

Anything Goes?

Hansen's second argument is that if you can demand one thing of the cap-

italist state, then why can't you demand another? He asks: if it is alright to support busing, "then what is wrong with demanding that this bourgeois sop be assured through the bourgeois sop of federal enforcement"? He takes us to task for demanding nationalization of the auto industry without compensation and calling on the U.S. to end the economic blockade of Cuba while opposing the call for federal troops.

The SWP knows perfectly well that the Spartacist League calls for the enforcement of busing. From the beginning we have demanded "implement the busing plan." But there is a vast difference between this and calling for federal troops to Boston. The latter demand is an expression of confidence in the government.

In fact the SWP openly states its confidence that Ford will enforce desegregation and protect the black school children: referring to Selma and Little Rock the 1 November *Militant* writes, "In these cases the government did not attack the Black community...The same dynamic would operate in Boston."

But what if, as the Spartacist League says may happen, troops are used against the black areas? The *Militant* has an answer for this: "the fact that the government may not carry out our demands doesn't mean that we should not raise them." The SWP, you see, calls for sending in troops "to enforce desegregation." Evidently it believes this absolves them of all responsibility. Not so.

It is possible to call anyone to do anything. The SWP could call for the election of Louise Day Hicks to the School Committee in Boston "to enforce desegregation." If she is then elected and proceeds to discriminate against black people, the SWP could mumble something about having voted for her to do something else. But they would have the responsibility of having called for her election. It is the same with the troops.

If you call for desegregation, asks Hansen, then why can't you call for enforcing desegregation; and if you call for enforcement, why can't you call for federal troops to do it? By his seemingly simple logic this increasingly inept ex-Trotskyist succeeds in throwing the whole of Marxism out the window.

In 1937 Max Shachtman asked a very similar question. If we are for the victory of the Republican forces in Spain, he said, then "How can we refuse to devote a million pesetas to the pur-

chase of rifles for the front?" Trotsky answered succinctly: "A vote in parliament for the financial budget is not a 'material aid', but an act of political solidarity. If we can vote for Negrin's budget, why can't we delegate our representatives to his government?"

The situation with the troops is precisely parallel. A call for federal troops to enforce desegregation in Boston is an expression of confidence in the government; if we can call for the capitalist army to intervene, then why can't we administer the repressive forces of the bourgeois state? And the SWP has an answer for this as well: it *wants* to administer the cops, for it regularly runs candidates for sheriff.

Hansen/Camejo's faith in the bourgeoisie is boundless. At the height of the civil rights movement, the SWP actually demanded: "Instead of sending troops to Vietnam where they are trampling upon the rights and lives of the Vietnamese, troops should be sent to Selma and other parts of the South to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes" (*Militant*, 22 March 1965). So in Vietnam the Special Forces serve the imperialists but in Selma they will protect the blacks! Well, as the saying goes, "If the camel once gets his nose into the tent, his whole body will enter."

At the end of his polemic Hansen asks "are there *certain* demands that must as a matter of principle never be made" on a capitalist government. He strongly implies there are none.

Trotsky, however, was of a different opinion. As he wrote in "War and the Fourth International" (1934), "To turn to the state, that is to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will...The Social Democrats, even the most left ones...carefully avoid the question of arming the workers, or openly declare this task 'chimerical,' adventurous, 'romantic,' etc."

Following in the path of Lenin and Trotsky we call for the formation of integrated workers defense guards to protect black school children in Boston. By labeling this demand unrealistic and calling for federal troops the SWP takes the road of the Stalinists and social democrats who in the 1930's "fought" the fascist bands by calling on the state to disarm them. The Stalinists' support for the liberal bourgeoisie led to a tragic defeat of the Spanish and French workers. The path of the SWP is the path of defeat. ■

CORRECTION

The article in *WV* No. 57 entitled "West Bank Mini-State No Solution" has a supra-head calling for "Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs." It should have read, "For the Right of Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs."

In the same issue of *WV* the article, "Chrysler Threatens National Shutdown," refers to Lynn Townsend as "Chrysler president." Townsend is actually chairman of Chrysler's board of directors.

The reference to Trotsky's quote "Not just a stupidity, but a crime," attributed to "*Spartacist*, edition française no. 6, 5 May 1974," in actuality refers to "*Spartacist*, edition française no. 5, 3 May 1974."

