

## A Vote for Independence or Protest Against the Liberals?

# Quebec Nationalists Win Provincial Elections

In a stunning upset, the Parti Québécois (PQ) swept to power in Quebec provincial elections November 15. The bourgeois nationalist PQ—formed in the late 1960's with the aim of achieving political independence for the Quebec nation—won a victory which surprised even its own strategists. With 41 percent of the vote, it increased its standing in the National Assembly (Quebec's provincial legislature) from six to 69 seats and brought down the Liberal Party government, which only three years before had won 102 of the 110 Assembly seats.

This year the Liberals, bearing a record marked by scandals, inefficiency and repeated clashes with the province's volatile trade-union movement, plummeted to a low of 28 seats in their fall from power. Incumbent provincial prime minister Robert Bourassa, described by a fellow Liberal Party candidate as "the most despised man in Quebec," suffered the personal ignominy of losing his own seat to the PQ, as did ten other Liberal cabinet members.

Bourassa's Liberals had called the election two years before their mandate was due to expire in the hope of achieving a new, if reduced, majority before popular dissatisfaction reached a crisis point as the economic situation worsens. When it became obvious during the campaign that the government had underestimated both anti-Liberal sentiment and PQ support, Bourassa attempted to woo the voters to his camp from smaller non-separatist parties by claiming that the Liberals were the only viable alternative to separatists.

But while the Liberals were making "No to separatism!" their battle cry, the PQ was downplaying the independence issue. Instead it focused its campaign on Bourassa's weak leadership and counterposed PQ chief René Lévesque as a "clean government" administrator with support from the unions. When challenged on the question of separatism, Lévesque repeatedly referred to a pledge adopted by a 1973 PQ congress to hold a provincial referendum on the issue within two years of its accession to power.

The PQ victory was by no means solely due to its position on

the national question. A backlash against the Liberals' pro-French language policies among the province's 20 percent English-speaking and immigrant minority (35 percent in Montreal) strengthened several smaller right-wing parties and helped to splinter the federalist vote at Bourassa's expense. Disgust at the inability of federal and provincial Liberal governments to reduce Quebec's unemployment rate of more than 10 percent—while billions of dollars were spent on showpiece projects like the Montreal Olympics and the James Bay hydroelectric development—helped win voters to the PQ, which stressed "fiscal responsibility."

The leaders of the province's trade-union federations gave open or tacit support to the PQ, claiming that it was the party which "stands closest to the workers," in the words of a Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) resolution. In a statement hailing the victory of a government based on "honesty and freedom," FTQ president Louis Laberge pointedly remarked that the federation had supported the PQ because of its social and economic policies, but took no position on the question of independence. While over two-fifths of the electorate voted for the PQ, an opinion poll taken several days before the election claimed that only 18 percent of the province's voters actually supported Quebec's separation from the rest of Canada; 58 percent reportedly oppose secession.

### The Language Question

One of the key issues which considerably inflamed the Quebec elections was the language question, both bilingualism at the federal level and the language of instruction in public schools. It is over the language question that national polarization in Canada has become most acute in recent years, and it was this more than any other issue that brought down Bourassa's Liberal Party provincial government in Quebec November 15.

Official bilingualism was enacted as federal policy by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Liberal government in Ottawa in 1969. Under the Official Languages Act Canadians of either

language group could obtain federal services in their native language; articles for sale must be labeled in both French and English, and thousands of civil service positions were reclassified to require bilingualism as a job qualification.

This stirred up resentment among English-speaking government employees required to take French language instruction in order to keep their jobs. There was exacerbated anti-French chauvinism, particularly in the Western provinces where the introduction of the second language was seen as pointless harassment. On October 14, federal defense minister James Richardson of Manitoba resigned from Trudeau's cabinet in opposition to the policy of official bilingualism; recent opinion polls, moreover, show Trudeau's political stock particularly low in the Western and prairie provinces.

Among the French-speaking population (26 percent of the Canadian total), the rising English chauvinism and evident failure of federal official bilingualism to take hold have led to increased pressure for a unilingual French Quebec. It was in response to this sentiment that in 1974 Bourassa enacted Bill 22 which required demonstrated competency in English in order for children to enter the English schools. To abolish the English-language schools and suppress English-language instruction, as the advocates of French unilingualism demand, would be a highly risky attack on economically influential sectors of the Montreal middle class. So instead Bourassa threw a sop to the Québécois nationalists by victimizing the immigrants (mainly Greeks, Italians and Portuguese) for whom Montreal has been a transit point where they learn English prior to entering the broader Canadian (and North American) job market.

As was evident in the controversy over the measure before it became law, Bill 22 was violently and almost unanimously opposed in the immigrant communities, a sizeable section of the Montreal working class. The reaction was so strong that Bourassa promised during the campaign to modify the application of the law. Immigrant opposition to  
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Supporters of the Parti Québécois celebrate election victory in Montreal.



Quebec trade unionists march against wage controls on October 14 as part of nationwide "Day of Protest."

# Britain's Labour Government Does a Job for the CIA

## Stop the Deportation of Philip Agee!

In an unprecedented action, the Labour Party government has announced its intention to deport two American journalists from the United Kingdom, on the grounds that they are threats to "British security." On November 16 Mark Hosenball, a writer for the London *Evening Standard* who previously wrote for *Time Out*, a British radical magazine, was served with a deportation notice signed by Merlyn Rees, the Home Secretary. The following day Philip Agee, well-known former CIA agent whose book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, exposed the inner workings of the American spy/torture/assassination and foreign intrigue agency, received a notice to leave the country.

Hosenball is accused of having acquired information "harmful to the security of the United Kingdom and... prejudicial to the safety of servants of the crown," while Agee is charged with having contacts with unidentified "foreign intelligence officers." Rees has refused to give any details to back up the accusations and the two men will have no right of appeal if he signs the final deportation orders. Meanwhile their only legal recourse is to appear before a private panel chosen by the Home Office, but without legal counsel or knowing in advance the charges against them!

The case has raised a storm of protest in Britain, with the National Union of



Philip Agee Terence Spencer

And certainly the American intelligence agency can pressure the British government into doing them a little favor. As Agee pointed out, "[Dr. Edward] Proctor [new chief of the CIA station in London] could have brought pressure on the British government by allowing them less access to information. Britain receives a lot of information from the CIA" (*Guardian* [London], 18 November).

Hosenball, while writing for *Time Out*, had exposed an electronic surveillance network based in Cheltenham, England, which is partially operated by the U.S. National Security Agency, and had published names of CIA agents operating in Britain. Agee, in turn, is completing a new book detailing CIA operations since World War II in East and West Europe, Portugal and South America, and has good reason to suppose that the CIA wants the book stopped. In the last sections of *CIA Diary*, Agee details continual surveillance by CIA and British agents, who opened his mail, bugged his telephone (and typewriter!) and followed him constantly during his work on the book.

(As a regular contributor to *CounterSpy*, the Washington-based journal dedicated to exposing CIA plots and infiltration, Agee has just finished an article exposing the identity of "Leslie," the spy who gave him the bugged typewriter. At last report she was working for the UN-affiliated International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland.)

The CIA would particularly like to get Agee back to the U.S. where it can take revenge on this "betrayer" of its secrets. In publishing his book, Agee provided a service to the left and workers movement internationally not only by uncovering the workings of the mammoth U.S. spy network but also in revealing the names and aliases of over 100 agents, collaborators, conduits and fronts used by "the company." In consequence of these and similar leaks, during Congressional CIA investigations earlier this year "reform" legislation was introduced to make it a federal crime to publish "official secrets" or the real identity of any American intelligence agent working under cover.

Agee is a New Left muckraker whose direct experience with the CIA's murderous activities has led him to the conviction that the U.S. spy agency and all other imperialist secret police bodies must be destroyed. However, even moderates who have sought to expose the most glaring crimes of the U.S.

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# Notes on Vietnamese Trotskyism After 1945

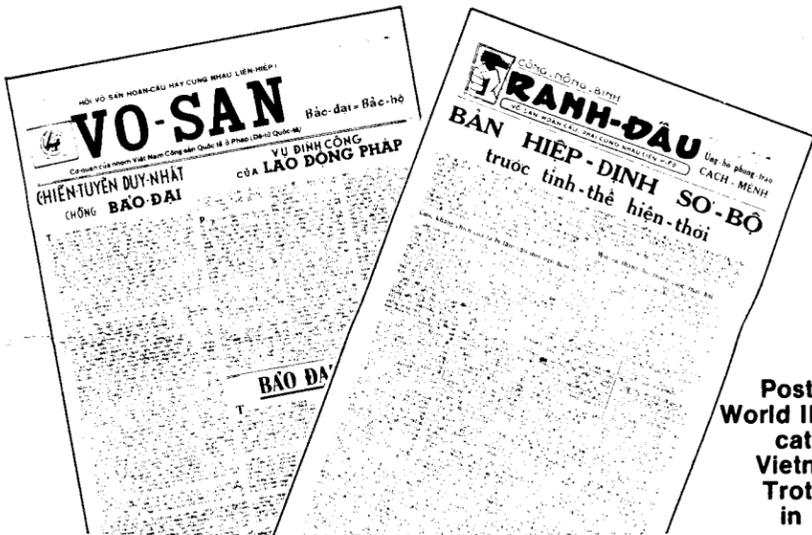
We print below a report on a July 1975 interview with V.S., a senior Vietnamese socialist who has a long-standing familiarity with the Vietnamese ostensibly Trotskyist movement. It concerns the history of Vietnamese Trotskyism following the massacre of several thousand Fourth Internationalists in 1945-46, both by re-invading French-British colonial troops and the Indochinese Stalinists led by Ho Chi Minh.

This hitherto unpublished report appears in a forthcoming Spartacist pamphlet entitled *Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam*, a collection of articles from Spartacist and Workers Vanguard. Copies of the pamphlet can be ordered by sending \$1.00 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001.

Beginning about 1938, the French colonial government transported large numbers of Vietnamese to France as manual laborers. Thus in the period immediately following World War II there were some 12,000 Vietnamese in France. The Trotskyists were firmly

only about 70 Vietnamese ostensible Trotskyists left in France. The GCI was in turn divided between former followers of Ta Thu Thau's La Lutte group and Ho Huu Thuong's International Communist League. At the time of the Pabloite split in 1951-53, there was a parallel debate among the Vietnamese resulting in a split in the GCI, with 18 opposing the Pabloist "entrism sui generis" (i.e., liquidation), about 40 supporting it and the remainder abstaining. The "independents" (anti-Pabloites) managed to bring out one issue of their own paper, *Cours Nouveau* (New Course), edited by Lucien who had written an important article concerning the 1945 Saigon uprising, but were unable to continue. Ironically, although the majority was theoretically in favor of entrism, it was never able to carry it out.

At the time of the 1963 reunification between the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Pabloite International Secretariat (IS), the two Vietnamese groupings also reunited, to form the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam (BLGV). According to V.S.,



Post-World II publications of Vietnamese Trotskyists in France

implanted in this overwhelmingly proletarian population and, according to V.S., occupied a politically dominant position: there were at this time as many as 500 organized ostensible Trotskyists in France.

The Trotskyist organization, largely supporters of Ta Thu Thau's La Lutte group, founded a "Comité Provisoire Représentant des Indochinois en France" (Provisional Committee Representing Indochinese in France) in July 1944 which included pro-Stalinists such as the noted philosopher Tranh Duc Thao. This "broad" committee was to serve as a base among which the Trotskyists could work, while at the same time maintaining their own independent publication.

