

Solid Wall of Racist Reaction in Primaries

Ford Targets Boston Busing

MAY 24 In a concerted attempt to channel mass discontent growing out of economic depression conditions into a racist "backlash," the capitalist candidates for the U.S. presidency have unanimously signaled their opposition to any measures defending democratic rights of oppressed minorities. The lack of any significant policy disputes in the 1976 primaries is the reflection of a solid wall of racist reaction presented by the political representatives of the bourgeoisie.

From liberal Democrat Morris Udall to conservative Republican Ronald Reagan, all the presidential hopefuls have turned thumbs down on school desegregation through busing. Even the candidates who demurred at Jimmy Carter's brazenly frank "ethnic purity" remarks hastened to add their "technical" agreement with the peanut boss's opposition to government action to integrate white enclaves. George Wallace has lost his voter appeal not only due to physical infirmity, but also because his opponents have co-opted his barely veiled segregationist program.

The latest cynical maneuver to appeal

to and whip up the backlash vote was Gerald Ford's attempt last week to fend off Reagan's threat on his right flank. The vehicle was a carefully timed announcement that U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi will shortly enter a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the Boston Home and School Association's appeal of court-ordered school desegregation in that city. Hard-pressed by Reagan's recent string of primary victories, Ford allowed news of the planned federal intervention to be leaked a scant five days before the critical May 18 Michigan vote.

This was also less than two weeks before the election in Kentucky, where implementation of a Louisville busing plan has been met with repeated mob violence. Besides adding fuel to the Boston racists' boiling cauldron, the brief will reportedly request Supreme Court reconsideration of the 1971 Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education case which is the major precedent for most federal court-ordered busing plans in recent years.

Boston anti-busing leaders were
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Jimmy Carter's New Breed Racism from the "New South"

MAY 24 Jimmy Carter squeaked by Morris Udall in the May 18 Michigan primary, with a margin barely exceeding 2,000 votes. Carter's poor showing in Michigan was a surprise to the press, which noted that he had received the active support of Leonard Woodcock and the UAW political apparatus. Detroit mayor Coleman Young and all three of the big auto bosses, Carter's Michigan campaign, moreover, had been better organized and financed than that of the limp Utah liberal.

Not unexpected, however, was Carter's success among Michigan's black Democratic voters. He carried Detroit, with its largely black population, by a three-to-two margin. Carter's support from blacks continues despite his reactionary nativism and overtly racist "slip" in defense of "ethnic purity."

In primary contests set in the context of a racist consensus of both capitalist parties, Carter's well-oiled respectable racism is apparently seen as no better or worse than the standard fare of "benign neglect" for oppressed minorities. But why has Carter found the black wing of

the Democratic Party so amenable even enthusiastic for his candidacy?

**Woodcock, Henry Ford, Young
and Jesus**

Jimmy Carter is a dangerous man. Behind the toothy smile and knowing evasions of the "enlightened" Southern politician lurk sinister social views in combination with a narcissistic messianism. That he is the favorite of the black sections of the Democratic Party leadership is testimony to the unspeakable cynicism of their claims to represent the interests of the black masses.

Detroit's black mayor Coleman Young stumped for Carter with a dinner for black Baptist ministers, announcing that Carter "could win, could put an end to the attitude of neglect toward black people that had dominated Washington since 1968" (*New York Times*, 15 May). As is typical in bourgeois politics, the way in which things were said is more indicative than what was said. Young's pitch to the pillars of petty-bourgeois
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between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile

I

The events of 1970 to 1973 in Chile posed, and continue to pose, a fundamental test of the revolutionary capacity of all who claim to speak in the historic interests of the working class. The self-proclaimed socialists who bound the exploited masses to the "constitutionalist" officers and "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie through the Popular Unity (UP) coalition acted as a roadblock to revolution, and therefore an accomplice of counterrevolution. The first task of those who would prepare a proletarian insurrection to sweep away the bourgeois state, today in the hands of the blood-drenched Pinochet dictatorship, must be to draw the lessons of the Allende popular front. Only in this manner can the masses be broken from their treacherous reformist and centrist

misleaders who paved the way for the coup of 11 September 1973. At that time the bourgeois popular front was replaced by another form of capitalist rule, the bonapartist military junta, which balances between the fractions and cliques of the middle and big bourgeoisie, reflecting the pressure of the major imperialist powers.

Already in late 1970 the Spartacist tendency warned:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

Tragically, there was no Trotskyist party in Chile to galvanize the workers

around the Marxist program of class independence, and the *Spartacist* warning proved all too accurate.

II

As Trotsky remarked in 1935: "In reality, the Popular Front is the main question of Proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

The largest purportedly revolutionary organization formally outside the UP coalition, the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), was incapable of presenting a class opposition to the popular front. While attracting a layer of militant youth fundamentally from the petty bourgeoisie, and periodically criticizing the Communist Party (CP), the MIR never broke from the Popular Unity. Following the September 1970

elections it called on the masses to support Allende; today the MIR is part of the popular front in exile, seeking to "broaden" the class-collaborationist coalition by including even Christian Democrats. The individual heroism of many MIR militants cannot hide the political bankruptcy of these Chilean Castroites, the left cover of the popular front.

Nor did the Chilean disciples of the several self-proclaimed "Fourth Internationals" present a Trotskyist policy of irreconcilable hostility to popular frontism. The sympathizers of the "United" Secretariat (USeC) were either mired in perpetual "deep entry" in the Socialist Party (the traditional graveyard for pseudo-Trotskyists in Chile) or fawningly crawling after the MIR. (In fact,

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Fitzsimmons Paves Way for Strikebreaking Injunction Midwest Parcel Strike Crumbles

CLEVELAND -The strike of Midwest United Parcel Service (UPS) workers collapsed May 17 as picket lines were dismantled in the face of sweeping court orders obtained by the company. A week later UPS employees are still working without a contract.

Capitulation to the injunctions occurred rapidly in key UPS hubs. In Cleveland, picket lines were dismantled immediately after strikers were served with the injunctions by federal marshals. In Detroit, rank-and-file strike leaders agreed to call off the picketing following a meeting with officials of Teamsters Local 243.

The rout was prepared by the treacherous Teamsters (IBT) bureaucracy of Frank Fitzsimmons, which previously had ordered UPS workers to return to work even though a new contract had yet to be negotiated, claiming that the old contract was being extended. This made it easy for the company to get the injunctions, since it provided a convenient "legal" basis to outlaw the strike. In the face of this company union collaboration, the resistance of rank-and-file strikers, who overwhelmingly opposed the deal and maintained effective picket lines for several hours in defiance of Fitzsimmons' back-to-work order, soon fell apart.

Then the union brass asserted to the membership that the IBT had reached a "tentative agreement" with UPS. According to United Parcel workers interviewed by *WT*, the terms of this agreement leave UPS employees with conditions markedly inferior to those granted IBT freight workers under the recent Master Freight Agreement (MFA). Although the wage settlement for full-time drivers parallels the MFA, other grievances such as forced overtime and the strict personal appearance

standards decreed by UPS were simply ignored. Only minor changes were made in the wording of the present rules that permit supervisors to do union work. The status of part-timers was unchanged, except to allow those with greater seniority rights to bid on the few full-time positions that open up. The category of part-timers, with their second-class rights and benefits, is thereby maintained, leaving intact the company's major weapon in eroding union standards at United Parcel.

UPSurge

The only ostensible opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy is the UPSurge group which, however, has failed to channel the massive dissatisfaction with sellout IBT hacks into a class-struggle response. It has passively adapted to the changing moods of the membership and displayed considerable confusion and indecisiveness during the strike. Thus initially UPSurge hailed the fact that it had forced Cleveland Local 407 officials to grant a "rank-and-file" strike committee. Later, however, the group was forced to admit that this committee was powerless and had been essentially ignored. UPSurge leaflets issued the morning of May 17 boasted of the solid opposition to the IBT's return-to-work order, yet only hours later the picket lines were hastily dismantled with the opposition group's cooperation.

In particular, UPSurge demonstrated a disgusting capitulation to legalism. Its May 17 Cleveland leaflet asserted: "Arthur Fox, attorney for PROD [a "professional drivers organization"], says there is no way the union can legally call the old contract back from the dead. It was terminated and can no longer be extended. It is completely legal to refuse to return to work under this sellout." Having been disarmed by this legalistic "advice," the confusion of workers in the face of the injunctions a few hours later is not surprising! A May 21 Cleveland UPSurge leaflet openly admitted the group's lack of a class-struggle strategy in an incredible "explanation" for taking down the picket lines: "If it hadn't been for an illegal, unfair injunction, we'd be well on our way to a damned good contract," it moaned. Sure, and if it weren't for mortality, we'd be well on our way to eternal life!

UPSurge leaders have consistently assured their supporters that Fox's legal-beagle braintrusting was a more potent weapon than a class-struggle program. Fox is a two-bit anti-communist who opposes the presence of "socialists" in rank-and-file union groups and tells militant workers that the bourgeoisie's laws are on their side. His political program is focused around taking union officials to court. He pushed through a motion at a January 10 steering committee meeting of the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC, a parallel grouping to UPSurge) which opposed "political change by any means other than by lawful, constitutional procedures."

Fox's "expert" advice did not prevent United Parcel from obtaining sweeping injunctions outlawing the picketing, but only succeeded in disarming Teamsters with this legal cretinism. Major class battles are not won by observing legal niceties, but rather by mobilizing workers in militant mass struggles. IBT members should remember the powerful 1970 wildcat against Fitzsimmons' sellout. At that time, Ohio governor James Rhodes mobilized 3,700 National Guardsmen in an attempt to smash Teamster flying squads that were dealing with scab truckers on the state's highways.

The government and its courts are instruments of the class enemy. Those who preach reliance on them, or who use them against opponents in the labor movement, are traitors. It is no little irony that the same federal court in Cleveland that handed down the anti-strike injunction previously issued a

decision ballyhooed by UPSurge, prohibiting IBT officials from interfering with the distribution of oppositional literature.

Reject Business Unionism

The Detroit freight wildcat and the UPS strike have followed similar patterns. In both cases, resistance to the bureaucracy's strikebreaking back-to-work movement collapsed almost

United Parcel workers to join the IBT freight workers strike only a month before its own contract expired, thus cutting itself off from a far more powerful ally. Even after the Midwest UPS strike began, it merely counseled strikers to hold out until the Eastern Conference UPS contract expired May 31, refusing to demand that these workers immediately enter the strike.

Some would-be Marxists, in particu-



Workers Power

immediately after court injunctions were handed down. TDC and UPSurge, the de facto "leadership" of the rank-and-file opposition, bear responsibility for leaving the union members unprepared to meet this threat. This was a direct result of their ultra-reformist, legalist program. During the brief national Teamsters walkout, TDC went so far as to urge union members to send telegrams to that arch-enemy of labor, Gerald Ford, begging him not to "become a strikebreaking president."

UPSurge doomed itself to impotence from the outset with its refusal to transcend narrow business unionism. Out of respect for the "sanctity of the contract," UPSurge refused to call on

lar the International Socialists and their organ *Workers' Power*, have continually glorified this obeisance to legalism and "practicality" by TDC and UPSurge, calling it "class-struggle unionism." This is a fraud! Genuine class-struggle unionism has nothing in common with such miserable belly-crawling reformism. Unless UPS workers repudiate this strategy and mount a militant mass response to the government's strikebreaking, they will suffer more defeats. Teamsters need a leadership armed with a program not only for union democracy and militancy, but including a call for a break with the bosses' parties, independent labor political action and a workers government. ■

Whispering in the Right Ear of the Labor Bureaucracy

SWP Says No to General Strike in S.F.

A Bay Area Militant Labor Forum May 14, entitled "Lessons of the S.F. City Workers' Strike," exposed the super-reformist Socialist Workers Party's craven policy of whispering "responsible" advice to the labor lieutenants of capital. During recent weeks most of the whispering was done into the *right* ear of the bureaucracy.

When a bus driver from the audience noted that many rank-and-file strikers saw the need for implementing the Central Labor Council's call for a general strike, *Militant* writer Nat Weinstein answered with a tirade *against* the general strike call.