The World Crisis of Imperialism: A Debate

Speakers:
SANDOR JONAS
Spartacist League,
SYL National Committee

STEVE MILLER
RSL Central Committee

Sunday, December 15 3:00 p.m.
Second Unitarian Church
656 West Barry

Chicago

for information call: (312) 427-0003

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday }
and } 3:00—6:00 p.m.
Saturday }

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday }
through } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Friday }

Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST Enclosed is \$5 for 24 issues
 Enclosed is \$1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Militant Elected to ILWU Local 6 Exec Board

OAKLAND, November 25—Bob Mandel, a seven-year militant in the ILWU, has been elected on a class-struggle program to the executive board of Local 6 (warehouse division) from the East Bay. He got 636 votes (the top vote-getter received 691). Banned by undemocratic Local regulations from publishing any campaign literature except one short statement in a special official election bulletin, Mandel took his program to the membership by campaigning at warehouses and retail outlets throughout the Oakland area.

In his election statement, Mandel advocated industry-wide strikes against layoffs and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to meet spreading house closures and "runaways" in ILWU-organized warehouses as well as layoffs in the longshore and Hawaiian sections of the union. He also demanded that militant international labor solidarity be revived "through tactics like the recent boycott of cargo to Chile in defense of workers struggling against the junta."

Mandel condemned the ILWU's support for the "racist Alioto" as "a defeat for the movement of workers and oppressed," and called for an independent workers party. He also called for workers control and for a workers government "to end the cycle of inflation, recession, racial and sexual discrimination" through the "nationaliz[ation of] all industry without compensation" to the present owners.

Finally, Mandel underlined the betrayals of the present union leadership, which include disarming the workers in the face of every kind of employer attack (layoffs, blacklisting of militants who fight company attacks, armed strike-breakers in the ILWU Borax strike, etc.). "An opposition caucus must be built throughout the union," he declared, to fight for this class-struggle program.

Mandel ran eighth in a field of 12 candidates for the 10 positions open on the executive board. He narrowly missed being elected delegate to the International convention as well, losing by only 30 votes (eighth out of 14 contenders for 6 positions).

Mandel established his reputation as a militant defender of hard-won union gains through his campaign for sympathy-strike support by ILWU warehousemen to the 1971 longshore strike and, more recently, through his initiation of struggle against blacklisting and for implementation of boycotts of Chilean ships and goods. He has also served on union committees and as steward.

It is significant that in a union with a strong Stalinist current in its background Mandel got more votes than many Communist Party-backed candidates despite vicious Stalinist denunciation of him and his program, particularly during the anti-blacklisting campaign earlier this year.

Mandel's victory is a victory for a class-struggle program and the future class-struggle leadership of the labor movement. It is an answer to the many fake-left organizations which insist that it is necessary to support bureaucrats running on totally reformist programs (such as Arnold Miller), abandoning working-class principles in order to gain influence in the working class.

ILWU . . .

body accepts Bridges' dictates, such as last year's no-strike deal, six weeks before the contract expired, and it is widely expected that the new Caucus will be more militant.) This is such a blatant maneuver to head off a fight over the contract that the executive board of Local 13 in Los Angeles voted to boycott the December 9 meeting.

Support Builds for "Hot Carguing"

Meanwhile, the "settlement" reported by the ILWU *Dispatcher* (25 October) on jurisdictional problems over the barges was laughable: "attempting to work out solutions" although there are "no simple answers"! What the *Dispatcher* failed to mention is that the Caucus voted to refuse to handle all barges worked by non-longshore labor. This motion was heatedly opposed by Bridges, who was quoted as saying that it is "penny ante stuff and not worth hasseling over" (*People's World*, 9 November).

The "penny ante stuff" is actually what's coming from Bridges, in trade for the longshore work taken by the barges and other automated mechanisms (such as containers). The barges are part of the LASH, or "Lighter Aboard Ship" system, one of the techniques shipping companies are using to avoid paying for longshore union labor in loading and unloading ships.

Like containers, LASH barges are often worked at out-of-the-way places (such as private company docks) by non-longshore labor. The barges are then returned to the special LASH mother ship, into which they are hoisted for long runs between ports. Alioto's company, PFE, has invested heavily in LASH equipment.