According to V.S., during the first few years after the war, the Vietnamese section in exile contributed substantial financial support to the Fourth International, much more than many other sections. At the same time the section published a paper, *Tranh Dau* (Struggle), before 1947; after the first congress of the Groupe Communiste Internationaliste de Vietnam (GCI—Internationalist Communist Group of Vietnam) in 1947 it published *Vo San* until 1958.

However, beginning in the late 1940's the French government began massive deportations of the Vietnamese back to Vietnam, including about three-quarters of the Trotskyists. The latter simply disappeared after their return to Vietnam, presumably through capitulation to the Viet Minh Stalinists or liquidation by either the Stalinists or the French.

Consequently, by 1951-52 there were

this was due to the fact that their practical work had led to a convergence of positions rather than as a result of the SWP-IS discussions. By this time, however, the Vietnamese minority had been converted to the theoretical position of entrism (while the entire combined group recognized the impossibility of putting it into practice). From 1964 on, the BLGV decided that it was impossible to edit an explicitly Trotskyist paper in Vietnamese, and instead began working with an independent anti-Stalinist, "trotskyisan" (Trotskyoid) paper, *Quat San*, which is still being published today.

V.S. stated that in spite of the post-war assassinations and elimination of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

### PHILIP AGEE INSIDE THE COMPANY CIA DIARY



CIA has brought criminal charges against Agee for revealing "Company" secrets.

Journalists (to which both men belong), civil libertarian groups and some Labour Members of Parliament rallying to Agee and Hosenball's defense. The very survival of the cabinet, presently resting on a razor-thin majority, is threatened by the affair. One Labour MP, Arthur Lewis, has refused to vote for government motions until the two are given a "fair trial." Nervous party whips rushed to hold another dissident Labour backbencher in his seat when he yelled at Rees during the Home Secretary's statement about the deportations. The government could fall if the protester were asked to leave the House for "rowdiness" and the opposition then called a vote on a crucial issue.

While the Home Office refuses to substantiate its claims, it is clear where the heat is coming from: both men have long been a thorn in the side of the CIA.



Ta Thu Thau

Quatrieme Internationale

any organizational presence, traces of the Trotskyist heritage in Vietnam have not fully disappeared. Thus the Stalinists have reportedly never dared attack Ta Thu Thau in person (although carrying on the usual slander campaigns against other individuals), and there is still sentiment in Vietnam for moving Thau's grave from the Vietnamese highlands to Saigon. In addition, there have been periodic reports of Trotskyist influence in the South Vietnamese trade unions. In the early 1950's U.S. government cold warrior Vietnam expert Milton Sacks claimed the Trotskyists maintained a certain presence, and even later V.S. reported some influence of ostensible Trotskyists in the trade unions of the Saigon area.

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These sketchy reports reinforce the preceding analysis of the history of Vietnamese Trotskyism, particularly regarding its weaknesses. When Vietnamese Trotskyists in France after World War II concentrated on front-group formations, they repeated the pre-war error of the La Lutte group in not drawing a clear organizational dividing line between themselves and the Stalinists. Before the war, this failure had left the Trotskyists relatively open to repression by the French and Japanese; after the war it politically disarmed them against the Viet Minh, who were meanwhile attempting to murder all known ostensible Trotskyists in Vietnam.

As for the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), it has refused to give its Vietnamese section, the BLGV, any assistance, and has in fact kept the BLGV's existence secret (see the letter by the Vietnamese to the USec's "Tenth World Congress" reprinted in this pamphlet). This is hardly surprising given the position of the USec majority that the Vietnamese Stalinists are "empirically revolutionary." Further, by casting doubt on and denigrating the significance of the Stalinists' murder of Ta Thu Thau, the USec majority reviles the history of their own Vietnamese comrades. The SWP, for its part, blocks with the majority in refusing to pose the question of building a Trotskyist party in Vietnam today.

In deliberately refusing to build a Vietnamese section—because of the centrist USec majority's political capitulation to the Stalinists and the reformist minority's abject tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie—the Pabloists have made abundantly clear that the construction of a Vietnamese Trotskyist party can only come about through the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, and the political destruction of the false pretenders to its mantle. The international Spartacist tendency, which despite lack of access to many sources has been unique in seeking to draw the lessons of Vietnamese Trotskyism, pledges itself to this task. ■

# CWA Militant Wins Job Back After 14 Months

Editor's Note: The following is an interview with Jane Margolis, the Bay Area union militant who recently won a lengthy struggle to regain her job after being fired by Pacific Telephone Company in September 1975. A leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in S.F. Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), Margolis is a former executive board member of Oakland Local 9415. She was fired immediately prior to running for the same post in San Francisco.

WV: How have your fellow workers responded to your rehiring?

Margolis: It's been very exciting. Coming back after 14 months, I discovered that people I didn't even know at the time are excited about the victory. People feel that nobody ever wins

## Interview with Jane Margolis

against the phone company, so when "Ma Bell" was made to "eat her words" for a change everyone felt they had won a victory.

Also, there were really two obstacles in my case. I was up against both the company and the union leadership. Because I am an oppositionist in the union, most of the membership thought the odds against me were insurmountable. Finally, this company is hated so much that a lot of people were shocked that I came back to work, even after winning the case.

WV: What was behind your firing?

Margolis: It was political. It was a frame-up and everybody knew it. The company has wanted to get rid of me for the last five years. I am a leading member of MAC, which is known to be

a serious opposition, one which is here to stay. The CWA has had an enormous job loss in recent years and at the time of the last contract, shortly before I was fired, MAC fought to turn our isolated local wildcat into a national strike against layoffs.

It's no accident that I was fired immediately prior to running for San Francisco executive board representative. Nor is it an accident that it was in the fall of 1975 when massive downgrades and layoffs in phone started, and the usual harassment and firings had intensified. The company wanted to ram these policies down the throats of the union membership. They wanted no resistance. They wanted a passive workforce and they would lie through their teeth to fire me.

WV: Then how did you win your job back?

Margolis: The company hates the following things—bad publicity and resistance from the workforce. So that is exactly what we did. We organized a defense committee of the most militant union members and stewards in the local. Everybody knew I was fired because I am a union militant. We made it clear that if the phone company got away with firing me, the door was open for a clean sweep of victimization against anyone. Once the situation was understood, the union leaders were under a lot of pressure to take up the case, even though many of them would not have been sorry to see me out of the Local.

It is no secret that the CWA bureaucrats have it in for the Militant Action Caucus. In Oakland they once unsuccessfully tried to get us run out of the Local, but the membership stopped it. In San Francisco they had earlier refused to recognize a petition from the majority of my fellow workers to have me represent them as shop steward. But through the defense committee's efforts, and particularly due to the efforts of several class-conscious stewards, we were able to force this case all the way to the top. And the company settled the union grievance even prior to entering arbitration.

WV: How does MAC's defense strategy compare with other oppositionists in the CWA?

Margolis: The slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" should be understood as the ABC of trade unionism. But after a wildcat action here in 1974, a lot of people lost their jobs due to sectarianism in the defense. A MAC member was fired then, along with several supporters of the RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party] and PL [Progressive Labor Party]. But the supporters of both these groups refused to join our call for a united defense. Because we were split among ourselves, the company succeeded in firing ten militants. This is the kind of sectarianism which opens the whole membership up for increasing victimization.

Another point—many members told us we should sue the union if it would not fight for me. This is getting to be a pretty common practice among some of the phonies who pretend to be an opposition to the incumbent bureaucrats. In New York Local 1101, for instance, the members of the UAC [United Action Caucus, politically supported by the International Socialists] did not hesitate to take the union to court when bureaucrats of that Local framed them up on a bunch of phony charges. MAC was in a similar situation in Oakland in 1972, as I've mentioned. But we have a principle against calling



Jane Margolis

WV photo

on the capitalist government and its courts to legislate affairs in our union. We as union members will settle our own affairs. MAC is 100 percent opposed to strengthening the company's and the government's hand against the union in any way.

WV: We understand MAC is celebrating a double victory right now.

Margolis: That's right. Margaret Martinson, another MAC member, just won her job back after she was fired on the incredible charge that she was "insubordinate" because she stood up while answering directory assistance calls! Even worse, the person who turned her in to management was a service assistant named John Johnson, a union member! Margaret beat the victimization and Johnson has been brought up on charges in the union for his despicable finking. By the way, Margaret was once written up for insubordination for "drinking tea in the employees' lounge." This gives you an idea of how bad conditions are in the phone company, particularly for women.

Margaret and I, of course, would never have been fired to begin with if we didn't have a union leadership that believes the company has a "right" to run its business any way it wants to. For example, finking is a long-established tradition at the phone company. It's actually written into our contract that supervisors (many of whom are union members) are expected to report to management any signs of "bad service." The union has never fought this. It's never fought against the vicious absence control plan either, although this plan was set up to allow the company to weed out whoever it wants.

Our jobs are being automated away, but the union meets this with only passivity and a blind eye. What our leadership does do, though, is campaign for Jimmy Carter. MAC calls for a national phone strike against this job slashing and for putting a stop to the CWA's policy of backing the Democrats. We say no support to any capitalist politician and the union should take the lead in building a workers party. You can imagine what kind of response that gets from the bureaucrats!

WV: How do you answer the criticism that you're raising political issues which "don't belong in the union"?

Margolis: The union leadership raises its politics all the time. We simply refuse to abandon the members to the bureaucrats' politics which are at bottom an acceptance of the capitalist system and therefore fundamentally hostile to working-class struggle. Of course, the

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# Alliance with U.S. Imperialism Bedevils Maoist Conference

Particularly since the war over Angola last winter, China's far-reaching alliance with U.S. imperialism has produced doubts and general discontent among broad radical circles which have until recently been sympathetic to the Maoist movement. The problems this poses to would-be U.S. spokesmen for the Peking regime have now been greatly complicated by the violent power struggle that erupted among Mao's heirs following the death of the venerated oracle of Chinese Stalinism in September.

Among the several Peking-loyal sects in the U.S. these contradictions have weighed most heavily on the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), whose leaders have been the least willing to sacrifice domestic popularity to capture the elusive Peking franchise. Their excruciating dilemma was clear to all at the Conference on the International Situation initiated and controlled by the RCP and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), which took place at Columbia University in New York City November 20.

Planned as a pep rally in the wake of Mao's death, it became clear after China's new leaders purged the so-called "Gang of Four" that this would be no phony Maoist "unity" feast as had periodically taken place in the past under the auspices of the *Guardian*. Although the RCP leadership has yet to take a position on the Peking power struggle—thus opening itself to sharp attacks by competing Maoist groups—it evidently decided the malaise among its periphery was so serious that it had best confront it publicly.

In the short term the conference was a success for the RCP, drawing about 1,500 largely sympathetic participants. But in the aftermath, serious elements cannot have failed to notice that the vicious competition for the mantle of Maoist orthodoxy is taking place in a context of massive confusion and disorientation in their ranks. A notable index was the fact that for the first time in recent years the conference organizers could not limit the proceedings to Maoist double-talk by the use of goon squads and thus were forced to confront the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League (SL) throughout the day.

The SL, the only organization claiming the Trotskyist tradition to actively participate in the conference, focused on these contradictions in an attempt to persuade the most subjectively revolutionary participants to re-examine their old assumptions, break from the dead-end politics of Maoism and take up the struggle for genuine international working-class revolution.

Although RSBers had initially threatened the SL, blustering that "Trotskyites" would be physically excluded, pressure by some of the conference's liberal endorsers forced the RCP to reconsider and open up the conference. This unusual openness made it possible for the SL to put forward its politics in discussions, through substantial sales of literature and through the distribution of a leaflet entitled "Questions Maoists Can't Answer." Among those questions are the following:

How is it that the top-ranking "radical" leaders of yesterday's "anti-rightist campaign" are today revealed to have been secret "capitalist roaders" all

along and guilty of "unforgivable crimes"?