"It's true I said I was against calling for implementation of a general strike," Weinstein emphasized. Such a call only "served the interests of the employers," according to Weinstein, since the labor bureaucrats have not prepared for such a strike and were only bluffing. The defeatist Weinstein concluded that "the strike was lost from the beginning" because of the bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. (Presumably, therefore, the SWP is against *all* strikes until the labor bureaucracy breaks from the Democrats and forms a labor party!) These cringing reformists find it impossible to even conceive of creating elected strike committees to take control of the strike from the bureaucrats, as occurred briefly during the 1934 general strike.

As a fitting conclusion to the forum, Muni driver Milton Chee, whose leaflets have been touted in the *Militant*, read a statement of support to the Muni

drivers' union (TWU Local 250A) president Larry Martin, who was running for re-election. In the wake of the city workers' defeat, Martin faced a right-wing opponent named Paul Clark who had advocated crossing the city workers' picket lines.

But Martin himself was little better. He did absolutely nothing to implement his own memberships' vote in two separate meetings calling for a general strike and subsequently lied about a 72-hour ultimatum Muni drivers had given the CLC to implement the general strike. Martin also indicated during the strike that if the board of supervisors had made suitable offer, he would have ordered TWU members back to work. If Muni workers did not scab it was a testimony to the class solidarity of the ranks and no thanks to Martin.

Having no revolutionary perspective, Chee announced that "as a revolutionist" he was supporting Martin: "Martin is to be commended for his role in leading the union in carrying out support to the strike." Ironically Martin has been part of the Democratic Party machine for years, but even this "minor" fact does not prevent Chee from supporting Martin. After all, at least Martin was against the general strike! Martin defeated his right-wing opponent in a run-off election on May 18, by a vote of 746 to 498, but this only leads the Muni drivers back where they started, thanks to opportunists like Chee. ■

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For A UAW Solidarity Strike – Shut Down Canadian Tire Plants!

All Out in Rubber Strike!

MAY 25—The nationwide strike by 60,000 rubber workers against the “Big Four” tire and rubber companies entered its sixth week today with no settlement in sight and new threats mounting against the hard-pressed membership of the United Rubber Workers Union (URW). While management refuses to budge at the bargaining table, the URW has been hard hit by the decision of its General Tire and Rubber locals in Akron not to join the strike following the expiration of their separate contract on May 15.

Incredibly, the URW leadership of Peter Bommarito & Co. was totally unprepared for the last-minute defection of Nathan Traschel, president of General Tire Local 9, who agreed to an extension of the contract and as we go to press is still keeping his membership at work. “It looks like a crack in our united

URW leaders for the Big Four. Rubber workers must mobilize to shut down General immediately through mass picketing and preparation to defy injunctions!

Meanwhile, the auto industry continues production on overtime schedules despite earlier industry “estimates” that tire stockpiles would run out in three weeks to a month. This greatly strengthens the hand of the rubber giants, since the URW strategy was to force a shutdown of auto to bring pressure on the tire companies to settle. Continued operation by the auto companies raises an ominous danger that the relatively small URW could be starved into submission. Bommarito and his cronies must bear the responsibility for this development, having earlier confidently predicted that auto companies would feel the pinch by mid-May. It now looks



URW “strategy” in rubber strike is impotent consumer boycott. Militant unionists must demand an industrywide strike, including Canada, and solidarity strike action by the UAW.

front,” admitted Bommarito, “I don’t know what happened” (*Business Week*, 31 May). The Local 9 action violates an explicit union decision and could dangerously weaken the strike in the face of company intransigence. The business press is already chortling that a substandard separate settlement at General could further undercut the already limited bargaining demands of

like the stockpiles will be good at least until the middle of June. No attempt to prevent stockpiling was undertaken by the URW leadership prior to the strike.

Insufficient preparation for the strike is also reflected in the call for a special convention of the union this week in Chicago to pass a special dues increase to bolster the failing strike fund. URW strike benefits are down to \$25 per week and expected to end entirely soon. The combination of the failure to dent auto production and the dwindling strike fund no doubt contributed to the strikebreaking decision of General Tire local leaders to keep their members working, since the strike is beginning to look like a drawn-out and possibly losing proposition. General should have been pulled out with the rest of the big companies, and the strike fund strengthened prior to the strike.

Shutting down auto is a crucial ingredient to victory in the rubber strike. UAW militants must demand an immediate, nationwide auto solidarity strike. No handling of any tires until the rubber workers win! Both UAW and URW leaders will gutlessly echo the bosses’ denunciation of such a tactic as an “illegal secondary boycott,” yet the capitulating policies of these leaders promise only a slow strangulation of both rubber and auto workers (whose contract expires in September). Both rubber and auto unions were built with “illegal” sitdown strikes, and saving the

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KKK Cross-Burnings in L.A.

MAY 16—The burning cross, dreaded symbol of the fascist Ku Klux Klan, has been set aflame sporadically but with increasing boldness in the Los Angeles area in a campaign of Klan-inspired terror. The most recent target of the white-supremacist ritual violence was a Jewish family living in the suburban San Fernando valley. In the early hours of May 7 they found their front lawn ablaze with a gasoline fire in the shape of a cross.

Stunned, they did not report the

coalition composed of the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Urban League, California Fair Housing Congress and others. The largely white audience of 300 heard speakers call for the government to outlaw the KKK.

The entire rally was a testimonial to simmering patriotism. It began with the singing of “America the Beautiful.” Rev. Clayton Russell, the coalition’s chairman, proclaimed “We are the real Americans” and noted that cross-



Press Association

1948 Klan rally, Wrightsville, Georgia. Such demonstrations were meant to intimidate blacks and keep them away from the polls.

incident until the next day when they learned that a black family in nearby Reseda had been terrorized by the burning of a wooden cross. In the last three weeks, as many as seven such night-riding attacks have been reported in what appears to be an ongoing, organized campaign against blacks.

Redondo Beach has been the scene of escalating white-hooded vigilante raids. Two cross-burnings occurred there last week at black families’ homes. A poster nailed up in the vicinity read “White Man Wake Up” and gave the address of a KKK bookstore in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the Redondo Beach post office box of the “Christian Patriots.” Other cross-burnings occurred last week in the Culver City district of Los Angeles. Nearby Bell, Cudahy and Woodland Hills witnessed other incidents earlier this year.

The burning cross has been the symbol of racist terror in the U.S. since William Simmons, on Thanksgiving night 1915, led his 12 disciples up Stone Mountain outside Atlanta, spewing forth his gospel of “race purity” and patriotism, to burn a wooden cross, thus inaugurating the modern KKK. In the bloody hands of white-sheeted vigilantes, the burning cross was no mere ritual. It has been one of the main weapons of intimidation of this largest nativist fascist movement in the U.S. For those whose homes are surrounded by the hooded Klan vigilantes in the dead of night, the burning cross is a very personal threat, suggesting the Klan’s entire repertoire of torture and humiliating persecution: tar and feathering, being run out of town, flogging and ultimately lynching to the orgiastic thrill of a frenzied subhuman mob.

In response to the intensifying racist atrocities, a rally was held in Redondo Beach sponsored by the United Citizens Emergency Action Committee, a liberal

burnings “make America look bad.”

The ultra-respectable tone and pitch to the government were taken up by Rev. Al Dortch, supporter of the Communist Party-backed National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and by Manuel “Tank” Barrera of the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). Barrera, formerly the Socialist Workers Party’s candidate for L.A. County Sheriff, called for a “vigil” to watch over black homes, stressing “we will not be provoked,” and demanded the arrest of criminals.

But vigils appealing for protection from the cops are exactly what will not protect black people against the rising wave of racist terror! One of the reasons the night-riding KKK does its murderous extra-legal “work” in white hoods is that its racist vigilante squads usually include members of the local police. It has long been the Klan’s official policy that it is “assisting law enforcement.” Before a 1921 Congressional investigating committee, Klan founder Simmons insisted the KKK could not be guilty of “lawlessness” when “one of the tenets of the order was assistance of authorities.” The liberal “solution” of calling on the capitalist state to suppress the fascist menace can only backfire—again and again the bourgeois authorities have demonstrated that “anti-extremist” legislation will be wielded far more frequently and harshly against the left than against the paramilitary right.

While SCAR joins the liberals in hand-wringing opposition to the increasingly bold fascist mobilizations, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its captive SCAR have been the most vociferous defenders of the alleged “rights” of the fascist scum to organize. When KKK ringleader Scott Nelson appeared at the University of Houston

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Carter...

(continued from page 1)

respectability, the black ministers, was meant to gain pulpit endorsements for Carter as the Georgia farm boy who, Young explained, had "known black people all his life."

Young drawled, "you know Carter is a farmer...because he pronounces it faw-muh." Stressing the country-cousin routine, Young went on, "He'll be in town and he's staying at my house at y'all's house." He made it clear that his motivation is the simple adage of American capitalist politics: nothing succeeds like success. "The train has left the station," he proclaimed; selling tickets to a Carter rally he added, "But I do have some tickets."

That Sunday most of these ministers probably urged a vote for Carter, who had perhaps already inspired their confidence with his claim to a connection to Jesus. A member of a segregationist Southern Baptist church with a burgeoning membership of 12.7 million, Carter is strongly identified with evangelical Christianity. He told a receptive black Methodist congregation in Buffalo, "I believe I can be a better president because of my faith" (*New York Times*, 11 April).

At a time when the black masses are so disaffected from bourgeois electoral politics that only a small percentage bother to vote even in national elections, an even smaller percentage vote in primaries. Thus the extraordinary influence of the black Church, which since the days of slavery has been an important organizing force and a veritable ideological yoke upon the aspirations of the black masses.

Gerald Ford doesn't want to be left out of the religious revival. Last Sunday Ford gave the U.S. electorate a taste of the probable campaign oratory if he runs against Carter when he said, "we must recover transcendent qualities of spirituality and morality" (*New York Times*, 24 May). He then quoted the bible: "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart and lean not on thine own understanding."

No wonder Carter and Ford want voters to "lean not on their own understanding." It doesn't take too much understanding to realize that both parties have approximately the same program to protect the fetid system of capitalism at the expense of the working people of the U.S.

It is not only the post-Watergate anti-political ethos that the candidates are trying to appeal to. The twin parties of capital, in accord on the most important political issues and unable to fake even a demagogic political debate, welcome a contest based on personalities and smiles, on piety and speaking in tongues. The fact is they want to avoid crucial political issues altogether. What about unemployment, inflation, rotting ghettos, the threat of inter-imperialist war? The labor tops and black leaders, whose commitment to capitalism is unshakable, are reduced to advocating a choice based on "spirituality," or more specifically, Democratic party loyalty. All other things being equal, a winner is best, or as Coleman Young put it, "Mr. Carter was the best 'horse' to ride to the Democratic Convention."

Up-North Liberal, Down-Home Racist

Carter has long experience in wooing both black voters and white racists. The Georgia electorate spans rural towns where the White Citizens Councils still thrive, and Atlanta, a modern city with a large black petty bourgeoisie. During his successful 1970 gubernatorial campaign the peanut man from Plains, a tiny town in southwestern Georgia, proved adept at rapidly shifting gears to appeal to different voting blocs.

Running against "progressive" former governor Carl Sanders and a black

lawyer, C.B. King, who split the white-moderate and black vote between them in the Democratic primary, Carter let his hair down while stumping the small towns. "I'm basically a redneck," he told one local reporter. He attacked Sanders as a Humphrey liberal and accused him of selling out to "big unions" by favoring repeal of open shop laws. Five days before the primary, Carter made a well-publicized visit to a whites-only private academy that had been set up to avoid integration of the public schools. The implications were unmistakable when the candidate announced he was there to "reassure Georgians of my support for private education" (*Harper's Magazine*, March 1976).

Carter ran with the ax-wielding symbol of segregation, Lester Maddox,

attempt to cultivate a moderate liberal image with platitudes, a smattering of reforms and a portrait of Martin Luther King hung in his office. During the last two years of his term he began actively exploring his presidential possibilities, leaving the day-to-day administration of the state in the hands of Maddox.

Although he now tells black audiences that the Vietnam war was "racist," in April 1971 Carter proclaimed "American Fighting Men's Day" in Georgia, described My Lai mass murderer William Calley as a "scapegoat" and condemned Calley's conviction as "a blow to troop morale" (*New York Times*, 21 May).

In 1972 Carter publicly threatened to support a one-day school boycott against a desegregation plan in Augusta

alternative except to vote with their feet. The ossified and racist labor bureaucracy which purports to "lead" the millions of black union members, including its "progressive" wing exemplified by the UAW's Leonard Woodcock, joins the ministers in urging support for Carter.