The same issue of the *Dispatcher* that failed to report the motion to "hot cargo" barges announced "First LASH Payments Made" under an agreement which compensates longshoremen at the rate of 50 cents per ton of cargo loaded on LASH barges by non-ILWU labor. The total amount was \$5,505.19, but the lost wages and traveling compensation would have come to at least four times that amount. As it's put in the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" for November 14, over the signature of Archie Brown, Publicity Committee:

"...you can see how much wages we lost, plus traveling time, etc. It is said that we 'historically' don't work in certain areas. It's enough to drive people into hysterics... it's our work and no fancy-pants arguments can change that."

What Brown, a well-known Communist Party supporter, fails to mention is that most of the "fancy pants" arguments for dropping the fight for jobs are coming directly from Bridges and Co. in the ILWU leadership.

That a motion to refuse to handle non-ILWU barges could even be seriously considered, let alone passed, is due in part to efforts during the last year to promote "hot carguing" of Chilean goods. In late February and again in August the Spartacist League organized pickets at the docks calling for enforcement of a Local 10 resolution to boycott cargo to and from Chile. At demonstrations in the Bay Area the SL took the lead in publicizing this resolution and agitating for labor action against the reactionary junta. In May a "Committee to Enforce the Boycott" was formed by militants in several ILWU locals, who succeeded in getting more than 450 signatures on a petition calling for hot carguing.

The Communist Party now quotes the motion of the October Caucus without critical comment (*People's World*, 9 November), but in September it did everything possible to prevent implementation of a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo which had been called for by the International Transport Workers Federation. The Mills-Stout leadership of Local 10 also failed to act until

militants in the Committee to Enforce the Boycott forced its hand by exposing Chilean cargo on the dock. The Spartacist League organized a united-front picket of the ship, while most of the left followed the lead of the CP, which held a "protest" at company headquarters in order to draw attention away from the ship (see "Hot Cargo Military Goods to Chile!" *WV* No. 53, 27 September).

Stop Work on Alioto Barges

The motion to hot cargo barges came from a delegate of the Stockton Local 54. Stockton is one of the locals hardest hit by the loss of work. It was reported that a union whose members were working certain PFE barges agreed that it had no jurisdiction over the work. The Stockton ILWU local, carrying out the Caucus decision, put up picket lines which were honored by the other unions involved.

One of the barges then disappeared, and turned up at Pier 96 in San Francisco. Pier 96, the only automated container facility in the Port of San Francisco, is leased by Pacific Far East Lines. Business agent Larry Wing authorized a stoppage of work on the barge, in solidarity with Stockton's action.

Last September Wing was beaten almost to unconsciousness by goons, an act which enraged the entire membership and temporarily stymied Bridges' attempt to bureaucratically destroy the Local 10 leadership and force sale of the hiring hall. As reported in *Workers Vanguard* ("San Francisco Waterfront Scandal Mushrooms," No. 53, 27 September), the beating led to a counter-attack by Local 10 in which the orders of Bridges' official monitors to stop paying money to the Local hall ownership corporation (which would force the hall's sale) were reversed.

Like the rest of the Local 10 "rebel" regime under Herb Mills and Frank Stout, however, Wing had no program with which to rally the membership against Bridges' betrayals. Despite his trade-union militant approach, he was thus forced into becoming another agent for those betrayals.

After authorizing the boycott of work on the barge, Wing failed to mobilize support for the action. So did the rest of the Local 10 leadership. But Alioto, long paraded as a "friend of labor" by Bridges and the S.F. union bureaucracy, wasted no time in acting against the union. His company obtained an injunction which resulted in the Stockton local's being fined \$10,000 and Local 10 \$4,000.

The PMA also wasted no time: it threw down the gauntlet by denying the pay guarantee for the week to the entire port. The weekly guarantee is compensation for lack of work (paid provided longshoremen are available for work). The ILWU didn't even show up for the arbitration hearing at the International level, leaving little likelihood of a decision favorable to the union and giving every indication that the militant boycott action would be betrayed.

The Mills-Stout regime got the message and called off the boycott. It was Wing who implemented the decision. As reported to *Workers Vanguard* by longshoremen who were present, Wing was surrounded by angry longshoremen shouting, "These are our jobs! You've just given away our jobs!" Wing, who is running for Local president, apologized with the same excuses Local members are now used to hearing from Stout and Mills: "The International wouldn't back us up. What could we do?"