Why has the "anti-rightist campaign" abruptly ceased, and why is twice-purged Teng Hsiao-ping no longer denounced as a "capitalist roader"?

Why is it that Peking can justify the purge of the "Gang of Four" only through a campaign of personal vilification, and only after the purge was a *fait accompli*?

## The Primary Contradiction

Not only did the opening address by the RCP's Nicholas Unger avoid these critical questions, but it made no mention of China at all! Unlike the October League (OL)—which committed the blunder of sending a message of condolence to Mao's widow immediately prior to her arrest and condemnation as a "capitalist roader," then abruptly switched gears to parrot the new line emanating from Peking—the RCP is pursuing the cautious policy of "waiting until all the facts are in," undoubtedly reflecting internal disorientation at the purge of those most closely identified with orthodox "radical" Maoism. In the meantime, the RCP has had nothing to say about the "Gang of Four" either in discussions or in its newspaper *Revolution* (whose latest issue has been predictably delayed in appearing).

Unger spoke instead about what a good thing internationalism was and what a bad thing imperialism was, how the world was in turmoil and how all the people of the world want the same things—peace and progress. He also spoke about how terrible the "capitalist" Soviet Union was—just as terrible as the capitalist United States—referring to it as "the hungry dog-enemy of the people of the world" and "the big bad wolf."

There was, in fact, a curiously large number of references to animals of all sorts throughout the conference—sheep and goats, dogs and wolves. William Hinton repeatedly admonished the audience not to let the tiger in the back door while driving the wolf away from the front door, and at one point pro-RCP'er Clark Kissinger told an OLER that if the Chinese Communist Party elected a chimpanzee as chairman, October League leader Michael Klonsky would no doubt send it a telegram of support!

Despite the repetition of platitudes and the endless, mindless Mao-talk about the main enemy, the main danger, the main target and the main blow, the speeches of Unger and of William Hinton, former national chairperson of the U.S./China People's Friendship Association, did reveal—as they say—the "primary contradiction" facing the Maoist movement in the U.S. today: namely the Maoists' difficulty in either fully embracing China's policy of allying with U.S. imperialism or opposing it.

Hinton, a thoroughly consistent Stalinist and long-time mouthpiece for the Chinese bureaucracy, laid down the Chinese line. Between the two super-powers, one is "more dangerous," and that one is the Soviet Union. Coming down heavily on the RCP, Hinton also remarked that the OL didn't quite seem to get the picture, and to one degree or another both were still dancing around the necessity of cementing alliances with the "lesser enemy" by maintaining that there are two main enemies—the Soviet Union and the United States. The position of two main enemies is, he said, "a strange use of the English language." There can only be one "main enemy." It

can also cause you trouble if you want to get it on the gravy train for those lavish banquets in the Great Hall of the People.

To make himself perfectly clear, Hinton proceeded to draw an analogy between Chinese foreign policy today and Soviet foreign policy in the 1930's and 1940's. Since the Soviet Union had been unable to take on all the imperialists in the world at once, he explained, it had followed a policy of "uniting all who could be united" against the "main danger," then Nazi Germany. This lasted until the refusal of Britain and France to be so united made *them* the "main danger," thus compelling Stalin to ally with Hitler against them! Similarly, said Hinton, China is now concentrating on building the widest possible coalition (read alliance with U.S. imperialism) to combat the current "main danger"—the "social-fascist" Soviet Union—and the RCP had better accept it. Needless to say, the current situation is subject to change without notice as at the time of the Hitler/Stalin Pact. That's Stalinist "dialectics" for you!

The RCP's present situation is intolerable. To remain in the bidding for the position of "official" American Maoist organization it will have to give the American working class the word that U.S. foreign policy (at least) must be supported as a blow against "Soviet

east Asia the speakers astonishingly managed to avoid mentioning either the Vietnamese Revolution or the role of China in Asia! Several supporters of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) intervened in the discussion to raise these important subjects. One SL spokesman drew the lessons of the Vietnamese struggle by challenging the Stalinist doctrine of two-stage revolution, which was negated in practice: after more than a decade of trying, the NLF ultimately found no section of the bourgeoisie with which to form a coalition to take power. It was instead forced to politically and economically expropriate the bourgeoisie, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

Others questioned the present relationship between Vietnam and China in view of Vietnam's greater reliance on the Soviet Union for arms and equipment during the war. It was pointed out that China had, in fact, often refused to allow "revisionist" Soviet supplies to pass through Chinese territory to reach the embattled Vietnamese. As in the other workshops, RCP supporters were unable to answer these facts.

The Angola workshop consisted of a panel discussion between two apologists for the Chinese position and two MPLA supporters. So embarrassing is the



WV Photo

## Morning session of RCP conference November 20

social-imperialism." On the other hand, to break with China but not with Stalinist methodology would mean, in all likelihood, to label China "capitalist" (which is for Maoists not an objective economic category but a judgment of the subjective attitude of the ruling group) and follow Progressive Labor down the road to obscurity and political impotence.

The Trotskyist analysis alone provides a way out of this Stalinist doctrinal impasse and points the way forward. This analysis begins with an understanding of the real nature of both the USSR and China: neither capitalist nor socialist but degenerated and deformed workers states based on proletarian property forms that must be defended unconditionally against imperialist attack yet saddled with parasitic bureaucracies that must be overthrown by workers political revolution.

## Workshops Add to Confusion

The initial presentations were followed by a series of large workshops dealing with different areas of the world.

At the workshop on East and South-

Chinese position that George Glasser of the U.S./China People's Friendship Committee was forced to lie about it, maintaining that China gave no aid to any of the nationalist groups after January 1975. The RCP's Dennis O'Neal simply ignored China's role altogether, seeking to cover the imperialist South African invasion by pointing out that Angola is not socialist and that the MPLA in power has suppressed strikes, arrested leftists and welcomed Gulf Oil back to Cabinda.

The first speaker supporting SL views pointed out that support for China's alliance with South Africa in Angola represented a turning point for the Maoist movement. "It means something when an organization which claims to be revolutionary ends up in a bloc with the most racist reactionary regime on earth," she said. "If you could stomach Angola, you'll buy a bloc with your own imperialists in the next world war. You are taking the same path as the CP took at the time of World War II. Soon you'll be breaking strikes and turning in CPers and other people to the FBI."

The second SL supporter noted the myth that was being perpetrated that



William Hinton

WV Photo



David Dellinger

WV Photo



Bob Avakian

WV Photo

China had been neutral in Angola. There were two sides in Angola, he said, and China was on the wrong side—the side of U.S. imperialism and of South Africa. “If you had read the Chinese press,” he said, “you would have seen nothing but attacks on the Soviet Union for its role in Angola. But there was not one word of criticism against the U.S.; they didn’t even mention the South African invasion until nine weeks after it happened.”

As was to occur in other workshops as well, SL speakers were often listened to with interest until the use of some key word like “Stalinist” or “Spartacist” tipped the audience off that the speaker was a “Trot” and triggered a Pavlovian spasm of “Trotskyite”-baiting and references to ice-picks. New recruits to the Maoist movement are kept in such primeval political ignorance that they cannot tell the difference between their line and that of the “critical” Maoists, let alone Trotskyists, until the proper organizational tag is pinned on the speakers!

This use of “Trotskyite” bogeymen to harden up the ranks of a disoriented movement reached its nadir in the

workshop on Chinese foreign policy. Here OL Central Committee member Eileen Klehr got up to announce her “disgust” that “the sponsors of this conference let Trotskyites slander China,” disingenuously claiming that the Trotskyists’ participation in the conference was OL’s reason for refusing to co-sponsor it. When, seconds later, she demanded to know the RCP’s position on the “Gang of Four,” she was herself hooted down with cries of “That’s a Trotskyite question!”

The cries expressed the RCP’s evident embarrassment that it had not yet taken a position on the Peking purge. When an SYL supporter asked RCP chief Bob Avakian to answer “yes or no” whether Chiang Ching was a “capitalist roader,” he replied at first “No!” and then, “I don’t know. I don’t know.”

Through an apparent slip-up in conference planning, the RCP invited Ralph Shoenmann of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation to be a panelist in the Chinese foreign policy workshop. Shoenmann raised a series of Trotskyist-derived criticisms of China and noted from the platform that the expulsion from the party of the “Gang of Four” without so much as a hearing before their lifelong comrades was proof that there was no workers democracy in China. For once the audience understood the political importance of these charges which could not be answered and erupted in anti-Trotskyist fury.

In the USSR workshop, well-known RCP supporter Mike Zweig, reflecting the Chinese bureaucracy’s bias toward peasant autarky, said that the Soviet Union was capitalist because it has a “giant navy” which goes to every part of the world and has “direct economic relations of capitalism with countries all over the world.” The way you can tell that China is socialist, he said, is that it “consciously applies Marxism-Leninism to break down class distinctions.”

When an SL speaker asked Zweig when the counterrevolution which allegedly restored “capitalism” to Russia had taken place, he replied that it had not been necessary to have one but that when Khrushchev went to the Central Committee meetings and Politburo meetings with the “army in his pocket” that could be considered “sort of a coup.” Panelist Bob Coe from the U.S./China People’s Friendship Association dutifully parroted the line that the USSR was the main enemy—except that possibly if one lived in the Panama Canal Zone, perhaps there the U.S. might be the main enemy.

Toward the end of the discussion, the two left-liberal academicians on the panel, Lynn Turgeon and Ben Eklor, who had presented indisputable empirical proofs that the USSR was not capitalist, sharing qualitatively more in common with China than with the United States, began to get Trotsky-baited. The final SL speaker pointed out that while these two panelists had a firmer grip on reality than most of the people in the room (who had adopted the false consciousness of the Chinese bureaucracy), they were certainly not Trotskyists. The Trotskyist position, which was not expressed by Turgeon and Eklor, he said, begins with unconditional military defense of the gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. But even the call for the military defense of China against imperialism, since it came from a Trotskyist, was reflexively booed.

#### Avakian Plays with Critical Maoism

The final session of the conference was a bitter confrontation between the RCP’s No. One honcho Robert Avakian and William Hinton about the position U.S. Maoists should take in the event of a third world war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Although it was set up as a three-way debate, the third panelist, outmoded New Left

radical-pacifist Dave Dellinger, stood largely outside the clash, intervening from time to time to vainly protest the sharp right turn in Chinese foreign policy.

Avakian began the evening, drawing wild cheers from the RCP (one RCP supporter was overheard to whisper to another, “I love Bob Avakian. He’s so working class!”) as he strutted across the platform asserting that “we do not stand with either imperialist” and vowing that his organization would reject a bloc with the U.S. In response, Hinton warned repeatedly that the Maoist movement in the U.S. was in for big trouble from China if it refused to toe the line on this crucial question.

Over and over Hinton stressed that “the U.S.S.R. is the main danger,” that the “turn in the world situation requires ... new tactics,” exemplified in the recent struggle in Angola. He insisted that he was speaking for the Chinese leadership. In response to the RCP’s charge that he pulled his politics “out of the air,” Hinton said, “I didn’t create it. It’s the result of the analysis of Mao Tse-tung.”

That Avakian will take this warning seriously, despite his demagogic present “left” posture, was evident by his final

remarks of the evening. While the RCP does have criticisms of the role of the Browderite CPUSA during World War II, he said, he was definitely not ruling out circumstances in which the RCP could bloc with U.S. imperialism in a war.

Continuing loyalty to Peking was also evident in Avakian’s answer to a question posed by an SL supporter in the audience. The SL speaker asked:

“Since the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union is fundamental, doesn’t the refusal of the Vietnamese Workers Party to characterize the Soviet Union as capitalist mean by your criterion that the Vietnamese government itself is revisionist and on ‘the capitalist road?’”