The late Malcolm X once compared the "difference" between Goldwater and Johnson to the difference between an "honestly growling wolf" and "a fox who could have them [black people] half-digested before they even knew what was happening." The failure of the 1960's civil rights movement to transcend reformist tokenism, the collapse of that movement's more militant offshoots into merely a black version of cynical ethnic maneuverism, the naked



Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter posing with supporters at \$500-a-plate dinner in Detroit. From left: General Motors president Peter Estes, UAW president Leonard Woodcock, Carter, Detroit mayor Coleman Young, Chrysler board chairman John J. Riccardo and Ford chairman Henry Ford II.

Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, and the support of Andrew Young, black fifth district Democratic congressional candidate. When speaking before predominantly white audiences, Carter defended Maddox' refusal to support Young for Congress: "That is his right... I think there are things that transcend party unity." Repeatedly asked if he himself supported Young, Carter's typically slimy evasion was, "I don't live in the Fifth District" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 10 October 1970).

Carter was sufficiently reactionary to win the support of aged racist Senator Richard Russell and Augusta party boss Roy Harris, leader of the White Citizens Councils and Wallace's number one man in the state. The gubernatorial candidate went out of his way to paper over any differences with Maddox. Carter told a "Maddox appreciation dinner" in Columbus that his running mate was "the essence of the Democratic Party... I am proud to be on the ticket with him. Despite reports you have heard, there has never been any difference between us in the primary" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 27 October 1970). Running a gubernatorial campaign that was less overtly racist than the preceding primary, Carter simply left the white supremacist vote to be corralled by his running mate, Maddox, who had paved the way to his term as governor in 1966 by driving black people out of his restaurant with an ax handle.

Carter ran a hard-line "law and order" campaign, attacking his Republican opponent for favoring legalized gambling and abolition of the death penalty, promising to upgrade the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and "stamp out the drug problem." Only months after the murder of students at Kent State, the candidate told newsmen that he would not hesitate to give the National Guard live ammunition and shoot-to-kill orders if "absolutely necessary" to put down campus unrest (*Atlanta Constitution*, 27 October 1970).

With his eyes already on the White House, the new governor did indeed

unless the state legislature called on Congress to initiate a constitutional ban on busing. A month before the Democratic national convention, he urged that Wallace be the vice-presidential nominee. He campaigned to prevent a Democratic Party criticism of Nixon's war policies and in 1972 sponsored a resolution at the Democratic Governors' Conference urging Democratic candidates not to make an issue of the war because, as he explained to *Harper's* journalist Steven Brill, "We should have appreciated and supported Nixon's efforts." As leader of the "Stop McGovern" forces, he nominated saber-rattling Senator Henry Jackson at the convention.

Carter remains consistent. Just as he tried to appeal to the "New South" liberals and blacks as well as the racist vote by alternately embracing and distancing himself from Maddox, he has pulled a similarly slick stunt on the national level with George Wallace. In a letter to a Wallace voter explaining why he nominated Jackson rather than Wallace in 1972, Carter reveals the kind of "spirituality" that makes him U.S. presidential material:

"I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace... There are times when two men working toward the same end can accomplish more if they are not completely tied together. I think you will find that Governor Wallace understands this."
Harper's, March 1976

Break with the Democrats and Republicans!

Black working people will face two covertly racist alternatives in November, dished out by the capitalist class and its black hangers-on. Black politicians like Coleman Young and Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson, who have found a comfortable niche for themselves at the expense of blacks and all working people, will certainly find it more difficult to sell Jimmy Carter to the ghetto black masses than to the compliant middle-class black clergy. But the profoundly disaffected black working people once again have no

treachery of the union tops who claim to represent black workers all have given the black masses no perspective except the suicidal alliance with the "moderate" Dixiecrats.

The burning necessity is for a labor party based on the trade unions which can provide a class basis for political unity between black and white working people. All the big business candidates have a program to "solve" the economic crisis at the expense of the workers and poor. All have a program tailored to the racist backlash. A workers party based on the organized strength of the unions and championing the rights of doubly oppressed social strata would find a ready response among black people. Such a party could weld the ghetto to the factory in the struggle to transform society through the expropriation of the capitalist class and the rule of a workers government. ■

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Militant S.F. Teamsters Strike Associated Freight

For A Joint West Coast Warehouse/Transport Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—In the wake of the defeat of the San Francisco city workers strike, West Coast employers have intensified their anti-union offensive. The brunt of this assault is currently being borne by the Teamsters (IBT) and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). With contracts coming up in these unions, the companies clearly want to smash the fighting spirit of the workers. The bourgeoisie's campaign to soften up the ILWU and IBT is not being fought with ordinary weapons. For the first time in years cops are being used extensively to break picket lines, federal marshals have been summoned and even the FBI is on hand.

Teamsters Strike Associated Freight

Teamsters in California are on strike—officially sanctioned by the International—against Associated Freight Lines. In the Bay Area Teamsters were somewhat less resistant to the recent trucking settlement than in other regions, largely because the local contract supplement maintained local gains such as the union hiring hall and the fixed starting time. Associated, however, is refusing to accept the negotiated contract terms, including some provisions of the master contract.

An official strike bulletin dated May 18 from IBT Local 70 (East Bay) described the situation: "Associated Freight Lines separated from the National Master Freight Agreement and through separate negotiations sought a substandard contract that provided for less wages and conditions, including flexible starting times." The bulletin continues, "On May 10, 1976 Associated Freight Lines retaliated and permanently replaced (fired) all the Teamsters and replaced them with SCABS, and hired professional union-busting guards with guns and dogs to protect them."

Reports are circulating that Associated is receiving subsidies from Pacific Mountain Trucking and Delta Trucking Lines. In addition to the private guards and local police, the company terminal in San Francisco is guarded by U.S. marshals and other federal agents. When a *WV* reporter attempted to take a picture of the scene, his film was destroyed by five men claiming to be FBI agents. However, the next day *WV* was able to take photos showing the riot police and private guards at Associated.

At some company terminals, as in Oakland, scab trucks have been moving, but the S.F. terminal has been shut down tight by the militant tactics of IBT Local 85. There have been sporadic reports of private guards being sent to the hospital, as well as the strikers being injured by baton-wielding guards or threatened at gunpoint. On May 18 the company obtained two sweeping injunctions from a Santa Clara county judge—one limiting the number of picketers, and another barring picketers within 2,000 feet of any company terminal or its trucks! Three days later Teamster ranks responded by appearing at Pier 80 to shut down all trucking operations. Although the lines were broken by local cops backed up by customs officials and federal marshals, trucking was disrupted as picketers chased the scab trucks. Not surprisingly, these militant tactics were denounced by Local 85 leader Ray



Cops and company guards at struck Associated Freight depot in San Francisco.

Talavera, who said the picketing was unauthorized and who threatened disciplinary action against Local members (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 May).

Nestlé's Strike

The ILWU strike at Nestlé's chocolate plant is already over ten weeks old. The walkout of 114 workers began on March 12 over the contract issue of catch-up raises, and since then the company has clearly demonstrated its intention to break the strike. Unless the strikers are backed by solidarity actions of truck drivers, warehousemen and longshoremen refusing to handle Nestlé's products, they will be isolated and defeated.

There have been some demonstrations of union support for the Nestlé's workers. On May 20, ILWU Local 34 clerks stationed at Pier 80 managed to turn away a container of scab Nestlé's products and forced the shipping company awaiting the delivery to agree not to handle nine other Nestlé's containers.

However, according to a May 21 leaflet issued by five ILWU militants (Bob Carson, Local 34 executive board; Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, Local 10 executive board; Bob Mandel, Local 6 general executive board; and John Dow, Local 6 steward)—the Local 6 warehouse leaders have actually ordered their members to handle scab Nestlé's products at Thrifty. The leaflet praises the actions of the clerks at Pier 80 and the refusal of Local 6 warehouse workers and several stewards at Thrifty Warehouse to handle Nestlé's products on May 19.

The leaflet reveals that "Local 6 BA [business agent] Abba Ramos then ordered the workers to handle scab goods on the grounds that since they had been received they had to be worked!" Not to be outdone, Local 10 executive board member Archie Brown has been pushing the impotent consumer boycott of Nestlé's products proposed by the bureaucrats as an alternative to militant hot-cargo tactics. To the defeatism and strikebreaking of Ramos and Brown, both well-known Communist Party (CP) supporters, the militants' leaflet replied that "carefully coordinated action by the Stewards' Councils and memberships of the warehouse, longshore and clerk locals can still shut Nestlé down tight."

Negotiations in Warehouse

Rapidly approaching is the June 1 contract deadline for 25,000 northern

California warehouse workers represented by a joint negotiating alliance between the ILWU and Teamsters. In anticipation of the upcoming negotiations, employers have launched a series of vicious assaults against the unions, in particular ILWU Local 6. This includes not only the current Nestlé's strike, but also the recent Local 6 strikes at Clinical Specialties and Victor which were broken by police scabherding. The defeat suffered by Victor office workers resulted in the first open shop agreement signed in ILWU history.

As employers have intensified their strikebreaking they have become more intransigent at the bargaining table. The Distributors Association has sneered at the official union wage demand of \$3.25 over three years, standing firm on its insulting offer of 48 cents over three years!

The response of the Local 6 leadership headed by Curtis McClain has been to retreat, attempting to stifle the militancy of the rank and file. Regular membership meetings, which have been well-attended and combative, were abruptly canceled. At strike vote meetings held on May 19-20, militants got one third of the vote when they argued for "no contract, no work." Unfortunately, McClain & Co. were able to push through a weak-kneed motion to strike only "when and if necessary," and in so doing making it emphatically clear that they were not serious about fighting even for their own inadequate official bargaining proposals. Reportedly the bureaucrats have already reduced the wage demand by 75 cents and abandoned the demand for full cost-of-living protection.

In an attempt to keep iron-fisted control over the bargaining, Teamster chief Fitzsimmons has sent in as IBT chief negotiator William Grami, who was his leading hatchet man in the raiding campaign against the Farm Workers. Playing on apprehensions among ILWU members about the corrupt and goon-ridden IBT bureaucracy, McClain is trying to use the "alliance" with the Teamsters as a club against his own union members, claiming that militant action on the ILWU's part would scare off the IBT. (However, at the same time McClain has refused to call any ILWU/Teamster Stewards Council meetings to prepare for joint strike action!)

The Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in Local 6 which has spearheaded the fight for hot-cargoing Nestlé's products, has warned of the

treachery of the Local bureaucracy and has called for election of strike committees in each warehouse, as the nucleus of a centralized strike leadership. It demands the immediate convening of a joint Teamster/ILWU Stewards Council meeting, as the first step in forming a fighting alliance against the employers on a class-struggle program. The 3 May "Warehouse Militant" outlines the key demands of such a program, calling for "\$2.00 per hour in one year and catch-up pay to get parity with the Teamsters, a full COLA, the unrestricted right to strike, jobs for all through 30 for 40, free 24-hour childcare at company expense, 25 years and out on a pension equal to your normal month's wage."

Shut Down West Coast Transport!

In a parallel development to the warehouse companies' offensive, West Coast longshoremen are facing renewed attacks from the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). On July 1 the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) fund will be automatically cut by \$1.3 million and PMA is planning a wave of deregistrations under the guise of weeding out "moonlighters" and "chiselers." Needless to say, there are no plans for resistance from the International leadership of Harry Bridges. As the latest "Longshore Militant" (11 May) notes: "For the first time since 1946, mass layoffs are staring us in the face." The newsletter called for longshoremen to strike with warehouse workers when the warehouse contract expires June 1 in order to dump the rotten longshore contract. As the "Longshore Militant" notes: "We have the power to shut down all West Coast transport to win what we all need." The demand must be raised to reopen the rotten IBT Master Freight Agreement, as well as to defend the Associated drivers. Among the demands raised by the "Longshore Militant" are a sliding scale of hours and wages and the immediate promotion of all "B-men" to "A" status.

Clearly, to win these demands and simply to defend the unions from massive company assaults, a joint West Coast transport/warehouse strike is necessary. All West Coast ports must be shut down. All trucking must be halted. All warehouses under ILWU/Teamsters jurisdiction must be shut, including those in southern California, which should be brought into the northern California contract.