This was a paltry excuse indeed. The intentions of the International leadership toward such a militant action in defense of jobs are known to every member. Mills, Stout and Wing deprived the membership of the right to decide on a response by failing to call a special meeting. Or they could have easily held out until the regular meeting scheduled for November 21, only three days after the boycott was called off.

During the boycott action a leaflet signed by six Local members, some of whom had been active in the Chile

boycott struggle, warned "The International will not defend us!" It proposed a course of action to the membership meeting to expand the struggle around the barges. A motion on the leaflet read:

"We go on record for continued refusal to handle the hot barges and will close down the port if our officers are arrested as a result or the local fined; we will call on the coast caucus to shut the entire coast down in our defense and in defense of the Pay Guarantee Plan."

These militants pointed the way toward mobilization of support throughout the union by combining defense of the action with a second motion mandating the Local's delegates to reject Bridges' premature contract scheme. But the Local leadership caved in and called off the action, according to a note added at the bottom, just as the leaflet was going to press.

The Alioto Connection Condemned

Two of these militants, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, then put out a second leaflet denouncing the sellout of the boycott and demanding that the barge issue be taken up by a Coast-Wide Caucus meeting to be held as soon as possible. (They also opposed boycotting the December 9 Caucus meeting ordered by Bridges.) After prominently listing two motions to this effect, the leaflet drew the vital political conclusions in a third:

"We condemn the alliance with Alioto as a disaster for the ILWU and demand that our union break with the Republican and Democratic parties and begin the struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government."

Although these motions were not acted on by the meeting, speakers for them were very well received and the motions were referred to a special Local meeting to be held on December

Spartacist Local Directory

BAY AREA (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701
BOSTON (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139
BUFFALO (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214
CHICAGO (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.,
Chicago, IL 60680
CLEVELAND (216) 687-1413
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101
DETROIT (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232
HOUSTON (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011
LOS ANGELES (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026
MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704
MILWAUKEE
Box 6061,
Milwaukee, WI 53209
NEW HAVEN (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505
NEW ORLEANS (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151
NEW YORK (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001
PHILADELPHIA (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144
SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012
TORONTO (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the Inter-
national Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

5, four days prior to the convening of Bridges' Caucus meeting. Gow and Keylor have also announced their intentions to run on this program for the Local 10 executive board (Gow is presently a member running for reelection). A class-struggle response to Bridges' class collaborationism will thus be advocated in the next elections in the key local of the union.

Other critical demands for the ILWU are listed in the leaflet by Gow and Keylor. A shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("6 hours' work for 8 hours' pay! And keep on sliding the hours down and the wages up to create jobs") is now critical to the survival of the union. A full cost-of-living escalator and abolition of the "steady men" clause in the contract, which facilitates job loss and undermines the hiring hall, are also listed as crucial, as is "Full A-status for B-men now!" The leaflet concludes by explaining that the present union leadership stands as an obstacle to this struggle and pointing to the critical importance of a break with the Democratic party.

Frank discussion of the betrayals of the ILWU leadership is a welcome new occurrence in Local 10, where so-called militants and socialists have historically either been allied directly with the Bridges regime or refused to criticize it openly. The Communist Party, whose militants allied with Bridges in the San Francisco waterfront strike of 1934 that built the union, rapidly turned their alliance into a class-collaborationist obstacle to further struggle. The CP supports all of the leadership's basic policies, including the M and M contracts, although it now occasionally raises implied differences on some things (e.g., loss of jobs). These, however, are suitably veiled in the form of pressure on the regime, raising illusions that the present leadership can be nudged to the left.

The Mills-Stout regime in Local 10 is based to a large extent on former supporters of *Longshore Victory*, an "oppositional" paper which refused to openly criticize Bridges. The sellout of the barge boycott by Mills-Stout-Wing now demonstrates the betrayals which inevitably lie at the end of the road of a strategy of "pressuring" a trade-union bureaucracy which is committed to reformism and capitalism.