Avakian’s response was that confused people aren’t necessarily enemies. With regard to China, he said that Mao had recognized that the Soviet Union was on the road to capitalism as early as 1956 and had struggled with Khrushchev internally (within what international organization he could not, of course, say, since Stalin had long before liquidated the Communist International). Avakian went on to declare bombastically that China had educated a whole generation of revolutionaries and would

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## Free the Trotskyists in Chinese Jails!

At last weekend’s Maoist conference on the international situation panelist Clark Kissinger—a former president of SDS, current chairman of the U.S./China People’s Friendship Association and mouthpiece for the politics of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)—delivered what he imagined to be the definitive attack on the “Trotskyites.” But his story was in fact a stinging indictment of the Chinese Stalinists’ policies of imprisoning their left-wing political opponents.

Kissinger, having “heard just about enough” of Mao’s betrayals from various “Trotskyite” speakers, told his audience that on speaking tours he is asked why China has released the old Kuomintang (KMT) officers from jail but not the Trotskyists. He offered the question to the audience to ponder, then added: “I said I didn’t know, but I thought the possibility of re-education was higher among the Kuomintang.”

It is the most grotesque attack on the fundamentals of workers democracy to release Chiang Kai-shek’s war criminals and police agents while veteran working-class militants are kept penned up for the rest of their lives. But from Kissinger’s perverse point of view he is right. The Kuomintang officers whom China began releasing in the fall of 1975 may well be more amenable to Mao-style “thought reform” than those Trotskyists who fought tenaciously against Japanese imperialism and KMT reaction.

Chiang’s former generals wouldn’t have to learn much at all to become reformed Maoists. They wouldn’t have to break with their narrow nationalism, nor with their murderous bureaucratic appetites. Furthermore they would no doubt welcome the alliance with U.S. imperialism based on anti-Sovietism and global counterrevolution.

But for the Trotskyists who struggled in the interests of the oppressed masses of China and the international proletariat, reconciliation with the Maoist regime would mean capitulation to the forces they fought with so much courage. After many Chinese Trotskyists spent years in Chiang’s jails they were again persecuted immediately after Mao’s peasant armies were victorious in 1949. In 1950-51, they were picked up by the hundreds in a nationwide dragnet, jailed on indeterminate sentences and many sent to their deaths. Proud of their struggle on behalf of the Chinese proletariat, when they were to be executed these class martyrs asked only to be identified by the single word, “Trotskyist.” But instead the Maoist regime falsely branded them as “enemy KMT agents” (see “Mao’s Jails for Revolutionaries,” *WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975).

Today it is the real KMT enemy agents who go free while the revolutionaries remain imprisoned. This is testimony not only to the barbaric anti-working-class injustice of the Mao regime, but also to the power of the Trotskyist program. The political cowardice behind the vindictiveness was mirrored at the RCP conference in the repeated mindless “Trot” baiting to drown out embarrassing questions. In his attempt to cover up for Mao’s treacherous foreign policy of alliance with U.S. imperialism, white-supremacist South Africa and a host of “Third World” butchers, Clark Kissinger may have wished for a few “educable” KMT generals and police agents to help stop the Trotskyists from exposing the betrayals of his masters in Peking.

Demands for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists, who never had a public trial, have met with a wall of hostile silence from the Chinese authorities. And shamefully, their moving appeal, written under desperate circumstances and smuggled out of “People’s China” at the risk of death, instead of reaching their comrades all over the world was suppressed by Ernest Mandel and his Pabloist band of renegades from Trotskyism. They were so busy tailing after the “revolutionary” Maoists that they couldn’t be bothered with defending Mao’s Trotskyist opponents. But their case must not be buried. The entire workers movement must demand: Free the Trotskyists in Chinese jails!

## Stop DDR Crackdown on Dissidents!

# East Germany Deprives Singer Wolf Biermann of Citizenship

Last week East Germany deprived the left political folksinger, poet and critic of the bureaucratic regime, Wolf Biermann, of his DDR citizenship. On November 16 a communiqué of the official East German news agency stated that Biermann had "cut the ground out from under his own feet for further exercise of DDR citizenship through performances hostile to the German Democratic Republic."

Having emigrated to the DDR from West Germany in 1953, the 40-year-old Biermann, an idol of New Left radicals and East German youth since the mid-1960's, is known for his outspoken dissidence which, while deeply critical of the Stalinist regime, continues to uphold communism as the only hope of mankind.

Biermann is no anti-communist reactionary in the service of imperialism à la Solzhenitsyn. His cause must be supported by the international workers movement, demanding that his East German citizenship be reinstated at once.

Biermann's three-week tour of West Germany, hosted by the youth group of the metal workers' union IG Metall, was the first time in 11 years that the DDR had permitted him to leave the country. Before his departure he was explicitly assured by East Berlin authorities that he would be permitted to return, and he held valid exit and entry visas for the Democratic Republic. In the wake of the protest singer's expulsion, West German author Heinrich Böll rightly exclaimed that Biermann was "tricked in the shabbiest fashion."

The bureaucracy used a 1967 law against Biermann providing that persons engaging in "major violations of their duties as citizens" can be deprived of their citizenship. The East German Socialist Unity Party (SED) organ *Neues Deutschland* hypocritically asserted that the DDR had "exercised much patience with Biermann," who had "been spraying out his poison for years with the approval of enemies of the DDR."

### Stalinists and Cold Warriors

The excuse given by *Neues Deutschland* for the action was the concert given by Biermann in Köln on November 13 to an audience of 7,000 young people and carried live by West German radio. In the concert he took pains not to appear as an anti-Communist, but the East German Stalinists found his reported characterization of the DDR as "clique rule, a dictatorship to be sure, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a sufficient pretext to get rid of a troublesome critic.

Trotskyists understand that the DDR is indeed a dictatorship of the proletariat, albeit one qualitatively deformed by the enforced political monopoly of the self-serving Stalinist bureaucracy (not just a tiny clique). However, Biermann, like the Trotskyists, has made clear his commitment to defend the DDR and its collectivist property forms against imperialist

attack, and in any case the East German authorities' action was certainly not due to a political dispute over the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In West Germany all sorts of reactionaries including such sabre-rattlers as Franz-Josef Strauss will make political hay out of the DDR Stalinists' act of high-handed bureaucraticism. Biermann has shown an awareness of the need to distinguish himself from imperialist reaction by attacking a number of West German politicians in his latest concert.

However, even within the workers movement there are many reformists who will seek to use Biermann for their anti-Communist aims. His hosts of the IG Metall bureaucracy, for instance, have been in the forefront of efforts to exclude "radicals" (which would definitely include the likes of Biermann) from the "democratic" union movement of West Germany. The political singer was also invited by an "Initiative Committee for Freedom of Opinion in East and West" at Bochum University. Among the participants in this committee, in addition to the youth groups of the Social Democratic Party and the bourgeois Free Democrats, are liberal professors and the IAK (International Workers Correspondence, connected with the French OCI), which has played the leading role in the group.

In addition to the treacherous equation of abstract political "freedom" in the degenerated/deformed workers states with the capitalist West (a liberal concept denying the fundamental class difference between these societies), for the IAK to form a political bloc with bourgeois and social-democratic anti-Communists against the Stalinist-ruled states is to side with imperialist "democracy" (i.e., counterrevolution) against historic conquests of the workers movement. If Biermann wishes to avoid this fate he must be extremely vigilant about the company that he keeps.

### Crackdown in the DDR

Despite the fact that the worst enemies of socialism will seek to make capital out of the Biermann affair—Pinochet will doubtless gloat over the fact that the DDR happens to be one of 35 nations sponsoring a UN General Assembly resolution condemning Chile for depriving opponents of the junta of citizenship—this outrageous victimization does indeed expose the hollowness of the socialist pretensions of the East German Stalinist regime.

The measure is part of a generalized crackdown on dissent in East Germany during the last month, which has involved a cabinet reshuffling and the expulsion of Rainer Kunze from the East German writers' union for publishing a book of vignettes critical of the DDR in the Federal Republic. These are unmistakable warnings to other critics of bureaucratic misrule in the DDR not to push their luck too far.

The Stalinist rulers in East Berlin are worried about an outbreak of popular discontent, in particular over the issue

of permission to emigrate to the West. Allegedly over 90,000 DDR citizens have applied for authorization to leave the country since the Helsinki Accords (supposedly guaranteeing freedom of movement) were signed in August 1975. Even though living standards in East Germany have risen considerably in recent years and the DDR (with only 20 million people) now ranks ninth among industrial nations, they are still far below the level in West Germany—as DDR citizens are daily made aware by Western TV commercials.

Now, faced with a sharp rise in the prices of raw materials from the USSR, more DDR-produced consumer goods will have to be exported to pay for Soviet gas and oil. The bureaucracy evidently hopes that by clamping the lid on dissent it can avoid a repetition of last summer's Polish workers' protests against planned price rises. It could, however, have the opposite effect.

### Hungarian Revolution or Prague Spring?

To his credit, Biermann recognizes the tremendous achievement represented by the collective ownership of the means of production as opposed to the anarchy of capitalist production relations. He also defends the Berlin Wall as necessary to stop the crippling drain of trained personnel which imperiled the East German economy before 1961 (though adding that "in the long run the DDR needs neither penitentiaries nor the Wall"). Biermann attacks West Germany for the permeation of upper levels of government and industry with unreconstructed Nazis, and calls for the reunification of Germany on a socialist basis. He explicitly states:

"My stance of critical solidarity toward the DDR rests on the conviction that the DDR, despite all the bureaucratic evils, is a transitional society to socialism."

But Biermann is trapped in political contradictions by his failure to accept the fact that the German proletariat can go forward to socialism only by both ousting the parasitic bureaucracy through a political revolution in the DDR and by carrying out a social revolution in the West, while rapidly



Wolf Biermann

UPI

extending both revolutions internationally. He is unable to envision a workers movement independent of the "official" Communist parties, and wants to reform the Stalinist SED rather than smash this instrument of bureaucratic rule.

For Biermann, the SED is still "his" party, as his poems and songs have made clear for years, and he is still longing for the appearance of an East German Dubček. But the Hungarian workers revolution of 1956, not the Prague Spring, is the road of revolutionary advance. Hungary demonstrated that the bureaucratic Stalinist regimes in the deformed workers states can be toppled by workers soviets. What was lacking—the key element of success—was a democratic-centralist Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the struggle against Stalinist rule.

Viewing Stalinism solely from the basis of his own experiences in a deformed workers state, Biermann takes the protestations of Marchais, Berlinguer and Carrillo against the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia as a commitment to "socialist democracy." He fails to grasp the fact that, far from desiring to attain socialism—which they abandoned as a goal long before formally renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat—the French, Italian and Spanish Communist leaders are simply attempting to demonstrate their reliability to their respective bourgeoisies.

Thus Biermann has written (on the jacket of his latest LP, a recording of Spanish songs) that, having read Carrillo's book, "I now know that the position of the Spanish CP on all the important questions of the international workers movement is virtually identical with my

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### From: The Singer's Inaugural Address by Wolf Biermann

*Who once bravely endured in the face of machine guns  
Are afraid of my guitar. Panic spreads in all directions  
When I open my jaws, and  
The sweat of terror is seen on the snouts of the  
bureaucrat elephants  
When I treat a concert hall to my songs, truly  
A monster, a plague, that's what I must be, truly  
A dinosaur is dancing on the Marx Engels Platz  
A backfiring shell, a dumpling stuck fast in the fat neck  
Of the responsible, who fear nothing so much as  
Responsibility.*

## In Bid for World Opinion, Pinochet Releases 129

# Thousands of Class-War Prisoners Rot in Chile's Jails — Free Them All Now!

On 17 November the *New York Times* ran a story headlined "Chile Will Release Political Prisoners." The story began: "The military Government announced today that it was releasing all but 20 political prisoners held without charges under Chile's stage of siege." The next day the State Department issued a statement "welcoming" the action and indicating that "the United States had played a behind-the-scenes role to bring it about." What was the truth behind the obvious public relations ploy?