The employers' anti-union offensive can be halted by militant action by the Teamsters and ILWU. But the leaderships of these unions have just recently demonstrated their fundamental rottenness by their failure to mobilize their memberships in solidarity with the S.F. craft workers strike. Although this strike dramatically underscored the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy's long-time alliance with capitalist "friend of labor" politicians like strikebreaking mayor Moscone, the labor fakery have not changed their ways. In the wake of the anti-labor backlash provoked by the long and demoralizing strike, they have become even more defeatist and reactionary. Only a new class-struggle leadership such as that presented by the supporters of the "Warehouse Militant" and "Longshore Militant" can reverse the tide of defeats. ■

AMÉRIQUES

Argentine

La répression touche tous les milieux sociaux et professionnels

Malgré le ton modéré des proclamations initiales de l'armée militaire au pouvoir...

organisations para-policieres ou extrémistes de droite, comme l'Alliance anti-communiste argentine.

ment par Mme Maud Mannoni et MM. Gilles Deleuze et Michel Foucault.



ditions et des enlèvements.

Selon Amnesty International, de vingt à trente mille personnes auraient été arrêtées depuis le coup d'Etat militaire. Un certain nombre, bien entendu, ont été relâchées. Le chiffre de quatre mille détenus politiques — généralement admis par les observateurs durant les derniers jours du régime péroniste — est, selon toute vraisemblance, largement dépassé. Néanmoins, les autorités n'ont toujours pas donné un chiffre officiel et encore moins une liste des personnes détenues. Les différents services de répression, policiers et militaires, ont agi et continuent d'agir chacun pour son compte, allant même jusqu'à se disputer certains prisonniers. La police péroniste...

six ambassades. Il était sur la « liste noire ».

Des appels

Nous avons, en particulier, reçu des appels en faveur de :

● M. Haroldo Conti, écrivain renommé, collaborateur de l'excellente revue littéraire et politique Cris, enlevé le 5 mai à Dorego, dans la province de Buenos-Aires, par six civils armés. Plusieurs écrivains vivant à Paris, dont Régis Debray, Manuel Scorza, Julio Cortazar, Italo Calvino, Ariel Dorfman, ont envoyé un télégramme au président Videla, lui demandant de veiller à ce que soient préservées la vie et la liberté de M. Conti.

La situation des étrangers réfugiés sur le territoire argentin est apparemment guère meilleure. Un décret-loi du 26 mars permet l'expulsion des étrangers vers leur pays d'origine pour des motifs les plus divers. L'International Workers Order of America nous a communiqué une liste de chiliens menacés d'être renvoyés à Santiago. Nous avons, à part, appris de sources sûres que M. Edgardo Enriquez — l'un des dirigeants du MIR chilien, — dont l'arrestation en Argentine, a été renvoyé le 27 avril au Chili. Il se trouverait actuellement détenu dans un local de DINA — la police politique chilienne, — situé dans une localité nommée Montemaravilla.

M. Mario Munoz Salas, syndicaliste chilien de la fédération des mineurs, est actuellement recherché, apprend-on, par les forces de l'ordre argentine, auxquelles il a pu échapper lors d'une première perquisition à son domicile, dans la ville de San-Juan. Une trentaine de personnalités : écrivains, artistes, journalistes, avocats, etc., ont déjà lancé un appel en sa faveur.

Enfin, le cinéaste brésilien Paolo Paranagua et sa compagne Maria Regina Pilia, détenus depuis une année, avaient obtenu, juste avant le coup d'Etat, un visa pour la France. Les autorités militaires argentine semblent se refuser, désormais, à les laisser quitter le pays. De nombreux écrivains et artistes ont signé un appel pour leur libération.

APRES LE COUP D'ETAT EN ARGENTINE

la vie de Edgardo Enriquez (MIR) et de Mario Muñoz (PS) est en danger

La prise du pouvoir par la junte du général Videla en Argentine fait peser une grave menace sur tous les réfugiés politiques latino-américains, et notamment chiliens, qui avaient trouvé à Buenos-Aires un refuge sûr. Le 25 mars dernier, la police argentine a envahi la maison de Mario Muñoz Salas, militant chilien, brutalement l'endroit où se cache ce mineur. Il est aujourd'hui recherché, et se trouve en cas de découverte, condamné à mort pour avoir participé à la lutte pour sauver la vie de M. Muñoz Salas, qui demandait sa libération.

dirigeant du syndicat des ouvriers et mineurs d'Aconcagua, combattant infatigable, connu et respecté de tous les ouvriers chiliens, il avait été persécuté par tous les gouvernements chiliens au service des exploitateurs. La considération de ses frères de classe le porta à la direction nationale des conseils régionaux sous le gouvernement de Salvador Allende. Il dirigeait sans relâche la formation des comités industriels d'ouvriers, mineurs et paysans, à Valparaiso, Concepcion et dans d'autres villes. Il fut l'un des dirigeants de la mobilisation fasciste. Jusqu'à présent, il est toujours en danger.

Sauver Munoz !

Mario Munoz Salas, dirigeant et fondateur du Syndicat inter-provincial des ouvriers « Pirquineros » d'Aconcagua, délégué national aux Conseils miniers régionaux, a été toute sa vie un combattant infatigable pour la défense des mineurs.

Labor men in protest

CANBERRA, Monday. — The Federal Secretary of the ALP, Mr David Combe, and two former Labor Ministers, Dr Jim Cairns and Dr Moss Cass, have added support to a campaign to save a Chilean labour leader from execution in Argentina.

They are among ten signatories to a protest telegram sent today to the Argentinian Ambassador to Australia, Mr Desmaras-Luzuriaga.

The telegram has been sent on behalf of Mr Mario Munoz Salas, a former Chilean union leader and socialist who fled to Argentina with his family after a military coup in 1973.

The secretary of the Munoz Defence Committee, Mr Bill Loran, said...

The military coup in Argentina has placed the lives of Chilean refugees in that country in jeopardy. The junta has joined its Chilean counterpart in proclaiming the death sentence on a number of leading militants.

One refugee whose life is at stake is Mario Munoz Salas, a former Chilean union leader and socialist who fled to Argentina with his family after a military coup in 1973. Thirty armed men surrounded his house at 3 a.m. his wife and two children were unable to escape.

Sydney Morning Herald

L'Argentine des militaires

Le piège se referme sur les réfugiés latino-américains

Des amis de Mario Munoz Salas qui ont créé un comité pour sauver Mario Munoz (W. Saffores) ont lancé une pétition sur le thème suivant : « Mario Munoz Salas est un réfugié politique international et sa vie est en danger. Les autorités argentine doivent le libérer immédiatement. »

Libération

La junte argentine a battu le record de la violence en assassinant le battant chilien, le 27 avril au Chili. Maintenant c'est la junte argentine qui le condamne à la peine capitale. Le comité qui précède a lancé une pétition pour sa libération.

DANGER POUR LES REFUGIES CHILIENS EN ARGENTINE

Le plus inquiétant. En juin 1975, la police argentine, la même, arrêtait un autre dirigeant du MIR, Jorge Fuentes, et le livrait aux autorités chiliennes. Par ailleurs, la gendarmerie argentine recherche Mario Munoz, dirigeant du syndicat des ouvriers et des mineurs d'Aconcagua.

Internationale Solidarität zur Rettung des Lebens von MARIO MUÑOZ !

Der Staatsstreich der Streitkräfte in Argentinien präsentiert der Weltöffentlichkeit ein Bild von Mäßigung und Beachtung der Menschenrechte, aber dem steht die brutale Wirklichkeit entgegen. Stillschweigend hat die argentinische Junta einen blutigen Unterdrückungsfeldzug gegen alle Revolutionäre, Gewerkschaften und Gewerkschaften begonnen.

durchsucht, um ihn aufzuspüren. ... Arbeiter: Sein Leben ist in Gefahr.

... Arbeiter: Sein Leben ist in Gefahr.

One Month After Argentine Coup

Rightist Terror and Inflation Continue Unabated

By Judy White

One month after General Videla seized power in Argentina, extrajudicial rightist gangs continue to operate with impunity. The "lowing" of the ear of the dead is a symbol of the terror of the coup.



Picket at Argentine Consulate Demands Hands Off Mario Muñoz

About 100 persons picketed the Argentine consulate in New York April 22 to order the Videla junta's "shoot on sight" order against Chilean mine workers leader Mario Muñoz Salas. Muñoz has been in exile in Argentina since the September 1973 coup that overthrew the Allende government.

The picket line, called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, was endorsed by several dozen organizations and prominent individuals, including District Council 8 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication, and the Inter-

Commentaire Brésil, Chili, Argentine: la gangrène du fascisme

par Patrice Rodriguez (collaboration spéciale)

Dans la nuit du 23 au 24 mars 1976 un coup d'Etat "pacifique" en Argentine devait porter au pouvoir une Junte militaire composée du général Jorge Rafael Videla, commandant en chef de l'armée de terre, de l'amiral Emilio Massera, commandant en chef de la marine, et de l'aviateur...

guayens, etc... sont persécutés et menacés de déportation. Les réfugiés des Nations unies sont perquisitionnés trois fois par semaine. Le cas de Mario Muñoz Salas, condamné à mort par la Junte militaire chilienne et en exil en Argentine, est un exemple concret de la situation vécue aujourd'hui par les réfugiés dans ce pays. Dirigeant régional...

Muñoz Campaign Gains New Endorsements

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz Salas, the Chilean working-class leader being hunted down by the Argentine junta, has continued to draw broad support from trade unionists, leftists and others who oppose the violation of democratic rights under military dictatorships in South America. Since the campaign began a little over a month ago more than 200 endorsements from four continents have been received.

In the past week, new endorsements from the United States received by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz (jointly sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile) include Angela Davis, co-chairperson, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression*; Kate Millett, author; Anne Braden, civil rights activist; New American Movement, national office; Revolutionary Socialist League; Esteban E. Torres, assistant director, international affairs department, United Auto Workers*; and Bobby L. Rush.

In Europe, endorsements were received last week from Ernst Bloch, philosopher; British Labour Party* Members of Parliament Frank Allaun, Martin Flannery, Tom Litterick, Stan Newens and George Rodgers; Alexandre Oliveira, *Gazeta da Semana**, Lisbon; Friedrich Prechtel, chairman, Railroad Union*, Austria; Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers*, London; Alain Krivine, Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), France.

New Canadian endorsers include the Canadian Union of Public Employees,

Local 1230; Revolutionary Marxist Group; and the Vancouver District Labour Council.

Important endorsements have just been received from Israel as well. Among them are: Israel Shahak, Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights*; Felicia Langer, lawyer defending Palestinians in Israeli military courts; the Committee of Arab Students, Jerusalem University; M. Warschawski, Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxist)*; and Joshua Sobel, writer and journalist.

Also last week, the French LCR's daily *Rouge* (18 May) published an appeal by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

Funds Urgently Needed

On the vital financial side of the campaign, the Committee reported this week that it had raised over \$4,000 so far. Despite this encouraging success, funds are still urgently needed to bring to public attention the persecution of Mario Muñoz and further to obtain refugee status and safe conduct for him and his family out of Argentina. Readers of *WI* are urged to send donations (earmarked for the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz) to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Requests for further information concerning the Muñoz campaign can be sent to the same address. Please act immediately—the life of a revolutionary workers' leader is at stake. Only a powerful outcry of international protest can save him from the butchers of the Argentine and Chilean juntas!

*organization listed for identification purposes only

Australian Council of Trade Unions Executive Resolution

The following resolution of the Australian Council of Trade Unions Executive in respect to treatment of trade-union leaders in Argentina was passed on 20 May 1976:

The ACTU expresses the strongest condemnation of the attack on the Trade Union Movement and Working-Class Leaders by the Argentina Military Junta, as reported to us by the International Metal Workers' Federation. We demand an immediate restoration of trade union basic rights and freedom.

In particular, we call for an end to the harassment of Mario Muñoz Salas and his family, and a guarantee of protection of their lives.

The ACTU decides to protest to the Argentina Ambassador.

We ask the President to raise these matters at the ILO [International Labour Organisation] whilst he is in Geneva, with a view to the ILO taking action in Argentina.

Further, the ICFTU [International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] be requested to take all possible appropriate action.