Bridges is trying to destroy the ILWU. This cannot be explained by suggestions of personal gain from the Mafia influences he is allegedly allowing into the union or from an alliance with a capitalist and Democratic Party bigwig (although Bridges' pay as one of Mayor Alioto's port commissioners exceeds his union salary). Rather, this record of betrayal is the inevitable outcome of the class-collaborationist policy that he, the reformist Communist Party and the rest of the trade-union bureaucracy have forced on the labor movement. Only a clear, class-struggle alternative to these treacherous misleaders can save the ILWU and the whole working-class movement from defeat and, ultimately, destruction. ■

Continued from page 7

... "Mini-State"

million a year to Hussein... and \$50 million annually to the Palestinians (*New York Times*, 30 October).

For an Arab-Hebrew Palestine Workers Republic!

At the same time that we advise against any "mini-state" scheme, we nevertheless defend the right of the Palestinians to set up their own government in Gaza and the West Bank as a partial and deformed application of their right to self-determination. We also demand unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories.

Revolutionary socialists would give military support to an independent Palestinian force fighting for Palestinian self-determination, so long as it is not simply an arm of one or more of the Arab states. But we oppose another confrontation between the Arab regimes and Israel—just as we have taken a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 conflicts—which might very well spill over to a third world war, even if after the holocaust the PLO flag flew over Nablus.

Another Arab-Israel war would once again reinforce the nationalists on both sides and undermine the revolutionary potential in the mounting social crisis in Israel and the occupied territories. What is needed is a multi-national Bolshevik (Trotskyist) party which could link the strikes in Tel Aviv, Ashdod and Haifa with demonstrations by West Bank Arabs against the Israeli occupation.

Recognizing the right of self-determination for both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews, we point out that this can only be accomplished on both sides of the Jordan, including all of what now constitutes Israel and Jordan. These national claims, however, are directly counterposed, the product of historical interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory. Under capitalism another partition of Palestine, with its massive forced population transfers, can only bring untold misery to the working masses—as the Turkish army's partition of Cyprus graphically demonstrated in July.

Although the Hebrew nation is today an oppressor nation in relation to the Palestinians, a genuinely democratic solution would not simply reverse the terms of oppression. The "democratic secular Palestine" of the commando groups denies the existence of the Hebrew-speaking people as a nation—claiming they are simply a religion—and their right to self-determination. This is no different from the right-wing Zionist viewpoint which denies the existence of a Palestinian nation and its right to self-determination.

An equitable and genuinely democratic solution to the competing national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews can only come about through the formation of a bi-national Arab/Hebrew workers state, part of a socialist federation of the Near East, born of the common class struggle of Arab and Jewish workers against their ruling classes. ■

Continued from page 1

U.S. Economy Crumbling

tensification of inter-imperialist rivalries, increasing centrifugal forces among nations in the "free" world. The continuing American campaign for collective "consumer" action against the oil-producing Arab states is the most obvious case in point.

The U.S. has suddenly dropped its opposition to the notion of "recycling" petrodollars and indicated a willingness to partially back such a plan in return for a consumers' (Europe, Japan and America) alliance against the Arab oil-producing states. France and Japan have been loathe to go along with this scheme. They correctly realize that the economic measures proposed by Kissinger and Co. (e.g., a 10 percent reduction in oil imports by consumers) are, by far, less important than the political and military implications of such an alliance for the Near East—and



Detroit workers line up for unemployment benefits.

Continued from page 12

... Mafia

ILWU tops. Chapman is reported as "a former enforcer for Murder Inc. He still retains the nicknames 'Trigger Abe,' or 'Killer Abe.'"

Apparently one of Amalgamated's first act as "consultant" to the ILWU welfare fund was to recommend a "health" firm linked to Chapman, in his new profession as "dental health consultant," for running the union's dental plan. This switch of dental plan management had already been put over on the welfare fund's trustees "when longshoremen in Southern California—mostly from Local 13 in San Pedro—demanded that they be given some reason for the switch in plans. International VP Bill Chester met with them to explain the merits of the new plan but was unable to convince the longshoremen, and the contract was cancelled."

This article has created a great deal of controversy in the union. So widely believed are the assertions in the article that a recent Local 10 pensioners' meeting demanded an answer by Bridges. When the latter proposed a motion to condemn the *Bay Guardian* article, he was hooted down. To date there has been no reply to the article in the *Dispatcher*.