In reality, "all" turns out to be a little over 300 left-wing prisoners out of an estimated total of several thousand. On November 18 the blood-stained junta

announced the release of 129 political prisoners. Another 168 were reportedly transferred from Puchuncavi, a coastal prison camp near Valparaíso, to Tres Alamos in Santiago, with the promise that they will be freed soon. General Hernal Bejares went so far as to claim that all persons held without charge under the state of siege laws would be released and allowed to remain in Chile and that 198 persons who had been exiled to remote areas of the country for political reasons would be permitted to return to their homes.

For more than three years, millions of workers throughout the world have vociferously demanded the release of the thousands of militants being held in

Pinochet's torture centers and concentration camps. The release of several hundred—even if it is intended by the junta as a gesture to clean up its image—is a victory for the workers movement. But it cannot be forgotten that an unknown number of political prisoners whose fate is unaffected by the Bejares decree still remain in jails and torture centers throughout Chile. The Chilean interior minister admits only that 280 persons are on trial before military tribunals and that another 600 are already sentenced. Yet the Paris station of Amnesty International estimated on October 22 that there were 4,000 political prisoners in Chile (to say nothing of the more than 30,000 left-wing militants, workers and peasants slaughtered by the junta since 11 September 1973).

The junta also has a list of 20 prisoners of "special danger to state security" who will be released only if they agree to go into exile and are received by a foreign country. Among these are former economics minister in the Allende regime, José Cademartori (CP); the former secretary of state for the interior, Daniel Vergara (CP); the former mayor of the San Miguel district of Santiago, Tito Palestro; a journalist Gladys Díaz (CP), as well as MIR leader Victor Toro. The identity of the others is unknown.

In addition, Luis Corvalán, leader of the Chilean Communist Party, and Jorge Montes, a member of the CP, are being held for ransom by the junta as part of a political ploy designed to embarrass "socialist" countries. Pinochet has offered an exchange: Corvalán for Vladimir Bukovsky, a left critic of



Daily World

Luis Corvalán

document claiming that they have never been tortured, the junta has been unsuccessful in convincing even its supporters that it is anything other than a gang of thugs and murderers. Because of the many reports of continued repression in Chile from groups like Amnesty International and the UN Commission on Refugees, as well as testimony from political prisoners who managed to flee Chile, pressure has been put on the junta recently by various capitalist governments for whom Pinochet has become somewhat of an embarrassment.



AP

Chilean political prisoners released from prison outside Santiago November 17. They represent a small fraction of the total still being held by the junta.

the Soviet bureaucracy who has been in jail in the Soviet Union since 1970; and Montes for Hubert Matos, a Cuban counterrevolutionary, in prison for 15 years for attempting to organize an army revolt against Castro.

But the workers movement will not be blackmailed into calling for freedom for counterrevolutionaries like Matos, or equate the Soviet deformed workers state with the reactionary Chilean military dictatorship. We demand the *immediate and unconditional* release of all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and throughout Latin America!

### The Terror Continues

Although the prisoners currently being released are required to sign a

Amnesty International reported in August that "the wave of repression begun in May of 1976 [just prior to the OAS Conference held in June in Santiago] does not seem to have declined in intensity." At that time, hundreds of members and leaders of left-wing parties, including Victor Díaz, deputy general secretary of the Communist Party in 1973, were arrested without charges. A United Nations panel of inquiry has charged Chile's military junta with systematic extension of repression, arbitrary arrests, torture and deportations. On October 13, the executive committee of UNESCO passed a resolution expressing profound

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## UAW Tops Let Ranks Blow Off Steam

# "Apache" Strike at GM

The United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy has just concluded the shortest strike in its history against a "Big Three" auto manufacturer and reached a settlement with profit-bloated General Motors that is one of the worst in UAW history. At midnight Friday 69,000 GM workers at 16 plants walked off the job in the first of a planned series of "mini-strikes," but by noon calls were going out from Solidarity House ordering the day shift back to work with a contract essentially identical to the one Woodcock railroaded Ford and Chrysler workers into accepting last month.

The issue which provoked the unexpected walkout (the first time two of the auto giants were struck in the same year) was reportedly a UAW demand that management pledge in writing not to interfere with the union's organizing drive at new GM plants in the South. When bargaining began last summer a UAW spokesman announced that the call on General Motors to halt its anti-union propaganda "is the only demand where we have a declaration of war" (*Detroit Free Press*, 5 August).

In a clear move to profit from low wages prevailing in non-unionized areas, GM has recently opened six new parts plants in Southern states notorious for their "open shop" conditions. Typical of such plants is the Clinton, Mississippi, headlight plant where local workers average \$2 per hour less than those at GM's Anderson, Illinois, plant where the same work was done before it was moved south. Recent UAW bids to win representation at two of these plants failed after the company mounted massive propaganda campaigns against unionization.

The Woodcock bureaucracy, while it certainly prefers to slow the trend toward "runaways" if only to maintain its dues base, is unwilling to mobilize the UAW and the rest of the labor movement for the militant struggle necessary to organize the unorganized and sweep away reactionary "right-to-work" laws. The GM settlement includes a formal letter from the company pledging what UAW General Motors director Irving Bluestone termed a "posture of neutrality" toward union organizing drives at the Southern plants. Asked how the pledge would be enforced, Woodcock reportedly answered: "We have the good faith of General Motors behind this, and that's good enough for us"

(*Wall Street Journal*, 22 November). But for auto workers, empty promises are not enough.

Furthermore, union officials openly admitted that the purpose in striking only 16 of GM's 119 plants was to avoid paying strike benefits to the membership, even though the strike fund currently stands at \$160 million, enough to cover an eight-week strike! UAW "opposition" bureaucrat Frank Runnels, president of Cadillac Local 22 in Detroit, tried to give a militant cover to Woodcock's defeatist strike strategy: "It's Operation Apache, to hit them at our convenience, not theirs.... It goofs up their production and throws their schedules into chaos. It drives them nuts."

Runnels "forgets" that the same tactic was used to no avail by UAW tops in 1972-73 with a series of isolated local strikes against backbreaking speed-up, notably at GM's automated Lordstown plant. Far from bringing the company to its knees, the only effect of these hit-and-run strikes was to drain off militancy and demoralize the union ranks.

Despite the UAW misleaders' trust in the "good faith" and "integrity" of the bosses, despite Woodcock's contention that the new contract "will provide UAW members and their families with greater job security and income," the ranks will soon discover the truth. The deadly line speed and grueling overtime will continue as unremitting inflation eats away at their paychecks. As inventories swell and auto sales falter along with the rest of the economy, they will find themselves defenseless against the new round of layoffs which will sweep the auto industry in coming months.

Bluestone's hat-in-hand begging for company "neutrality" toward organizing in the South only shows how far the UAW has fallen since the days of the 1936-37 sitdown strikes. This kind of pussyfooting could never have organized the most powerful industrial union in the U.S.! It is not enough to pressure Woodcock & Co. The only hope for auto workers lies in the construction of a militant and consistent opposition to the labor fakers which is dedicated to the principles of relentless class struggle. Vote down the GM contract! Unchain the UAW! ■

# Quebec...

(continued from page 1)

this enforced French language instruction was partly reflected in the November 15 balloting in increased votes for the reactionary Union Nationale. However, the PQ was more interested in winning votes than in consistent nationalism and appealed to the immigrants by proposing that no present Quebec residents would be required to have their children pass language tests in order to gain access to the English schools.

There is real linguistic discrimination against French speakers in Canada and elsewhere. In Quebec industry the language of work is often English, since ownership is dominated by English Canadian and U.S. companies. The separate English-speaking school system, moreover, is both segregated and privileged, since it is located by and large in more affluent neighborhoods. As internationalists, communists must oppose such discrimination and privileged status for any language.

On the other hand, Québécois nationalists are concerned primarily that the number of French speakers is declining due to a falling Quebec birth rate, the influx of English-speaking immigrants and out-migration from the province in search of economic opportunity elsewhere. This is the source of demands for enforced French unilingualism in Quebec—an attempt to stop the erosion of French due to economic factors by substituting a government edict. This must be opposed by class-conscious workers, who seek not to create a barricaded ghetto but to lower national antagonisms among the working people.

## A Vote for Independence?

Since the elections, Lévesque has admitted on a number of occasions that the support for independence among Québécois is definitely in the minority at present. However, the November 15 vote may have set in motion a dynamic heading in the direction of separation. The PQ will in any case seek to increase provincial powers in a number of areas at the expense of the federal government; and Trudeau (whose political career would be ended by Quebec independence) will oppose handing over significant powers. So would virtually any other federal government, for the secession of Quebec would threaten the existence of the confederation.

Quebec has experienced a long history of national oppression, and thus one of the most fundamental tasks of revolutionaries in English Canada is to fight for Quebec's unconditional right to self-determination—i.e., the right to secede. If the federal government should move to deny this right—either by citing constitutional barriers (the British North America Act of 1867 has no provision for secession) or by militarily occupying Quebec, as it did in the wake of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) terrorist attacks in 1970—Leninists will defend the rights of the oppressed Québécois nation.

The Leninist position on the national question is based on the struggle against all forms of national inequality or privilege. In upholding the democratic right of national self-determination we seek not to foster the bourgeois ideology of nationalism, but to remove national antagonisms so that the fundamental class questions may be brought to the fore. In the case of colonies the right of self-determination can be expressed only in the demand for unconditional, immediate independence.

### Le Bolchévik

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In the case of multi-national states such as Canada the question is not so simple. It is only when national antagonisms decisively cut across the class struggle that Marxists go beyond defense of the right of self-determination to actively advocating independence. Lenin argued that this was the case in Norway early this century, and therefore supported the demand for Norwegian independence from Sweden. Should conflicts over the language question, immigration policies, use of federal troops and other issues escalate national hostilities in Canada to such a point—a distinct possibility with a PQ government in Quebec—then we would be obliged to demand independence.

At this time, however, we continue to point out that separation would be a step backward. Given the high degree of integration of the North American economy and the potential leading role of the militant Québécois proletariat in the North American socialist revolution, the failure to achieve proletarian unity within the context of one state



Pierre McCann/La Presse

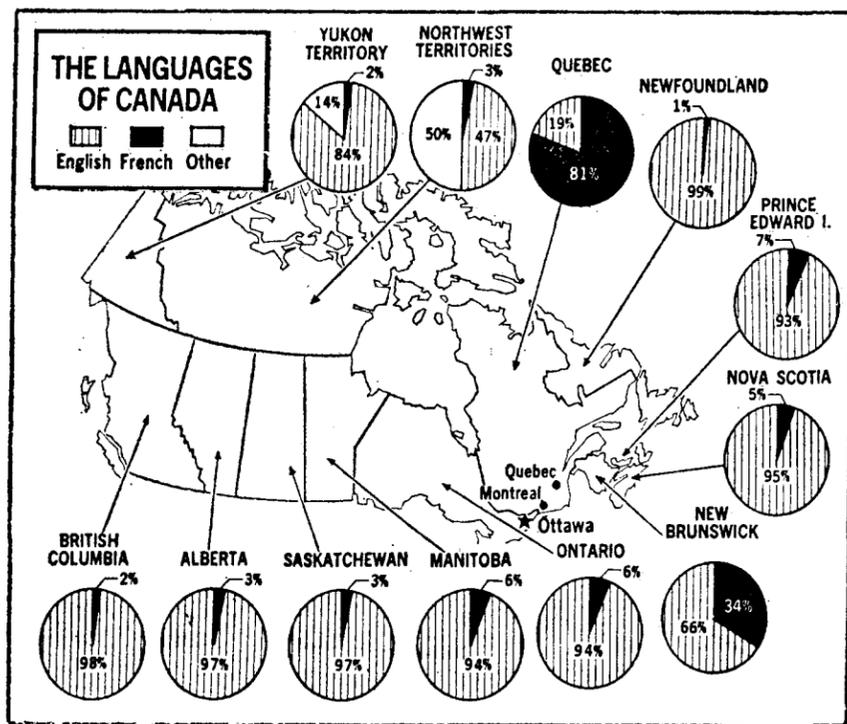
## René Lévesque

power in Canada would be a setback for the working class. This defeat would be in large measure the consequence of the national arrogance of the existing leadership of the English-Canadian working class—in particular the reformist New Democratic Party, which refuses to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination.