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.**

I endorse*

My organization endorses*

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

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

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

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

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

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

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

Resolution Suppressed at Washington Conference

Whereas, the Argentine junta has unleashed a bloody repression against revolutionaries, trade unions and democratic organizations, while permitting fascist gangs like the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance to carry out their assassinations with impunity, and

Whereas, this vicious, reactionary terror also endangers the thousands of political refugees in Argentina, many of whom are Chilean, having fled rightwing repression in other Latin American countries, and

Whereas, Mario Muñoz, Chilean miners' union leader, was forced, along with thousands of Chilean workers and peasants, to flee to Argentina following the Pinochet coup in 1973, where Muñoz has continued to aid the Chilean masses during the difficult years of exile, and

Whereas, the Videla junta, following in the footsteps of Pinochet, has ordered Muñoz shot on sight,

Be it resolved that the National Legislative Conference on Chile demands that the Argentina junta stop the manhunt against Mario Muñoz and permit this working-class leader to leave Argentina in safety, and that the Conference endorses the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz, as part of the struggle to free all the victims of rightwing repression in Latin America.

—Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

Stalinist Sectarianism in Behalf of the Butcher Videla

D.C. Conference Tries to Gag Defense of Chile Refugees

About 150 people attended the "National Legislative Conference on Chile" held May 16-17 in Washington, D.C. The conference was called by the National Coordination Center in Solidarity with Chile (NCCSC), a liberal pressure group uncritically supported by the reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP). According to the NCCSC the purpose of the conference was to "call upon Congress to act now" by replacing Kissinger with a liberal as U.S. representative to the OAS and by passing the pending Fraser and Kennedy amendments, which would respectively limit economic aid and eliminate military assistance to the Chilean junta.

Bureaucratic Bulldozing

The Stalinists' attempt to railroad the conference into consideration of their two lobbying bills and nothing else soon ran into trouble. Urgent issues raised from the floor of the workshops and the plenary pressed the bureaucratic manipulators beyond the limits of their control, and by the end of the meeting had forced a compromise on the main conference resolution.

First there was the issue of Chilean refugees which the Stalinists wanted to completely ignore. A delegation representing the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz attempted to raise the question of defending political refugees in Argentina, about 80 percent of whom are Chileans according to Amnesty International. In particular, they sought to bring to the attention of the conference the campaign currently being waged for Mario Muñoz Salas, the mine workers' leader forced to flee Chile at the time of the Pinochet coup and now marked for death by the Argentine junta.

But the conference leaders tried to prevent any consideration of Chilean political refugees and other victims of

right-wing repression in Argentina. While enthusing over messages from bourgeois politicians like Hubert Humphrey, who as vice president in the Johnson administration was responsible for tiger cages and mass slaughter in South Vietnam, the NCCSC in its resolution on political prisoners and refugees sought to avoid even mentioning the plight of the many thousands of Chilean militants now trapped in Argentina. Moreover, the NCCSC steering committee informed PDC and Committee to Save Mario Muñoz representatives at the conference that they were not allowed to distribute any literature concerning Muñoz, including the resolution proposed for adoption by the meeting (reprinted above).

In the workshop on political prisoners, a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz spokesman attempted to introduce and motivate this resolution, but the NCCSC chairman summarily ruled any discussion of Chilean refugees in Argentina "out of order." So determined were the conference organizers to prevent political controversy that the workshop chairman even postponed consideration of the NCCSC resolution until the very end of the meeting, when he then "discovered" that there was no time for a discussion.

Despite the heavy gavel of the meeting's organizers, many participants recognized the need to defend Chilean refugees, and objections to the attempted suppression of this issue were raised from the floor and in the corridors. Also, there were protests against the proposed main conference resolution's call for placing "particular emphasis on the freedom for the imprisoned leaders of the democratically elected Popular Unity [UP] government of Salvador Allende." Under considerable pressure from the participants, the resolution was amended at the plenary session later

continued on page 10

Declaration...

(continued from page 1)

the USec played a central role in creating the MIR, but this did not prevent the Castroites from summarily expelling them two years later for "Trotskyism." Such are the rewards of opportunism!) The USec supporters labeled the bourgeois elements of the UP irrelevant, alibiing the Allende regime with the label "reformist" and calling on it to carry out its own bourgeois program.

As for the two Chile groups adhering to the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" led by the French OCI, neither of them characterized the UP as a popular front until after the Pinochet coup; and the minuscule Posadista group considered the Allende regime as a "revolutionary government," a category in which it also includes the military juntas of Peru and Panama.

III

However, some militants in Chile did seek to oppose the class collaboration of the two dominant reformist, or as Lenin said, bourgeois workers parties (Communist and Socialist). In late 1972, elements of the TRO (Revolutionary October Tendency, allied with the reformist international minority of the USec) refused to go along with a fusion with the FRT (Revolutionary Trotskyist Front, led by L. Vitale and allied with the centrist USec majority) because of the failure to resolve (or even discuss) differences on Cuba and guerrillism, and the lack of a revolutionary policy toward the UP. Consequently, this grouping was immediately expelled by the central committee elected at the founding congress of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party) amid charges of "ultra-leftism."

The expelled tendency, which became the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization (OTR), includes among its central leadership trade unionists with many years of experience leading struggles of the Chilean miners, both against the U.S. monopolies and state agencies of the Chilean bourgeoisie. Having broken with the SP, in the March 1973 legislative elections they called for votes to the Popular Socialist Union (USOPO), a split-off from the SP, while giving it no political confidence. Although the USOPO leaders were reformists, they had been forced to break with the popular front because of leftist

opposition among copper miners (its base) to the UP. Shortly before the Pinochet coup leaders of the OTR were at the head of a workers march in Santiago demanding "break with the bourgeoisie."

Subsequently, in a document approved by its congress in October 1974, "A Political Defeat and the Need for a Balance Sheet," the OTR wrote:

"To say that the character of the UP was reformist means being an accomplice to the betrayals committed.... Thus the UP must be included in the list of the old popular fronts, the model designed to betray the working class."

IV

At the time of the shotgun wedding which formed the PSR in November 1972, the tendency which became the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization of Chile had already experienced the unprincipled maneuvering of the competing factions of the USec. In exile, the OTR came into direct contact with the United Secretariat leadership. Although invited to the USec's "Tenth World Congress," it was informed that there would be no discussion on Chile! This was only logical for a fake-International which had formally declared the Allende regime a popular front in 1971, while none of its sympathizing groups in Chile ever held this position; and then, following the 1973 coup, posthumously rehabilitated the UP to the status of "reformist." Clearly any honest balance sheet of the Chilean events could only be a condemnation of the USec's own opportunism and failure to present a revolutionary opposition to class collaboration.

The OCI, like the USec, had termed the Allende regime a popular front (although not taking the decisive step of calling for electoral opposition to *all* the parties of the UP coalition) while its Chilean supporters failed to make this characterization. In discussions with the OCI, the OTR sharply rejected the former's call for a vote for Mitterrand (candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1974 French presidential elections) and opposed the OCI policy of tailing after the Portuguese Socialist Party. In 1971, after playing a fundamental role in frustrating chances for a Bolivian revolution by its capitulatory centrist policies, the OCI's main Latin American ally, the POR of G. Lora, concluded a political pact with the ousted Bolivian ex-president, General Torres. Subsequently the OCI has called for extending this alliance with the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie to a continental scale—a Latin American super-Kuomintang. Such treacherous policies demonstrate the appetites of these pseudo-Trotskyists to commit betrayals as monstrous as those of the Chilean SP and CP.

Coming into contact with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the OTR found itself in fundamental agreement with the iSt's consistent class opposition to the popular front, put forward in positions taken even at the height of Allende's popularity and expressed in the articles collected in *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3 ("Chile: Lecciones del Frente Popular"). This initial agreement was extended to include the understanding of the nature of Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The opportunists of the United Secretariat formed their pseudo-International on the basis of capitulating to Castro's popularity among petty-bourgeois radicals, terming Cuba a healthy workers state that merely "lack[ed] the forms" of proletarian democracy. In contrast, the forerunner of the Spartacist League U.S., the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) insisted that Cuba was a deformed workers state, and that workers democracy could only be achieved through political revolution led by a Trotskyist party. It was for defending this Marxist program that the RT was expelled by

the SWP, as part of the latter's rapid degeneration through centrism to cringing social-democratic reformism. Through a discussion of the history of the international Trotskyist movement, the USec capitulation to Castroism was traced to the Pabloist liquidationism which had destroyed the Fourth International in 1951-53.

V

Among the earlier political positions, inherited from Pabloism, which the OTR had to reevaluate, the question of guerrillism was the most difficult. While in the TRO, the tendency which became the OTR had been strongly guerrillaist, accusing the TRO leadership of failure to carry out the decision of the USec's "Ninth World Congress" on "armed struggle" in Latin America. While the OTR had rejected peasant-based "foco" guerrilla war, it stood for guerrilla struggle by the workers.

In discussions with the iSt, the OTR came to the conclusion that Marxists must oppose guerrillism. As the Revolutionary Tendency stated in 1963, "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working class bureaucratic regime" ("Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International"). Moreover, whether in rural or urban (Tupamaros) forms, whether as Guevarism, Maoist "people's war" or in a "Trotskyist" disguise (as in the case of the Argentine PRT/ERP), guerrillism is hostile to proletarian revolution and inevitably leads to—or is the reflection of—Stalinist "two-stage" conceptions if not outright petty-bourgeois nationalism.

The proletariat *cannot* sustain guerrilla war, for the very concept implies the absence of a revolutionary situation and the kind of irregular fighting which requires an ability to retreat rapidly. In addition to its clear class interest, it is the *organization* of the proletariat which gives it political superiority over the atomized peasantry. This organization is the result of the position of the working class in the structure of capitalist society; to retreat into the hills would eventually destroy the class or the class character of its vanguard.

There is no better illustration of the impotence of guerrillism in the face of a concerted offensive by the bourgeoisie than the recent debacle in Argentina. Even though guerrillism (both urban and rural) is more widespread, better financed and equipped, of longer duration and of more different varieties than anywhere else in Latin America, none of the guerrilla groups could lift a finger against the Videla coup or even stop the notorious AAA death squads which have assassinated thousands of leftists and workers leaders with impunity over the last three years.

The revolutionary party must, of course, take an active role in organizing the self-defense of the working masses, and the use of guerrilla tactics is often

vital as a subordinate civil war tactic. However, the road to power for the proletariat is through mass insurrection against the bourgeois state; the central military organization of the uprising must be an arm of and directed by the mass organization of the working class, led by the Leninist vanguard party.

VI

In Latin America, Castroist-inspired guerrillism has led a generation of subjectively revolutionary militants from one defeat to another, resulting in the useless slaughter of many of the most dedicated and courageous fighters. In numerous countries, thousands of militants have been grievously misled by the Trotskyist pretensions of the Pabloists and other revisionists into capitulation before non-proletarian leaderships.

We reject the claims of the several international groupings posturing as the Fourth International to be the continuity, either organizationally or politically, of the revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The Chilean experience has again demonstrated the bankruptcy of these pseudo-Trotskyist imposters. Those who in 1970-73 were giving a left cover to Allende's Popular Unity, only a year later were creating illusions in the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement and/or its SP and CP collaborators. After playing a central role in creating the MIR, only to be expelled from their creature shortly after, the USec repeated this disastrous course with the debacle of the guerrillaist Argentine PRT/ERP, at the same time sustaining the social-democratic PST, which politically supported the Peronist government. Only an authentically Trotskyist International, firmly based on the theory of permanent revolution and committed to destroying the authority of all the reformist and centrist misleaders of the working class, can resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership.

In view of the large number of subjectively revolutionary militants presently within the ranks of various ostensibly revolutionary organizations and the central importance of politically destroying Pabloism on a world scale, the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization and the international Spartacist tendency, in this declaration of fraternal relations, agree to undertake joint work toward the rebirth of the Fourth International. We seek to reforge the Fourth International by winning the best cadre and militants through a process of revolutionary regroupment. On the basis of the above points and agreement with the Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League U.S., subsequently adopted by the iSt, the parties to this declaration aim at achieving the unity of the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization of Chile with the international Spartacist tendency, and in turn this will be a great step toward the formation of the International Trotskyist League, worldwide in scope.

17 May 1976

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Declaración...

(viene de la página 12)

elementos burgueses de la UP como sin relevancia, ocultando el carácter de clase del régimen de Allende detrás de la etiqueta "reformista", y exigiéndole cumplir con el programa burgués de la UP.

En cuanto a los dos grupos chilenos pertenecientes al "Comité de Organización por la Reconstrucción de la Cuarta Internacional" encabezado por la OCI francesa, ninguno caracterizó a la UP como frente popular hasta después del golpe de Pinochet. Finalmente, el minúsculo grupo posadista consideró al régimen de Allende como "gobierno revolucionario", una categoría en la cual también incluye las juntas militares del Perú y del Panamá.