Reported underworld involvement in the ILWU goes hand in hand with Bridges' alliance with the shipping companies and capitalist politicians like Alioto, and with his constant pressure for merger with the ILA and the Teamsters. These two unions have been notorious for their corruption, allegations of Mafia connections and attempts to undermine the more advanced and democratic conditions enjoyed by West Coast longshoremen and warehousemen.

Although Bridges' merger plans have been repeatedly voted down by the membership (1971 and 1972 votes against merger with ILA and Teamsters, respectively), the *Bay Guardian* quotes ILWU officials and members to the effect that Bridges is out to dismember the union by sending the longshore half to the ILA and the warehouse division to the Teamsters. ■

themselves. Such a "consumers' axis" is clearly aimed at bullying the oil exporters with threats of military action and massive trade retaliation. It would also put the other advanced capitalist powers once again under the Pentagon's thumb. France countered by proposing a meeting of both consumers and producers, including smaller nations as well.

Rising national protectionism tends to make international trade agreements worth something less than the paper they're written on. The U.S. government has recently stepped in to "monitor" a deal made between two large grain dealers and the USSR.

Meanwhile, virtually unnoticed are the "agreements" the U.S. has simultaneously wrested from Europe and Japan not to shop on the American grain market. At the same time the U.S. has cancelled a grain-export deal with Iran. As Henry Kissinger aptly stated before the UN, "It is no longer possible to imagine that conflicts, weapons and recession will not spread."

In this period of crisis the reformist leaders of the working class have intensified their efforts on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Throughout Europe the patriotic leaders of the social-democratic parties are striving to shore up bourgeois order via "restraint" and "social contracts" while the Stalinists openly pursue political alliances with the main representatives of the capitalist class.

In the U.S. the anti-communist trade-union bureaucracy has excelled the most servile of its foreign counterparts. Although profits for U.S. capitalists during the oil crisis and earlier wage/price freeze have been higher than those in other advanced industrial countries, the contract settlements negotiated by the American labor bureaucracy have been positively scandalous when compared to the settlements won by European trade unions. *The Economist* (12-18 October), conservative spokesman of British capital, put it most succinctly: "America's great advantage over Britain is that its trade unions are not mounting a wage push inflation on anything like the British scale."

Although under tremendous pressure from the ranks, the bureaucracy is continuing its policy of craven capitulation to its capitalist masters. The tentative settlement negotiated by UMW head Arnold Miller is simply the latest of this series of sellouts of the most elementary and vital interests of the working class.

Rather than mobilize the power of the trade unions behind a struggle against the ravages of the current economic crisis and the capitalist system which breeds such crisis, the union bureaucrats have been busy trying to force their betrayals down the throats of the workers. While rallying the labor movement behind the "friend of labor" Democratic Party, these fakery have been pushing a program of national chauvinist protectionism, trying to convince the American working class that the roots of the current economic crisis lie in the machinations of U.S. capitalism's imperialist rivals.

American workers now face runaway inflation and the prospect of mass unemployment. The current misleaders of the labor movement have done next to nothing in the face of the latest capitalist onslaught except to beg for a few crumbs and fall over themselves in demonstrating their "responsibility" to their imperialist masters. Clearly the present period more and more demands an alternative to the deadend of bureaucratic betrayal. Especially necessary is a resolute stand against national chauvinism and protectionism, and an uncompromising fight against the ravages of inflation and mass layoffs.

The struggle to forge an alternative leadership committed to such policies is in reality the struggle to mobilize the working class to overturn the capitalist system itself as well as the parasitic misleaders of labor who make a career of preventing the workers from challenging the power of the bosses. ■

Crisis in the ILWU and the International Class Struggle

Speakers:
BOB MANDEL, member of ILWU
JOHN MORGAN, member of
Canadian Committee of the
International Spartacist Tendency

Saturday, December 7 8:00 p.m.
130 West Hastings Street

sponsored by: SPARTACUS BOOKS

Vancouver

Early Communist Work in the Trade Unions

Speaker: CHRIS KNOX
Labor Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

MADISON

Friday, December 6, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be posted
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU in Crisis

SAN FRANCISCO, November 27—The top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) is once again lashing out at the membership, threatening to strangle the historically militant West Coast dockers' union to death. Harry Bridges and his cohorts were already swimming in scandal in September over their strongarm attempts to force the sale of Local 10's hiring hall to friends of S.F. Mayor Joe Alioto. Now they are trying to ram through a new sellout longshore contract, using a lame-duck delegate body to head off opposition, more than six months before the expiration of the old agreement. Meanwhile, charges of direct collusion with shipping companies, capitalist politicians and underworld crime figures continue to mount against the Bridges regime.