While the most combative sectors of the Quebec proletariat are sympathetic to Québécois nationalism, they have also played a key role in sparking cross-Canada labor actions in the recent past. In several railway and postal strikes the initiative was taken by Montreal locals of the unions in question. In the event of Quebec independence such important links among North American workers as the international and Canadian unions may well be lost, which can only retard the struggle for proletarian state power. Despite the wishful thinking of sundry left-nationalists, there is no road to socialist revolution for the Québécois proletariat separate from its class brothers and sisters in English-speaking North America. The burning necessity of united trans-national class mobilization was amply demonstrated by the October 14 cross-Canada protest/strike against wage controls.

## The PQ Against the Working Class

The labor bureaucrats' support to the PQ as a supposed "lesser evil" is a conscious betrayal of the militant Québécois proletariat—the most combative working class on the North American continent. The PQ is a bourgeois, openly anti-working-class party, formed in 1968 by a fusion of nationalist splits from the populist Créditiste Party. (The subsequent affiliation of the more left-wing nationalist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale gave the party much of its fake social-democratic veneer and base of support among Québécois youth.)



New York Times

During the massive province-wide general strike of May 1972, the PQ appealed for calm and a return to work, while denouncing the "irresponsible" labor leaders of the Common Front. In 1973, it voted for the Liberal Party's emergency legislation, forcing striking Quebec Hydro workers back to work, and repeated this against hospital workers and nurses in 1975 and 1976. It supported the introduction of federal wage controls in October 1975 (adding only that they should have been implemented sooner!) as well as their implementation by the provincial government, and denounced the unions' October 14 anti-wage-control protest as "useless." In order to emphasize its independence from the labor movement, the PQ refuses to accept financial support from trade unions, claiming that this would inhibit its ability to deal "squarely" with them when in power.

Actually the entire PQ leadership is composed of former ministers and functionaries from the Liberal Party and the reactionary Union Nationale (the third major bourgeois party). Lévesque himself was for years a close associate of the present federal prime minister Pierre Trudeau and was the No. Two man in the provincial Liberal Party government of Jean Lesage until 1966. His top lieutenants include former provincial deputy minister Claude Morin, Jacques Parizeau, provincial premier during 1961-69, millionaire stock broker Guy Jorin and Guy Chevrette, former member of the Liberals' union-busting Cliche Commission inquiry into the Quebec construction industry (see "Quebec Government Seizes Construction Unions," *WV* No. 70, 6 June 1975).

Lévesque's main public activity since

the election has been an attempt to convince wary U.S. and English-speaking businessmen that they have nothing to fear from a PQ government. He assured the *New York Times* (21 November) that there would be no social revolution(!) in Quebec, "because we cannot afford it." Both the chairman of the Bank of Montreal and the president of the Montreal Stock Exchange quickly issued statements emphasizing that the vote was not a referendum on independence.

The leading Montreal daily *La Presse* (18 November) editorialized against a *New York Times* headline ("Quebec Votes Separatist") and noted that, while there were "extremist elements" in the PQ who talk of socialism:

"It appears... that moderate elements—i.e., the René Lévesques, Jacques Parizeaus, Claude Morins... and some others have constantly known how to make moderation and good sense prevail."

The paper also quoted George Weikner, vice-president of the First Boston Corporation, which has extensive holdings in Quebec, as saying:

"There is a great deal of talk about socialist tendencies, but if the Lévesque government is capable of bringing harmony at the level of labor relations, putting a stop to waste of public expenditures and creating a calmer social climate than under the preceding governments, that will be a considerable achievement for the economy."

—*La Presse*, 20 November 1976

## For a Workers Party With a Class-Struggle Program

While the combative Quebec workers are in many ways more advanced than the rest of the North American proletariat, they lack an independent class party, thanks above all to the class-

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collaborationist program of the union bureaucracies. Not that they can't mouth a pretty left line when the occasion calls for some tough talk. All three of the provincial trade-union federations (even the AFL-CIO-affiliated FTQ!) have made programmatic statements calling for struggle against the capitalist system.

Acting on a mandate pushed through at its December 1975 convention, the leadership of the Quebec Federation of Labour broke from its Gompersite tradition of non-participation in politics



Labor Challenge

### Robert Bourassa of the Liberal Party

and called for "tactical" support to the Parti Québécois. As usual the officialdom of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) gave tacit (but unmistakable) support to Lévesque with campaigns to vote the Liberals out of office. Montreal CSN leader Michel Chartrand hailed the PQ victory as that of a party based on "honesty and trust."

The top bureaucrats of the reputedly "radical" CSN and CEQ and the more "moderate" FTQ all seek to dodge the responsibility of waging a militant working-class political struggle by affirming the necessity of a labor party at some time in the future. A masterful example of their double-talk came in an interview with CSN leader Marcel Pepin at the union congress last summer.

"Personally, I'm pretty much in agreement with the [French] CFDT [social-democratic-leaning union federation] position on this subject: the political party and the union must be two distinct realities.

"At the same time, we favor the emergence of a labor party, the workers party which we are so cruelly lacking here. But we don't want to have confusion with the labor federation.... At present none of the political parties really satisfies us, even if we're closer to the Parti Québécois. But it's a reformist party, not an anti-capitalist party. If one day there were a real labor party—as far as I'm concerned, I have the impression that it will be created within the year—we could only welcome it."

—Le Monde, 27 June

For now, the bureaucrats agree, the workers are "not yet ready" for class political action. Accordingly, in order to help "prepare" them, the FTQ/CSN/CEQ tell them to vote for

the bourgeois PQ!

Recently a campaign has been waged for a labor party in the Montreal union movement by the Regroupement of Union Militants (RMS), a pan-union oppositional caucus based on a three-point minimum program calling for independence of the labor movement from the state, united labor action and a labor party. The ultra-reformist lowest-common-denominator RMS program for the labor party is supposedly based on "demands expressed by the workers themselves"—i.e., economist demands raised by the bureaucrats.

The RMS simply acts as a pressure group on the existing labor bureaucracy—particularly on "left bureaucrats like Chartrand—seeking to induce them into building a reformist labor party on the bureaucrats' own program. The RMS is led by some of these same "left" bureaucrats, including the president of the Montreal Transit Maintenance Workers Union, the secretary of the CEQ's national bureau and the president of the Montreal Teachers Alliance. In the recent election campaign, the RMS, which is uncritically supported by the fake-Trotskyist Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ), went so far as to set up an electoral bloc with the tiny and discredited rump of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP)—on the latter's program.

While calling for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions, Trotskyists in Quebec should struggle against illusions in either NDP-style social-democratic cretinism or Québécois nationalism. The latter is reflected in the demand raised by the ostensibly Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) for a separate Quebec labor party.

The proletariat's political struggle must be directed against the existing



Labor Challenge

### Quebec labor bureaucrats: from right, Charbonneau of the CEQ, Laberge of the FTQ and Pepin of the CSN.

state power. This political struggle cannot be confined to a single province just as it cannot be confined to a single plant. So long as Quebec remains a part of Canada, Québécois workers must struggle for a workers party and a workers government across Canada, not just in Quebec. This struggle must be in common with the English-speaking working class and can be victorious only through the closest unity of the proletariat of both nations.

### The Quebec Left and the Elections

In the November 15 Quebec provincial elections, several left-wing formations presented candidates claiming to provide a working-class alternative to the PQ and other bourgeois parties. Among them was the tiny and ossified Communist Party of Quebec which stood 15 candidates on a popular-frontist program of allying with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, in this case Lévesque & Co.

Among the ostensibly Trotskyists, the GSTQ (affiliated with the French OCI)

gave "full support" to the electoral bloc between the minuscule Quebec NDP and the RMS, which presented 21 candidates on a lengthy, reformist program calling for such things as "higher taxes on profits" in order to secure more "balanced" economic development. Its "counterposition" to bourgeois Quebec nationalism was bourgeois Canadian nationalism: a call for a constituent assembly (!) in order to "democratically" establish a new Canadian constitution independent of the British crown. Predictably, NDP/RMS candidates received only a small number of votes.

While the GSTQ was building a mini-propaganda campaign for right-wing parliamentarist social democracy, the LSO (Quebec affiliate of the League for Socialist Action [LSA] in English Canada, associated with the reformist "United Secretariat [USec] minority) was, as always, wallowing in the most chauvinist aspects of Quebec nationalism. For some months the LSO has been playing footsie with the GSTQ inside the RMS, and for factional purposes it has sought to place itself to the left of the Quebec Lambertistes. Thus, while the GSTQ was forging an electoral bloc with the NDP, and continuing to tail after bureaucrats like Chartrand, the LSO announced that:

"The principal obstacle [to the creation of a labor party] is the refusal of the present leadership of the unions to take up this task and to abandon its policy of subordination to the PQ."

But this is mere eyewash, commensurate with a more "laborite" flavor than normal to its election campaign. But while its election supplement begins with a call for the unions to launch a labor party, and the capsule program appears under the reactionary utopian slogan "For an Independent and Socialist Quebec," the LSO's real program appears in a section entitled "For a French Quebec" (*Liberation*,

get votes they are willing to compromise so that the Greek and Portuguese immigrants can have their children to study English in order to break out of their depressed Montreal ghettos. If only to win seats in the National Assembly, Lévesque must make a gesture toward democracy. But not the "consistent" LSO—its program is to drive the immigrants into the sea or into English Canada!!

The fact that this discrimination against the sizeable non-French-speaking minorities in areas like Montreal and the Gaspé peninsula would serve to justify similar discrimination



Labor Challenge

### Quebec nationalist supporters of French unilingualism demonstrate against Bill 22.

against French speakers in New Brunswick, Ontario and elsewhere is not of the slightest interest to these glorifiers of "French Quebec." No electoral support can be given to these disgusting nationalist bigots!

While the LSO calls for, alternatively, an "independent socialist Quebec" or a "French Quebec," the more leftist Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR, loosely affiliated with the Revolutionary Marxist Group [RMG] in English Canada and also a sympathizing organization of the USec) calls for a "Quebec Workers Republic." The GMR's position of a separatist road to power for the Québécois working class (replete with fantasies of Cuban- and Vietnamese-style guerrillaist "armed struggle") is both utopian and reactionary: utopian because it dreams that proletarian power could be consolidated in this isolated corner of North America, and reactionary because it rejects the perspective of joint class struggle throughout the country.

This militant Québécois nationalism is further elaborated in a GMR pamphlet ("Pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec," 1976) which announces:

"The liquidation of the ... corrupt bureaucracies of the international unions cannot be achieved except by a break with the American federations and the taking in hand of these unions by the Quebec labor federations; that is to say, the reorganization of trade

continued on page 10

November 1976).