III

Sin embargo, algunos militantes en Chile buscaban oponerse al colaboracionismo de clases de los dominantes partidos obreros reformistas—o como lo expresó Lenin, partidos obreros burgueses—el PC y el PS. A finales de 1972, elementos de la Tendencia Revolucionaria de Octubre (TRO, aliada con la minoría internacional reformista del SU) se rehusaron acceder a una fusión con el Frente Revolucionario Trotskista (FRT, liderado por L. Vitale y aliado con la mayoría centrista del SU) a causa de la no-resolución (y ni siquiera discusión) de diferencias sobre Cuba y el guerrillerismo, y de la ausencia de una política revolucionaria frente a la UP. Por consiguiente, esta agrupación fue inmediatamente expulsada por el comité central elegido en el congreso de fundación del Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR) con acusaciones de "ultra-izquierdismo".

En la dirección central de la tendencia expulsada, que luego se transformó en la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR), se encuentran dirigentes sindicales con muchos años de experiencia en la dirección de las luchas de los mineros chilenos, tanto contra los monopolios norteamericanos como las empresas estatales de la burguesía chilena. Habiendo roto con el PS, en las elecciones legislativas de marzo de 1973 se llamó a votar por la Unión Socialista Popular (USOPO), una escisión del PS, sin darle ninguna confianza política. Aunque los dirigentes de la USOPO eran reformistas, habían sido forzados a romper con el frente popular a causa de la oposición de izquierda a la UP entre los mineros del cobre, la base de la USOPO. Poco antes del golpe dirigentes de la OTR encabezaron una marcha obrera en Santiago exigiendo "Romper con la burguesía."

Más tarde, en un documento aprobado por su congreso de octubre de 1974, "Una derrota política y la necesidad de un balance", la OTR escribió:

"Decir que el carácter de la UP es reformista, significa ser cómplice de la traición cometida... La UP se inscribe así en la lista de los viejos Frentes Populares, que fueron el modelo diseñado para traicionar a la clase obrera."

IV

A la época del matrimonio a la fuerza que resultó en el PSR en noviembre de 1972, la tendencia que más tarde será la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile ya tuvo experiencia con las maniobras sin principios de las fracciones competidoras del SU. En el exilio, la OTR tomó contacto directo con la dirección del Secretariado Unificado. Aunque invitada al "Décimo Congreso Mundial" del SU, la OTR fue informada de que no habría discusión sobre Chile! Esto era de esperar lógicamente de esta falsa Internacional que había clasificado de frente popular al régimen de Allende en 1971, mientras que esta posición no fue compartida por sus grupos simpatizantes en Chile. Luego, después del golpe de 1973, rehabilitó la UP al rango de "reformista"

ta". Evidentemente, cualquier balance honesto de los acontecimientos chilenos solo puede condenar el propio oportunismo del SU y su falla de presentar una oposición revolucionaria al colaboracionismo de clases.

La OCI, como el SU, había calificado al régimen de Allende de frente popular (aunque no tomó el paso decisivo de llamar a la oposición electoral a todos los partidos de la coalición UP) mientras sus partidarios chilenos se negaron a hacer esta caracterización. En discusiones con la OCI, la OTR rechazó terminantemente la llamada de la OCI a votar por Mitterrand (el candidato del frente popular Unión de la Izquierda en las elecciones presidenciales francesas de 1974) y se opusieron a la política de la OCI seguidista al Partido Socialista portugués. En 1971, después de haber desempeñado un papel fundamental en la frustración de las oportunidades para una revolución boliviana por su claudicación centrista, el principal aliado latinoamericano de la OCI, el POR de G. Lora, firmó un pacto político con el desalojado ex-presidente boliviano, el general Torres. Más tarde, la OCI llamó por la extensión de esta alianza con la burguesía "antiimperialista" a la escala continental—un super-Kuomintang latinoamericano. Tal política traidora demuestra los apetitos de estos pretendidos trotskistas a cometer traiciones igualmente monstruosas que aquellas del PS y del PC chilenos.

Al tomar contacto con la tendencia espartaquista internacional (TEI), la OTR estuvo fundamentalmente de acuerdo con la consecuente oposición de clase de la TEI al frente popular chileno, planteado en posiciones tomadas incluso a la altura de la popularidad de Allende y expresadas en los artículos recolectados en *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3. El acuerdo inicial fue extendido al incluir la comprensión de la naturaleza de Cuba como estado obrero burocráticamente deformado. Los oportunistas del Secretariado Unificado formaron su falsa Internacional sobre la base de la claudicación frente a la popularidad de Castro entre los radicales pequeñoburgueses, calificando a Cuba de estado obrero sano que meramente "carecía de las formas" de la democracia proletaria. Al contrario, el precursor de la Spartacist League/U.S., la Tendencia Revolucionaria (TR) del Socialist Workers Party (SWP) de los EE.UU., insistió que Cuba era un estado obrero deformado y la democracia obrera solo se lograría a través de una revolución política bajo la dirección de un partido trotskista. Fue justamente por la defensa de este programa marxista que la TR era expulsada del SWP, como parte de la degeneración del SWP en su paso rápido por el centrismo en camino hacia el reformismo socialdemócrata servil. A través de una discusión de la historia del movimiento trotskista internacional, la claudicación del SU frente al castrismo fue remontada hasta sus orígenes en el liquidacionismo pablista que había destruido a la Cuarta Internacional en 1951-53.

V

Entre sus antiguas posiciones políticas, heredadas del pablismo, que la

OTR tuvo que revisar, la cuestión del guerrillerismo fue la más dificultosa. Dentro de la TRO, la tendencia que después sería la OTR había sido marcado por un guerrillerismo fuerte; acusó la dirección de la TRO de no haber cumplido con la decisión sobre la "lucha armada" en América Latina aprobada por el "Noveno Congreso" del SU. Mientras la OTR rechazaba la guerra de guerrillas foquista, basada sobre el campesinado, planteaba la guerrilla obrera.

Durante las discusiones con la TEI, la OTR llegó a la conclusión de que los marxistas deben oponerse al guerrillerismo. Como declaró la Tendencia Revolucionaria en 1963, "La experiencia después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial ha demostrado que la guerra de guerrillas basada en los campesinos bajo una dirección pequeñoburguesa no puede llevar más allá de un régimen burocrático antiobrero" ("Hacia el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional"). Además, sea en su forma rural o urbana (Tupamaros), sea como guevarismo, la "guerra del pueblo" maoísta o bajo un disfraz "trotskista" (como en el caso del PRT/ERP argentino), el guerrillerismo es hostil a la revolución proletaria y conduce inevitablemente a—o es el reflejo de—concepciones estalinistas de "dos etapas" o hasta el abierto nacionalismo pequeñoburgués.

El proletariado *no puede* sostener una guerra de guerrillas, por lo que el mismo concepto implica la ausencia de una situación revolucionaria y la lucha irregular que requiere una capacidad de repliegue rápido. Además de su claro interés de clase, es la organización del proletariado la que le da una superioridad política sobre el campesinado atomizado. Pero esta organización resulta de la posición de la clase obrera en la estructura de la sociedad capitalista; replegarse a las montañas en el fin destruiría la clase o el carácter de clase de su vanguardia.

No hay mejor ejemplo de la impotencia del guerrillerismo enfrentado por una ofensiva concertada por parte de la burguesía que el reciente fracaso en Argentina. Aunque el guerrillerismo (tanto urbano como rural) fue más extenso, mejor financiado y equipado, de más larga duración y con más variedades diferentes que en cualquier otra parte de América Latina, ningún grupo guerrillero podía ofrecer la más mínima resistencia al golpe de Videla, o aún detener las notorias escuadras de muerte de las AAA que han asesinado con impunidad a miles de militantes de izquierda y dirigentes obreros durante los últimos tres años.

El partido revolucionario debe, por supuesto, tomar un papel activo en organizar la autodefensa de las masas trabajadoras, y en muchas ocasiones es vital el uso de tácticas guerrilleras como un elemento subordinado de guerra civil. No obstante, para el proletariado el camino al poder es por medio de una insurrección de masas contra el estado burgués; la organización militar central del levantamiento debe ser un brazo de, y dirigido por, las organizaciones de masas de la clase obrera, dirigidas por el partido de vanguardia leninista.

VI

En América Latina el guerrillerismo de inspiración castrista ha llevado una generación de militantes subjetivamente revolucionarios a una derrota tras otra, resultando en una carnicería sin sentido de muchos de los más dedicados y valientes luchadores. En numerosos países, miles de militantes han sido vilmente engañados por las pretensiones trotskistas de los pablistas y demás revisionistas, llevándoles a la capitulación frente a las direcciones no-proletarias.

Rechazamos las pretensiones de las varias agrupaciones internacionales que tratan de presentarse como la Cuarta Internacional de ser la continuidad, sea

organizacional o política, de la organización revolucionaria fundada por León Trotsky en 1938. La experiencia chilena ha demostrado una vez más la bancarrota de estos impostores pseudo-trotskistas. Aquellos que durante los años 1970 a 1973 proveyeron una máscara de izquierda a la Unidad Popular de Allende, solo un año después estaban sembrando ilusiones en el Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas portugués y o en sus colaboradores del PC y del PS. Después de desempeñar un papel central en la creación del MIR, para verse expulsado de su propio engendro poco después, el SU repitió este curso desastrozo con el fracaso del PRT/ERP guerrillero, sosteniendo al mismo tiempo al PST socialdemócrata, que apoyó políticamente al gobierno peronista. Solo una Internacional auténticamente trotskista, basándose firmemente en la teoría de la revolución permanente y dedicado a la destrucción de la autoridad de todos los dirigentes reformistas y centristas de la clase obrera, puede resolver la crisis de la dirección proletaria.

Dado el gran número de militantes subjetivamente revolucionarios dentro de las filas de las varias organizaciones pretendidamente revolucionarias y la importancia central de destruir al pablismo a escala mundial, la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria y la tendencia espartaquista internacional, en esta declaración de relaciones fraternales, se comprometen a emprender trabajo conjunto hacia el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional. Buscamos reforjar la Cuarta Internacional al ganar los mejores cuadros y militantes a través de un proceso de reagrupamiento revolucionario. Sobre la base de los puntos arriba mencionados y de acuerdo con la declaración de principios de la Spartacist League/U.S., adoptada sucesivamente por la TEI, los firmantes de la presente declaración expresan su intención de lograr la unificación de la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile con la tendencia espartaquista internacional; a su vez, esto representará un gran paso hacia la formación de la Liga Trotskista Internacional, de envergadura mundial.

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Chile Conference...

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on Sunday to include the defense of more than UP leaders.

Behind the attempted suppression of any discussion of political prisoners and refugees in Argentina is the CP's backhanded political support to the bloody Videla junta. Thus the CP

refuses to defend militants hounded and imprisoned in Argentina. In attempting to justify the clumsy suppression of discussion on Chileans in Argentina, a spokesman for the NCCSC claimed that its "non-sectarian" policy was demonstrated by the NCCSC's defense of imprisoned MIR leader Bautista Van Schouwen.

However, at an earlier workshop the chairman had ruled "out of order" any consideration or discussion of the defense of another MIR leader, Edgardo Enriquez, who was arrested in

Argentina and turned over to the Chilean junta. To raise his case would call attention to the vicious campaign of repression unleashed by the Videla regime and thus expose the treachery of the CP. (Later, Enriquez was very reluctantly included among the "representative" prisoners to be highlighted.)

Unlike in Chile, where the CP had formed a pillar of the class-collaborationist Popular Unity government of Allende and was viciously smashed by the Pinochet junta, the Argentine CP carries qualitatively less political weight and so far has escaped illegalization. Rank opportunism is the only "principle" which the Stalinist traitors recognize in their "defense" of Latin American victims of right-wing repression.

In its defense campaigns for Chilean political prisoners, the CP has spotlighted only the most prominent leaders and supporters of the Allende government, ignoring the majority of imprisoned trade-union militants and other working-class leaders, especially left critics of the UP. In contrast, the international Spartacist tendency, despite our profound political difference

with the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist MIR, from the outset waged a vigorous international campaign in defense of two imperiled MIR leaders, Van Schouwen and Romero.