"Harry Bridges Wants To End the ILWU"

A devastating, muckraking report in the San Francisco *Bay Guardian* (19 October-1 November) quoted one unnamed longshore union official as saying recently, "Harry Bridges definitely wants to end the ILWU. His thing now is that it was born with him and it will die with him." The article goes on to detail charges that the union welfare fund is controlled by "business partners" of a convicted pension fund defrauder and a "former enforcer for Murder Inc."

Bridges has long been known to favor merger proposals with the International Longshoremen's Association and the Teamsters, and his current policies of "alliance" with Gleason (ILA) and Fitzsimmons are nothing more than a calculated betrayal of the interests of longshoremen and warehousemen. Such an "alliance" could very well lead to the union's demise.

Bridges' attempt to push through a new contract now will mean an even worse disaster for longshoremen than his earlier sweetheart pacts. Already longshoremen with full union membership ("A men") are finding as little as 18 hours' work a week in some ports. But instead of mounting a fight to save longshore jobs through organizing non-union automated facilities and struggling for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, the Bridges regime trades away jobs to its shipping company friends in return for nickel-and-dime "compensation."

Under Bridges, these notorious "M and M" ("Modernization and Mechanization") agreements have cut back available jobs to the point where another such deal will mean probable deregis-

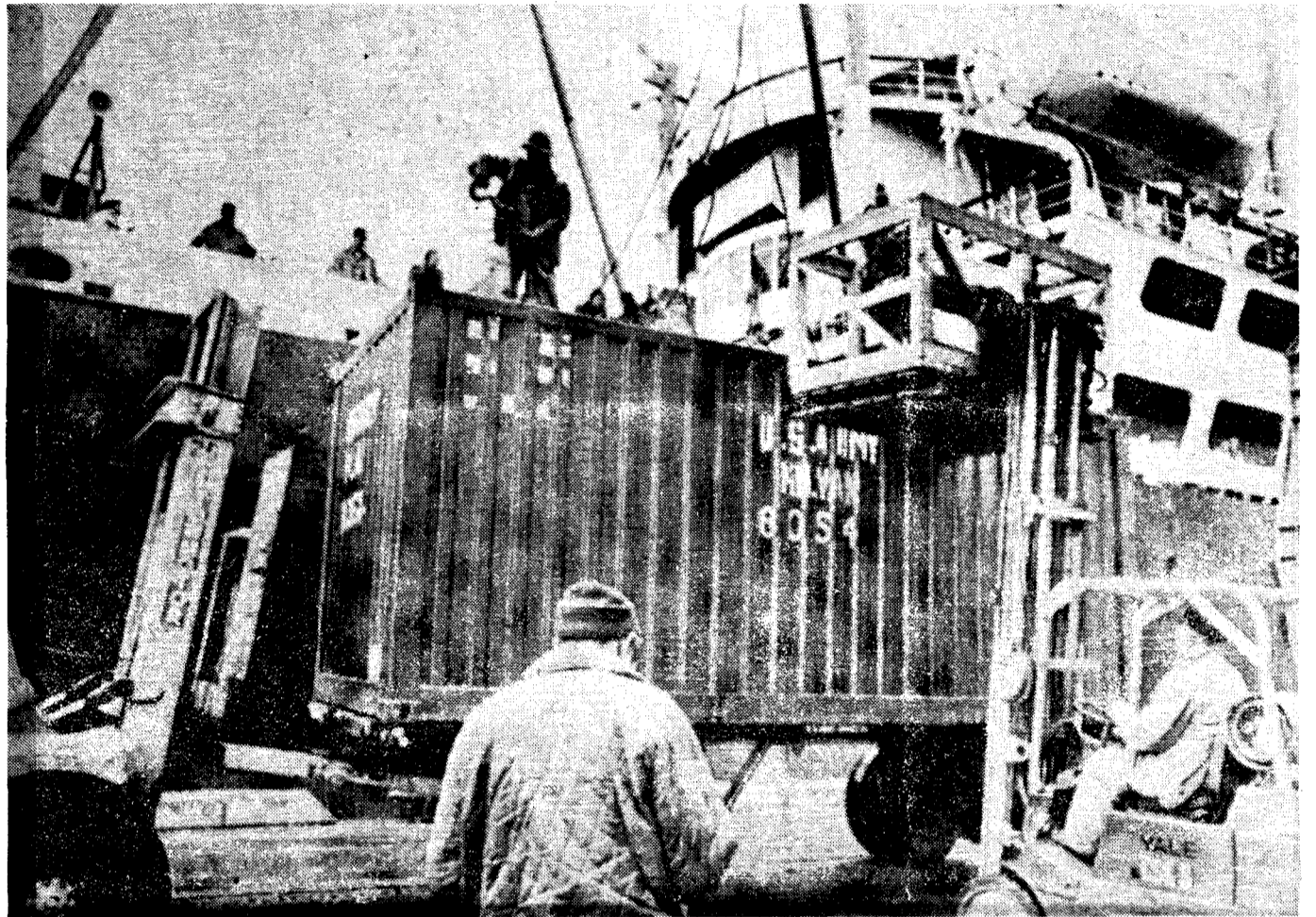
tration of full members for lack of work, as happened in 1946. Such depression conditions will of course be even worse for "B men," the discriminated-against category of second-class union members created by Bridges in order to ram through his first M and M agreement in 1961.