A careful perusal of this article and the election supplement shows that the LSO's main objection to the Parti Québécois is that the latter is not really for independence. The "consistent nationalists" of the LSO—who have made French unilingualism into their hobby horse even when most of the bourgeois nationalists lost interest—particularly criticize the PQ for pledging to "re-establish freedom of choice of the language of instruction for the children of immigrants who have already arrived in Quebec."

"The candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière does not have the same worries, since the LSO unconditionally defends the linguistic rights of the French-speaking majority....

"The LSO proposes a single, secular and French school system. Everyone would have to study in French, with a choice, obviously, of studying second languages, including English...."

This glorification of the "nationalism of the oppressed" leads straight into the worst excesses of national chauvinism! Oh, the poor, irresolute, faint-hearted PQ—because these electoralists want to

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# Quebec ...

(continued from page 9)

unionism on an industrial basis inside a United Labor Federation of Quebec."

Thus, even while Quebec remains a part of Canada, the GMR calls for a nationalist breakaway from the powerful international unions, abandoning any hope of struggling within them to oust the pro-capitalist leadership. Similarly, the GMR calls for a "revolutionary workers party" of Quebec, rather than a cross-Canada party. In fact the very existence of the GMR as a separate organization is an expression of Québécois nationalism and Bundism, contrary to the Leninist principle of "one state power, one party."

All four (two English, two French) USec organizations in Canada share an anti-Leninist program of support to nationalism. But where the LSO glories in telling English-speakers and immigrants their children must learn French or else, the GMR tries to duck the issue. The RMG, while upholding the primacy of French in Quebec even allows "the need to make bilingual provisions for the local needs of national and linguistic minorities" (*Old Mole*, July-August 1976). Where the LSO denounces the PQ mainly for not being resolutely separatist, the GMR attacks Lévesque's party for being capitalist, a treacherous Kuomintang of the "colonial" bourgeoisie.

The GMR program calls for immediate nationalization of multi-national corporations, without compensation and under workers control; for a general strike against wage controls until the law is revoked; for a revolutionary workers party and no vote for the bourgeois parties. The program is vague, nationalist and minimalist-maximalist. But while the reformist LSO's program is overwhelmingly nationalist and fundamentally anti-working class, the centrist GMR's campaign presents a class-against-class thrust. Therefore, the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for critical support to the candidates of the GMR in the November 15 Quebec elections. ■

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# UAW Strike at Harvester



WV Photo

**Striking UAW Local 6 workers picket International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois. A tentative settlement was announced only 14 hours after some 40,000 Harvester workers walked off the job Wednesday at midnight. Although their contract had expired October 1, it was extended by UAW bureaucrats to prevent common strike action with workers at John Deere (another major farm equipment manufacturer) who recently ended a 39-day strike. The Harvester settlement was similar to those at Ford, GM and Deere: a woefully inadequate pay raise and a few more days off per year.**

## CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 130 (22 October), the article "How Woodcock Strong-Armed Ford Workers" reports on page 10 that at UAW Local 140 an oppositionist was "struck with a chain"; actually, the weapon was a chair.

In *WV* No. 131 (29 October) there were several mistakes in the article "The Fall of Swedish Social Democracy." On page 6 it is stated erroneously that "the pro-Liberal *Aftonbladet*, the biggest evening paper in Sweden, called on Moderate leader Gösta Bohman to resign." The newspaper in question is *Expressen*; *Aftonbladet* is owned by the labor federation and is pro-Social Democratic. On the same page Per Ahlstrom is referred to as editor of the metal workers union newspaper; Ahlstrom is a member of the editorial board of *Metallarbetaren*.

On the following page the FK (Communist League) is linked to Lotta Continua in Italy; it should have been to Avanguardia Operaia. On the same page, it is stated that non-citizens who had lived in Sweden for two years could vote in local elections; the voting requirements were actually for three years residency.

In *WV* No. 133 (12 November), the article "Reformist Opposition Takes UAW to Bosses' Court" incorrectly refers to Al Gardner as former head of the Local 600 skilled trades unit instead of the tool and die unit.

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# Biermann ...

(continued from page 6)

own view and that of my comrades and friends in the DDR." Carrillo, it should be noted, in his book explicitly endorsed the GPU executions of Trotskyists in the 1930's as "counterrevolutionaries" and agents of fascism, claimed that left critics were attempting to "bury under a pile of filth all that was positive in the popular front," and justified the CP's refusal to fight for a social revolution and the creation of a workers republic during the Spanish Civil War.

The views of the pseudo-Trotskyist French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) coincide with those of Biermann as in its endorsement of Stalinist self-reform such as Dubček's "socialism with a human face." Thus the LCR favorably published an interview with Biermann in *Rouge* (22 October 1976), and even (in an overenthusiastic introduction) took DDR permission to leave as a sign that the bureaucracy needed to "act with relative prudence vis-à-vis artistic and intellectual opposition." The LCR glosses over Biermann's rightward turn toward "Eurocommunism" by remarking that he remains "a critic from the left of goulash-Gulag Communism"—with the small qualifier that on this anti-bureaucratic consciousness "is grafted a rather deformed view of the role of the Western CP's."

## Restore Biermann's Citizenship!

Wolf Biermann has refused to accept his exclusion from East Germany and deprivation of DDR citizenship; his

wife has turned back movers sent by the Stalinist authorities to ship his household goods to the West. Moreover, in a brave act of solidarity, a group of 12 leading East German artists and intellectuals, including Stefan Heym and Christa Wolf, has called on the SED Politbüro to reconsider its decision, commenting that "in contrast to anachronistic forms of society the DDR should be able to bear such unpleasant criticism with equanimity."

Biermann's close friend, Prof. Robert Havemann, in an interview with the West German news service, denied that Biermann had shown himself to be an enemy of the DDR, stating that the singer had "simply exercised his right as a communist to criticize a communist government." In the West a group of well-known writers and professors—including the dramatist Peter Weiss, left-leaning history professor Wolfgang Abendroth and author Günter Wallraff, known for his opposition to the Greek colonels and his exposure of Spínola's dictatorial pretensions in Portugal—fired off a protest to the East German government.

As in the case of the committee of Polish intellectuals formed to defend the workers arrested for protesting price increases last summer, the act of East German writers in publicly defending Wolf Biermann can be of tremendous importance for the political revolution in the DDR. Trotskyists and class-conscious workers in the capitalist countries must also vigorously protest this Stalinist atrocity and demand that this attempt to silence this socialist critic of bureaucratic rule be met with international labor protest. ■

# Maoist Conference ...

(continued from page 5)

continue to struggle against all enemies of the revolution, "open and disguised."

Following this, Clark Kissinger, (another leading member of the U.S./China People's Friendship Association) maneuvered to get the microphone to argue for the RCP's benefit that Hinton is not the mouthpiece of China, but instead puts words into the mouths of the Chinese. In a particularly demagogic broadside, Kissinger asserted that he had been on the same trips to China as Hinton, had sat in on the same discussions in the Great Hall of the People, had visited the same Chinese diplomats at the UN mission in New York and that the Chinese were always "measured in their response," at no time stating that the USSR was the "main danger."

In response, Hinton replied that Kissinger was "off the wall." Vehement in his insistence that the Chinese had put words into *his* mouth and not the other way around, Hinton reached down into his briefcase and pulled out a box of file cards. Dramatically waving them in the air he protested that he had here numerous statements from the Chinese press corroborating his arguments.

It is characteristic of the deliberately obscurantist Maoist bureaucracy that its edicts are always indirect, forcing its would-be disciples into contortions over interpretation of line. The Kissinger-Hinton exchange resembled nothing so much as two religious disputants from Hellenistic Egypt visiting the oracle of Delphi, to return each proclaiming his own vindication. Nonetheless, behind the RCP's frenzy to dismiss Hinton as a right-wing revisionist is evidence that the ex-New Left Maoist milieu to which Avakian & Co. orient (as does the OL) is still unwilling to swallow an open bloc

with U.S. imperialism lock, stock and barrel.

Dellinger's remarks reflected his growing dismay with the rabidly anti-communist tone of the conference. "How long can we not raise what happened when China supported the military junta in Chile?" he asked. (To this Hinton answered that the Chinese government tries to make peace with every government, blandly adding that the widespread outrage over the Chinese embassy's refusal to accept political refugees at the time of the coup was misdirected; the Chinese refused only because they considered the embassy "unsafe" for refugees!)

"What about China's support for the Shah of Iran?" Dellinger persisted. "Not to bring it up is dereliction of revolutionary duty." Dellinger also complained that he was baffled with "Bob and Bill's insistence that the USSR is capitalist." "You think the arch-enemy is Khrushchev," he said. "You don't want to face up to what happened under Stalin." But Dellinger's own lack of answers to his questions, combined with his pathetic longing for a return to the days of uncomplicated chanting "power to the people," made it impossible for anyone to take him seriously.

The conference revealed that the differences between the two major American Maoist groups today remain quantitative. The RCP states that it will ally with its own imperialist ruling class only under exceptional circumstances; the OL is rather more disposed to this course. However, the OL's Peking-loyalism draws it inexorably toward Hinton's unconditional State Department Maoism. At the same time, the workerist-philistine RCP is certainly capable of following Progressive Labor's path to become a nationally limited, irrelevant Stalinoid sect. In either case, loyalty to Chinese Stalinism, embodied in a treacherous, clique-ridden bureaucracy, will have led the cadre of both organizations very far from the motives and goals which originally inspired their allegiance to socialist politics. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Philip Agee...

(continued from page 2)

intelligence network for the purpose of reforming it have been thwarted by existing U.S. legislation. Publication of ex-agent Victor Marchetti's *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* was held up by court order until author and publisher agreed to massive deletions on virtually every page.

The U.S. Department of Justice has reportedly been giving "serious consideration" to prosecuting Agee for violation of federal espionage statutes, but has held off until it has him securely in its clutches. (This way it is difficult for him to apply for asylum elsewhere on the grounds of political persecution in the U.S.). American Civil Liberties Union attorneys have challenged the government on behalf of Agee, charging that "the Government prefers to play cat and mouse games rather than to provide frank and straightforward information to an American citizen" (*New York Times*, 19 November).

The threats against Hosenball and Agee are deadly serious for these courageous exposers of the sinister network of surveillance, violence and intimidation which underlies imperialist rule. The attempts to silence them threaten not only freedom of the press but also the right of citizens to know what "their" government is plotting. Socialists, unionists and defenders of democratic rights have an urgent interest in preventing the deportation of Agee and Hosenball from Britain. The imperialist secret spy/police agencies—from the CIA/NSA/FBI to Britain's M2—must be smashed in order to put a stop to their deadly attacks on the workers movement! ■

## ILWU Elections...

(continued from page 12)

cus. A spokesman for the MC told *WV* that its candidates had visited some 80 warehouses and nearly a dozen ILWU-organized hospital X-ray units. Although limited by restrictive rules to short campaign statements, the Militant Caucus supporters clearly counterposed their class-struggle program to the bureaucratic treachery of the Bridges-McClain leadership. In his campaign statement, Mandel referred to a "crisis of leadership" in the ILWU and denounced class collaboration:

"Instead of mobilizing the membership through mass pickets, sympathy strikes and the call on longshoremen and Teamsters not to handle scab goods, the leadership crawled to Moscone and the Berkeley city council."

Denouncing the union's endorsement of racist peanut boss Jimmy Carter, Mandel ended with a call for a workers party to fight for a workers government and the ousting of the "pro-capitalist union leaderships."