The CP must not be permitted to subordinate urgently necessary defense efforts to its treacherous attempts to buttress the "democratic" protestations of Videla's junta. Labor and socialist militants must raise their voices now against the atrocities being perpetrated in Argentina. Elementary solidarity demands a forceful campaign to save the life of Chilean workers' leader Mario Muñoz and others such as MIRista Edgardo Enriquez and the 11 Chilean and Argentine citizens arrested in Buenos Aires last November on charges of aiding Chilean resistance groups.

Freedom for the tens of thousands of political prisoners victimized by the juntas in Chile and Argentina cannot be secured by a strategy of relying on civil libertarian appeals to the imperialist government. Only a broad international campaign which includes the crucial component of militant labor solidarity can effectively defend the class-war prisoners in Chile and Argentina. ■

Ford...

(continued from page 1)

jubilant at the news. With simpering hypocrisy, city council president Louise Day Hicks whined that Boston "needs a powerful friend in court to bring back sanity and brotherhood [sic!] to a city which is polarized with bitterness and hate." Another champion of the white lynch mobs, South Boston state representative Raymond Flynn, crowed: "Many politicians in this election year are beginning to feel the depths of national dissatisfaction by the American public. Busing is one of the major causes of voter unhappiness." Not one to be left out in the cold, double-talking liberal mayor Kevin White joined the chorus, hailing the "welcome news" as promising an end to the "traumatic ordeal" of busing (*Boston Globe*, 16 May).

So blatant was Ford's move that prominent black Republicans felt compelled to publicly dissociate themselves. Ben Holman, the Justice Department's director of Community Relations Services, and Arthur Fletcher, the president's deputy assistant for urban affairs, claimed that they had not been consulted. Massachusetts senator Edward Brooke objected to the plan and revealed the "see-no-evil, hear-no-evil" duplicity that Ford is employing with his critics. Brooke said that in a conversation Ford "acted as though he

had not heard of this at all." He quoted the president saying "Ed, certainly this has not been done with my consent or direction" (*New York Times*, 19 May).

Ford continued his shabby evasion in Kentucky where he told newsmen: "I am totally opposed to court-ordered forced busing," while disclaiming any direct responsibility for the Attorney General's projected brief. The very soul of offended innocence, Ford denied that any "political purposes" were involved, saying that this "is a decision that I left to the Attorney General to make, and I just want to be informed if and when he does" (*New York Times*, 21 May).

The deep contempt in which bourgeois politicians hold even the most moderate hat-in-hand black leaders was



Wally McNamee/Newsweek

Attorney General Edward Levi. FBI director Clarence Kelley (left).

indicated in an exchange between NAACP head Roy Wilkins and Levi:

"Roy Wilkins... said he had told Mr. Levi that black Americans feared the contemplated Justice Department intervention in the Boston case signaled a return to the days of 'separate but equal.' He said that at the close of the meeting he had gone to the Attorney General and asked 'Why now? Why now?'"

"He turned away from me and walked away," Mr. Wilkins said."

In the face of this sickening display of racist arrogance, liberal black leaders continue to plead for assistance from a government whose guiding principle is "benign neglect" for black people and head-over-heels capitulation to virulent white supremacist reaction. Lending credence to Ford's disingenuous stonewalling, Boston NAACP president Thomas Atkins demanded that the president fire the attorney general if he lodges his anti-busing brief. With studied naiveté that speaks volumes about the self-defeating ideological blinders of the black petty bourgeoisie, lawyer-politician Atkins told newsmen: "I don't think the Supreme Court is going to mortgage the Constitution of this country on the pillar of political expediency" (*Boston Globe*, 16 May).

But there is no justice for the black masses in the laws and courts of the reactionary capitalist class. The Constitution legitimized slavery for nearly a century and *de jure* segregation for another 90 years. It is the embodiment of the property rights of the ruling class and the legal framework within which it has perpetrated the most brutal savagery upon racial minorities. Black liberation will not be won through the caprices of cynical big business politicians and their judicial appointees, or with the craven pro-capitalist policies of the black liberals. Racial oppression can only be ended when a class-conscious proletarian movement, spearheaded by militant black workers, dumps the capitalist system onto the scrapheap of history. ■

Cross-Burning...

(continued from page 3)

in late 1975, supporters of the SWP and SCAR intervened to hush the protests of the outraged audience and enable this fascist to spew out his racist and anti-communist filth. The SWP SCAR policy can only embolden the fascist hoodlums; when these thugs discover that they are able to gain a hearing by day, they are encouraged to escalate their vicious attacks by night.

Instead of vigils appealing for support from the shooting arm of the deeply racist capitalist state, socialists call for the building of mass labor, black defense against racist attack. Faith in the government will no more snuff out the flaming crosses in Los Angeles than the call for "law enforcement" has stopped the attacks of frenzied racist mobs in Boston. Working people must rely on their own organized strength, not on the thugs who—in their blue uniforms or their white hoods—are nothing but the tools of racist reaction. ■

Rubber...

(continued from page 3)

rubber strike now depends on the utmost solidarity of workers in the closely linked industries, regardless of bourgeois legality!

The defection of General Tire locals only adds an extra burden to the strike, which was already plagued by continuing production at non-union Firestone tire plants, and by plants of all companies in Canada. U.S.-Canadian solidarity of rubber industry workers has been weak at best under the parochial nationalist policies of the Bommarito leadership and its predecessors. Mass picketing must be implemented at once to organize and shut down non-union plants in the U.S., and the strike must be extended to include Canadian plants!

The rubber strike is in jeopardy despite the formal expressions of solidarity which have already been registered by European labor leaders (who have only pledged a ban on overtime, a tokenistic tactic which will have slight impact on the U.S. strike), the UAW, Teamsters and the AFL-CIO. Honoring the impotent Firestone consumer boycott would hardly be sufficient even if it could be made reasonably effective, which is always difficult with consumer boycotts. Labor solidarity is the key, and this means immediate extension of the strike to General locals, other non-struck plants in the U.S. and Canada, and an immediate auto solidarity strike. In order to accomplish this, URW militants will have to begin constructing a class-struggle leadership to replace Bommarito, since the latter has repeatedly demonstrated his loyalty to the bosses' system and its legal "rules of the game." ■

Demonstration in Bay Area

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!



WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—A picket line and rally called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was held at the Argentine Consulate here May 17. Among the 50 participants were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Union W.A.G.E., International Workers Party, Workers and Oppressed Unite, United Prisoners Union, Trotskyist Organizing Committee and the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6. Although the Peace and Freedom Party had also committed itself at a planning meeting to build the demonstration, it failed to send a representative.

At the demonstration, SL speaker Mitch Wright discussed the disastrous consequences of the popular front in Chile and the necessity to forge an international working-class party to lead the proletariat in Chile, Argentina and the rest of South America forward to victory. Spirited speeches were also made by others, notably Peter Farruggio of the Militant Caucus, who recounted in English and Spanish the political history of Mario Muñoz and concluded by urging, "It is time for us to defend true working-class heroes."

Canada...

(continued from page 12)

right-wing Social Credit government banning all B.C. rail strikes for four years! Leaders of the militant but divided Quebec labor movement were forced into reviving the dormant Common Front of unions representing public service workers to make a show of defiance of the anti-strike and wage controls legislation, but carefully stopped short of a province-wide general strike. In recent months the Common Front—composed of the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the CLC-affiliated Quebec Federation of Labour, (FTQ)—has been waging a series of job actions and one-day strikes by teachers and hospital workers.

Meanwhile, the New Democratic Party, Canada's right-wing social-democratic party which the CLC was instrumental in forming in 1961, has been cooperating with Trudeau and sabotaging resistance to wage controls in Saskatchewan and Manitoba where it controls provincial governments. The federal NDP, which lost heavily to the Liberals in the last election, has been taking a more "militant" stand, while underlining its continued support for wage and price controls, so long as they are "fair."

"Militant" Bluster

As contract after contract has been torn up and "rolled back" by the AIB, trade-union leaders raised a verbal howl against de facto "compulsory arbitration" and "destruction of free collective bargaining." The protests remained mostly in the form of an "educational" campaign, however, with slogans such as "why me?" and "whatever happened to price controls?" Meanwhile several key strikes went down to defeat at the hands of the AIB because of the refusal of CLC leaders to organize effective labor solidarity. Thus the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) was sold out while its brother post office union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), refused to lift a finger in real solidarity. (This was only a reversal of last year, when CUPW continued to work during the LCUC strike.) An agonizingly long Canadian Paperworkers Union strike was also allowed to be ground down to defeat in total isolation.

A demonstration was called in Ottawa on March 22 to coincide with the annual presentation of the labor federation's legislative brief to the government by CLC president Joe Morris. Denouncing the controls as "callous" and "brutal," the CLC "Memorandum to the Government" nevertheless underlined its basic loyalty to capitalism by endorsing a strong Canadian position in international markets and offering the CLC's willingness "to cooperate in finding just and equitable solutions to Canada's economic problems." Despite this reformist plea, the demonstration drew 25,000 workers, and was the largest united action by the English-Canadian and Quebec working class in history.

This show of force by a determined and militant rank and file, combined with increasing articulation of demands for defiance of the controls from local unions, was becoming too much for the CLC tops to ignore without at least a pretense of militancy. In succeeding weeks, calls for a one-day general strike came from Canadian United Auto Workers head Dennis McDermott, the single most powerful individual in the CLC leadership, and Grace Hartman, leader of Canada's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE).

The CLC executive council then withdrew from the Canadian Labour Relations Council and the Economic Council of Canada, two government boards upon which it had been collabo-

rating, and endorsed the one-day general strike call...with the date left open. By the opening of the CLC convention, McDermott was pontificating on the "historic" decisions to be made which would "change the course of Canadian labor for all time to come."

CLC Brass Push "Participation" Scheme

The real strategy of the CLC tops soon became clear. Pressed by an intransigent, anti-labor administration in Ottawa and an increasingly militant, restive rank and file, they resorted to a barrage of reformist, social-democratic rhetoric. A 12-page "Labour Manifesto for Canada" was sprung on the delegates the first day in order to head off and contain the general strike sentiment within the framework of an elaborate plea for labor participation in the high councils of capitalism.

In the face of Trudeau's strident attacks, even the CLC tops have felt compelled to turn down government requests that union leaders participate directly on the AIB. Yet the "Manifesto" proclaimed a pipe dream of reordering the priorities of capitalism through equal participation between labor, business and government:

"Labour has always set the price at which it would support 'the system.'... The price of labour's future support



CP
Joe Morris, Canadian Labour Congress president.

must be an equal share in the economic and social decision-making on a national basis with the other partners—business and government."

Discussion on the general strike was relegated to the next session, under a separate "Programme of Action" which was linked to the class-collaborationist goals of the Manifesto, calling for "labour's rightful role in the national policy-making and sharing of power." Thus the "mandate" for a general strike was nothing but a vague threat—with no requirement that it ever be carried out—for the purpose of pressuring an openly anti-labor government into granting an illusory "equal share" in administering capitalism to the CLC tops. Under this formula, Morris & Co. will waste no time in betraying the struggle against wage controls and anti-strike laws in exchange for token "participation."

The sharp discussion on both the Manifesto and Programme of Action reflected growing militancy and consciousness in the ranks of the Canadian working class. Delegate after delegate rose to characterize the Manifesto as "inadequate," "suicidal," "a betrayal" and completely out of step with feelings in the local unions. Judy D'Arcy, a delegate from CUPE Local 1230, University of Toronto library workers, delivered a sharp denunciation of the Manifesto as "class-collaborationist" and "impossible under capitalism." She received applause for declaring that the

Manifesto showed the leadership had no intention of fighting the wage controls "the way we want to fight" them.

Canadian United Electrical Workers (UE) president C.S. Jackson, a well-known supporter of Communist Party views, declared that "labor's program never included that workers should sit down with the bosses."

On the defensive, Morris intervened from the chair to state that the phrase "social corporatism," which had come under attack as one of the Manifesto's goals, should be changed to read "social democracy"! Morris called on several members of the CLC executive council to prop up support for the Manifesto, and it passed by an unenthusiastic two-thirds majority, with virtually the entire CUPE delegation voting against.

General Strike Talk to Pressure Trudeau

After a similar sharp discussion, the vote for the Programme of Action was overwhelming on the grounds that it appeared to mandate a general strike, and was in any event unamendable from the floor under CLC rules (Morris' interpretation apparently means that he alone can offer an amendment to a document during discussion!). Many delegates said they would have preferred a definite strike call rather than the vague "if and when necessary" in the document.