At the center of the rapidly growing crisis in the union is Local 10, the Bay Area longshore unit whose oppositional leadership Bridges would like to destroy and whose hiring hall he would like to sell to commercial developers allied with his friend, Mayor Alioto. The Local membership and part of the leadership have been resisting sale of the hall.

moving in on the ILWU and its welfare fund specifically. The welfare fund is now "advised" by Amalgamated Insurance Agency Service, Inc., a Chicago-based "consultants" firm brought in by Bridges two years ago. According to the *Bay Guardian* article, the chief officers of Amalgamated include a long-time business partner of one Allen Dorfman, who was convicted of six counts of fraud involving a loan of the Teamsters' pension fund in 1973. Dorfman was indicted again in 1974 for a \$1.4 million pension fund fraud. "Two weeks ago," continues the article, the star witness in his trial was gunned down "Al Capone-style on a Chicago street".

Although Dorfman is not listed as a partner of Amalgamated, his phone number is the same as the firm's and the article quotes *Overdrive*, an independent truckers' magazine, as saying that Dorfman "does receive an income" from Amalgamated. *Overdrive* is also quoted as linking one Abe Chapman ("real name Chalupowitz") with Amalgamated and, through them, with the

continued on page 11



ILWU longshoremen load military cargo for Vietnam during West Coast dock strike on Bridges orders.

UPI

This conflict was brought to a head recently by a "hot cargo" boycotting action against a barge which had been worked by non-longshore labor. The barge was a part of an automated operation belonging to the Alioto family shipping company, Pacific Far East Lines. Although solid for one week, the boycott was sold out by the Local 10 leadership under pressure from Bridges.

The contract and Alioto's barges are closely related. A meeting of the longshore Coast-Wide Caucus, a body of delegates representing longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses from up and down the West Coast, took place in October allegedly to deal with "juris-

dictional" questions with other unions doing longshore work on barges. In a surprise action Bridges moved to reopen the wages question in the contract, ramming it through on the excuse that Ford might freeze wages any minute, thus creating problems later (the contract doesn't expire until next June 30).

Since October, however, Bridges has agreed to discuss "all economic questions" with the Pacific Maritime Association, the employer group, and has called for the Caucus to reconvene on December 9. He is clearly trying to settle the main terms of the contract before the election of a new delegate body of the Caucus. (The present

continued on page 10

Mafia in the ILWU?

Rumors have circulated for some time to the effect that San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto is tied in with underworld crime figures. Allegations have been made that the Mafia had interests on the San Francisco waterfront and in the ILWU, the head of which, Harry Bridges, is an S.F. port commissioner and political supporter of Alioto. The Mayor is referred to as "godfather" in some labor circles.

According to an article based on several interviews with longshoremen in the S.F. *Bay Guardian* of 19 October-1 November, there is strong evidence that known underworld criminals are indeed



S.F. Mayor Joseph Alioto, left, Harry Bridges speaking.

UPI PHOTO