Candidate Farruggio's statement noted that:

"Together with my cothinkers, I founded a caucus to oppose the policies of class treason and fight for a class struggle leadership. Seeking to link the strength of longshore and warehouse, we fought for jobs for all through a union-wide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. At places like Associated, we urged union support of plant occupations and elected strike committees to prevent runaways and impose workers control of production. We fought the capitalist government's racist, chauvinist attempts to blame foreign-born workers for the depression. We opposed the leadership's call for import quotas and instead advocated mass labor action against Gestapo-style deportation raids in San Jose and L.A. While the leadership bowed to government control of the union, we called for militant action to smash court injunctions and to defend strikes at all houses in the ILWU/IBT alliance. We called for union action against racist police terror like Operation Zebra. We

initiated union support in defense cases like Tyrone Guyton and called for immediately implementing the boycott of South African cargo to defend those fighting apartheid."

The MC campaign emphasized the solid achievements of the Caucus in the recent period. These included: initiating union action in the Tyrone Guyton defense case; initiating the call for mass picket lines, which saved the KNC strike from total defeat; leading boycott actions against scab Nestlé's products; and pressing a successful boycott action of Chilean cargo in protest against the bloody junta.

The successes registered by the Militant Caucus in the ILWU Local 6 elections underscore the possibilities for class-struggle oppositionists in the Bay Area labor movement. Despite important setbacks in the June northern California warehouse strike and the S.F. city workers strike, the morale of the Bay Area proletariat has not been shattered. While the anti-labor backlash has made some workers more conservative and apathetic, others have become increasingly open to a militant alternative to the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy. The ILWU, in particular, because it resisted the McCarthyite "anti-red" purges in the 1950's contains some of the most class-conscious elements in the American labor movement, and has an importance beyond its numbers. The winning of such elements to the principled programmatic perspectives of the Militant Caucus is a crucial task of the next period. ■

## Class-War Prisoners...

(continued from page 7)

alarm at the violations of human rights in Chile. Chile, Uruguay and Argentina did not vote on the resolution.

It is not surprising that Argentina would not support a condemnation of the same policies and practices which it uses to crush the workers movement. Like the Pinochet regime, in the last half year the Videla junta has come under widespread attack for its arrest and torture of left-wing militants and its encouragement and support of the death squads of the "Triple A" (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) and especially its savage abuse of political refugees from Chile, Uruguay and other Latin American countries.

The campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Chilean miners' leader and refugee in Argentina who was the target of a manhunt by the Videla government, was one of the first efforts to expose the Argentine reign of terror. The campaign of international solidarity and protest co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, finally secured the release of Muñoz and his family this August.

The Partisan Defense Committee reports receiving information from the UN that one of Muñoz' *compañeros*, Eduardo Crus Farias, who was tortured in the prisons of Pinochet, crossed the Andes with Muñoz to Argentina and was hunted by Videla's henchmen, has now obtained refugee status in Canada. The campaign continues to save five of his comrades who are still in Argentina.

The international proletariat embraces those Chilean militants who have been freed; they have languished in prison, gone through unspeakable agonies and humiliations and have survived. But we cannot rely on the guilt of the liberal bourgeoisie or the temporary embarrassment of those who helped to put Pinochet in power in the first place to come to the aid of the oppressed masses in Latin America. The international working class alone can liberate the tens of thousands who still suffer under the yoke of right-wing repression in Latin America. ■

## Militant Nurses Strike in Chicago



WV Photo

Chicago demonstration November 20 at the Drake Hotel in support of striking nurses of Cook County and Oak Forest Hospitals. Out since November 3, the nurses have defied a court injunction, \$10,000-a-day fines, withdrawal of official union backing, threats of deportation (many are Filipinos) and a barrage of hostile press coverage. Freezing winter weather has not stopped the strikers from maintaining their combative spirit and their picket lines, rarely less than 50-strong. The strike, reportedly 75 to 90 percent effective, was provoked by attempts to cut the nurses' sick pay and reduce patient capacity and staff through attrition.

The militant determination of the nurses has been undermined by many of those who claim to back them. Jesse Jackson of Chicago PUSH offered himself as "neutral" mediator to resolve the dispute, while arguing that the strike was hurting blacks (not to mention how much it hurt Jackson's close friend... hospital director James Haughton!).

Despite appeals for support to the nurses in the Maoist October League's Call, OL supporters in the Housestaff Association (mainly interns and residents) "support" the picket lines on their lunch hour, then turn around and blithely cross the lines back to work! There is only one word strong enough to describe such cynical "revolutionaries" who claim to support the strike while daily crossing the picket lines: scab! Shut Down the Hospitals—Victory to the Nurses Strike!

## CWA Militant...

(continued from page 3)

leadership pretends that politics have no place in the unions.

At the same time, the CWA is one of the major unions behind the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the CIA-run fake "labor" organization which has had a hand in imposing right-wing dictatorships in many Latin American countries and bears part of the responsibility for the murder of tens of thousands of Chilean unionists. MAC stands for smashing AIFLD and we have been fighting for a long time to expose this project to the ranks of the union.

*WV*: What are MAC's plans now and what does the union membership think about the caucus?

*Margolis*: We will be concentrating on the contract which expires in August. At the CWA convention last summer, the local bureaucrats were already preparing to sell out our upcoming strike by voting to siphon off our tiny strike funds to the International. MAC is starting now to try to win the rank and file to institute a membership-controlled national strike steering committee. We need a program of defending jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a full cost-of-living clause. We also need a union hiring hall to put a stop to the company's racist, sexist policies.

How is MAC seen in the eyes of the membership? To be honest, I know that many people feel defeated by the

company and thus think MAC is "idealistic" and our program not "realistic." This is because the phone company has an ability to break people and the union leadership's do-nothingness has people convinced of their supposed lack of power. And it's true that many other opposition groups have been wiped out over the years.

But MAC has been fighting in this union for over five years now and people see that we aren't one of these fly-by-night oppositions you see so often. The real battle is to make the membership aware of its own strength and to understand that with MAC's program for a class-struggle leadership, we are capable of defeating the company. I expect the present victory will have an impact. And as we go through more experiences of struggle, as the members compare our strategy and program to that of the bureaucrats and the fake oppositionists that come along, I expect a transformation in the members' consciousness and in the union as well. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Militant Caucus Scores Victory in ILWU Elections

OAKLAND—On November 18, Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) held elections. The elections were the first major contest in the Bay Area warehouse local since last June's badly defeated contract strike, and were an important test both for the leadership of Local 6 president Curtis McClain as well as for ostensible militants.

Coming in the wake of the defeated strike, it was not surprising that voter turnout dropped from the previous election two years ago. The elections did not record any fundamental change in the basic composition of the Local 6 leadership. Nonetheless, there was a perceptible erosion of support for McClain and his apologists. At the same time, spokesmen for class-struggle policies showed that they had gained an added measure of authority among the membership.

In the election for General Executive Board (GEB) in the East Bay Division, which includes Oakland, Militant Caucus (MC) leader Bob Mandel retained his GEB post with 398 votes, coming in second in the list of ten winners. (In 1974, Mandel came in eighth.) The Militant Caucus supporter finished ahead of all well-known supporters of McClain, all well-known supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP) such as Tony Wilkinson, and the International-appointed organizer Karl Leipnik.

Mandel also was elected as an International convention delegate, defeating Leipnik and well-known CP supporters like Joe Lindsay, who failed to get elected as convention delegates. While another Militant Caucus supporter, Pete Farruggio, failed to obtain a post on the GEB, he received 291 votes (only 18 short of being elected) in his first election attempt.

In the East Bay elections for GEB and business agent, although many of the incumbents were returned to office, the spread between winners and losers was considerably less than two years ago. Even in the somewhat less militant San Francisco Division, where the bureaucrats and their Stalinist henchmen faced no left-wing opposition and the winning margins were generally much wider, two of the most virulent incumbent red-baiters—Al Lannon and Don Ruth—were forced into runoffs.

Lannon has openly accused the Militant Caucus of being "CIA and FBI agents," a typical Stalinist slander against left opponents. Ruth was the individual who authored charges which became the basis of a witchhunt campaign to censure Mandel as a "provocateur" for his role in helping to build mass picket lines in defense of the KNC strike in 1974. (The Local 6 membership resoundingly rejected these frame-up charges.)

Last June's strike was a key issue in the election campaign. The strike itself had been preceded by a number of union-busting police attacks on picketers at ILWU shops like Victor and



ILWU militants at April demonstration against police terror.

WV Photo

Automatic Plastic Molding. At Victor the company forced an unprecedented open-shop agreement from the ILWU. The Automatic Plastic strike ended with the company planning to decertify the union and move out of the area.

The bosses' success in these forays encouraged them to extend these tactics to the joint ILWU/Teamster warehousemen's master contract strike in June. A number of picketers were arrested during this strike; over 30 union militants still face charges stemming from these police busts, and several ILWU members from the East Bay have already been jailed. The McClain leadership's only response was to appeal impotently to strike-breaking San Francisco mayor Moscone and the Berkeley City Council to end the scabberding.

This weak-kneed policy presaged the eventual acceptance of a sellout agreement. The union leadership also soft-pedaled the police victimization of the picketers, falsely claiming at the time of the contract ratification that amnesty for arrested strikers was one of the terms of the settlement. At the same time it refused to condemn a goon squad assault on Bob Mandel at a stewards' meeting during the strike.

Disgust with the manner in which the ILWU leadership conducted the warehouse strike permeates the membership. It was significant that Karl Leipnik, who is highly regarded by the International tops, failed to make convention delegate and came in fifth in the GEB election. Leipnik, who has never previously held

an elected union office, was appointed organizer by the International two years ago. He is known for his vicious attacks on militants in the union, and went out of his way in his election statement to denounce the Militant Caucus and to defend the International:

"A few phony 'militants' have been calling every strike a defeat—every contract a sellout. Only the bosses will benefit if our unity is weakened."

Clearly the membership did not fall for Leipnik's line of "unity" with the bosses on the basis of the rotten contract.

While a number of prominent CP supporters managed to win posts, maintaining their influence in the Local bureaucracy, this was accomplished only by putting on a verbal left face and covering up their treacherous role in the June strike. For instance, well-known CP supporter Joe Lindsay made reference in his election statement to the need for a "fighting leadership"; but as chief steward at Golden Grain, Lindsay was instrumental last June in making a deal to allow management and office workers to cross the picket lines.

Well-known CP supporter and business agent Abba Ramos was also a party to this deal which helped undermine the strike. While omitting this embarrassing detail, Ramos boasts that "our settlement ranks amongst the tops in the country"! This is a patent whitewash of the Bridges/McClain leadership's sellout.

CP supporters also demonstrated the hollowness of the "independent" Com-

munist Party campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, which remained limited to the pages of the *Daily World* and *People's World*. So as not to embarrass their allies in the bureaucracy (the Bridges leadership endorsed Jimmy Carter), the CP supporters were silent on the presidential election. At the same time, they endorsed a whole series of local Democratic Party candidates, including John Tunney for U.S. Senate.

Warehouse Workers United to Fight, a grouping supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has evidenced considerable disorientation in the recent period. Last February, at the union's contract convention, this grouping devoted its energy to attempting to prove the outrageous and idiotic contention that the Militant Caucus was working hand in glove with the bureaucracy. Meanwhile it voted *with the bureaucracy* against all MC proposals, including for the right to strike!

This cowardly attempt to ingratiate itself with "independents" failed miserably, however. The RCP supporters' own reformist resolutions were badly defeated. Unable to find a niche for itself as "loyal" oppositionists, it has been essentially rudderless. In the current elections it ran no candidate, instead issuing leaflets filled with vague "fight back" rhetoric, for the ostensible purpose of pressuring the candidates to take more militant positions.

In sharp contrast stood the election campaign waged by the Militant Cau-

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