The next day the *Montreal Gazette* (18 May) hailed the Manifesto as "constructive," while Labour Minister John Munro opined that the CLC lacked the strength to call a general strike. The real meaning of the CLC position became clear after the convention adjourned, when the executive council met and resolved to have a long series of talks with Trudeau and the cabinet. The opinion at the meeting was that if a general strike was held, "it would not take place until the Fall" (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 22 May)!

Although Morris & Co. were firmly in control, the militant mood of the delegates nevertheless continued during the second day, when executive council proposals to change the system of representation to CLC conventions were discussed. The proposals were designed to end militant and democratic conventions once and for all by abolishing representation from local unions, replacing it with appointment directly from affiliate national unions. Opposition was widespread, with only McDermott's UAW delegation providing a solid bloc of support for the proposals, and the changes were defeated by about three to one.

Right after the defeat of the constitutional changes the delegates were treated to fraternal greetings from the AFL-CIO presented by Joseph P. Tonelli, president of the U.S. United Paperworkers International Union. The UPIU, which still retains some members in Canada following the split of the Canadian Paperworkers Union two years ago, ordered its members to cross CPU picket lines in the recent strike. After Tonelli was introduced, the CPU delegation led a walkout supported by about one quarter of the convention. The rest of the body listened without enthusiasm to Tonelli's standard Meanyite anti-communist tirade.

Despite the militancy expressed early in the convention, no consistent class-

struggle opposition emerged on the floor. An electoral challenge was mounted against Morris by J.F. (Lofty) MacMillan, CUPE organization director and a former police "union" head from New Brunswick, who opposed the Manifesto and made a militant denunciation of the "if and when necessary" vagueness of the general strike call. However, he supported the leadership's economic policy statement containing the same class-collaborationist methodology as the Manifesto. Morris easily swept this challenge aside, whereupon MacMillan rose to insist that Morris' election be considered "unanimous"!

For a Class-Struggle Opposition!

Despite C.S. Jackson's momentary spurt of verbal militancy, delegates reflecting CP views generally expressed only a tentative opposition to the Manifesto, and refused to oppose the Programme of Action. Predictably, supporters of the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), representing the two wings of the opportunist "United Secretariat," gave their votes to the bureaucratic opposition of MacMillan. This was not at all inappropriate, since both the LSA and RMG, like MacMillan, have been pushing a *one-day* general strike. LSA supporters even came out to the right of MacMillan on the Programme of Action, by supporting it on the grounds that it represented some sort of step forward, while MacMillan abstained. The LSA supporters distributed a leaflet entitled "For a one-day general strike! For an NDP government in Ottawa!" which utterly failed to distinguish them from the main-line reformism of the CLC tops.

More militant were Judy D'Arcy and Greg Collins, who have been mentioned favorably in *The Forge*, paper of the Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist). But their opposition to the bureaucratic proposals on the first day and support for an "unlimited general strike" were coupled with enthusiastic support for a series of Canadian chauvinist and protectionist resolutions which came up later in the convention. D'Arcy rose in support of a 200-mile territorial limit off Canadian shores using nationalist and anti-communist arguments that it was necessary to defend "our country" against the two "superpowers," in particular the Soviet Union!

A leaflet distributed by Bob McBurney, delegate from Toronto Local 1 of the Letter Carriers, was the only one that showed a correct understanding of how to wage a general strike without simply handing power to Morris & Co. to betray the strike, or directly posing the question of state power prematurely through an unlimited strike when the working class lacks a revolutionary vanguard party capable of leading it to final victory. Rejecting the CLC executive council's sellout "general strike" call, McBurney argued for a general strike which would stay out until the wage controls were smashed, and be organized by a democratically elected strike committee which would issue from a "congress of the entire union movement," including Teamsters, the Quebec CSN and other non-CLC unions. The leaflet denounced the NDP as well as CLC misleaders, and called for a class-struggle leadership to replace both, as well as for a workers government.

Morris, Hartman, McDermott & Co. won the day at the convention, but their social-democratic rhetoric will wear thin as soon as the ranks begin to see the dimensions of the betrayal which "partnership" schemes entail. The present CLC leadership is completely incapable of leading a struggle against wage controls, and only the building of a class-struggle leadership to oust these traitors can put Canadian labor on a course towards smashing not only the controls, but capitalism as well. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

CLC Tops Temporize at Convention—Ranks Demand Action Now

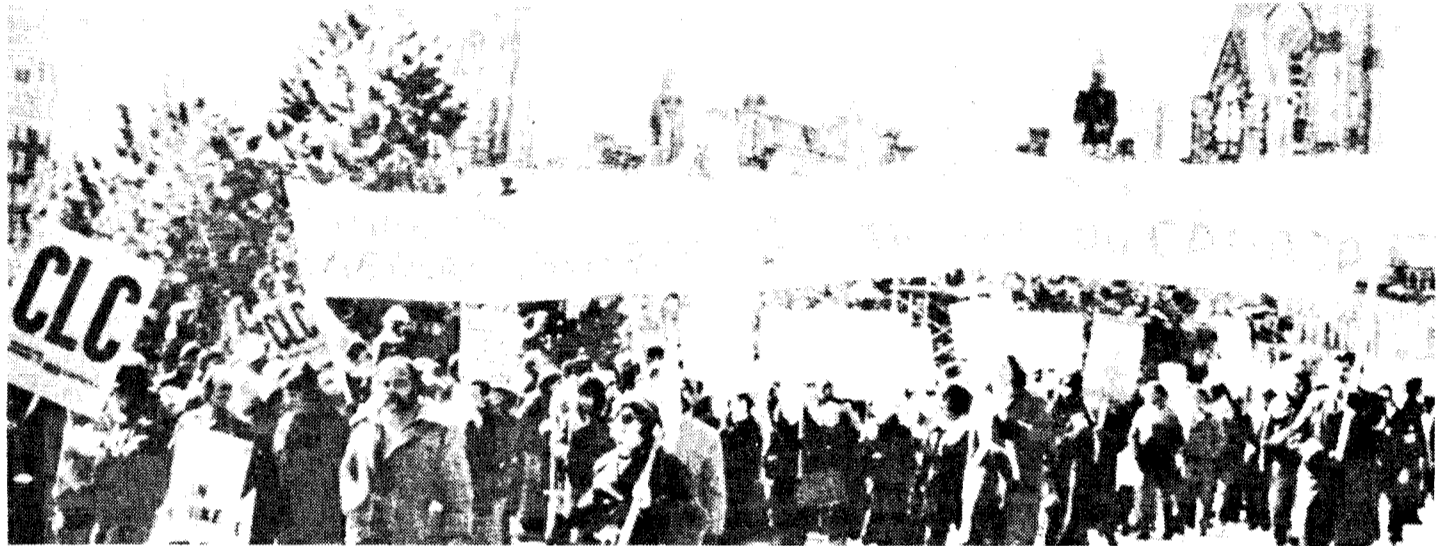
For A Cross-Canada General Strike Against Wage Controls!

No to Phony "Participation" Schemes!

QUEBEC CITY, 22 May - The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Canada's principal trade-union federation, held its 11th constitutional convention here this week amidst mounting attacks on the working class by the Liberal Party government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Demands for a general strike to break Trudeau's vicious program of wage controls had become so irresistible in recent weeks that top leaders of the CLC began calling for a one-day general strike in order to retain control of what promised to be a militant convention.

On the first day, the more than 2,400 locally elected convention delegates voted overwhelmingly to "mandate" the Congress leadership to call a general strike or strikes "if and when necessary." However, the carefully worded motion linked the tentative strike call to a class-collaborationist campaign to pressure the capitalist government to allow labor a "share of power."

The Ottawa government has been moving steadily toward a stringent wage controls program ever since the 1974 election, during which Trudeau campaigned against precisely such controls,



Ottawa, March 22: 30,000 Canadian unionists responded to CLC call for demonstration against government wage controls. Spartacist Canada

then being advocated by the Progressive Conservatives. In October 1975 the government announced a compulsory wage controls program, which became bill C-73 (the Anti-Inflation Act) and was passed in December. The controls are aimed explicitly at holding down and reversing the wage gains of Canadian workers, who were just beginning to catch up with years of rampaging inflation through a series of militant strikes, particularly in the public sector.

The Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) set up by the legislation immediately began throwing out negotiated increases, without explanation and allowing no avenue of appeal by the unions. Prices, meanwhile, although supposedly held to within the limits of "costs," have continued to soar. To make matters worse, the Trudeau legislation included restrictive amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act, making unemployed benefits harder to obtain despite

continued high unemployment (7.1 percent in 1975).

National wage controls have been supplemented by wage legislation and outright strikebreaking attacks at the provincial level, particularly in Quebec and British Columbia. In Quebec emergency legislation against teacher strikes was passed in April, and in British Columbia a rail strike was forestalled through a special law by the

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entre la tendencia espartaquista internacional y la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile

I
Los acontecimientos de los años 1970 a 1973 en Chile plantearon, y siguen planteando, una prueba fundamental de la capacidad revolucionaria de todos aquellos que pretenden hablar en nombre de los intereses históricos de la clase obrera. Los autodenominados socialistas que a través de la coalición Unidad Popular (UP) ataron las masas explotadas a los oficiales "constitucionalistas" y a la burguesía "antiimperialista" se erigieron en obstáculo a la revolución, y por consiguiente en cómplices de la contrarrevolución. La primera tarea de aquellos que buscan preparar una insurrección proletaria que derumbará al estado burgués, hoy día en manos de la sangrienta dictadura de Pinochet, es de trazar las lecciones del frente popular de Allende. Solo de este modo será posible hacer romper a las masas con esos dirigentes traidores reformistas y centristas que abrieron la vía para el golpe del 11 de septiembre de 1973. En ese entonces el frente popular

burgués fue reemplazado por otra forma de dominio capitalista, la junta militar bonapartista, que se balancea entre las fracciones y clanes de la mediana y alta burguesía, y refleja la presión de los mayores poderes imperialistas.

Ya a finales de 1970 la tendencia espartaquista advertía:

"Es el deber más elemental de los marxistas revolucionarios el oponerse irreconciliablemente al frente popular en las elecciones y no tener absolutamente ninguna confianza en él una vez en el poder. Cualquier 'apoyo crítico' a la coalición de Allende sería una traición a la clase, abriendo el camino para una derrota sangrienta de los trabajadores chilenos cuando la reacción criolla, auxiliada por el imperialismo internacional, esté lista."

Trágicamente no había en Chile un partido trotskista para galvanizar los obreros alrededor del programa marxista de independencia de clase, y los subsiguientes acontecimientos gráficamente corroboraron esta advertencia de

Spartacist (ver "Frente popular en Chile", *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3).

II

Como dijo Trotsky en 1935: "En realidad, el Frente Popular es la cuestión principal de la estrategia de clase proletaria de esta época. También ofrece el mejor criterio para distinguir entre el bolchevismo y el menchevismo."

La organización más grande pretendidamente revolucionaria que se encontraba formalmente fuera de la coalición UP, el MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), fue incapaz de presentar una oposición de clase al frente popular. Aunque atrajo una capa de juventud militante, fundamentalmente de la pequeña burguesía, y pese a sus críticas periódicas contra el Partido Comunista (PC), el MIR nunca rompió con la Unidad Popular. Después de las elecciones de septiembre de 1970 llamó a las masas a apoyar a Allende; hoy día, el MIR forma parte del frente popular en el exilio, buscando "ampliar" esta

coalición de colaboración de clases al integrar aún a demócratas cristianos. El heroísmo individual de muchos militantes del MIR no puede ocultar la bancarrota política de estos castristas chilenos, la máscara de izquierda del frente popular.

Los discípulos chilenos de las varias autoproclamadas "Cuartas Internacionales" tampoco presentaron una política trotskista de hostilidad irreconciliable al frentepopulismo. Los partidarios del Secretariado "Unificado" (SU), por una parte, quedaron atascados en el "entrismo profundo" perpétuo dentro del Partido Socialista (el cementerio tradicional de los falsos trotskistas en Chile); y por otra seguían desvergonzosamente al MIR. (El SU jugó un papel central en la creación del MIR, pero esto no les impidió a los castristas de expulsarlos sumariamente dos años más tarde por presunto trotskismo. ¡Tal es la recompensa del oportunismo!) Los partidarios del SU consideraron a los

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